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‘AN ESPECIALLY DELICATE TASK’:

THE PLACE OF STUDENTS WHO ARE NOT CATHOLICS IN CATHOLIC SCHOOLS IN AUSTRALIA

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A thesis submitted in total fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

National School of Arts
Faculty of Education and Arts

Australian Catholic University

23 October 2015
Statement of Authorship and Sources

This thesis contains no material published elsewhere or extracted in whole or in part from a thesis by which I have qualified for or been awarded another degree or diploma.

No other person’s work has been used without due acknowledgment in the main text of the thesis.

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All research procedures reported in the thesis received the approval of the relevant Ethics/Safety Committees (where required).

Michael Chambers
23 October 2015

Publications Resulting from Work Completed During Candidature


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Dedication

This study is dedicated to the people who raised me in the first half of life: My mum and dad, Nalla and Boyd and my brother and sisters, Anthony, Kelly and Kristy. I love you.

It is also dedicated to the people who are raising me in the second half of life: My wife Erin, who has been a constant source of love and inspiration and who is my home; and our children who came into the world during the course of this study - our eldest daughter, Ella and our twins, Hannah and Samuel. Thank you, my four loves, for your patience and support. I love you more than my words can say.

Memory

Nalla Mary Chambers
22 April 1940 – 31 July 2006

You gave me life and you taught me how to love
Abstract

This study investigates the place of students who are not Catholics in Catholic schools in Australia and, in particular, in Queensland. It does so primarily through a re-examination of history and through an analysis of relevant educational, ecclesial and theoretical documents. It begins with the origins – both mythological and historical - of Catholic schools in Australia and traces the place of non-Catholic students in Catholic schools through the lens of the Second Vatican Council, the documents of the Congregation for Catholic Education and Australian episcopal documentation about Catholic schooling.

The study addresses the tensions between guiding Church documentation about Catholic schools and the place of non-Catholic students in those schools and systemic and organisational policy and practise related to those students. It identifies a polemic tendency towards traditionalism in current expressions of Catholicity in schools and seeks to balance this with a more historically informed understanding of the place of students who are not Catholics in Catholic schools. Ultimately, this thesis argues for an approach that is more ecumenical and inter-religious than confessional and sectarian; more cultural than counter-cultural. Such an approach requires that Catholic schools be more historically conscious in dealing with the challenges posed by increasing numbers of non-Catholic students in Catholic schools.
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Introduction – A Contested Issue: The Place of Students who are not Catholics in Catholic Schools

On a number of measures, Catholic schooling in Australia today has been growing (in terms of student enrolments) and well-placed (in terms of school completion, university commencement and university completion) relative to government-controlled schools. Growth in enrolments in Catholic schools (which are part of the non-government schools sector) has been especially evident since the 1970s. In 1977 the percentage of school students in non-government schools in Australia was 21%. That figure rose to 34% in 2009.\(^1\) In terms of raw student enrolment in Catholic schools, there were 498,583 students in Australian Catholic schools in 1976.\(^2\) In 2012 there were 735,403 students enrolled in Australian Catholic schools.\(^3\) However, since the 1970s, there has been an increase in the number and type of non-government schools\(^4\) and this has been reflected in a drop in the percentage of all non-government school enrolments in Catholic schools. In the mid-1970s, Catholic schools accounted for 80% of non-government school enrolments. By 2006, that figure had dropped to 60%.\(^5\) Also, at the same time, Catholic schools – especially low-fee, diocesan, systemic Catholic schools – have become more middle-class at the expense of poorer Catholic families, who are now more likely to be found in government-controlled schools.\(^6\) In terms of government funding, in 2011, government funding of non-government schools equated to 21% of government funding of all schools. Recurrent expenditure on non-government schools in 2011 was $8.1 billion. 72% of government funding for non-government

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\(^1\) J. Buckingham, "The Rise of Religious Schools," (St Leonards: The Centre for Independent Studies (Australia), 2010), 2.
\(^2\) Ibid., 3.
schools was provided by the federal government; 28% of government funding for non-government schools was provided by the federal government.\(^7\)

Attendance at a Catholic school also increases the chances of students completing secondary school. In 1999 Vella found that attendance at Australian Catholic secondary schools increases a student's chances of completing secondary school by 17%.\(^8\) In part, this figure constitutes what is known as the “Catholic school effect”.\(^9\) There have been similar findings about the “Catholic school effect” in the United States.\(^10\) The “Catholic school effect” refers to the effect of Catholic high school attendance on educational attainment and test scores. Despite a decline in the “Catholic school effect” in Australia between the late 1990s and 2012, Cardak and Vecci have determined that the “Catholic school effect” remains between 5% and 7%.\(^11\)

Catholic schools also perform well in terms of civics education and participation. In this regard, Catholic and other non-government schools sometimes come under attack, charged with elitism and religious sectarianism. In 2006, the then Deputy Federal president of the Australian Education Union, said in a position paper that public education was “the crucible within which Australian democracy was formed and upon which a vibrant, socially cohesive future is dependent.”\(^12\) Evidence also suggests that students in Australian Catholic schools have similar attitudes to socially liberal issues and tolerance as students from government-controlled and independent schools (although there was significant difference in the attitude towards abortion: 66.8% of students in Catholic schools agreed that abortion

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9 Buly A. Cardak and Joe Vecci, "Catholic School Effectiveness in Australia: A Reassessment Using Selection on Observed and Unobserved Variables," *Economics of Education Review* 37, no. 0 (2013); Vella, "Do Catholic Schools Make a Difference?".


11 Cardak and Vecci, "Catholic School Effectiveness in Australia: A Reassessment Using Selection on Observed and Unobserved Variables," 40-41, 43.

should be a woman’s choice, compared to students in government schools (82.2%) and independent schools (84.8%). Students in Australian Catholic schools have been found to value the importance of social justice. Similar findings exist in other parts of the world. For example, in terms of civic and democratic values, Catholic schools in the United States have been shown to reveal values similar to public schools and non-Catholic non-government schools.

Across the country, new Catholic schools are built and established each year. Families from within and outside the Catholic community seek enrolment in Catholic schools. Catholic schools in Australia are secure in their funding arrangements with federal and state governments (even though those arrangements are sometimes used for political and educational leverage). In this sense they enjoy a security that Catholic schools in many other countries do not. As an agency of the Catholic Church, Catholic schools in Australia have been called “one of the ‘jewels in the crown’ of the Catholic community...with few parallels overseas.” From this perspective, Catholic schools are “an invaluable means of the Church’s realising its Mission to Evangelise” [sic].

I.1 Research Problem

However, there are some features of Catholic schools which are perceived as problematic and the degree to which they are problematic is difficult to measure. This study addresses one issue – a not insignificant issue – that confronts contemporary Catholic schools: the increasing enrolments of students who are not Catholics. Based on 2012 figures, Catholic schools in Australia enrol on average

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14 P. Hughes, Putting Life Together: Findings from Australian Youth Spirituality Research (Fairfield: Fairfield Press, 2007), 186.
29% of students who are not Catholics. On trends since 2006, that figure is increasing by a little under 1% each year. This enrolment trend is mostly perceived as a problem for contemporary Catholic schools: it is an issue that detracts from the Catholicity of the school. For others though, the attractiveness of Catholic schools for these students and their families is recognised as an indicator that Catholic schools have achieved a level of credibility and respect particularly among the non-Catholic and wider Australian society.

The perceived problematic nature of this enrolment trend is twofold. First, it is related to the effect that this enrolment trend has on the Catholic identity of Catholic schools. In short, the argument in the literature is that the more non-Catholic students there are in a Catholic school, the less Catholic the school becomes. It would seem that the only way to address this problem is to reverse the enrolment trend so that enrolments of Catholic students increase. In Australia at the moment, some propose a solution of this kind. They argue for a “critical mass” of Catholic students.

Second, the enrolment of students who are not Catholics brings challenges for religious education in Catholic schools. This study understands religious education in the broad sense of involving two dimensions: a cognitive (educational) dimension and a faith-forming (catechetical) dimension. These two dimensions have been asserted in ecclesial documents and in religious education theory. The trend of increasing enrolments of students who are not Catholics has

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implications for both the classroom teaching of religious education (for example, what knowledge can be assumed of students at each level of classroom learning?) and for the forms of catechesis in Catholic schools (for example, how do Catholic schools respond to the religious freedom of students in the liturgical life of the school?).

This study primarily investigates the place of students who are not Catholics in Catholic schools from historical and documentary perspectives. It explores their presence in Catholic schools since the earliest days of Catholic schooling in Australia and considers the current concern about those students in that light. The legacy of the understanding of how and why Catholic schooling in Australia was established impacts on contemporary thinking about the place of non-Catholic students in Catholic schools. This study notes that the presence of students who are not Catholics in Catholic schools in Australia is not a recent phenomenon. This investigation also considers the place of those students in terms of the disconnect between what is said about those students in the Australian Catholic education discourse and what is said about them in Vatican-level Church documents.

1.2 Stimulii for the Study

Most of my primary and secondary education was in Catholic schools. I graduated from a Catholic primary school and a junior secondary Catholic school. At the time of my senior secondary schooling there was no Catholic senior high school in the small town where I was raised. I completed my secondary schooling at the local government-controlled high school. In time, I have realised it to be a privilege to have graduated from both Catholic and state schools. My working life has been in secondary and tertiary Catholic education. Specifically, I have taught in single-sex and co-educational high schools. Most recently, my working life has been in a Catholic university. Over time, I have developed a particular interest in the form of education that Catholic schools offer and to whom it is offered. This interest has been piqued in recent years with a greater awareness in the literature of the trend of enrolments of students who are not Catholics in Catholic schools in Australia.
Finally, my theological studies have complemented my studies in religious education such that I am fascinated by the ecclesial nature of Catholic education, in particular how the Catholic Church understands its educational mission and how teachers in Catholic schools understand that mission. My professional life in Catholic education, the upward enrolment trend of students who are not Catholics and the theological change prompted by the Second Vatican Council are the three stimuli for this study.

### I.2.1 My Involvement in Catholic Education

Catholic schooling has been part of my life for as far back as my memory takes me. I graduated from a Catholic primary school and a junior secondary Catholic school in the 1980s. Immediately after my years of undergraduate study, I was employed at Mount Erin High School in Wagga Wagga, New South Wales. Mount Erin was a Catholic junior secondary high school in the tradition of the Presentation Sisters. After six years at Mount Erin, I worked as a religious educator in two other Catholic secondary schools in Queensland, St Mary's College, Maryborough and St John Fisher College, Bracken Ridge) for a further seven years.

Coincidentally, to raise the issue of students who were not Catholics was not done. It was almost a taboo subject. It was a subject that was too difficult. There was awareness amongst staff that whatever the issues were regarding the students who were not Catholics, they were sorted out by the Principal and the systemic area supervisor. As a senior leader in those schools (in Queensland schools I was an Assistant to the Principal – Religious Education), I was aware of past practices of the diocesan education office representatives phoning principals if their school’s enrolments of non-Catholic students exceeded ten per cent. This practice was known as “the phone call”. It was feared and it was to be avoided. It called for creative management of enrolment application forms so that the percentile enrolment of students who were not Catholics did not exceed the arbitrary ten per
cent. Even though arbitrary quotas of non-Catholic students came to be dismissed, or at least to fall off the radar in Queensland Catholic schools, they still have currency in some dioceses in Australia as those dioceses engage with the 'Catholic identity' wars.22

1.2.2 Enrolment Trends in Catholic Schools

The enrolment trends of Catholic schools have become a contentious issue for many involved in Catholic education in Australia. They have been of interest to the episcopacy in its oversight of Catholic schools,23 to Catholic education commissions,24 and to Catholic school systems.25 Currently, the average enrolment of non-Catholic students in Australian Catholic schools sits at 29%. There is quite a bit of variation of this percentage around Australia. Tasmania has an average enrolment of non-Catholic students of 54%. In the Northern Territory the figure is 51%. Of all the states and territories in Australia, Western Australia and New South Wales have the lowest percentage of students who are not Catholics: 24%.26


1.2.3 Theological Change

Societal and cultural change in Australia since the 1960s has coincided with change in the Catholic Church itself. The Second Vatican Council, which was convened through four sessions over a three-year period between 1962 and 1965 was a watershed event for the Catholic Church and for the world. The significance of the council has been noted by many. Alberigo and Komonchak remarked upon the dual importance of the Council in, first, restoring the Church’s ties with its most authentic and earliest tradition (ressourcement) and second, the novelties of the Council that demonstrated the ways in which the Church engaged in John XXIII’s pastoral principle of aggiornamento. To that end they say “it is impossible to imagine a politically more skillful and more effective ‘normalization’ of the Council and of the impulse it has given to the Church than to deny its epochal significance.”

The Second Vatican Council has attained an importance in the context of the whole history of the Church. It has been considered equal to, if not greater in importance, than any other council going back to Pentecost itself. Relatively speaking,

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27 Justo L. Gonzalez has argued that the Council was so significant for the Church that it marked “a new epoch in its history.” J.L. Gonzalez, The Story of Christianity: The Reformation to the Present Day, 2 vols., vol. 2 (New York: HarperCollins, 1985); Andrew Greeley has described the Council as a "revolutionary event" with revolutionary consequences for the Catholic Church, especially in the United States. A.M. Greeley, Catholic Revolution: New Wine, Old Wineskins and the Second Vatican Council (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004); McBrien described it as the “institutional mechanism” which “transformed the Catholic Church from a clericalistic, monarchical, unecumenical, and theologically rigid body to a community of radical equality in Christ – open to dialogue and collaboration with other Christian and non-Christian communities, with nonbelievers, and with the world at large.” R.P. McBrien, Lives of the Popes: The Pontiffs from St Peter to John Paul II (New York: HarperCollins, 1997); John W. O’Malley, discussing the accomplishment of the Council and the paradigmatic reform of Church life it initiated, has said, “I know of no other such assembly in history that undertook such a bold reshaping of the institution it represented, and did it with more fairness, serenity, and courage.” J.W. O’Malley, "Developments, Reforms, and Two Great Reformations: Towards a Historical Assessment of Vatican II," Theological Studies 44, no. 3 (1983);


29 Ibid., 643.

Catholic schools of the early Twenty-First Century find themselves in the twilight of this great Council and one could measure Catholicity against its ecclesiology.

I.3 The Issues that have a Bearing on the Place of Students who are not Catholics in Catholic Schools

Before advancing this study, it will be helpful to outline the key concepts that recur throughout and dominate the study. Their contexts, as they pertain to the study, need to be understood because they will inevitably shed light on the problems that are presented. Ten issues require articulation and elaboration at this early stage of the thesis. They are a definition of ‘Catholic’; Catholic education in Australia; students who are not Catholics; clergy and consecrated religious; the Second Vatican Council; the laity; expressions of Catholicism; the documents of the Church; enrolment policies; historical consciousness and Catholicity.

I.3.1 A Definition of ‘Catholic’

This study understands the term ‘Catholic’ in its earliest, fullest and broadest sense. Etymologically, the term ‘Catholic’ is derived from the Greek kata (preposition: ‘every’, ‘according to’ or ‘as if’) and holos (noun: ‘whole’ or ‘wholly’). Groome argues that the Greek is translated literally as “‘including everyone to work together.’ The implication is that all people are welcome, bonding as a united community amid great diversity.”

John Haughey provides a brief history of the use of the term ‘Catholic’. Initially, it was used ecclesiologically in debates about tribal ecclesiology and more global understandings of the church. As the Church developed, the term was used to describe the church and its congregations which were spread throughout the world. It was only after the Reformation in the 1600s where the term ‘Catholic’ came to be used apologetically in sectarian ways. It was then that the term “lost the more

expansive connotation it had usually enjoyed in earlier centuries.”

The Second Vatican Council though, returned to the original understanding of the term. The Council “was able to grasp the scope its sources were alluding to all along, sources ponting to the universality it aspires to and is challenged to attain.”

### 1.3.2 Catholic Education in Australia

Parts of this study are situated in the history of Catholic education in Australia. Catholic schooling has its origins in the early years of the 1800s when Catholic schools were established mostly by lay people as private initiatives. Up until the 1870s Catholic schools coexisted alongside government schools and other denominational schools. They attracted forms of funding from the colonial governments. In the early years of colonial development there was undoubtedly religious antagonism between the minority Irish Catholics and the majority British Protestants. The antagonism, suspicion and hostility between the Protestants and the Catholics were real and they contributed to a defensive and sectarian Catholicism that continues in pockets of Catholicism to the present day.

However, there was also a degree of trust and cooperation between the various Christian traditions and between the different schools in the colonial period. Catholic schools enrolled students who were not Catholics: The Catholic school on the banks of the Parramatta River in the early 1820s had a 25% enrolment of Protestant students. In 1852, the local paper in Goulburn in southern New South Wales reported on the Catholic and other-denominational enrolments in the nearby Booroowa Catholic school. It noted the cohesion and unity in the local community as a result of this enrolment profile. In 1880 Mr Patrick Newman, the Headmaster at the Catholic school in Campbelltown, New South Wales, applied for

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33 Haughey, *Where Is Knowing Going? The Horizons of the Knowing Subject*, 41.
34 *ibid.*, 42.
the Headmaster’s job at the local government school. In his application he made especial note of his capacity to provide education for the 55 students in his school who were non-Catholics and the 92 students who were Catholics.\textsuperscript{38}

At this point in the study it is appropriate to point out the critical period of the 1870s and 1880s. In this period colonial governments passed Education Acts through their parliaments that ensured school education to be free, secular and compulsory. These Education Acts had a polarising effect on the Catholic hierarchy and have subsequently been used to mark the birth of Catholic schools in Australia. The crisis of the colonial Education Acts in the late Nineteenth Century – which brought an end to government funding of Catholic schools – has resulted in a re-imagining of the origins of Catholic schooling. For many, Catholic schools in Australia have now been understood to begin with the bishops’ response to this crisis. Their response, which had lasting impacts, was to continue supporting Catholic schools, to make them the bedrock of the parish community and to seek ways in which to maintain their viability, by actively recruiting more religious orders to staff Catholic schools.\textsuperscript{39} The consequences of this decision and actions were twofold. First, the fifty or so years of Catholic schooling in Australia from approximately 1820 to 1870 has been forgotten. This is important for this study because those years of Catholic schooling reveal the presence of students who were not Catholics. Second, lay teachers in Catholic schools came to be understood as incomplete, less Catholic educators, sub-ordinate and never equal to the ‘teaching religious.’\textsuperscript{40} This second consequence is important because it represents a ‘hierarchy of religiosity’. At the bottom of that hierarchy are those who are not Catholics.

With the election of the Whitlam government in 1972 and the Karmel Report (commissioned by the Whitlam government) in 1973, a century without

\textsuperscript{38} C. McGee, \textit{The Forgotten Ones: Teachers in the Catholic Schools of New South Wales before 1880} (Leichhardt: Catholic Education Office Sydney, 2012), 85.
government funding of Catholic schools came to an end. Since that time, Catholic schools have developed in systemic complexity in ways not before seen in this country. The relationship between Catholic schools and state and federal governments in Australia is the envy of other countries that do not enjoy such levels of funding. It has resulted in a highly professional system of Catholic schools of excellent educational standards, capable of meeting regulatory requirements and providing a Catholic form of education for families that seek it.

I.3.3 Students Who Are Not Catholics

The focus of this study is on the place of students who are not Catholics in Catholic schools in Australia and traces their presence from the earliest Catholic schools in the Australian colonies to the current day. For the purposes of this study, students who are not Catholics include students who are Christian but belong to other Christian traditions. They also include students who are not Christian and students who have no religious adherence. Catholic schools have always had students who were not Catholics. Similarly, government schools have always had students who were Catholics. In the 1870s, one quarter of the students at Sydney's Fort Street Public School were Catholics.41

I.3.4 The Second Vatican Council

The Second Vatican Council was the twenty-first general or ecumenical council of the Catholic Church. It followed the unfinished First Vatican Council (1969-1970), but was not an attempt to conclude that council. Vatican II was held over the course of four calendar years (1962-1965) and involved 2,600 bishops of the world (there were 2,908 bishops eligible to attend the first session), theological advisors (periti) and invited observers meeting in session for approximately two

41 McGee, The Forgotten Ones: Teachers in the Catholic Schools of New South Wales before 1880, 69.
months towards the end of each year, at the Vatican. During the months when the Council was out of session, drafts and schemas were composed, negotiation ensued and politico-ecclesial debate and compromise was brokered.

In terms of delegates in attendance, it was the largest council of the Church by some way (Vatican I was the previous biggest with 737 people in attendance; the Council of Trent, the Catholic Church’s response to the Protestant Reformation, opened in 1545 with 29 bishops present\(^\text{42}\)). In terms of geographic and local Church representation, Vatican II had delegates from all corners of the globe whereas the previous councils were European-centric. Compared to any of the previous councils of the Church, Vatican II was a council of massive proportions and remarkable international breadth.\(^\text{43}\) Unlike previous councils which frequently were convened to settle matters of doctrinal debate, Vatican II was pastoral in concern. It was convened in 1958 by John XXIII who established an agenda of *aggiornamento* (modernising, or bringing up to date). Carmel McEnroy argues that the Second Vatican Council “was a recognition of the ecclesial stagnancy and irrelevance that was becoming more obvious with the advance of the modern world.”\(^\text{44}\)

In terms of documentary output, the Second Vatican Council promulgated sixteen documents. They included four constitutions (which Rush claims “function analogously like the four Gospels within the New Testament”\(^\text{45}\)), nine decrees and three declarations. The documents of the Council are unequal in terms of their juridical status. McBrien argues that the two *dogmatic* constitutions have the greater authority.\(^\text{46}\) Rush argues that the theological focus of the Dogmatic Constitution on Divine Revelation (*Dei Verbum*) functions as a lens for interpreting the other three constitutions.\(^\text{47}\) Certainly, the four constitutions relate to the constitutive elements of the Church and they have authority over the decrees and

\(^{42}\) O'Malley, "Vatican II: Did Anything Happen?," 11. O'Malley does note that there were over 200 bishops present at the best-attended voting session of Trent.

\(^{43}\) Ibid., 10.


\(^{46}\) McBrien, *Catholicism*, 666.

declarations, which are of lesser juridical standing and seek to address pastoral and practical concerns of the Church.48

This study refers to and is informed by the documents of the Council. Especially related to the focus of this study are the Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World (Guadium et Spes), the Declaration on Christian Education (Gravissimum Educationis), the Decree on Ecumenism (Unitatis Redintegratio), the Declaration on the Relation of the Church to Non-Christian Religions (Nostra Aetate), the Declaration on Religious Liberty (Dignitatis Humanae), the Decree on the Apostolate of the Lay People (Apostolicam Actuositatem) and the Decree on the Church’s Missionary Activity (Ad Gentes Divinitus). These seven documents do not all refer explicitly to students who are not Catholics in Catholic schools. Indeed, they do not all refer explicitly to Catholic schools. But they all have content that can inform matters related to this study which draws on the documents of the Council and the Council itself. Chapter three of this study is focused solely on the Council. It treats not only the Council documents, and the activity, process and proclamations of the Council between the opening of the first session and the closing of the fourth session, but also considers the wider context of the Council including the movements in the Church prior to 1962, the convening of the Council by John XXIII and the reception of the Council (which is ongoing).

1.3.5 Clergy and Consecrated Religious

The clergy and the consecrated religious play an important part in the history of Catholic education in this country. Despite their dwindling numbers within the staffing cohorts of contemporary Catholic schools, they remain an important influence on Catholic schooling in this country. The priesthood is an important office in the Church. Priests serve as pastors to the faithful and assist the local bishop – who continues the apostolic tradition – in preaching the Word of God and leading Christian worship. The vast majority of Catholic schools today retain a

clerical presence of sorts. Usually, priests engage with schools primarily for the celebration of the sacraments (mostly Eucharist). Primary schools are more likely to have a more visible presence of priests than secondary schools.

In Catholicism, the term “clergy” refers to the ordained male priesthood. Sometimes, priests are also referred to as “clerics”. Priesthood has scriptural foundations. In the Old Testament, priests were not ordained but were charged with maintaining the centrality of religion in life. Priesthood, in biblical times, was not an ordained ministry, but rather a hereditary ministry through the line of Levi (for example, see Leviticus 9). The New Testament makes reference to Christ as the high-priest (Hebrews 4:14-5:10), a priesthood that surpasses the priesthood articulated in the Old Testament. Another metaphor, the priesthood of all believers, is asserted in 1 Peter 2: 4-10. This latter metaphor was recovered at the Second Vatican Council and refers to all baptised Christians who are called to offer sacrifice and live a life pleasing to God. The Council asserted that the priesthood of all believers differs in essence and degree from the ministerial priesthood:

The baptised, by regeneration and the anointing of the Holy Spirit, are consecrated as a spiritual house and a holy priesthood, in order that through all those works which are those of the Christian man [sic] they may offer spiritual sacrifices and proclaim the power of Him who has called them out of darkness into His marvellous light.49

Clericalism had its origins in the Nineteenth Century and referred to defending the rights of the Church (understood hierarchically) and especially of defending the temporal sovereignty of the Pope. More broadly, clericalism sought to assert the authority of the papacy, bishops and priests. Some equate it with ‘priestdom’ and ‘popery.’ This study makes reference to the role of ordained priests in Catholic schools. Although this study does not assert clericalism in its harshest form, it does recognise a place of privilege given to the ordained clergy in the narrative of Catholic Education in Australia. It does recognise “one of the most characteristic

features of pre-conciliar Catholicism, namely, unchallenged and unchallengeable clerical authority.”

‘Consecrated religious’ refers to people commonly known in Australian Catholic education as nuns and brothers. Sometimes they are referred to collectively as the ‘religious orders’ or the ‘vowed religious’. In schooling, they are sometimes referred to as the ‘teaching religious’, the ‘sisters and brothers’ and ‘consecrated men and women’. They have an esteemed place in Australian Catholic education, especially in the period between the Colonial Education Acts of the 1870s and 1880s and the Second Vatican Council in the 1960s. It was in the period after the Colonial Education Acts that the Australian bishops recruited the religious orders with greater vigour so that the religious orders might support the ongoing survival of Catholic schools in the newly established period without state aid. The need for the teaching religious increased because most of the lay teachers in Catholic schools were transferred to the government schools.

1.3.6 The Laity

This study affirms the role of lay teachers in Catholic schools. It acknowledges their presence from the very beginnings of Catholic education in this country. In fact, it notes the presence of lay teachers in Catholic schools predates the presence of the clergy or consecrated religious.

The work of lay teachers is frequently considered in this study because its history and how it has been understood in the church has affected the perception of students who are not Catholics in Catholic schools. ‘Laity’ or ‘the lay’ is derived from the Greek laikos and means ‘people’. Laikos does not occur in the Bible, although the related laos does. In the scriptural sense it differentiates the people of God from the Gentiles. In the Twelfth Century, Gratian, a Bolognese master,

ascribed two types of people in the Christian world: those of religion and those of the world. The religious had access to the sacred sphere whereas those of the world (the laity) represented “a concession to human weakness” and denial of “any active part in the sphere of sacred things.”\footnote{S.K. Wood, "Laity," in \textit{Cambridge Dictionary of Christian Theology}, ed. I.A. McFarland, et al. (Cambridge University Press, 2011).} This was the beginning of a line of thought that elevated the religious capital of clerics and the consecrated religious above and beyond the religious capital of the laity. Tanner and Watson argue that the clerics had access to the knowledge of the faith and the laity was considered so lacking in intelligence that it could not be required to have knowledge of the faith. In the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries, “theologians agreed that the laity could not be expected to have full knowledge of the faith, as might be desired of the clergy; such was too cruel even to suggest, stated Bonaventure, since it implied that few would be saved.”\footnote{N. Tanner and S. Watson, "Least of the Laity: The Minimum Requirements for a Medieval Christian," \textit{Journal of Medieval History} 32, no. 4 (2006): 400.} This differentiation between the clerics and the laity served as a contributor to mediaeval ideas of dualism in which the realm of the temporal order (associated with the laity) was despised as evil and unworthy and the realm of the divine (associated with the ordained clergy) came to be understood as obtainable only through escape from earthly things.

The Reformation provided fertile ground for further entrenchment of these ideas about the laity in Catholicism. The Protestant/Catholic divide led to the development of two competing ecclesiological perspectives. Protestantism gave assent to the idea of a Church as a lay community. It downplayed any distinction between ministerial priesthood and the priesthood of all believers. Catholicism, on the other hand, asserted an alternative ecclesiology, that upheld a distinction between the ministerial priesthood (and consecrated religious) and the laity. In this distinction, one group – the clergy – was to become the elite, the expression of faith \textit{par excellence}; the other – the laity – was to become the ignorant, the follower and the loyal servant.\footnote{Wood, "Laity."}

Tom O’Donoghue, Professor of the History of Education at the University of Western Australia, has written about the relationship between the consecrated
religious and the laity. The nature and pattern of the relationship between the two, and certainly the perception of the two in Catholicity, was consistent with the ideas that flowed down the centuries since Gratian. O’Donoghue has observed that in the century prior to the 1970s, there was a trend for “the religious orders to view themselves as superior to all lay people, and not just the lay teachers.”

Thus, the laity was seen as subordinate to, and less competent than, the religious orders. This remained the case in the years immediately after the passing of the public instruction acts in the colonial parliaments when the Australian bishops were zealous in their recruitment of the religious orders to come from Europe to staff Australian Catholic schools. It remained the case even though “some congregations founded for social work had to become teachers” and did not have teacher training. Brian Keating, a member of the committee which organised the Goulburn schools strike in 1962, when commenting on the staffing problems that faced Catholic schools in the early 1960s, noted that “some of our Religious were not well-trained teachers.”

The place of the laity in the eyes of the Church was set in a new direction at the Second Vatican Council. In the Dogmatic Constitution on the Church (Lumen Gentium), the Church is described in chapter one as mystery, chapter two as People of God and in chapter three as hierarchy. The importance of the sequence of these chapters is evident in the debates about them that occurred at the Council. In a draft of Lumen Gentium, the chapter on Church as hierarchy was placed before the chapter on the Church as People of God. By reversing the chapters, the Council gave priority to understanding the Church as People of God before it is understood as hierarchy. The Council came to describe the “lay faithful in positive terms, not as subordinates and non-clerics, but as members of the People of God sharing equally, by virtue of their baptism, in the salvific mission of the church.”

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56 McGee, The Forgotten Ones: Teachers in the Catholic Schools of New South Wales before 1880, 73.
57 J. Luttrell, "Recalling the 'Goulburn Strike': An Interview with Brian Keating," Australasian Catholic Record 89, no. 3 (2012): 351.
58 McBrien, Catholicism, 670.
In contemporary debates about Catholic identity of Catholic schools, there remains though a lingering suspicion about the capacity of lay teachers to inspire and sustain an appropriate Catholicity in the school. The accumulated cogency of centuries of disparagement and derision of the laity has not yet been overturned by the proclamations of the Council about the place of the laity in the Church. As Australian theologian Neil Ormerod has argued, “change is something that the Church has always found difficult to account for and acknowledge.”60 One of the reasons for this, Ormerod argues, is that the Church is conservative in nature out of theological necessity.

Consistent in the literature is a concern for the maintenance of a Catholic identity in Catholic schools with a diminishing presence of clergy and consecrated religious women and men. Implicit, and oftentimes explicit, in this concern is a suspicion about the Catholicity of lay teachers and the capacity of lay teachers to maintain a Catholic identity of the Catholic school. With the exodus of the clergy and consecrated men and women from Catholic schools, there is a perception that lay staff of Catholic schools do not have the theological, religious and spiritual capital to adequately maintain a Catholic identity. This concern has grown in direct proportion with the gradual transition from a predominantly religious staffing profile to a predominantly lay staffing profile since the 1960s and 1970s. John Graham61 has noted the attempts that began from the late 1970s at providing lay teachers with theological training and professional development. It was hoped that this would suffice for the maintenance of Catholic identity in Catholic schools. However, since the late 1990s and into the early years of the Twenty-First Century, there has also been a growing concern about the spiritual formation of lay teachers.62

I.3.7 Expressions of Catholicism

One of the primary concerns of this study is how Catholicism is expressed and understood in Catholic education. In Catholic schools, the urgent search for an “authentic” Catholic identity is predicated on an understanding of how Catholicism is perceived to be and what it should look like. By definition, the Catholic Church is a wide church. Catholicism is derived from the Greek *katholikos* and means “universal”, to be open to all truth. Catholic schools reflect this “universality”: within them is a wide range of expressions of Catholicity.

Sometimes though, the all-embracing inclusivity of Catholicism is lost. Ironically, it is sometimes lost on even its most strident defenders. Instead, it gets replaced by an often unhelpful polemic divided on theological and ecclesiological grounds. For some, Catholicism is marked by dogmatic certainty and rigidity to which the faithful must give assent; a salvific and exclusive sacramental and liturgical life; a hierarchical structure that alone demonstrates apostolic succession; and an unchangeable moral doctrine that provides for all the ethical uncertainties of life. For people at the other end of the spectrum, Catholicism provides one way to understand the meaning of life and a personal and communal relationship with God; it is a tradition rich in history, doctrine, liturgy and morals but a tradition that stands alongside others in terms of salvific validity; it exults the human person as made in the image of God, and who has religious freedom; faithful assent is not binding or permanent; it is a guide, not a judge.

The Second Vatican Council seems to be the historic marker that gave rise to such polemicism. As such, Catholicism has come to be qualified as “pre-Vatican II” Catholicism or “post-Vatican II” Catholicism. Interpretation of the Council itself has been locked in a battle between those who want to align the Council with the Church prior to the Council and those who want to align it with the Church after the Council. There exists in the Church at the moment a divide between the old and the new, between the rigidly set and sensitively open, between ideological traditionalism and historical consciousness. Catholic education in Australia is not immune from the debates about how to express Catholicity. People involved in
Catholic education stand on both sides of the divide. Sometimes those on each side of the debate are labelled. Phan talks of conservatives and liberals.63 McBrien describes the polemics in the church according to “text-book” theology and “progressive” theology.64 Wilde considers the viewpoints of “conservatives” and “progressives.”65 Catholic education, like the Catholic Church itself, is searching for an authentic expression of its Catholicity. Students who are not Catholics in Catholic schools are viewed through the lens of whatever side of the divide one chooses to stand.

This study argues against the recent literature that tends to interpret students who are not Catholics using a traditional, unhistorical (almost neo-scholastic) approach to Catholicism. It proposes instead that an understanding of the history of those students in Catholic schools and the content of church documents about those students offers possibilities for welcoming them without compromising the Catholicity of the school. It also argues that the corpus of Church documents (at Vatican level), especially those promulgated since the Council, reveals that Catholic schools have a public role and are not reserved for Catholics only. This opens the possibility that Catholic schools can better consider non-Catholic students and, in doing so, uphold core tenets of Catholicity such as religious freedom and ecumenism.

There is a decline in the numbers of people attending Eucharist on a weekly basis.66 This decline is a sign of the move away from traditional religion towards other forms of spirituality. The developments of the Council and a heightened sense of historical consciousness about religion have served as a form of approval to dissociate from clerical authoritarianism of the past, but still retain a sense of religiosity. Such has seen the rise of people embracing “spirituality” but rejecting

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64 McBrien, Catholicism, 657-64.
65 Wilde, “How Culture Mattered at Vatican II: Collegiality Trumps Authority in the Council’s Social Movement Organizations,” 577.
“religion”. Noddings has noted, “a generous religious education should help students understand that the rejection of institutional religion does not imply rejection of a spiritual attitude or commitment to a spiritually satisfying way of life.”67 This seems to be the outlook of American historian, Douglas Brinkley who said, “I may be a lapsed Catholic, but I have no desire to give up my Catholicism.”68 At issue here is personal identity. Rossiter acknowledges the competing claims of developmental theorists in psychology. He notes the traditional understandings of personal identity as being “fixed”, “inflexible”, “exclusivist” and “constant”; at the other end of the spectrum are those ideas of identity that are understood as “changing”, “a process” and “continual adjustment”.69 Here again sits a tension between two sides.

In the contemporary literature, the concern of Catholic identity is being framed through a particular narrative that pits non-Catholic students and the Catholicity of Catholic schools in a mutually exclusive standoff.70 Students who are not Catholics have come to be seen as less desirable than Catholic students because they diminish the Catholicity of the school. The dominant argument in the debate also yearns for the days of yesteryear when Catholic schools of a homogenous, identifiably Catholic religiosity can be found.71 This study uses historical documents to show that Catholic schools have always enrolled students who are not Catholics. There has never been a pure Catholic “golden age” in Catholic schools.

70 Catholic Bishops of New South Wales and the Australian Capital Territory, Catholic Schools at a Crossroads: Pastoral Letter of the Bishops of NSW and the Act; Catholic Education Office Melbourne, Enrolment for Schools in the Archdiocese of Melbourne; Pell, "Religion and Culture: Catholic Schools in Australia."
Students who are not Catholics are central to the debate about Catholic identity of schools. At times, their presence is seen to reflect the good standing of Catholic schools in Australia and the quality of education that Catholic schools offer. Their presence is also seen as a means by which the Catholic school can contribute to the liberal and communitarian concepts of the common good. At other times they pose a threat to the Catholicity of Catholic schools themselves. In fact, it is this latter case that dominates debate about Catholic identity in Catholic schools. In some dioceses in Australia, Catholic identity can be retrieved with an increase in the percentage of students who are Catholics. In the Archdiocese of Hobart, for example, a commitment has been made at policy level to work towards an enrolment profile of at least 75% Catholic cohort. In Melbourne, Catholic schools have been asked to maintain the highest possible level of Catholic enrolment in order “to support the belief that Catholic schools are primarily for Catholic children and, until research shows otherwise, support the notion that a critical

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76 "Enrolment for Catholic Schools Policy,” 7.
mass of Catholic students is an important factor in the Catholic identity of a school.”

1.3.8 The Documents of the Congregation for Catholic Education

A major focus for this study is the documentation of the Catholic Church, particularly its educational documentation. Amongst that documentation is a corpus of work promulgated by the Congregation for Catholic Education (prior to 1988 it was known as the Sacred Congregation for Catholic Education). That congregation had its origins in the oversight of Catholic seminaries and priestly formation. From 1967, its jurisdiction was extended to Catholic schools below the university level. Since 1977, the congregation has released seven documents that inform Catholic education in schools: The Catholic School (1977); Lay Catholics in Schools: Witnesses to Faith (1982); The Religious Dimension of Education in a Catholic School (1988); The Catholic School on the Threshold of the Third Millennium (1997); Consecrated Persons and their Mission in School: Reflections and Guidelines (2002); Educating Together in Catholic Schools: A Shared Mission Between Consecrated Persons and the Lay Faithful (2007) and Educating to Intercultural Dialogue in Catholic Schools: Living in Harmony for a Civilisation of Love (2013).

These documents originate from the Vatican and address the needs of Catholic schools at the time of their release. They are global in their scope and only sometimes refer to specific geographic areas. I contend that they can apply to Australian Catholic education as much as other similarly written Vatican documents can apply to the Church in Australia. There is much theoretical literature about Catholic education. These documents are particularly important because they originate from the curial offices of the Catholic Church itself. It is my

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contention in this study that these documents provide an important perspective on what constitutes Catholic education. They can inform what a Catholic education will look like.

Of particular interest to this study are the many references in these documents to the place of students who are not Catholics in Catholic schools. In all cases, the congregational documents affirm the place of students who are not Catholics. This affirmation has been picked up in the theoretical literature about Catholic education, but, in the main, it is resisted at diocesan and school levels, especially when it comes to enrolment policies.

I.3.9 Enrolment Policies

Catholic schooling in Australia has established itself with high regard in the wider community. For many – Catholic families and non-Catholic families – the Catholic school is the school of choice. In many parts of the country, especially in metropolitan areas, the demand for places in Catholic schools exceeds supply. Croke identifies access to Catholic schooling as a significant challenge for the Catholic educational sector. In a noteworthy way, he also links it to the problem of identity:

In the current transition from a lengthy preoccupation with seeking financial security from governments, with their Catholicity assumed, to a focus on quality and Catholicity, there are specific challenges around identity, access and leadership.


Consequently, all Catholic schools and Catholic school systems in Australia have and need an enrolment policy. Typically, they reflect a concern for ensuring that Catholic students have access to a Catholic education and also a willingness for Catholic schools to be open to students from non-Catholic traditions. Some enrolment policies note explicitly the Church’s assent (through the documents of the Congregation for Catholic Education) to the presence of students who are not Catholics in Catholic schools.\footnote{Catholic Education South Australia, "Enrolment Policy 2005," South Australian Commission for Catholic Schools, \url{http://www.cesa.catholic.edu.au/media/files/1952.pdf}; Tasmanian Catholic Education Commission, "Enrolment for Catholic Schools Policy."}

### 1.3.10 Historical Consciousness

One of the means by which this study attempts to chart a course forward regarding issues about students who are not Catholics in Catholic schools is to foreground historical consciousness. Traditional ideas about Catholic education sometimes claim to be anchored in history\footnote{Catholic Education Office Melbourne, \textit{Enrolment for Schools in the Archdiocese of Melbourne.}} or remain unconcerned with history. They sometimes project a sense of permanency: an argument in the form of “this is how it has always been.” This traditional understanding has its origins in neo-scholasticism and was developed further as the Church responded to the Modernist crisis during the Nineteenth Century. Consequently, the Church “locked itself into a classicist understanding of culture as a normative ideal that it possessed and others must attain.”\footnote{Ormerod, "‘The Times They Are a 'Changin’’: A Response to O’Malley and Schloesser," 843.} This understanding of culture held sway up to the time of the Council. The argument proposed in this study is that an historical awareness of the Church and Catholic schooling in Australia reveals a system of Catholic schools marked by a degree of religious pluralism.

One might argue that Catholic schooling in Australia could move to a greater sense of historical consciousness so that it becomes cognisant of its past and the people who have helped to shape its current form. To be sure, that past includes the bishops, the clergy and the religious orders. It also includes many lay teachers and
students who are not Catholics. Recalling the past in terms of the “golden era” offers little assistance to Catholic schools as they seek to address changing enrolment patterns. However, a recognition that Catholic schools in the past have had enrolments similar to what they have today can inform the issue and lessen the polemic tension that it currently generates.

A review of the theoretical literature reveals a powerful and compelling mythological narrative that Catholic schools in Australia were established soon after the passing of the various colonial Education Acts in the 1870s and the 1880s that instigated that schooling be “free, secular and compulsory”. Catholic schools were established in response and in opposition to Protestant and anti-Catholic sentiment in the colony. This tradition of Catholic education’s origins pits the Irish Catholic minority against British Protestant majority. It promulgates the idea that Catholic schools were established and developed at this time under the strident and committed leadership of the Catholic bishops and clergy so that the Catholic view of education could be enacted and that Catholic families could ensure that their children received a Catholic education and that they had an alternative to the Godless and secular forms of education dictated by the colonies. According to this tradition, Catholic families stood staunchly behind their bishops and clergy and obediently sent their children to the Catholic schools.

This history with which this study is concerned reveals that the origins of Catholic schooling in this country differ from the mythology about the origins. The mythology about the birth of Catholic schooling has been and remains a powerful force in the Catholic education narrative. Its power lies in its articulation of a victory for Catholic education in this country against the formidable foes that promulgated the various colonial “free, secular and compulsory” Education Acts in the 1870s and 1880s. This coincided with a more globally felt pressure on the Catholic Church via the forces of Modernism. The place of students who are not Catholics in Catholic schools has come to be viewed in light of the mythology and not the history. The mythology of the origins of Catholic schools does not afford a

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84 Croke, "Non-Catholics and Catholics in Catholic Schools in Australia," 67.
place in Catholic schools for students who are not Catholics. The history does afford those students a place.

1.4 Chapter Outline and Focus

What follows is a brief outline of each chapter, signalling and scaffolding the main arguments of the study.

The first chapter sets out the research design and methodology of this study. Key aspects of the research design are articulated in this chapter. They include the phenomenon of social inclusion, an understanding of the word ‘Catholicity’ and a discussion about Catholic schools and the degree to which they can be thought of as faith communities. This study includes investigation of the educational documents of the Catholic Church. This chapter also considers those documents, their influence in the Church and catholic school settings and how they are used as a source of policy and change management in Catholic schools.

Chapter two establishes the context of the research study. This chapter presents the various views of the origins of Catholic schools in Australia and identifies the context in which Catholic schools and Catholic educational systems seek to address the place of students who are not Catholics in Catholic schools. Chapter one explains the mythological origins of Catholic schools and names some of the affects that mythology has for this study. This chapter contends that the confusion about the birth of Catholic schooling in Australia is problematic because it prevents and restrains educators in Catholic schools from arriving at consensus about their aim and purpose with regards to students who are not Catholics. It also prevents, or at least suppresses, any attempts at expansion or adventure within the discipline of religious education.
The dominant histories of the birth of Catholic schooling in Australia – one emphasising the fortress mentality of Irish Catholicism; the second emphasising the foundational work of the religious orders – have implications for this study about the place of students who are not Catholics in Catholic schools. These histories continue to assert themselves in such a way that students who are not Catholics become a form of marginalised clientele amongst Catholic school stakeholders. Because the dominant birth histories emphasise a form of social, civic and religious battle between Catholics and Protestants, the contemporary consequence is that those who are not Catholics are seen as outsiders and less welcome in the Catholic school.

The third chapter establishes the historical record of Catholic education in Australia. It begins with the earliest Catholic schools and notes the efforts of lay men and women in establishing those schools. Some of those lay teachers are named and remembered. In particular, this chapter reveals the place of students who were not Catholics in the earliest Catholic schools. Chapter two highlights the discord and variation between the mythological origins of Catholic schools (chapter one) and the historical origins of those schools. It challenges the contemporary notion that non-Catholic students in Catholic schools is a recent phenomenon.

Chapter four is focused on the Second Vatican Council. Of especial importance in this chapter is the ecclesiology of the Council and its Declaration on Christian Education (*Gravissimum Educationis*). First, it explains the significance of the Council in its historical and ecclesial context. Second, it identifies the continuing tension and debate about the Council and how that has affected its reception by the wider Church. Third, this chapter elaborates on the key features or themes of the Council. These are significant because they inform the letter and spirit of the Council and what it said about students who are not Catholics in Catholic schools. Finally, this chapter locates the Council documents that treat education and students who are not Catholics in Catholic schools and proposes the conciliar themes of global church, ecumenism, relationship with non-Christian religions,
collegiality and subsidiarity as themes that can inform the Catholicity of Catholic schools.

Chapter five is concerned with Queensland Catholic education in the 1970s. This period saw the return of state-aid to Catholic schools, which had immediate and long-term consequences for the way in which Catholic education was structured and governed. An initial and unique Queensland response to the return of state-aid for Catholic schools was the Queensland Catholic Education Office commissioned report about the future of Catholic schools titled *Project Catholic “School”: A Blueprint for the Administration of Catholic Schools in Queensland*. That report was concerned with the best administrative structure for the governance of future Catholic schools, given the access to new funds. Chapter four sets the historical context of *Project Catholic “School”* and identifies the findings and implications of the report that are pertinent to the place of non-Catholic students in Catholic schools. This document is important because it sheds light on the public role of the Catholic school and parent, clergy and religious perspectives about what a Catholic school should look like. *Project Catholic “School”* reveals a general openness to the issue of students who are not Catholics in Catholic schools in the 1970s, an issue as much alive then as it is now. This chapter also considers the single document to be promulgated by the Congregation for Catholic Education in the 1970s, *The Catholic School* (1977).

Chapter six covers the period between 1988 and 2001. In that period the Congregation for Catholic Education promulgated two documents; Catholic education in Queensland adopted new guidelines for religious education; the Queensland Catholic Bishops released a report called “Catholic Schools for the 21st Century” and John Paul II wrote a letter to the Church in Oceania. These documents all reveal that Catholic schools play a part in cultural engagement and this includes engagement with students who are not Catholics. These documents demonstrate a normative position for Catholic schools to include and welcome those students. From no less than the highest office in the Catholic Church, John Paul II exhorts Catholic schools to give refined consideration to the form of education they offer students who are not Catholics.
Chapter seven considers Catholic Education in Australia in light of the most recent document from the Congregation for Catholic Education. That document is *Educating to Intercultural Dialogue in Catholic Schools: Living in Harmony for a Civilisation of Love*. It notes an evolving theme in this document towards a priority for Catholic schools to be agents of intercultural education. This chapter notes clarity, heretofore unknown in the Congregation for Catholic Education documents, that “an educating community like the school should not form people to be parochial” 86 and “they [Catholic schools] have the responsibility for offering Catholic students, over and above a sound knowledge of religion, the possibility to grow in personal closeness to Christ in the Church.” 87 These evolving themes are used to assert Catholic schools as educational communities that can be open to religiously plural enrolments and offer forms of catechesis that respect religious freedom of students without compromising Catholicity.

The concluding chapter charts a way forward for Catholic schools as they deal with increasing numbers of students who are not Catholics. In an Australian society that is becoming more multicultural and religiously plural this study proposes that Catholic schools can maintain and enhance their Catholicity by being more historically conscious and less traditional, more open and less defensive, more ecumenical and inter-religious and less confessional and sectarian, and more cultural and less counter-cultural. The concluding chapter includes a discussion of key issues impacted by the place of students who are not Catholics in Catholic schools.

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87 Ibid., para. 56.
Chapter 1 – Research Design and Methodology

This purpose of this chapter is to present the research design and methodology used in the study. This chapter is in three parts. First, the research design sets out the theoretical perspectives of the study. In the second part of this chapter, the two methodological perspectives – documentary analysis and historical analysis - are considered. The final part of this chapter offers a justification of this study, noting its contribution to knowledge about Catholic education and religious education in Australia.

This study sits across disciplines. It is part historical in that it examines elements of history.¹ This study uses historical research to offer explanations for various historical events and make connections to the present. This study also partly resides in the discipline of religious education. This is so despite the fact that the focus of the study (the place of students who are not Catholics in Catholic schools) is seemingly antithetical to the traditional focus of the religious education discipline: the "instilling or promoting of a particular faith tradition."² Instead, this study reflects the development of the discipline of religious education, a discipline that draws on a variety of fields, so that new wisdom and insight might be offered to Catholic education in Australia.

1.1 Research Design

Prior to a presentation of the methodology used in this study, attention will be given to the principles that underpin the study. These include the phenomenon of social inclusion, the idea of Catholicity and an understanding the tensions involved in thinking about Catholic schools as both educational communities and as faith

communities. Important for the research design is clarity of understanding about the Catholic Church, Catholic schools and Catholic school enrolments. Finally, the research design gives particular attention to documents of the Catholic Church. It is important to establish their contribution to policy and change management in Catholic education in Australia.

1.1.1 The Phenomenon of Inclusion

This study draws from and is underpinned by theories of social inclusion. Social inclusion is concerned with strategy, policy and priority of ensuring that all people are afforded equal opportunity and resources so that they might learn, work and contribute to the well-being of society. Kelly describes social inclusion as a “movement from the pursuit of ‘equality’ (through the redistribution of wealth) to the redistribution of ‘opportunity’, and as an attempt to reconcile social democratic values with the neoliberal economic agenda presented as an inevitable response to a globalised world.” Social inclusion was also a priority for the Australian Labor Government (2007-2013) that established the Social Inclusion Board in 2008. Upon a change of government in 2013, the Social Inclusion Board was dismantled.

In the context of education, and with the rise of religious diversity in Australia, there have been calls for forms of social inclusion in schools that incorporate the religious dimension. Bouma and Halafoff have said, “we believe there are sufficient concerns expressed in existing research to recommend the re-evaluation of the way religious instruction and education are currently being taught in Australian schools”. Their concern is centred on what is currently an almost exclusively Christian orientation to religious education. As Bouma and Halafoff argue, “ignorance about religions leads to the kinds of disrespect that greatly undermines

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social cohesion and places our common security at risk."⁵ In light of acts of terror and civil unrest in various countries of the world, Robert Jackson argues for “forms of intercultural education that take full account of issues in religious diversity, promote communication and dialogue between pupils from different backgrounds, and foster social cohesion through the encouragement of tolerance, understanding and respect between peoples.”⁶ Given the rise of religious diversity in Australia, Bouma and Halafoff (2009) advocate for a more multi-faith approach to religious education. Importantly, they also believe that a multi-faith approach to religious education will promote forms of social inclusion in this country that, ultimately, will be in the interest of the country.

In the context of Catholic schooling, social inclusion is a relevant educational approach because it has scriptural foundations and is rooted in Catholic social teaching. Catholic schools have a missionary mandate to contribute to the growth of each student so that they may live life to the full. This mandate is of Christ: “I came that they may have life and have it abundantly.”⁷

1.1.2 Catholicity

Much of this study is concerned with the term ‘Catholicity’. The objects of investigation in this study – students who are not Catholics - are identified in terms of their lack of affiliation with the home religious tradition of Catholic schools. It is a contentious term because Catholicism itself “is a rich and diverse reality.”⁸ While it is a form of expression of the Christian tradition, that expression itself takes many forms.

⁷ John 10:10, NRSV.
⁸ McBrien, Catholicism, 3.
At present, Catholicity is a contested term in Australian Catholic education. The way in which Catholicity is defined and described is consequently used as a measure of a school’s fidelity (or lack thereof). For example, some who elevate the importance of union with Rome, obedience to church hierarchy and differentiation with Protestant Churches⁹ will measure the Catholicity of schools differently to those who emphasise the universality of Catholicism and the ecumenical nature of the Church.¹⁰

The practice and understanding of religious education (and more broadly, Catholic education) in this country is founded on a paradox. That paradox is that Catholic religious education should be Catholic. Yet, as this thesis demonstrates, the Catholic education documents from the Congregation for Catholic Education (a congregation within the Roman Curia) are often at odds with the practice and implementation of Catholic religious education in this country.¹¹

1.1.3 Catholic Schools and Faith Communities

This study emanated from a realisation that Catholic schools are not static communities. In my professional life as a teacher in schools, I realised that the clientele of Catholic schools was changing. Yet, the rhetoric about Catholic schools and their existence as a faith community – something akin to a parish community - remained. Although more and more students who were not Catholics were enrolling in Catholic schools, the assumptions about a mono-religious cohort were not changing. Consequently, schools were not changing their practices: Forms of religious prayer and worship remained overtly Catholic; students were expected to ‘fall into line’ and accept that paradigm of religious expression even though many were not Catholics (and many of those that were Catholic were retreating from

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participation in their local parish). Klimoski, O’Neil and Schuth address this challenge from a parish perspective:

Gone are the days when the Catholic neighbourhood parish was the centre of ecclesial and social life for families, where one ordinarily associated with “one’s own,” and where most were of one heart and mind.\(^\text{12}\)

The idea that Catholic schools represent a mono-religious and mono-cultural faith community cannot be sustained in contemporary Catholic education. Croke notes the challenge of this for schools when he asserts the importance of religious freedom and the reality of contemporary Catholic schools having a multi-religious cohort of students: “The participation of significant numbers of non-Catholic and non-Christian students in the prayer and liturgical life of a Catholic school, especially participation in Eucharistic celebrations, needs careful consideration.”\(^\text{13}\)

Schools are educational communities. Catholic schools are educational communities where education is provided through a religious, namely Catholic, perspective. This complicates the idea of the Catholic school as a faith community in the traditional sense. Certainly, it does not make Catholic schools a faith community in the same way that a Catholic parish is a faith community.

1.1.4 The Catholic Church, Catholic Schools, and Catholic School Enrolments

Catholic schools do not exist in an educational vacuum. They are schools in the same way as other schools. However, they are also identifiably Catholic. Catholic schools are established and governed by authorities of the Catholic Church.\(^\text{14}\) Therefore, they have an ecclesial dimension. The Catholic Church has always had a vested interest in Catholic schools. In fact, historically, the school was oftentimes


built before the parish. For the bishops, “the establishment of Catholic primary schools had an important role in building up the Church community and ensuring its future vitality.”

Although Catholic schools maintain an ecclesial identity, there has been a change in thinking about enrolments in Catholic schools. This has been especially so since the 1950s. Croke argues that between the 1950s and the 1970s “scant attention was paid to who attended Catholic schools and the religious background of those who taught in them. There were no enrolment policies, because they were simply not necessary.” However, in contemporary times there has been a greater interest in the Catholicity of Catholic schools – more interest by many lay principals today than there was by religious principals in the past, according to Pell - and this has led to a greater interest in enrolments. In comparison to the lack of interest in who attended Catholic schools in the past, Croke says, “in the early 21st century Australian bishops are very interested in who attends Catholic schools and who teaches in them, particularly in their religious background.” Across Australia, Catholic school enrolments of students who are not Catholics has increased to 29%. This is an important consideration for leaders of Catholic schools and Catholic schools systems as they address what it means to be a Catholic school.

1.1.5 Church Documents as a Source of Policy and Change Management

This study gives weight to the documents of the Catholic Church. Especially, it considers what the Church has said about Catholic education in its congregational

documents. In so doing, I am not arguing that documents drive change in any simple sense, nor that Church documents provide a direct model of change. Rather, I am suggesting that documents can be an important resource in thinking about how Catholic schools and Catholic education systems might respond to perceived issues surrounding the enrolments of students who are not Catholics in Catholic schools.

One of the administrative agencies of the Roman Curia is the Congregation for Catholic Education. That congregation has responsibility for Catholic schools and other educational institutions of the Church. The documents of the Congregation for Catholic Education have been “strongly influenced by the tradition of neo-scholastic philosophy and theology which lays stress on intellectual refinement and critical rationality.”20 In places within the documents of the Congregation for Catholic Education, there is also consideration of the role of catechesis in the Catholic school. On balance, these documents are concerned with the relationship between culture and faith. As this thesis elaborates, a response to the issue of the place of students who are not Catholics in Catholic schools does not demand a retreat from the demands of culture nor a retreat from the demands of faithful fidelity.

This study also draws from the documents of the Second Vatican Council. The Council was one of the most important events in the Church’s history. It continues to affect the life of the Church today. In some ways the Church continues to interpret the Council, fifty years since its close.21 The Second Vatican Council promulgated one document on Christian Education (Gravissimum Educationis) and other documents that have an impact on how Catholics should understand Catholic education. In particular, this study draws on the Council document on the Church’s relationship with non-Christian religions (Nostra Aetate), the document on

ecumenism (*Unitatis Redintegratio*) and its decree on the mission activity of the Church (*Ad Gentes*).

### 1.2 Methodology

This study adopts a combined methodology of historical and document analysis in order to chart a course forward for Catholic schools as they enrol increasing numbers of students who are not Catholics. It considers student (and teacher) demographics in the earliest Catholic schools in Australia and analyses key educational documents from various levels of the Catholic Church. For this purpose, a mix of primary and secondary sources was used. Primary sources included what Marwick\(^\text{22}\) calls “documents of record”. These typically include accounts and interpretations of ‘facts’ or ‘events’ – of something that has happened. In this thesis, documents or record include texts from the Congregation for Catholic Education, from the Second Vatican Council and papal encyclicals. Secondary sources were also used in this study. Secondary sources generally are texts written by historians using primary sources and raw data. They provide a ‘secondary’ account of history. Some significant sources used in this study included Charles McGee’s *The Forgotten Ones*\(^\text{23}\) and *A Touch of Green*,\(^\text{24}\) Ronald Fogarty’s *Catholic Education in Australia, 1806-1950*\(^\text{25}\) and Tom O'Donoghue's *Upholding the Faith: The Process of Education in Catholic Schools in Australia, 1922-1965*.\(^\text{26}\)

This study is underpinned by a philosophy of inclusion. It demonstrates that the history of Catholic schools in Australia and the Church’s documentation about Catholic schools suggest that inclusion can be an accepted phenomenon in Catholic education discourse. This thesis suggests that the way that Catholic schools

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respond to issues about the place of students who are not Catholics can be informed by the philosophy of inclusion.

Of particular importance to this study was the period between 1805 and 1872. This period has often been neglected in Catholic educational discourse because it preceded the promulgation of the various colonial education acts that instigated free, secular and compulsory schooling. Those education acts served as the primary catalysts for the recruitment of the teaching religious into Australian Catholic schools. As such, this study explores further the situation of Catholic schools in the period prior to the colonial education acts from the perspective of inclusion.

In terms of document analysis, a number of Catholic education documents were also analysed from the perspective of inclusion. The documents from the Congregation for Catholic Education have come to constitute a corpus of work on Catholic education that can inform the work of Catholic schools in Australia (there are now seven documents from the Congregation, the first of which was promulgated in 1977). Analysed through the lens of inclusion, these documents reveal a way forward for Catholic schools that affirms the importance of catechesis in Catholic schools and also inclusion as a distinctive feature of Catholic schools.

1.2.1 Document Analysis
A document “is a general term for an impression left on a physical object by a human being.”27 In education generally, and in Catholic education specifically, documents can provide an insight into the world of schools and the experience of administrators, teachers and students. In that context, documents take many forms: they include attendance records, examination results, student reports, policies, procedures and learning texts. Teachers in schools use documents on a

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daily basis and for a variety of reasons. They form a part of the professional life of school educators and administrators and they "can provide valuable information about the context and culture" of schools.28

Document analysis is useful for this study because it aligns with one perspective of the research problem posed (section I.1). That is, it allows for an investigation of the place of students who are not Catholics in Catholic schools from a documentary perspective.

Document analysis requires an assessment of documents against four key measures: authenticity, credibility, representativeness and meaning.29 Authenticity requires an assessment of a document for its soundness and authorship. Credibility refers to an assessment of a document for its accuracy, bias and interpretation. The representativeness of a document is ascertained according to its survival, availability and its relationship to the contemporary environment. Finally, the meaning of a document involves an assessment of the document for its "literal or surface" meaning.30 For this study it also "includes taking account of broad educational, social, political, economic and other relationships that help explain the contemporary meaning of the documents."31

1.2.2 Historical Analysis

Historical analysis has as its foundational idea a curiosity about the past.\textsuperscript{32} Such curiosity often leads to a desire to re-create the past or to re-live it in some sense. However, historical research goes beyond this foundational idea. It also seeks to explain the past. That is, a purpose of historical analysis is “to identify trends, to analyse causes and consequences – in short to interpret history as a process and not just as a series of brightly coloured lantern-slides.”\textsuperscript{33} Another reason for historical research is to “seek implications or relationships of events from the past and their connections with the present.”\textsuperscript{34} The research of historical documents was used in this study because those documents could serve to inform how Catholic schools might address the increasing number of students who are not Catholics in Catholic schools today.

Historical research involves the collection of information and interpretation (or analysis) of data. Important in the process of historical analysis is a capacity to read documents in their context.\textsuperscript{35} That is, it is necessary to avoid imposing modern or contemporary thoughts or ideas on data from the past.\textsuperscript{36}

1.2.3 Justification of Research Methodology

This study investigates the tension between guiding Church documentation about Catholic schools and the place of non-Catholic students in those schools and systemic and organisational policy and practise related to those students. It does so through a re-examination of the historical place of students who are not Catholics in Catholic schools and through a consideration of the relationship between Church documentation and contemporary practise in Catholic schools. History and documents are thus crucial for this investigation.

\textsuperscript{33}Ibid., 47.
The verification of research findings is often discussed in terms of the reliability of the research sources.\textsuperscript{37} The sources used in this study are reliable because they serve less as reports and more as parts of a process, which in itself is the subject of inquiry.\textsuperscript{38} The sources used in this study are derived from three levels of the Catholic Church (local, Australian and global/Vatican), educational systems (documents of record and theory) and historical accounts of Australian Catholic education.

\subsection*{1.3 The Justification and Contribution of this Study}

The justification for this study is found in the contemporary concern for the Catholicity of Catholic schools in the context of rising enrolments of students who are not Catholics. It seeks to make an original contribution to the way that Catholic schooling is perceived, practiced and articulated in Australia. In particular, it gives emphasis to the early history of Australian Catholic schools and educational documents of the Catholic Church and explores the ways in which that history and those documents provide solutions to perceived problems in contemporary Catholic education.

\subsection*{1.3.1 Justification}

This study recognises a problem that confronts Catholic schooling in Australia. It is a complex problem that involves perceptions about Catholicity, the history of inclusion in Catholic schools in Australia and contemporary trends of increasing enrolments of students who are not Catholics in Catholic schools.

Catholic schools are experiencing high levels of social, political and educational acceptance in this country and this has resulted, in part, in more students who are


not Catholics enrolling in Catholic schools. Concurrently, the Catholicity of Catholic schools has become an increasingly present theme in contemporary Catholic educational literature. The traditional expression of the Catholic school in Australia, namely a school that primarily serves the local parish in maintenance of faith, has been an historically powerful idea. There is some contemporary support for maintaining a traditional understanding of who belongs in a Catholic school as well. Francis and Gibson, argue that one possibility for Catholic schools in a religiously diverse context is to “resist filling too many empty school places with non-Catholic students.” Essentially, Catholic schools are challenged to maintain their particular religiosity (Catholicity) in a context that is becoming increasingly secular and with a student (and family) demographic that has moved away from the traditional expression of Catholicity (including baptism and other sacraments) and parish membership and worship. More and more students in Catholic schools do not have a sacramental attachment to a parish; more and more students do not have a parish attachment to regular eucharistic worship. This creates a tension with the traditional understanding of the Catholic school in which parish affiliation is integral. For some, the shine of that traditional expression has lost some of its gloss in contemporary times. For others, the presence of increasing numbers of non-Catholic students puts at risk the Catholic identity of the Catholic school. This study seeks to find a way forward for Catholic schools in this context of changing demographics.

1.3.2 Contribution

Derived from the philosophical foundation of an ethic of inclusion, this study proposes four conclusions that can assist an understanding of the place of students who are not Catholics in Catholic schools. Students who are not Catholics in Catholic schools have come to be understood as a problem. This study proposes that the degree to which they are considered a problem has been unnecessarily overstated. Rather, the history of Catholic education in Australia and a consistent and regular welcome of these students in Church documents, suggests that students who are not Catholics have an accepted place in Catholic schools. Their religiosity, being other than Catholic, demands particular consideration. As John Paul II has noted in his apostolic exhortation to the Church in Oceania, the enrolment and place of students who are not Catholics in Catholic schools requires “an especially delicate task.”43 The four perspectives that this study proposes to meet the demands of this task are:

1. More historical consciousness, less traditionalism;
2. More openness, less defensiveness;
3. More ecumenical and inter-religious, less confessional and sectarian; and
4. More cultural, less counter-cultural

The four perspectives that follow are articulated in language of “more..., less...” so that polemics are avoided. Indeed, there are two poles to each of the following perspectives. Naming the perspectives in such a way is an assent to the “both/and” character of Catholicism (and hence Catholic education). Naming the perspectives in this way recognises dualistic complexities that sometimes confront Catholic schools. Usually, when Catholicism is understood and articulated from an “either/or” perspective, something is omitted, avoided or awry. There is a second reason to articulate the following perspectives in “more..., less...” language and that is to assert that Catholic education, in recent times, has given excessive weight of emphasis to one side at the expense of the other. It is to argue that what is needed is a form of re-balancing.

43 John Paul II, "Ecclesia in Oceania,”
These four perspectives may assist Catholic schools and Catholic school systems to better consider the place of these students in such a way that the Catholicity of the school is enhanced, the religious freedom of students is respected and asserted, the contribution of lay teachers is rightfully recognised, catechesis in Catholic schools is refined and the history of Catholic education in Australia is remembered.

This study offers Catholic schools and Catholic school administrators a framework for considering enrolment policies in light of the demand for places by families and students who are not Catholics, the documents of the Church and the history of Catholic education in Australia. This study suggests that increasing numbers of students who are not Catholics in Catholic schools and the Catholicity of the school are not mutually exclusive. The increasing enrolments of non-Catholic students does not need to threaten the Catholicity of the Catholic school.

Another contribution of this study relates to catechesis and related activities (such as worship and prayer) in Catholic schools. Since the Second Vatican Council, ecumenism has been a concern of the Catholic Church. One way that the Catholic Church can develop its ecumenical sensitivities is through an ecumenical understanding of its schools. On ecumenical principles, the Catholic school can welcome students who are not Catholics. On the same principles, the Catholic school can consider alternative forms of worship and prayer that might be more catechetically appropriate for its non-Catholic student population.

1.4 Limitations of this Study and Other Possibilities

1.4.1 Limitations

This study seeks to chart a way forward for Catholic schools and Catholic school systems as they navigate increasing enrolments of students who are not Catholics. Especially, it seeks to chart a way forward in such a way that Catholic schools can maintain a welcome to non-Catholic students and, at the same time, maintain fidelity to their Catholicity. The question of why parents – especially parents and caregivers who are not Catholics – decide to enrol their children in Catholic
schools, although fertile ground for further research, is beyond the scope of this study. This study does not consider those reasons because they risk diverting attention from the primary focus of this task. That is, the place of students who are not Catholics in Catholic schools. This study is concerned with those students once they are in Catholic schools.

A flip-side of this study would perhaps be an investigation of reasons why Catholic parents and caregivers enrol their children in public or state schools (and not Catholic schools). Indeed, this is an issue for the Catholic Church which does not want to be seen to alienate a lower socio-economic demographic from Catholic schools. Catholic schools are not private schools. Nor do they wish to be seen to be elitist. An investigation into this phenomenon would seem to be of use for Catholic education and the Catholic Church. However, it is not a concern of this study.

1.4.2 Other Possibilities
This study is concerned with the place of students who are not Catholics in Catholic schools. In recent times, the place of those students has become an interest in light increasing enrolments of those students, of renewed thinking about the Catholicity of schools, and of a changing staff profile in Catholic schools (from religious to lay). The method of this study was historical and documentary investigation. There is concession to the idea that different perspectives might be found in other qualitative studies. Important information could be gleaned through interviews with non-Catholic parents and caregivers, seeking reasons why they enrol their children in Catholic schools. There have already been some studies

related to this issue. Similarly, valuable knowledge could be provided as a result of interviews with principals and other administrators of Catholic schools. This study provides the groundwork for such further research.

Chapter 2 – ‘Catholics Only’: A Denial of the Place of Non-Catholic Students in the History and Mythology of Catholic Schools

This chapter seeks to outline the various views of the origins of Catholic schools in Australia and identify the context in which Catholic schools and Catholic educational systems seek to address the place of students who are not Catholics in Catholic schools. Central to that context is religious education. Religious education, as a subject in its own right, is a distinguishing feature of Catholic schools. However, it is also the *raison d’etre* for Catholic schools. Contemporary debate about the place of students who are not Catholics is usually a debate about understandings of religiosity. That debate involves the to-and-fro between understanding Catholic religiosity as open to all forms of belief and, on the other hand, understanding Catholic religiosity from the perspective of mono-religious inculturation.

Religious education in Queensland Catholic schools has evolved and developed in ways similar to the evolution and development of religious education in other states and territories in Australia. Since the mid-to-late 1990s, though, religious education in Catholic schools in Queensland has adopted what has been named an “educational approach” to religious education in a particular way that makes it distinctive from the approaches to religious education adopted in dioceses in other states and territories.\(^\text{49}\) This educational approach, which draws on the work of United States religious educator, Gabriel Moran\(^\text{50}\) and the two-dimensional articulation of religious education in The Congregation for Catholic Education’s *The Religious Dimension of Education in a Catholic School*,\(^\text{51}\) makes a distinction

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\(^{50}\) Moran, “Understanding Religion and Being Religious.”

between knowledge-based processes of religious education and catechetical, or faith formational, approaches to religious education.

At the same time, however, religious education in Queensland, like religious education in Catholic schools elsewhere in Australia, continues to grapple with a twofold problem. First, it still clings to what Australian religious educator Maurice Ryan calls the “dominant myth of the creation of Australian Catholic schools”.\(^{52}\) This myth, Ryan argues, is a narrative communicating the beliefs, desires, hopes and values of the Australian Catholic community.\(^{53}\) However, it is at odds with the historical record which renders its service to contemporary religious educators as less than helpful. As discussed below, with little regard for the historical evidence for the birth of Australian Catholic schools, the myth imposes itself in such a way that religious educators accept it which influences their understanding and practise of religious education in Catholic schools.

Second, religious education practitioners experience confusion about the discipline. Contemporary school religious education in Australia has evolved, since the early nineteenth century, through a variety of classroom approaches to teaching and learning and this evolution has resulted in a muddled approach to religious education. As I will outline in this chapter, religious educators in Australian Catholic schools have differing understandings and perceptions of their discipline and they have neither clarity nor confidence about the aims and purposes of religious education. These two problems deserve fuller explanation.

### 2.1 The Origins of Catholic Schools in Australia

There is a plurality of viewpoints about the origins of Catholic schooling in Australia. The way Catholic schooling has been remembered differs from person to person. Interpretations and retellings of Australian Catholic school history include


\(^{53}\) Ibid., 218.
vastly different accounts. The evidence and interpretation are sometimes so different that the respective histories are incompatible or irreconcilable.

2.1.1 Why are the origins of Catholic Schooling Significant for this Study?

In order to get a sense of the anxiety that is generated by the issue of students who are not Catholics in Catholic schools, it is important to understand historical perspectives about Catholic schooling in Australia. Therefore, it is necessary to look into the founding principles of Catholic education in Australia. A historical perspective reveals a number of issues that persist and have currency in contemporary times. They show why the current enrolment trend of students who are not Catholics in Catholic schools remains a contentious issue in the present day. That enrolment trend has become a barrier and challenge that poses uncertainty and confusion in theory and practice.

There are a number of reasons why the origins of Catholic schooling in Australia are significant for this study. First, the past can inform the present. This is especially true in Western societies where “historical thinking is inescapable, we cannot think without or beyond distinctions between future, present and past.”

The present then is understood, in part, in connection with the past. Consequently, how the past is remembered has leverage in the present. Accounts of the past can have impact on thinking about the present and future: “many of the policies and practices in contemporary Catholic schools are shaped by understandings of the past.”

In terms of non-Catholic students in Catholic schools this connection between the past, the present and the future is particularly strong. The Catholic Church has historically placed great emphasis on the idea of Catholic schools as a source of Church maintenance. Catholic schools have been seen to be agencies of faith preservation for the Church. From this perspective, Catholic schools serve the

56 B. Dwyer, Catholic Schools at the Crossroads (Blackburn: Dove Communications, 1986), 2.
needs of the Catholic population, especially its enculturation into the faith. It is important to understand this feature of Catholic schools in a refined way because the issue of students who are not Catholics might pose a problem for this aspect of school life. It might be that faith preservation and Church maintenance do not have the currency or traction today that they had in years and generations past.

A basic task of history is “studying past societies and the way in which people in these societies were affected by the culture in which they lived.” This basic task offers a twofold reminder to contemporary religious education in Catholic schools. First, religious education in the past, was constructed in and responded to cultures that were different from the present. Second, solutions to challenges of the present day cannot be restricted by cultural influences and paradigms of days gone by. Not only might new challenges require new solutions, but those solutions, despite their novelty, could still be faithful to the Catholic educational tradition. As a presumed agent of Church maintenance, Catholic schools in contemporary times might perhaps feel a conflict when families who are not Catholics seek enrolment for their children. They might well ask themselves: “do we put at risk this foundational task of the Catholic school by enrolling students who are not Catholics?” But, a closer look at the foundational task of Catholic schools might reveal new possibilities that both provide clarity and resolution to problems and also uphold Catholic educational tradition.

Second, Catholic schooling in Australia has found itself located within a broader Church history – and even a Western, Judeo-Christian history – that includes “an unresolved tension between secular and sacred/mythic conceptions of history.” In Catholic education, the secular and the sacred have been seen as incompatible opposites, mutually exclusive and irreconcilable. One example of this can be found in Australian Catholicism of the early twentieth century. Australian theologian, Brian Kelty, describes the Australian Church of this time as “tribal” where the

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“enemy was clearly identified as the outside world of science and modernity.”

This historical tension is significant for this study because, for those inside and outside Catholic schooling, students who are not Catholics might be associated with the “secular” whereas Catholic schools could appear to many to be associated with the “sacred”. Thus, the foci of this study ("Catholic schools" and “students who are not Catholics”) would seem to present themselves as an ongoing development or a continuation of this historical tension. In order to refine the ways that Catholic schools respond to this issue, it is important to assess Catholic school history and its engagement with that tension.

Third, a lack of consensus about the past can cause confusion and controversy about the past. The role and place of students who are not Catholics in Catholic schools is a significant contemporary issue that requires sensitive navigation through the historical landscape of Catholic schools. This study seeks to engage with the past – Catholic history, Catholic schooling history, Church and religious education documentation amongst others – so that a clearer knowledge about the past can be produced. Sensitive navigation will require, amongst other things, a refined understanding of the history of Catholic schooling if the issue is to be addressed from a balanced and fair perspective. Forms of history wars about the origins of Catholic schooling in Australia could lead to a lack of clarity about how to manage and settle this issue. It is important, then, to review the origins of Catholic schooling in Australia so that a range of perspectives can be acknowledged.

2.2 Different Perspectives About the Origins of Catholic Schooling in Australia

The history of Catholic education in Australia has given partiality to the understanding that Catholic schools in Australia resulted from the funding crisis of the 1870s. The origins of Catholic schooling in Australia have been traced back to

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that critical period in time. It has formed the dominant narrative about the birth of Catholic schools: that Catholic schools were initiated, at a time of crisis, by the Irish-born Australian bishops in response to the Protestant and secular forces that saw colonial parliaments enact free, compulsory and secular education acts from the 1870s onwards.\(^1\) A second view – a slightly nuanced version of the first – is that Catholic schooling in Australia is the product of the ordained and vowed religious. It gives priority to the work of bishops, priests and religious brothers and sisters. In this view, the episcopacy, the priesthood and the religious orders are celebrated for their embryonic and ongoing contribution to the system of Catholic schools that exists in Australia. This interpretation of the origins of Catholic schools relegates the place of the laity to the margins of the narrative. There is a third view about the beginnings of Catholic schooling that traces the beginnings of Catholic schools back to the early years of the Nineteenth Century. It renders an account of Catholic schooling in Australia that goes back at least fifty years before the dominant narrative and argues that Catholic schools have served more as a public service offering an education from a Catholic perspective and less as an agency of Catholic formation and initiation. It is to these three views of the origins of Catholic education that I now turn.

### 2.2.1 Sectarian Animosity, Irish Catholicism and Catholic Schools

One view about the origins of Catholic schooling in Australia is that which asserts that the Catholic school was an ecclesial agency that existed in a religiously hostile environment that threatened the faith. This view emphasises the Irish roots of Catholicism in this country and counters it against the prevailing Protestantism of the colony. Sectarianism was a feature of the colony and Catholicism was pitched in a battle to acquire social, civic and religious credibility. In this battle the Catholic school served as an agency of the Church and sought to foster in young people a commitment to the ideals of the faith. It played an integral role in the mission of the Church. In this view, the school was more ecclesial and catechetical than it was...
educational. Its purpose was primarily concerned with maintenance of faith. This view of Catholic schools is intimately tied to the presence of religious men and women who were most able to facilitate this purpose: “their explicit vocation, marked by particular charism and spiritual traditions, a celibate lifestyle, a lengthy period of personal formation, international connections, distinct clothing and separate community life, clearly contributed to the development of the Catholic school system in many countries and it offered a counter-cultural, even a contra mundum stance.” This view of Catholic schooling continued up until the 1960s.

The preservation of faith through the presence of priests and religious sisters and brothers in the school manifested a mindset of “us and them” amongst Catholics. Catholicism in the colony came to be equated, in particular, with Irish-Catholicism, whereas Protestantism was aligned to the British Empire. In blunt terms, O’Farrell described Australian Catholicism of the late nineteenth century thus: “It was Irish.” Irish Catholicism was a powerful movement. MacGinley has argued that “among the many empires of religion spreading in the 19th century none was more pervasive than that of Irish Catholicism, indeed an empire which did not see itself within the ambit of the expanding British empire but rather, in a transnational way, as operating in distinction from it.” At the same time “the alliance between Protestantism and Britishness had become a normal posture of the British Australian mind and would survive for many years.” Sectarianism had been established.

This antagonism between Catholics and Protestants was part of a wider historiographical tradition of opposition, unfriendliness and even hostility. Even going back to the sixteenth century there was emphasis on the differences between the two religious traditions: Catholicism emphasised continuity of the Church whereas Protestantism emphasised discontinuity; Catholics emphasised the

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teaching of the hierarchy of the Church whereas Protestantism stressed the teaching of scripture alone; Catholicism embraced the sacramental and communal dimensions of expression whereas Protestantism emphasised the righteousness of the individual’s relationship with God.\footnote{J.W. O’Malley, \textit{What Happened at Vatican II} (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008), 66; P.F. Flynn, “Faith, Socialization and Education in Faith with Reference to Australian Catholic Schools” (Columbia University, 1977), 103-07.}

The sectarianism went deeper still. Even internally, within the hierarchy of the Catholic Church in the colony post-1865, there was a strong sense of “us and them” between the English bishops and the Irish bishops. Englishmen John Bede Polding and Roger Vaughan were the first two archbishops of Sydney. After 1865 a number of Irish bishops were appointed to newly established suffragan dioceses: James Murray (Maitland), Matthew Quinn (Bathurst), William Lannigan (Goulburn) and Timothy O’Mahoney (Armidale). Cunningham described the relationship between these English and Irish bishops:

Given the nature of traditional Irish and English animosities, it was not surprising that friction would occur between the hierarchy during what was reputedly a transition period, the passing of English control to their Irish counterparts. Friction is too gentle a term for what actually happened.\footnote{A. Cunningham, \textit{The Rome Connection: Australia, Ireland and the Empire 1865-1885}. (Darlinghurst: Crossing Press, 2002), xiv.}

This us-and-them mindset hardened the resolve of Catholics with regard to education. Catholic schools were able to survive due to a commitment to the Catholic culture. Writing about the context of Queensland Catholic schools in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century, Browning has argued that this survival was due in part to “the unity of purpose between Bishop [sic], priests, Religious [sic] and people, who shared a conviction about the value of Catholic schooling and were prepared to make sacrifices to achieve it, no doubt fuelled by a sense of cultural identity and difference coming from Irish origins.”\footnote{J. Browning, \textit{Always Mindful: A History of Catholic Education in Central Queensland 1863 - 1990}. (Rockhampton: Diocesan Catholic Education Office, 2005), 14.}

The sectarianism in late-colonial Australia is significant for this study because it provides reasons for the germination of suspicion about other-than-Catholic
religiosity in Catholic schools. This idea of the past then feeds ideas about the present and future of Catholic schools in Australia. In this view, only the “insiders” are welcome. It builds a perception that Catholic schools are for Catholics only. This view has an insular, exclusivist understanding of Catholic schooling. “Outsiders”, those who are not Catholics, are not welcome according to this view. What’s more, they pose a threat to the nature and purpose of the Catholic school. A study into the role and place of students who are not Catholics in Catholic schools must be cognisant of and give consideration to this view because potentially they stand in polemic contrast: if one upholds an understanding of Catholic schooling that is founded on a principle of “us and them”, then a study of the role and place of students who are not Catholics in Catholic schools becomes redundant.

2.2.2 Religious Men and Women as Authors of Catholic Schooling in Australia

A second idea about the origins of Catholic schooling in Australia is that they were borne of the work of the ordained clergy and the religious orders. In this view, the people responsible for creating and developing the system of Catholic schools in Australia were, in the first instance, the bishops supported in turn by religious sisters, priests and brothers who were recruited to the colony by the bishops themselves. O’Donoghue and Burley have argued that religious men and women were recruited to the colony for teaching purposes “in the early decades of the nineteenth century” in order to cater for a mostly non-Catholic population. They gave a sense of how the ordained and consecrated religious life came to be privileged in the Catholic world by arguing that Catholic schools were pivotal in establishing a culture of the importance of vocation to the priesthood or religious orders: “Families, parish priests and bishops also encouraged the notion of vocation amongst ‘the faithful’, putting life as a priest, brother or female religious on a pedestal and signifying that this was the ultimate goal to which young Catholics should aspire.”

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71 Ibid., 182.
when he said of research into teachers in Catholic schools in the century prior to the 1970s, “what little accounts there are tend towards being heroic and centre on the lives of those teachers who were priests, brothers and nuns, and who were collectively known as ‘the teaching religious.’” In organised Catholicism, the ordained and consecrated religious came to be revered. When the ordained and consecrated religious were also teachers, they established the benchmark for what it meant to be a teacher in a Catholic school. It was a benchmark to which the lay teacher, by definition, could not aspire. For it was the religiosity of the ‘religious teachers’ that made them excellent teachers for the Catholic school, not their professional skills as teachers. According to the dominant narrative, the lay teacher is a deficient form of teacher for the Catholic school.

Respected and eminent Catholic educator and author, Barry Dwyer, also gives assent to the idea that the religious orders were responsible for the origins of Catholic schooling in Australia. He does so in such a way as to be silent about the period prior to the 1870’s colonial Education Acts. In telling the “story” of Catholic schooling in Australia, he first reminds the reader that the history of Catholic education is important because it affords an appreciation of contemporary Catholic schooling. However, Dwyer’s account of the birth of Catholic schooling seems to begin with the work of the bishops in recruiting religious orders from Ireland and other parts of Europe to work in colonial schools.

One of the more ironic accounts of the birth of Australian Catholic schooling is a 2004 article by O’Donoghue. His article is ironic because, while he seeks to recover an understanding of the work of lay educators in Catholic schools, he too, like Dwyer, begins his recovery in the year 1870. O’Donoghue rightly notes “the anonymity of the lay teacher within many accounts of teachers and teaching in Catholic schools;” he says that the laity was viewed as “leading a lesser form of

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72 O’Donoghue, "Rescuing Lay Teachers in Catholic Schools from Anonymity for the Period 1870-1970," 78.
73 Dwyer, Catholic Schools at the Crossroads, 3.
74 Ibid., 3-4.
75 O’Donoghue, "Rescuing Lay Teachers in Catholic Schools from Anonymity for the Period 1870-1970."
76 Ibid., 79.
life”\textsuperscript{77} than those of the religious orders; O'Donoghue opines that “the lay teacher was rapidly becoming a second-class citizen in a world dominated by the religious.”\textsuperscript{78} O'Donoghue’s research is welcome because it contributes to an understanding of the work of lay people in Catholic schools. However, he leaves out the years of Catholic schooling in Australia where lay people seem to be most anonymous: the years prior to 1870.

Similarly John Braniff, in a paper warning about a perceived problem of the increasing number of “non-Catholic and non-practising Catholic teachers in schools,”\textsuperscript{79} notes the place and role of religious men and women in Australian Catholic schools in the century between 1872 and 1972. He argues that in this period the Catholic identity and character of schools was guaranteed because of the presence and supervision of the religious teaching orders. Braniff does not mention the Catholic schools of the (Australian) colonies prior to 1872. By omission of this period, he implies that Australian Catholic schools had their origins in 1872. Further, his assertion links the birth of Australian Catholic schooling with the work of the religious orders.

Dixon makes similar claims in his monograph on the history of Catholics in Australia. In discussing Catholic schools he says, “until the 1960s, Catholic schools were staffed mainly by religious sisters and brothers, but today there are very few religious teaching in Catholic schools, even those owned by religious orders.”\textsuperscript{80} The work of the religious orders in Catholic schools is emphasised here and the work of the laity is ignored and silenced.

This view about the origins of Catholic schools in Australia is important for this study because of the way it perceives the idea of being religious. This view gives priority and primacy to ordained and vowed Catholic religious life. It establishes a hierarchy of religious life, where uppermost are those who belong to religious orders of priests, sisters and brothers. It places importance on being Catholic for

\textsuperscript{77} Ibid., 82.
\textsuperscript{78} Ibid., 84.
involvement in Catholic schools. Clearly, such a form of religious expression is unattainable for students who are not Catholic. Accordingly, this view also hierarchically delineates between the religious and the laity. This is significant because it begins to paint a picture about who is welcome in Catholic schools and who is not. In this view, “Catholic religious” are more worthy than “Catholic laity”.

Another reason why the teaching religious came to be seen as the founders of Catholic education relates to the way in which lay teachers were replaced by the religious after the passing of the various colonial education acts of the 1870s and 1880s. In short time “the number of lay Catholic teachers [in Catholic schools] plummeted.” Consequently, this transition from lay to religious came to be marginalised from the historiography of Australian Catholic education.

Also, after the replacement of lay teachers by the religious, Irish Catholicism and authoritarianism dominated Catholic education in Australia. Authoritarianism became a particularly dominant feature of Catholic schooling in the period from 1922 to 1965. It mirrored the forms of authoritarianism that was found in the religious orders themselves: “what eventuated was a set of practices which reflected the authoritarian nature of the rules and regulations of the dominant religious orders involved in education.”

### 2.2.3 Catholic Schools as a Service to Australian Society

An alternative view about the origins of Catholic schools in Australia is that they have been part of the educational landscape in this country since early-colonial times. In taking that part, Catholic schools have been offered, more so, as a form of educational service to the community and less so as a mechanism for maintaining the population and vibrancy of the Church itself. The emphasis of this view is that Catholic schools contribute to a schools system that includes a variety of schools

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and that Catholic schools promote a tolerant and religiously knowledgeable society because they are places of religious diversity in terms of student cohorts. This view recognises the responsibility of Catholic schools in contemporary Australia given their receipt of substantial government funding.

In terms of origins, this view gives credence to the Catholic schools that operated from the early 1800s usually under the educational leadership of a lay teacher or perhaps a married couple. It recognises that these schools had open enrolments, where Catholic and Protestant children played and learnt alongside one another. Although the many Catholic schools that operated in the period prior to the 1870s (and especially in the early years of the 1800s) were rudimentary in their set-up, they were nonetheless Catholic schools. For many years, their existence has not been acknowledged. However, in recent years there has been renewed interest in those schools.

Since the Goulburn strike campaign in July 1962 when the six Catholic schools of Goulburn, New South Wales were closed by their bishops (Archbishop Eris O’Brien and Auxillary Bishop John Cullinane) as a form of protest against the failure of the state government to provide funding to support the upkeep and maintenance of those schools, Catholic schools have been the recipients of state aid. In the period immediately after the Goulburn strike, State Aid to Catholic schools was incrementally increased – beginning with scholarships for secondary and technical students and the funding of science blocks and facilities in non-government schools. By the end of the 1960s, governments at State and Federal levels were offering some forms of recurrent funding to non-government schools. Then, after a decade of political manoeuvring and point scoring on the part of the two major political parties (Labor, to the left; and Liberal, to the right) in Australia, the Federal Labor Whitlam government was elected to power in 1973 and introduced

83 McGee, The Forgotten Ones: Teachers in the Catholic Schools of New South Wales before 1880.
State Aid to non-government schools following the report of the Karmel Committee into school funding. The development of the Catholic schools systems around Australia has come about as a result of the return of State Aid for Catholic schools. A significant consequence of the Karmel Report (especially for Catholic schools) was a re-directed focus on testing for funding. The Karmel Report ensured that social disadvantage would be the prime factor for decisions about school funding. The consequence of this was that religious sectarianism, animosity and division had less relevance. Campbell says that Karmel “put aside as irrelevant the old religious divisions. Catholic schools would be targeted to the same degree as public schools; the primary test of new funding under such schemes would be the disadvantages associated with social class, not who owned or controlled the school.”

Following the political developments in education funding and, in particular, the government funding to Catholic schools that was re-introduced post-1972, Catholic schools are now significantly government-funded, if not government-controlled. Given this funding the public accountability of Catholic schools has become contentious. The question remains what are the public obligations of non-government schools? Buckingham has summarised the main requirements that have been put forward for non-government schools as a condition of their government funding. They have included a requirement that non-government schools “teach religion objectively and critically rather than as the truth” and that they “follow open enrolment and hiring policies in selecting students and teachers.”

The presence of differing histories of Catholic schooling in Australia leaves us with uncertainty and disagreement about the nature and purpose of Catholic education. From the perspective of the Irish-Catholic influence, Catholic education assumes an overtly Catholic orientation, less open to other Christian and religious traditions. From the perspective of the importance of the religious orders, one is inclined to miss or be averted from the role of the laity and be more inclined to think that only

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Catholics have a birth right to Catholic education. Certainly, from this perspective there is an ordered hierarchy of righteousness where particular forms of Catholic life are atop the hierarchy and those who are not Catholics are at the lower end of the hierarchy.

Given these different accounts of the history of Australian Catholic schooling, they each require an appropriate degree of suspicion. These histories do not provide an entirely accurate account of the historical record. They reflect the reality that much Catholic educational history has been written by people from the religious orders who write from the perspective and inclusive of their religious orders. They also reflect the crisis point that did exist with the proclamation of the colonial education acts in the 1870s. However, their overtly Catholic orientation is, I would argue, a misinterpretation of the Catholic educational imagination.

2.3 The Dominant Myth of the Creation of Catholic Schools in Australia

Australian religious educator, Maurice Ryan\(^89\) has argued that Catholic education in Australia continues to perpetuate a historically distorted narrative about its own birth and infancy. Australian Catholic school educators (especially religious educators) memorialise and rely on an account of the infancy of Catholic schooling in Australia that is, in many respects, unhistorical. Such is the influence and pervasiveness of this narrative that it has become mythic, almost epic. Ryan summarised the birth and development of Catholic education according to the myth:

Australian Catholic schools were created from scratch in the 1870s and 1880s under the united leadership of the bishops. They recruited religious sisters and brothers from Europe to staff the schools. The Catholics had been forced into this situation by a coalition of Protestant and secular forces in society who had teamed together, for sectarian reasons, in the various colonial parliaments to expel Catholic schools from the funding of the free, compulsory and secular national school systems which were being

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created. In the face of this threat, a united Catholic lay population stood behind the bishops and supported them in the development of an independent system of Catholic schools. This action resulted, in short time, in a centrally supervised, unified system of mostly primary schools, under the control of the religious orders. Most Catholic children – and only Catholic children – attended these new schools. The Catholic schools were crucial to the formation of the Catholic Church in Australia, as a training ground for a distinctive and unified Catholic population.  

He then adds, "the major difficulty with this narrative is that virtually none of it is true, if by true we mean that it is in close agreement with historical evidence."  

This narrative about the birth of Catholic schooling in Australia is mythic in the sense that it paints a distorted, inaccurate picture of Catholic schooling in the early years of Australian Catholic school education. This narrative is underpinned by two key assumptions that demonstrate its historical inaccuracy. First, the narrative ignores the establishment and development of Catholic schools in the period 1820–1870. The first Catholic school in Australia was established on the banks of the Parramatta River in 1820. Other Catholic schools were to follow. They were staffed almost exclusively by lay people and pursued both a secular and religious curriculum. Religious education was a vital cog in the wheels of Catholic schooling; it reflected the importance of the religious education of children placed by the Catholic Church on Catholic schools.  

Second – and this idea is particularly pertinent to this study – Ryan’s summary identifies Catholic children alone as the student clientele of Catholic schools. However, the Catholic school established on the banks of the Parramatta River in 1820 with George Morley as the sole teacher had a student population of thirty-one and seven of these students were Protestants.  

A problem for Australian religious educators is that this understanding of the birth and development of Catholic education is also “mythic” in the sense that it presents a powerful narrative about the heroes of Catholic education in this country. In doing so, it continues to exert influence on contemporary religious educators: it

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90 Ibid., 217-18.  
91 Ibid., 218.  
92 A Common Search: The History and Forms of Religious Education in Catholic Schools (Brisbane: Lumino Press, 2007), 36-37.  
93 Fogarty, Catholic Education in Australia, 1806 - 1950, 1, 21.
shapes their ideas about what religious education should be; it fashions their perceptions of their own contributions to religious education and their perceptions of who the contemporary heroes should be. This mythic story of the creation of Australian Catholic schools elevates those of ordained ministry and religious orders – bishops, priests, nuns and brothers - to hero status. According to the myth, their vision, advocacy and development of Catholic schools ensured that Catholic schools prevailed at a time of great opposition from the forces of Protestantism and secularism. The birth, expansion and eventual cultural establishment of Catholic schools in Australia, according to this mythic narrative, owe a debt to these religious men and women because they triumphed against great adversity. Australian Catholic priest and historian, Edmund Campion perpetuates the myth when he says:

   Much church history is written around the personalities and activities of the bishops – the reasons are not far to seek. On the level of living experience, however, there can be no doubt that the influence of religious sisters and brothers has been more penetrating. This is especially true for Australian Catholicism, whose central religious institution, the parochial school, was the creation of sisters and brothers.94

In saying this, Campion has silenced the first five decades of Catholic education in Australia. Instead, his narrative – consistent with that summarised by Ryan above - prefers to locate the birth of Australian Catholic schools in the period when the colonial governments passed acts dictating free, compulsory and secular education (1870s and 1880s). This was a period of crisis for Catholic schooling in the colonies, but it was not the time of its birth. In a similar vein, the Australian Marist Brother and Catholic school educator and administrator, Kelvin Canavan, ignores the period prior to these acts of the colonial governments. His historical overview of the development of Catholic schools systems begins with an acknowledgement of the work of religious sisters and brothers in the 80 years prior to the development of Catholic education offices in the late 1960s.95 There is no mention made of the contribution of lay teachers in the years prior to the colonial education

94 Campion, Australian Catholics, 45.
Acts. Again, while former Catholic priest and author, Paul Collins, notes that the Catholic education system “has been built on the continuing generosity and sacrifice of generations of Catholic laity and religious men and women”, he perpetuates the myth by saying (in the same book), “Catholic education in Australia was built almost entirely on the backs of religious sisters and brothers.”

Australian Catholic Church historian, John Luttrell notes an important reality about the staffing of the early Catholic schools, but also suggests a possible reason why the idea of the mythic heroes from the religious orders was developed: “There were hundreds of teachers in these [Catholic] schools up to 1870. Nearly all were lay people; the Religious Congregations became involved later. Unfortunately we have very limited information about these early teachers, perhaps because the first Catholic history was written by clergymen.” In the Queensland context, John Browning has noted the presence of lay teachers in early colonial Catholic schools in Rockhampton:

The first Catholic schools in what was to become the Diocese of Rockhampton were opened in Rockhampton by the first Parish Priest, Father Charles Murlay. Although Murlay provided the initial impetus and was almost a daily presence in the schools, they developed under lay teachers...Miss Bridget Ennis, a trained teacher from Ireland, took charge of[the infants’ and girls’ school],(183,746),(508,765) handing over to Miss Charlotte Meagher in 1868.

Another reason why those from the religious orders might be elevated to hero status is ecclesiological. During the 1800s, Catholic ecclesiology conceptualised the Church as the perfect society. This conceptualisation was developed post-Reformation and in response and contrast to Protestant ecclesiology which criticised the visible hierarchy of the Catholic Church. The Church as perfect society emphasised that salvation could be found only in the Church. In the perfect society, the hierarchy had especial significance. Whilst the pope remained the

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97 Ibid., 196.
supreme pastor, others in the hierarchy – bishops, priests, religious and the like – assumed particular importance. In the context of the myth, the bishops, priests, nuns and brothers overcame the political forces acting against them to establish Catholic schools for the maintenance of the Church in Australia. Accordingly, these heroes navigated their way through the political forces of the time in conquering style.

Even to the present day, the myth has consequences for the work of religious educators in schools. It is a powerful force that continues to exert itself in the classroom, the staffroom, the wider school and the networks that schools share with families, parishes and those interested in the religious ethos of the Catholic school. In particular, it has consequences for the relationships between Catholic schools and the church, between lay religious educators and church leaders and between Catholic schools and the wider societies to which they belong. Its magnetism confronts the religious educator with irreconcilable conflict. The myth maintains a form of the discipline of religious education marked by sectarian difference where Catholics and Protestants do not meet; by religious oppression where Catholics are the minority seeking social acceptability and a place in a hostile society; by ecclesial commitment whereby the school is charged with giving students an experience of Church; and by an unwavering loyalty to the Church hierarchy whereby the laity is submissive to bishops, priests, nuns and brothers. It would seem that McGrath had the myth in mind when he suggested that religious educators today find themselves in a “complex and plural cultural and educational world” yet there is an expectation of them that “all learning in Christian school settings should be fundamentally Christian and potentially can contribute to a total education that promotes Christian discipleship.” Such is the power of the myth on Australian religious education, that it prevents religious educators from “mov[ing] away from narrow experiences and widen[ing] their horizons in order to bring new meaning to the discipline.”

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102 Ibid.
educators - who account for the vast majority of school religious educators today - are cognisant that this world of particular Catholic assumptions is in the past, they continue to recast religious education through the lens of the myth. In most part this is due to the pervading influence of the histories discussed above whereby the religious orders are accorded special importance and the fortress-citadel mentality of the Catholic/Protestant divide still lingers in the contemporary mind.

Ryan\textsuperscript{104} proposes an alternative narrative that is both true to the historical record and more capable of sustaining religious education into the future. In his revamped narrative, Ryan locates the birth of Catholic schools in Australia in the early decades of the 1800s, acknowledges the presence of students who are not Catholics in the earliest Catholic schools, notes the importance of lay staff in the colonial schools, records the desire for an educated and unified population as the primary reason for the establishment of free, compulsory and secular state schools, and notes the “gradual and eventual” recruitment of religious congregations to assist lay teachers in running Catholic schools. Chapter two offers a re-examination of Catholic schools in the Nineteenth Century. It is especially concerned with the teachers and students in colonial Catholic schools up until the 1880s.

**2.4 Confusion about Catholic Education History Leads to Confusion about Religious Education**

The second problem is related to the first. Confusion and denial about the birth of Catholic schooling (and religious education) in Australia is complemented by an inability of contemporary religious educators to arrive at a consensus about the aims and purposes of religious education. The two problems are related because, as Ryan argues, “our imagination about the past powerfully shapes our perceptions of the present and future.”\textsuperscript{105} In short, the nature and purpose of religious education is contested. Consequently, its practitioners do not know their purpose; they are confused about what they are to do.


\textsuperscript{105} Ibid., 217.
The literature reveals something of this lack of consensus about the nature and purpose of religious education. The first reason for this lack of consensus is a lack of clarity about the meaning of discipline-specific terminology. Rummery has argued that “religious education is a broad term applied to such a range of activities that there is difficulty setting out a normative concept; what is assumed by one group is regarded as indoctrination by another.”\textsuperscript{106} Cunnane is more explicit about the problem of language in religious education. She says a “problem inherent in religious education pertains to the babel of languages [her italics] used to describe what takes place. Although they possess varying meanings and differing sets of assumptions, the words catechetics, religion, religious knowledge, religious studies, religious instruction, Christian doctrine, Christian education and religious education are judged to be synonymous and are used interchangeably both in literature and in conversation.”\textsuperscript{107} Ryan hints at the gravity of this problem when he supposes that “religious educators seem unable to agree on the meaning of even the most foundational words and descriptions.”\textsuperscript{108}

There is a significant body of literature that addresses issues of “identity crisis” in religious education.\textsuperscript{109} In sum, this literature supports the contention addressed here that religious educators are confused about the nature and purpose of religious education. In 1982, Rossiter described Catholic school-based religious education as having “symptoms of identity confusion.”\textsuperscript{110} At that time, a shift was occurring in the theory underpinning religious education – catechetical theory – whereby faith formation was being relocated from the school setting to the parish setting: The catechetical function of religious education in the school was being moved, appropriately, to the parish. It was an appropriate move because catechesis is a form of education “in which the faith and communal life forms the

\textsuperscript{106} Rummery, \textit{Catechesis and Religious Education in a Pluralist Society}, 119.
\textsuperscript{107} P. Cunnane, \textit{New Directions in Religious Education} (Dublin: Veritas, 2004), 19.
\textsuperscript{108} Ryan, \textit{A Common Search: The History and Forms of Religious Education in Catholic Schools}, 4.
\textsuperscript{110} Rossiter, “The Need for a “Creative Divorce” between Catechesis and Religious Education in Catholic Schools,” 22.
context of learning”\textsuperscript{111} and the parish is the better expression of this context. In turn however, this left religious education in the school in a form of educational vacuum. In Rossiter’s words, it left school religious education “limping and insecure”.\textsuperscript{112} The “identity confusion” Rossiter talks about here is confusion on the part of the school religious educator as to whether the purpose of school religious education should be faith formational or educational. Up until this time catechesis had found a secure home in the school; religious educators in Catholic schools had come to understand their core task as education in faith. To be sure, there were few people, within Catholic schools and without, who did not understand school religious education as a faith-forming enterprise. “Religious education” and “catechesis” had become synonymous.\textsuperscript{113} Rossiter suggested that religious education theory – a related but different discipline from catechetical theory – needed to acknowledge the separation in a form of “creative divorce”.\textsuperscript{114} He argued that religious education risked “the possibility of a confusion of purposes”\textsuperscript{115} because it was the Catholic school’s receptacle of theological, pastoral, educational and political concerns. He suggested that the identity vacuum could be filled with an emphasised educational paradigm rather than a faith-forming paradigm.\textsuperscript{116} Flynn has also argued against a blurring of the distinction between being an educating community and a faith community: ”To expect them [Catholic schools] to educate in the traditional sense and, at the same time, to be an agent of the church’s pastoral ministry, is to effectively ensure that they will perform neither function well.”\textsuperscript{117}

In 1984 American Jesuit James Di Giacomo also noted a similar problem of discipline confusion facing many religious educators in Australian Catholic schools. He offered a perspective as an “outsider” after a six-week tour of Australian Catholic schools. One of the advantages of his outside perspective was his

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\textsuperscript{112} Rossiter, ”The Need for a ”Creative Divorce” between Catechesis and Religious Education in Catholic Schools,” 22.
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\textsuperscript{113} Ibid., 24.
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\textsuperscript{114} Ibid., 22.
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\textsuperscript{115} Ibid., 30.
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reminder that the problems that afflicted religious education in Australia were similar to those affecting religious education in other parts of the world: it was not just a local problem but one of global gravity. Di Giacomo noted “in Australia, as elsewhere in the world, religious educators labour under a crisis of identity which afflicts even those who do not advert to it.”\textsuperscript{118} While he acknowledged that diversity was often a welcome feature of purposeful endeavours, in religious education it “results in people working at cross purposes, to the confusion of students, the loss of academic respectability in the eyes of the school community, and reduced effectiveness in sharing the message of Christ.”\textsuperscript{119} Di Giacomo’s snapshot of religious education was bleak: its practitioners were confused about the aims and purposes of religious education, its academic impact was low and its capacity to contribute to the faith development of its students was weak. Di Giacomo’s assessment was a precursor to what Moran would suggest would be a consequence of lacking clarity about the aims and purposes of the discipline:

\begin{quote}
The tragedy would be that, for lack of clarity about this distinction, institutions end up doing neither: their academic inquiry is not challenging enough and the formation is not particular enough. Endless talk about Christianity is not religious education. What deserves that title is teaching people about religion with all the breadth and depth of intellectual excitement one is capable of – and teaching people to be religious with all the particularity of the verbal and non-verbal symbols that place us on the way.\textsuperscript{120}
\end{quote}

Cunnane has also talked about “confusion and a crisis of identity”\textsuperscript{121} within religious education. The confusion and crisis belong to the religious educator who has not adequately and securely grasped the terminology of religious education. The terminology has come in and out of vogue as different approaches to school religious education come in and out of favour. Again, the result is that religious educators are not sure what their purpose is in the classroom. Ryan expresses a similar sentiment in a paper describing three conceptual approaches to teaching classroom religious education. He describes the milieu around which these three

\textsuperscript{118} Di Giacomo, "Religious Education in Australian Secondary Schools," 396.
\textsuperscript{119} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{120} Moran, "Understanding Religion and Being Religious," 252.
\textsuperscript{121} Cunnane, New Directions in Religious Education, 19.
conceptual approaches revolve as one of “chaos and confusion which seems to be the perpetual lot of religious education as a field.”

The myth about the origins of Catholic education in Australia continues to exert itself because some religious educators – mostly older religious educators - were themselves formed by this dominant creation myth: it was preached to them from the pulpit, it was lived in their own Catholic schooling experience and for them it deserves to be rehashed with little variation. For other religious educators – often younger religious educators – the myth fills a religious education vacuum. Some have minimal or less than minimal religious education qualifications and so they are professionally unable to counter the myth with an alternative narrative about religious education; others have no affiliation or, at best, irregular affiliation with a worshipping community and so they cannot theologically or ecclesiologically defend themselves against the dominant myth.

The confusion and lack of clarity about the aim and purpose of religious education, partly created by the myth about origins, is only exacerbated in contemporary religious education, which encounters forms of plurality in the classroom previously unseen in the discipline. Australian religious educator, Louise Welbourne, has suggested that the changing culture in Australian society, mostly due to post-war immigration, has not been matched by an equal change in Australian Catholic school culture: “The emerging disparity of values and practices between home and school presents schools with an identity crisis.” Again, the crisis belongs to the religious educator. The religious educator in the contemporary classroom is forced to confront not only a discipline vocabulary that religious educators mix up and misunderstand and a discipline in which its practitioners have not arrived at consensus about what they should be doing in the classroom, but also a narrow school and classroom culture about religious

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123 M. Chambers, "Vitality and Loyalty in Religious Education: Renewing Forms or Perpetuating the Myth?," 20.

124 Welbourne, "Responding to Multiculturalism in Australian Catholic Schools: Towards a Transformation of School Culture and Religious Education," 55.
education – overtly Catholic and less open to others - that is mismatched against diverse and plural cultures among the student clientele.

2.5 A Century without State Aid in Catholic Schools

The context of contemporary Catholic schools in Australia must be understood in light of the mythology about the origins of Catholic schools in Australia – a mythology centred mostly on the nineteenth century. That context must also be understood in light of the following century when Catholic schools, for much of that century, went without the provision of State Aid. That century extended from 1872 to 1972.

The century without the provision of State Aid was significant for two reasons. First, it forced the Catholic Church to make a close link between education and religion. From the time of the colonial Education Acts that prevented State Aid to church-sponsored schools, the Catholic Church hierarchy established an intimate link between Catholic school education and Catholic faith. One of the consequences of the colonial Education Acts for the Catholic Church and for Catholic schools in particular, was an ingrained distrust and wariness of any form of religiosity outside the Catholic faith. The Catholic Church was “vehemently opposed”\(^\text{125}\) to free, compulsory and secular education. Mostly, its opposition was to secular education. The Church maintained, without compromise, the necessity for a form of education infused with religious values. Catholic education, as the bishops argued, did not equate to secular education plus religious education tacked on. Rather, the entire educational enterprise was permeated by a religious ethos. Evidence for this stems back to the episcopacy of John Bede (1842-1877) who articulated Catholic education in the following way:

Catholics do not believe that the education of a child is like a thing of mechanism that can be put together bit by bit. Now a morsel of instruction of religion, then of instruction in secular learning – separate parcels….We hold that the subjects taught, the teacher

and his [sic] faith, the rule and practice of the school day, all combine to produce results that we Catholics consider to be education.126

Second, the passing of the colonial Education Acts was the catalyst for an entrenched sectarianism, especially from within Catholicism. Catholics perceived the Education Acts as a threat to the faith development of young Catholics and considered themselves as “victims of government injustice and sectarian prejudice.” 127 From outside Catholicism, Catholics were accused of national disloyalty: their allegiance to Rome and Ireland “made them somewhat alien and less than loyal Australians.”128 Even after the Goulburn schools strike of 1962, the patriotism of Catholics was called into question by the Sydney Morning Herald newspaper, which editorialised, “No-one should be deceived into thinking that the issue in the closing of the Roman Catholic schools in the Goulburn area is one between the parents directly involved and the NSW [New South Wales] government. It is rather one between a powerful Church...and the State itself.”

2.6 Implications of the Interpretation of the Birth of Catholic Schooling for a Study about Students who are not Catholics in Catholic Schools

This chapter contends that the confusion about the birth of Catholic schooling in Australia is problematic because it prevents and restrains educators in Catholic schools from arriving at consensus about the aim and purpose of Catholic education. It also prevents, or at least suppresses, any attempts at expansion or adventure within the discipline. When religious educators are confused and uncertain about their discipline, the vitality of the discipline is suppressed. Religious educators are less likely to attempt to broaden the horizons of the discipline when they are unable to agree on, share consensus and be settled about the core tasks of school religious education.

126 O'Farrell, The Catholic Church and Community: An Australian History, 149.
127 J. Luttrell and M.A. Lourey, St Mary's to St Catherine's: Catholic Schools of the Archdiocese of Sydney, 1836-2006 (Leichhardt: Catholic Education Office, Sydney, 2006), vi.
128 Luttrell, ”Australianizing” the Local Catholic Church: Polding to Gilroy,” 336.
The dominant histories of the birth of Catholic schooling in Australia – one emphasising the fortress mentality of Irish Catholicism; the second emphasising the foundational work of the religious orders – have implications for this study into the role and place of students who are not Catholics in Catholic schools. First, these histories continue to assert themselves in such a way that students who are not Catholics become a form of marginalised clientele amongst Catholic school stakeholders. The dominant birth histories emphasise a form of social, civic and religious battle between Catholics and Protestants. In contemporary Catholic schools, this may be a contributing factor as to why those who are not Catholics are seen as outsiders and less welcome in the Catholic school. This is most obviously evident in Catholic school enrolment policies. Oftentimes, these policies give first priority to the Catholic family within the school parish. Significantly for this study, these policies also usually relegate the student and family that is not Catholic to the bottom of the enrolment criteria list. One of the consequences of this is that the student (and the family) who is not Catholic is then seen as a means of maintaining the economic and market viability of the school.\textsuperscript{129}

A second implication is that the public usefulness of the Catholic school is downplayed or ignored completely. While historically, Catholic schools in Australia have tended to follow the lead of state schools in terms of the implemented classroom curriculum (excepting religious education), the public usefulness of Catholic schools is rarely registered. Much is made about the scope and breadth of Catholic schooling systems, but usually this is in the context of what those systems offer to Catholic families. Little attention is given to the educational opportunities a local Catholic school offers to the wider local community.

A third implication of the dominant histories relates to the overtly and perhaps exclusively Catholic nature of Catholic schools. Because of the supposed sectarian atmosphere of early Catholic schooling and because of the reputation of Catholic religious orders, there is a perception that religious outputs from Catholic school

must themselves be overtly Catholic. As a consequence, when students who are not Catholics do enrol in Catholic schools, little is offered to them in terms of their own religious and spiritual development. A fourth implication of the dominant narratives about the origins of Catholic schools relates to contemporary enrolment trends of students who are not Catholics. These enrolments are increasing and they are perceived to be a problem for the Catholicity of the Catholic school.130

This study can play a part in giving Catholic education, and its related forms of religious education, an impetus of clarity and purpose into the future. Certainly, I contend that the emerging issue of students who are not Catholics in Catholic schools has the potential to direct Catholic education to such clarity and purpose. The issue is of such importance that it may even direct Catholic education this way by necessity.

The crisis that confronted Catholic schooling in the 1870s has resulted in a form of infancy narrative of religious education that denies the first fifty years of Catholic education in the colony and elevates some to hero status (bishops, clergy and religious men and women) and lowers and even hides others (the laity and those that are not Catholics). At the same time, the evolution of religious education through a variety of approaches has resulted in a discipline in which its practitioners are unsure and uncertain about what they should be doing in the classroom. Consequently, religious education as a discipline is debated and contested. Religious education theorists argue the very nature of the discipline. As a result, from diocese to diocese in Australia there are differences in approaches to classroom religious education. Sometimes these differences are substantial. Other times they are subtle. What is not disputed is the confusion that exists amongst practitioners in religious education about the discipline’s aims and purposes. This impacts on many aspects of Catholic school life beyond the classroom religious education program.

130 Pell, "Religion and Culture: Catholic Schools in Australia," 844; Catholic Bishops of New South Wales and the Australian Capital Territory, Catholic Schools at a Crossroads: Pastoral Letter of the Bishops of NSW and the Act, 3, 8, 10, 18.
Chapter 3 – An Under-Recognised Presence: Non-Catholics and the Laity in Early Catholic Schools

This chapter is concerned with the beginnings of Catholic education in Australia. It traces those beginnings with a special focus on the place of Catholic education in the colony, the teachers in those schools and the students in those schools. It serves as a reminder to those involved in Catholic schools today that Catholic education in this country has a history that includes, in recognisable measure, the laity, the teaching religious and Catholic and non-Catholic students. In particular, the historical record reveals that in the years prior to 1870 Catholic schools were developed and maintained primarily by lay teachers, and they welcomed students who were not Catholics. This chapter gives voice to a period of about fifty years up until the 1870s when Catholic schools were a form of public schools: they were “part of the government system”\(^1\) with salaries paid by the government. During this period Catholic schools were both established in the colony and successful due to the work of lay educators who were able to maintain Catholicity. Enrolments of non-Catholic students served as a means of social and especially religious cohesion. It also revealed a trend in Catholic schooling that is at odds with the dominant mythology associated with Catholic schools in contemporary times.

This chapter will provide snapshots of lay educators who worked in Catholic schools in the period between the 1790s and 1880. The working situation for those educators was similar to the working situation of most teachers in Catholic schools today. They were lay teachers who had some engagement with the clergy or the religious orders, but the day-to-day running of the Catholic school was largely their responsibility. They were also reasonably well trained for their profession. Some were trained teachers before they travelled to the colony; some were trained in Sydney; some had prior occupations and professions that gave them skills for the work of a teacher. Many worked in husband-and-wife teams teaching in small Catholic schools. Catholic schools were established in Sydney and in rural areas.

\(^1\) McGee, *The Forgotten Ones: Teachers in the Catholic Schools of New South Wales before 1880*, 69.
The establishment of regulatory education authorities in the Nineteenth Century will also be discussed in this chapter. The Board of National Education and the Denominational Schools Board were established in 1848. In 1866, they were replaced by the Council of Education. The establishment of these authorities lead to growing pressure on the Catholic Church to compromise its position on education. The Church, in response to modernity, had strident views about its role in education and was not prepared to compromise its position. The Church expressed its educational response to modernity in the encyclical of Pius XI, *Divini Illius Magistri*. This was the climax and apex of the Church’s response to secular forms of education.

### 3.1 First Catholic Schools

This chapter proposes that an understanding of the history of Catholic schools prior to the 1870s is necessary so that Catholic schools can navigate contemporary issues (that are perceived as problems) associated with students who are not Catholics and the role of the lay staff in Catholic schools. Both of these issues are not new. They are not problems. They have a place in culture of Catholic schools. In the early years of Catholic schools in Australia, their place was central. What follows are examples of the mostly unheralded work of lay teachers in Catholic schools and the place of non-Catholic students in Catholic schools. These examples serve to highlight the effect that clericalism and the privilege given to ordained and consecrated religious life had in downplaying, minimising and silencing the place of lay forms of religiosity and other-than-Catholic forms of religiosity.

#### 3.1.1 Examples of Early Catholic Schools with Lay Teachers and Non-Catholic Students

Schooling began in the colony in 1793 when Stephen Barnes was the teacher in a wattle and daub hut with sloping thatched roof on the corner of what is now Castlereagh Street and Hunter Street, Sydney. It was a school for all classes of
children and Richard Johnson was the Church of England chaplain at that school.\textsuperscript{2} Other schools existed in the area around Sydney cove. These catered for the children of military personnel, settlers and convicts. Before long, other schools were established further out from Sydney Cove. These included schools at Parramatta, Ryde, Bankstown and even Norfolk Island. In terms of Catholic schools, Maher contends that around the same time “Governor Hunter refers to a Catholic teacher who set up a private school in 1794, and this was almost certainly James Kenny.”\textsuperscript{3} Kenny came to New South Wales in 1793 and set up a private school in 1794.\textsuperscript{4} An advertisement appeared in \textit{The Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser} on Sunday 6 October 1805 advising of a school opening in The Rocks area by brothers John and James Kenny.\textsuperscript{5} John Kenny was also a schoolmaster. They both had trade work behind them: John was a baker; James a constable. Before their transportation to the colony it is thought that they also worked in hedge schools in Ireland.\textsuperscript{6} John Kenny’s life came to a violent end in 1807, but his brother James lived until the age of 73 and much of his life was devoted to education, especially for poor Catholic children. At best, the school in The Rocks area did not open for long. Possibly, it did not even open at all. If it did open, it did not remain open for long and the following year (1806) he opened a school for poor, Catholic children in Wilberforce in Hawkesbury area north-west of Sydney. Enrolments at that school included Catholics and non-Catholics.\textsuperscript{7} Kenny was granted 60 acres of land in Kurrajong, just west of Wilberforce and stayed in the area until at least 1817.

Kenny was also the recipient of a land grant, offered by James Meehan on behalf of Governor Macquarie in the Airds-Appin-Campbelltown region south west of Sydney.\textsuperscript{8} Later in life his son was granted land in the Lake George area, near present-day Canberra and James Kenny lived there with his son until his death. It is

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{2} Ibid., 13.
\item \textsuperscript{3} B. Maher, \textit{Planting the Celtic Cross: Foundations of the Catholic Archdiocese of Canberra and Goulburn} (Aranda: Brian Maher, 1997), 164.
\item \textsuperscript{4} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{5} The Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser, "Advertisement," \textit{The Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser} 1805, 6 October, 2.
\item \textsuperscript{6} McGee, \textit{The Forgotten Ones: Teachers in the Catholic Schools of New South Wales before 1880}, 16.
\item \textsuperscript{7} Ibid.
\end{itemize}
thought that he acted as a tutor in a school, or schools, established by his son and daughter-in-law in the Appin area.  

Another Catholic school came to be in 1806 when Jeremiah Cavanaugh was the schoolmaster for children of military officers in the military district of Sydney. He began his teaching there as a private tutor to the children of Major George Johnston. Eventually he was placed on the payroll of the New South Wales Corps where “a significant number of his pupils would have been Catholic, as many Irish served in British regiments and Irish emancipists were recruited for the garrison.”

Lay teachers were numbered in the hundreds in the period before the colonial Education Acts. They included George Morley – possibly Marley - who was a trained accountant who arrived in the colony in 1814. Morley was the head teacher at the Catholic school at Parramatta. The Parramatta Catholic school had an enrolment of thirty-one students, seven who were not Catholics. The quality of Morley’s teaching was such that the students at his school included William Tunks who would later go on to be a Member of the New South Wales Parliament and be selected to represent New South Wales in the first match between that state and Victoria. Another student taught by Morley was young James Martin who, later in life, would be the Premier and Attorney General of New South Wales. It was this James Martin after whom Martin Place in Sydney was named.

The Sydney Gazette of 13 December 1817 contained an advertisement placed by Farrell Cuffe about the opening of an evening school for “grown lads.” Farrell Cuffe was a schoolmaster who came to the colony on the Minerva in 1880. Upon arrival he worked as a labourer in the salt pans of New South Wales and also as a

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14 *The Forgotten Ones: Teachers in the Catholic Schools of New South Wales before 1880*, 21-22.
clerk. Father Jeremiah O’Flynn established a school in a double story brick house at 61 Pitt Street. Cuffe, it seems, was the teacher at this school. Then, in 1817 he opened his evening school for boys who could not otherwise afford an education. In 1825, Cuffe was granted land in the Southern Sydney and Illawarra district. It was in this part of the colony that many Catholics chose to “conform quietly, as far as was possible.” After 1809, many Irish Catholics, who were transported to the colony because of their roles in the Irish Rebellion of 1798, were emancipated or pardoned. James Meehan, who was one of the ’98 men went on to become a surveyor for the colonial government. Under his influence, many Catholics from the 1798 Rebellion came to be granted land in the southern areas of Sydney including Liverpool, Illawarra, Goulburn, Yass and Monaro. He settled with many other Catholics who were pioneers in that area.

Ryan provides an account of Catholic schools in Victoria from the time of the first Catholic school in Victoria (1839) to the decade after the passing of the Education Act by the Victorian Parliament in 1872. The 1883 Royal Commission on Education sought from Victorian Catholic schools information about their enrolments, costs and employment levels. At that stage, the Archdiocese of Melbourne had 101 Catholic schools. Fifty-two of these were one-teacher schools. Of the 353 teachers in the Archdiocesan schools, 292 of them were lay teachers and 61 were from the religious orders. In the Diocese of Ballarat in 1883 there were 39 Catholic schools. In total there were 117 teachers working in those schools. Seventy-four of them were lay teachers and 43 were teachers from the religious orders. In the Diocese of Sandhurst there were 29 schools in 1883 employing 73 teachers. Sixty-four of these teachers were lay and nine were from the religious orders.

These lay teachers also included Miss Troy who in 1841 began a private venture Catholic school in Elizabeth Street, Sydney. The advertisement for Miss Troy's school in The Australasian Chronicle on 06 February of that year suggests that, like

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16 A Touch of Green: Sydney’s First Catholic Schools and Their Sites, 8.
18 Ibid.
19 Waldersee, Catholic Society in New South Wales 1788-1860, 140.
Mr Morley, she was also trained and competent: her curriculum included “the usual routine of English education, the French and Italian languages, music, drawing, dancing, and plain and ornamental works”. The school would provide religious instruction for students “from the religious Sisters of Charity who will visit the school for the purpose.”22 This private venture school was given approval by the vicar general of Sydney and supported by the Sisters of Charity, but it was initiated and operated by a lay person.

3.1.2 Regulatory Structures: Towards Free, Compulsory and Secular Education

A development in education in New South Wales came in 1848 when Governor Fitzroy established two boards for the control of schools. The Board of National Education was responsible for the running of government-controlled schools. It was responsible for establishing those schools, and developing land and buildings for those schools. Among those who served on the committee that recommended the Board of National Education was Roger Therry, a prominent Catholic, the first Catholic appointed to a government position after the 1929 British Act (which allowed such appointments). Therry was appointed as Commissioner of the Court of requests.23 Therry’s support of the National system was shared by other prominent lay Catholics, namely W.A. Duncan (who delivered a speech in favour of the National system in Brisbane in 1850),24 and John Hubert Plunkett, who was Solicitor-General in New South Wales from 1832. Their support for the National system speaks to the fact that despite resistance to the National system by the bishops and clergy, there was not universal Catholic support of the Bishops’ position for a distinctive Catholic system of schooling.

The other board was the Denominational Schools Board, which was responsible for the Catholic, Church of England, Presbyterian and Wesleyan Methodist schools. The Denominational Schools Board “had the power to appoint and dismiss

22 Ibid.
24 W.A. Duncan, ”Lecture on National Education,” (Brisbane: State Library of Queensland, 1850).
teachers, pay their salaries and conduct inspections” but no assistance was provided for the purchasing of land, buildings or repairs. Of the two boards, the Denominational Schools Board was the poor cousin. It was poorly administered and did not serve teachers well. The Reverend J. McEncroe was, ultimately, the supervisor of Catholic schools. He provided oversight of local church boards but “provided minimum coordination...from his central office at St Mary’s Cathedral.”

The system of dual National and Denominational Boards concluded in 1866. The Public Schools Act of that year saw it replaced with a singular regulatory body, the Council of Education, which controlled all schools in receipt of government funding. Denominational schools were able to access funding provided they met the requirement of inspection and standards. However, with the new system many denominations were closing their schools, leaving Denominational schools dominated by Catholic schools. One of the consequences of this was increased sectarianism: “Anti-Catholic feeling grew as people of other denominations claimed that they should not have to support denominational schools that were now mainly Catholic.”

By the 1860s the Catholic hierarchy's opposition to the Council of Education was reaching its zenith because Denominational schools were being forced to compromise their position on education in order to continue receiving government funding. Many of the Irish clergy were zealous in their opposition to the extent that many politicians were coming to the view that religion should be kept out of education. Henry Parkes, one of the founding fathers of the Commonwealth of Australia, eventually “drew the conclusion that there was no place for clergymen in education.” It must be noted though that Parkes was raised in the English midlands, near Birmingham, a place of “traditional anti-Catholic distrust and distaste.”

The Provincial Council of Catholic Bishops (which comprised bishops from Hobart, Melbourne, Brisbane and Sydney) warned the Catholic community of

25 McGee, The Forgotten Ones: Teachers in the Catholic Schools of New South Wales before 1880, 40.
26 Maher, Planting the Celtic Cross: Foundations of the Catholic Archdiocese of Canberra and Goulburn, 169.
27 McGee, The Forgotten Ones: Teachers in the Catholic Schools of New South Wales before 1880, 58.
28 Maher, Planting the Celtic Cross: Foundations of the Catholic Archdiocese of Canberra and Goulburn, 171.
the corrupting and dissipating effect of the dual National/Denominational system.30

In the twenty years leading up to the first of the free, compulsory and secular Education Acts in 1972, a greater sense of sectarianism became evident in colonial society. On the one hand, this was due to the fervent, almost violent, opposition to a National system of schooling by the Irish clergy, and by the Irish in general. The shooting and wounding of the Duke of Edinburgh in Sydney in 1868 by a young Irishman named O'Farrell only hardened the sectarian sentiment at the time. On the other hand, there were Catholics who were not opposed to the National system of schools and who held a more moderate view of education. Compared to the Irish Clergy, and also Polding, who both maintained the primacy of the doctrinal content of education, those who were more moderate saw Catholic schools as useful for society and a means elevating Catholic social and civic aspirations.31 This chapter reveals that Catholics were not wholly united behind the clergy in their views on Catholic education. Whereas some maintained a vision of education that was centred on overt Catholic religiosity, others maintained a view that Catholic schools could co-exist tolerantly with other forms of education. On balance though, tolerance was difficult for the Irish mind. The Irish tradition was one of “combatting Protestantism and consolidating the faithful to prevent wastage. In this situation it was almost heresy to suggest toleration.”32

At the same time, the Church's hardening conservatism to modernism, science and nationalism served as a form of impetus to the free, secular and compulsory education acts of the colonies. With this resistance to the forces of modernism, the Catholic Church “could be sidelined as ‘extreme’.33 With the publication of The Syllabus of Errors by Pope Pius IX in 1864, the Church had made an “unequivocal denunciation of liberalism in general and State education in particular.”34 The

30 Ibid., 149-52.
31 G. Haines, Lay Catholics and the Education Question in Nineteenth Century New South Wales: The Shaping of a Decision (Sydney: Catholic Theological Faculty, St Patrick’s College, Manly, 1976), 44.
32 Ibid., 56.
arguments for secular schooling, in a sense, did not resist the role of Christianity in family and social life: “In that way, public schools would not be the home of Godlessness.”

3.1.3 Examples of Lay Teachers after the 1860s

Edmund Flannery was one teacher whose situation was typical of the day: he was a lay teacher in a Catholic school that had Catholic and non-Catholic students on the books. In the 1860s he arrived in Yass in the southern highlands of New South Wales and began teaching in the Catholic school there. He became a well-regarded teacher so much so that “his reputation brought a considerable number of non-Catholic children to the school and these predictably paid their fees more regularly than did the Catholics.” The student demographics of his school reveal that Catholic schools were not exclusively for Catholic students. Flannery would later leave Catholic schooling and work as an inspector for the Council of Education in the Sydney area. His colleagues from Catholic schools victimised him for leaving Catholic schools.

These lay teachers included Mr Patrick Newman, “a staunch and devout Catholic” until his death in 1909, who was a trained, popular and successful teacher in Catholic schools until 1880 and in public schools until he retired in 1901. Born in Ireland in 1832, Patrick Newman arrived in Australia in 1852. On arrival in the colony, he tried his hand in the goldfields, but later undertook teacher training at St Mary’s Model School in Sydney. He taught at two schools in Sydney before moving west to be the Headmaster at the Catholic school in Campbelltown (South-West of Sydney) in 1864. In what was common practice in the 1800s, he shared teaching duties at Campbelltown with his wife who taught needlework and looked after the younger students. Newman was well regarded in his local area and people

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35 Ibid.
37 Maher, Planting the Celtic Cross: Foundations of the Catholic Archdiocese of Canberra and Goulburn, 172.
38 McGee, The Forgotten Ones: Teachers in the Catholic Schools of New South Wales before 1880, 81.
sent their children to his school because of his character and quality of education. In 1880 Newman’s Catholic school had an enrolment of 147 students. Ninety-two (63%) of those students were Catholics. Fifty-five (37%) of those students were non-Catholics. Newman made note of this in his application to become the headmaster of the local public school in Campbelltown in August 1880.39

The first teachers in Catholic schools in Australia were lay teachers. Until recent times, they have largely been forgotten. A reason for their forgotten status has been noted by Luttrell who said that “there were hundreds of teachers in these [Catholic] schools up to 1870. Nearly all were lay people; the Religious Congregations became involved later. Unfortunately we have very limited information about these early teachers, perhaps because the first Catholic history was written by clergymen.”40 Maher offers a similar reason for the lack of knowledge about and lack of credit given to lay teachers prior to 1870: “While the religious orders had their own chroniclers, the early lay teachers had no scribe to record their labours systematically.”41 Lay teachers in the early Catholic schools have not diarised, journaled or kept other written accounts of their work. Consequently, their work has been overlooked and denied. However, in recent years their achievements and records in Catholic schools prior to the 1870s are being increasingly recognised.

Australian Catholic educator Charles McGee has undertaken archival work and research into the lay teachers in New South Wales prior to 1880.42 He numbers those lay teachers in the hundreds. Luttrell makes a similar observation about the number of lay teachers in Catholic schools.43 Luttrell and Lourey have described the normative staffing conditions of Catholic schools in the period before the colonial Education Acts of the 1870s and 1880s: “in the period up to the 1870s, there were scores of these [Catholic schools] established, nearly all small

39 Ibid., 85.
40 Luttrell, Worth the Struggle: Sydney Catholic Schools 1820-1995, 12.
41 Maher, Planting the Celtic Cross: Foundations of the Catholic Archdiocese of Canberra and Goulburn, 168.
42 McGee, The Forgotten Ones: Teachers in the Catholic Schools of New South Wales before 1880.
elementary schools run by one or two Irish teachers (often husband and wife).”

Mahon notes “the worth of some of these men [sic] was not recognised in a tangible way by Church authorities.”

The reality of Catholic schools for the most part of the Nineteenth Century was that they were instigated and operated by the laity. Certainly, the clerics and consecrated religious had a role to play in the oversight of Catholic schools, but the daily operation and teaching in Catholic schools was mostly the work of the lay teachers. That reality begs the question about contemporary claims about reduced Catholicity of schools where there is a predominant lay staff. Schuttloffel argues that the increase in the number of lay staff in Catholic schools and the reciprocal decrease in the number of consecrated religious teaching and leading in Catholic schools means that the Catholic identity of Catholic schools is at greater threat.

Schuttloffel argues that when consecrated religious have a presence in the Catholic school there is a form of “osmosis” that happens between the religious and the laity which allows the lay staff to “absorb the necessary spiritual formation”.

The dominant myth narrative seeks to not only elevate the place of the consecrated religious and the clerics, it also seeks to minimise the place of lay teachers in Catholic schools. However, “despite the insinuations of the critics, most teachers, even in the early days, were not failures in other walks of life. They chose teaching as a career and knew no other.” They faced their profession in the most difficult of circumstances. Their salary was less than those in the Board of National Education schools; their living arrangements were lacking by the standards of the day and their resources for teaching were minimal.

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44 Luttrell and Lourey, *St Mary’s to St Catherine’s: Catholic Schools of the Archdiocese of Sydney, 1836-2006*, vi.
45 Mahon, "Lay Teachers in Government Aided Schools in New South Wales 1848-1880,” 5.
47 Ibid.
3.1.4 Religious Orders and Gender

Catholic education in the first half of the Twentieth Century in Australia was not a uniform form of education. This was the case because the religious orders that came to open and govern schools (in response to the bishops’ requests for religious orders to maintain a separate Catholic schools system post the 1880s) reflected a variety of educational ideas. The first point of difference that could be found in Catholic schools was gender-based. Catholic boys schools and girls schools, although they shared the ultimate goal for students of loving God and earning an eternal life with God, had different educational goals for their students. In the Christian Brothers’ boys schools, students were encouraged to devote their lives to the service of God through priestly formation or joining the brothers.49 O’Donoghue argues,

The Church made no attempt to deny this position; indeed, those who had the role of visiting schools to encourage students to consider joining their respective religious orders stressed that the celibate state was the superior one as it freed nuns, brothers and priests from family responsibilities so that they could devote themselves totally to God’s work on earth.50

There was also a tension within Catholic schools caused by a hierarchy of orders. In essence, bishops and priests were considered superior to brothers who themselves were superior to nuns.51 The social structures of the religious orders, though, were not entirely different to the social structures in the wider community. That is, the stereotypes of the religious orders were similar to the gender stereotypes in Australia in the latter 1800s and the first half of the 1900s. For example, Australian society, like much of the Western world, operated on ‘separate spheres’52 whereby the sphere of the male was public life and business life and the sphere of the female was the home. Even in the female religious orders this model

51 ibid., 100.
of separate spheres was in place. The female religious orders consisted of the ‘choir nuns’ and ‘lay sisters’. The choir nuns were the more educated and their training (which usually took two and a half years) included preparation to be involved in teaching in schools and spiritual exercises and reading. The lay sisters were trained to engage in household duties thereby leaving their colleagues, the choir nuns, to be free to pursue their intellectual and spiritual development and duties.53

### 3.2 Divini Illius Magistri: Educational Climax of Catholic Opposition to Modernity

The period after the various colonial Education Acts and up to the promulgation of *Divini Illius Magistri* ('On the Christian Education of Youth') by Pius XI in 1929 marked a time of crisis in Catholic education in Australia. The threats to Catholic education were not only external in form (the withdrawal of government funding via the Education Acts), they were also internalised via a siege mentality that developed within Catholicism in response to perceived threats of “radical impiety, atheism, materialism, and theories most subversive of all morality.”54

The Church’s response to these perceived threats was to assert the Church above culture and to define the Church in terms of hierarchy whereby “the clergy always have precedence over the laity”55 and Catholicism alone can provide the context for a fully Christian education.56 These elements of clericalism and triumphalism, although addressed and discontinued at the Second Vatican Council, have continued to linger in contemporary Catholic education.

In educational terms, *Divini Illius Magistri* represented the climax of the Catholic opposition to modernity. It brought to the sphere of education an “inward-looking,

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hostile-to-the-world, sacred fortress mentality.” In this document, the Church asserted its ownership of education: because the ultimate goal of education was preparation for the eternal life, only the Catholic Church could provide that. Paragraph seven of Divini Illius Magistri reads,

> It is therefore as important to make no mistake in education, as it is to make no mistake in the pursuit of the last end, with which the whole work of education is intimately and necessarily connected. In fact, since education consists essentially in preparing man for what he must be and for what he must do here below, in order to attain the sublime end for which he was created, it is clear that there can be no true education which is not wholly directed to man’s last end, and that in the present order of Providence, since God has revealed Himself to us in the Person of His Only Begotten Son, who alone is “the way, the truth and the life,” there can be no ideally perfect education which is not Christian education.

Divini Illius Magistri represents a dualistic philosophy, one of Church above culture. The Church is the means by which the natural order (the world and people) can be elevated to the supernatural order with Christ: “the supernatural order, to which the Church owes her rights, not only does not in the least destroy the natural order, to which pertain the other rights mentioned, but elevates the natural and perfects it.”

This was the theological and ecclesial context of Catholic education from the Nineteenth Century through to the Second Vatican Council in the middle of the Twentieth Century.

### 3.3 Conclusion

This chapter has been concerned with the earliest Catholic schools in Australia. Those Catholic schools could be found in the infancy years of the colony and were

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59 Ibid., para. 28.
mostly the initiatives of the laity. It was lay men and women, oftentimes married couples, who established and taught in the Catholic schools that were established and operated up until around 1880. Support from the clergy was not uncommon, but the work of teaching and maintaining Catholic schools was done predominantly by the laity. Evidence would suggest that the lay teachers were oftentimes well-trained for their profession. Sometimes they provided religious instruction to their students after normal school hours in order to circumvent the orders of colonial Education Acts that legislated for secular forms of education.60

This chapter has also revealed that Catholic schools in this country have always had enrolments of students who are not Catholics. Croke alludes to the well-rehearsed notion of the “golden era” of Australian Catholic schooling.61 This era that “abounds in myths and tinted memories”62 is related to the dominant myth narrative discussed in chapter one. It is frequently invoked and often used as a yardstick against which the quality of Catholic education, and religious education in particular, is measured. Students who are not Catholics in Catholic schools are anathema according to the “Golden era” mythology: they weren’t there; they do not belong. History, however, reveals a different story. A survey of the Catholic schools in the early years of the colony, and in fact, in any period in Australian Catholic education, shows that students who are not Catholics have always had a place.

An awareness of the historical origins of Catholic education in Australia is important because it can help to collapse, or at least render more meaningful, the narrative arc63 that joins the dominant myth of Catholic education in Australia to the present understanding of Catholic education. Knowledge of the historical record of Catholic schooling in Australia can counter some of the unhelpful consequences that result from the traditional and dominant understanding of Catholic education.

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61 Croke, “Non-Catholics and Catholics in Catholic Schools in Australia,” 67.
62 Ibid.
Chapter 4 - The Second Vatican Council: An Opportunity to Review the Place of Non-Catholics in Catholic Schools

This chapter investigates the place of education at the Second Vatican Council. The Council represents a defining moment in the history of the Church. For contemporary Catholic schools, the Council can provide ecclesiological and theological foundations for how they understand the place of students who are not Catholics. This chapter elaborates on those foundations, offering in places an historical description of how those foundations came to be articulated by the Council.

First, this explains the significance of the Council in its historical and ecclesial context. Second, it identifies the continuing tension and debate about the Council and how that has affected its reception by the wider Church. This chapter argues that, on balance, the ecclesiology of the Council should inform the defining features of a Catholic school’s Catholicity. Third, this chapter elaborates on the key features of the Council. These are significant because they inform the letter and spirit of the Council and what can be said about the place of students who are not Catholics in Catholic schools. Finally, this chapter locates the conciliar texts that treat education and students who are not Catholics in Catholic schools and offers some analysis of those texts.

The Second Vatican Council has sometimes been interpreted as the council that turned the Church in a new direction. It is true that the Council was responsible for some innovations in the Church. However, the Council also affirmed much of the Church’s tradition. It was a council of both continuity and discontinuity. Three features of the Council considered in this chapter are the global church, ecumenism, and the relationship with non-Christian religions. These features of the Council are significant for Catholic schools as they engage with the issue of increasing enrolments of non-Catholic students because they could provide for

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Catholic schools a foundation for greater ecumenical and inter-religious openness. Collegiality and subsidiarity were two other features of the Council that are treated in this chapter. For Catholic schools, those two features can inform decision-making processes and the way that schools, at a local level, respond to diversity in enrolments. The Council is not peripheral to Catholic schools. It is a historically significant expression of the Church that can inform the way that Catholic schools express their Catholicity, especially in the context of increasing enrolments of non-Catholic students.

4.1. The Calling of the Council

In a symbolic gesture, John XXIII scheduled a trip to the Roman basilica of St Paul's Beyond the Walls on January 25, 1959 to preside at the concluding liturgy of the Week of Prayer for Christian Unity.² St Paul’s Beyond the Walls dates back to Constantinian times when the Emperor ordered the construction of the basilica to commemorate the promulgation of the edicts of religious tolerance. Its geographical location is significant: built approximately two kilometres outside the Aurelian Walls surrounding Rome, it is metaphorically on the way to the rest of the world. For the Catholic Church subsisting within Christianity divided, St Paul's Beyond the Walls had ecumenical significance for the calling of the Council.³ Its ecumenical importance continues to the present day. St Paul’s Beyond the Walls is the venue at where, each year on the day of the feast of the Conversion of St Paul (January 25), the pope solemnly opens the Week of Prayer for Christian Unity.

John XXIII chose this occasion to announce the Second Vatican Council. His announcement came less than ninety days into his pontificate, a pontificate expected to be transitional, short,⁴ tranquil, and lacking any overwhelming

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³ Such is the ecumenical importance of the basilica of St Paul's Beyond the Walls, the pope travels there each year to mark the beginning of the Week of Prayer for Christian Unity.
⁴ Alberigo and Komonchak, History of Vatican II: Announcing and Preparing Vatican Council II: Toward a New Era in Catholicism, 1, 2.
surprises. His announcement was met with respectful silence from the gathered cardinals and bishops. Ian Linden describes this announcement of the Pope as his (the pope’s) “granting of permission to sort things out.” An announcement, Linden claims, that was the beginning of a "seismic shift, the end of a distinct period in the life of the Church, heralding partial resolution of a number of longstanding arguments.”

The Second Vatican Council (1962-1965) was the twenty-first ecumenical council of the Church. An ecumenical council, also called a general council, is the highest earthly authority of the Church and is an assembly of the world’s bishops including and not without the Bishop of Rome (the pope). The Bishop of Rome serves as the president of an ecumenical council. The Second Vatican Council was similar to the previous ecumenical councils in some respects; it was also different from them in some significant respects. Richard P. McBrien notes five distinguishing features of the Second Vatican Council that allow it to lay claim to being the most significant of the Church’s councils: the number of delegates (2,600 bishops of a world total of 2,908), global representation (as opposed to the European-dominated Vatican I, for example), the extent of non-Catholic and lay representation at the Council, the technology available to the Council (including media coverage) and its pastoral and humanitarian purpose (as opposed to the doctrinal concerns of previous councils).

The significance of the Council has been noted by many: Andrew Greeley has described it as a “revolutionary event” with revolutionary consequences for the Catholic Church (especially in the United States); John W. O’Malley, discussing the accomplishment of the Council and the paradigmatic reform of Church life it initiated, has said, “I know of no other such assembly in history that undertook such a bold reshaping of the institution it represented, and did it with more fairness, serenity, and courage;” In a more recent paper, O’Malley has claimed

7 Ibid., 2.
8 McBrien, Catholicism, 655-57.
that a description of Vatican II as “the biggest meeting in the history of the world” is justifiable. Justo L. Gonzales has argued that the Council was so significant for the Church that it marked “a new epoch in its history;” McBrien has described it as the “institutional mechanism” which “transformed the Catholic Church from a clericalist, monarchical, unecumenical, and theologically rigid body to a community of radical equality in Christ – open to dialogue and collaboration with other Christian and non-Christian communities, with nonbelievers, and with the world at large.”

4.2. Reception

The Second Vatican Council has been interpreted abundantly and perhaps even to excess. Ironically, despite this abundance and excess, its reception has not settled. Whilst on balance its agenda of aggiornamento has been widely covered and positively received, it has not been universally received as such. Two poles of tension and division have marked the reception and interpretation of the council. First, reception of the Council is divided by minimising and maximising interpretations. A minimising interpretation, often associated with a conservative theology, plays down or reduces the importance and significance of the Council; a maximising interpretation elevates the Council’s importance in the life of the Church. Proponents of the former interpretation identify minimal interruption by the Council in the Church’s life. Proponents of the latter interpretation view all aspects of Church life through the lens of the Council and its documents.

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11 "Vatican II: Did Anything Happen?,” 10.
13 McBrien, Lives of the Popes: The Pontiffs from St Peter to John Paul II, 367.
14 Aggiornamento is often cited as the hallmark of Vatican II. It is Italian for renewal or updating. O’Malley (2006, p.13 & 2008, p.37) even suggests “modernising” as a bold interpretation of aggiornamento. The word was used by Pope John XXII in his opening speech to the first session of the Council. In this speech he called the Church to turn away from a fearful reading of, and a detachment from, the modern world and turn towards an optimistic, participatory engagement with the world.
15 O’Malley, "Vatican II: Did Anything Happen?,” 6.
Second, reception of the Council is divided by interpretations of continuity and discontinuity. Continuity refers to an understanding of the council as one that renews and reaffirms the life and tradition of the Church. An interpretation of continuity does not see the Council as an irretrievable breaking or changing of Church tradition. Proponents of discontinuity speak of a rupture or break in the tradition. They argue that the Council was marked by significant innovation. In 1985, the twentieth anniversary of the council, Pope John Paul II convened the Second Extraordinary General Assembly of the Synod of Bishops to address the issue of interpretation of the Second Vatican Council. This assembly emphasised an interpretative principle of continuity. It seems, forty-five years after the Council’s closing, that some balance is entering this interpretative landscape of the Council. McBrien, however, resists the polemic of “either/or”. Rather, he opts for a “both/and” approach noting that the Council has elements of continuity and elements of discontinuity. O’Malley also offers a balanced understanding of continuity and discontinuity. He says,

Is there a “before” and an “after” Vatican II? Is there any noteworthy discontinuity between the council and what preceded it? Did anything happen? When the council ended in 1965, some 40 years ago, practically everybody would have answered those questions with a resounding affirmative...Today, however, there are learned, thoughtful, and well-informed people who are responding in the negative. I could not be more in agreement with their affirmation of the profound continuity of the council with the Catholic tradition...however, I believe, that we must balance the picture by paying due attention to the discontinuities. When we do so, one thing at least becomes clear: the council wanted [italics not mine] something to happen.

Although education was a minor theme at the Council almost obscured behind the “twin pillars” Lumen Gentium (The Dogmatic Constitution of the Church) and Gaudium et Spes (The Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World)

\[19\] O’Malley, "Vatican II: Did Anything Happen?,” 32-33.
and other constitutional and decree themes, it nevertheless finds itself within these tensions.²⁰

Although education was not one of the major themes of the Council, it nevertheless has not been ignored. Akin to the Rashomon-effect,²¹ this chapter offers one point-of-view among many about education at the Council. This study acknowledges that the reception of the Council’s perspective on education is still contested; it continues to be interpreted. There has been no settling of what the Council meant in its educational comment.

Nevertheless, this chapter argues that the Council made comment in its documents about students who are not Catholics in Catholic schools and that this comment is only beginning to be received in Catholic education. Australian theologian Ormond Rush is an authority on interpretation of the Council. Richard McBrien²² names Rush’s work alongside that of O’Malley, the Final Report of the Extraordinary Synod of 1985 and McBrien himself as important interpretations of conciliar texts. In Still Interpreting Vatican II²³ Rush describes the concepts of “reception” and “non-reception” of the Council. He explains reception as “an interpreter’s or group of interpreters’ hermeneutical activity of making sense of people, events, traditions, or texts. Reception is the assimilation and ‘making one’s own’ of another reality.”²⁴ Importantly for this study, Rush adds a significant dimension of reception: “Reception includes judgements as to the value and importance of some elements over others; it involves selection, that is, decisions to explicitly retrieve and foreground a particular dimension of the tradition and to allow another dimension to recede into the background”.²⁵ The increasingly visible issue of students who are not Catholics in Catholic schools requires revisiting the Council to see what, if anything, the Council said about this issue. I contend in this chapter that the Second Vatican Council’s engagement with students who are not Catholics

²¹ The Rashomon-effect, so named after the movie Rashomon in which the rape of a woman and the murder of a man are told by a variety of narrators, highlights the probability that a singular event will be recalled differently, equivocally and contradictorily. It highlights the importance of point-of-view and the difficulty of determining what actually happened.
²² McBrien, The Church: The Evolution of Catholicism, 205-06.
²⁴ Ibid., 3.
²⁵ Ibid.
should be retrieved and ushered to the foreground of the Catholic tradition, especially the Catholic educational tradition. Then, it will assist schools and educators in knowing how to respond to the challenges – pastoral, pedagogical and catechetical – of the reality of increasing numbers of enrolled students in Catholic schools who are not Catholics.

4.3. The Ecclesiology of the Council

The Second Vatican Council was a watershed for the Church's self-understanding. Pascoe describes the Council as “the principal point of departure for development in the field of contemporary ecclesiology.” Ecclesiology refers to the theological study of the Church, its mission, ministry and structure. Such is the Second Vatican Council’s ecclesial significance, that study of the Church is often termed as either ‘pre-Vatican II ecclesiology’ or “post-Vatican II ecclesiology”. The Council has become the standard marker for understanding the Church.

Five features of the Council’s ecclesiology are important for this study: the move towards a global church, ecumenism, the Church’s relationship with non-Christian religions, collegiality and subsidiarity, all of which are discussed in detail below. They have significance for both the Council’s broad approach to education and for subsequent Vatican documents on education and what they say about students who are not Catholics in Catholic schools. They are significant because they provide an ecclesiological framework for Catholic schools as they address their increasing enrolments of students who are not Catholics. The ways in which the Council addressed three of these features – global church, ecumenism and the relationship with non-Christian religions – represented a discontinuity. That is, with regard to each of these features, the Council took the Church in a new direction that was more accommodating to people of other Christian traditions and other religions. The Second Vatican Council established itself as the historical marker of change for the Church: the Church’s triumphalist and exclusivist...
understanding of itself in the years prior to the Council was replaced – at least in the themes and documents of the Council - by a Church of greater openness to others. The other two features – collegiality and subsidiarity – pre-date the Council, but nevertheless, were hallmarks of the Council. They represent ways of acting in the Church. For Catholic schools, they signify ways that schools should make decisions about issues that affect them.

4.3.1 A Global Church

One development in ecclesiology, given demarcation by representative presence at the Council, was the trend towards a global Church. This trend was in contrast to the centralising forces acting in and upon the Church in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Developing in the centuries before the Council, and climaxing during the pontificate of Pio Nono (Pius the Ninth), the Church became increasingly Rome-centric. By the end of the nineteenth century and in response to the loss of the temporal sovereignty of the Papal States, the pope had centralised authority in dogma, the magisterium and in discipline. Such centralised authority was deemed a necessary response to the threats of the age of the Enlightenment and the beginnings of modernism. The democratic movements in Italy during the late nineteenth century provoked an antagonistic and defensive response from the pope. He successfully lobbied for the First Vatican Council (1869-1870) to promulgate the dogma of papal infallibility and he also released the Syllabus of Errors (1864). McBrien argues that this was “a way of enhancing the authority and prestige of an otherwise beleaguered papacy.” For the context of Catholic schooling, Chapman and O’Donoghue have argued that this response of the Church to the threats of the Enlightenment and liberalism resulted in the dominance of the teaching religious in Catholic schools in the latter part of the Nineteenth Century and the first half of the Twentieth Century:

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27 Alberigo and Komonchak, History of Vatican II: Announcing and Preparing Vatican Council II: Toward a New Era in Catholicism, 1, 73.
The threat, as the Church saw it, was coming from an increasingly pluralist and rationalistic society, and it responded by a vigorous assertion of its exclusive claims to truth and authority. A highly organised system of ecclesiastical administration which was clerically dominated and hierarchical, as well as being very strongly centralised, was also promoted.30

Then, in 1907 Pope Pius X promulgated the encyclical *Pascendi Dominici Gregis* (On the Doctrines of the Modernists). It begins with a description of the papal office that has as its primary task the defence of the faith against the errors of the world:

The office divinely committed to Us of feeding the Lord's flock has especially this duty assigned to it by Christ, namely, to guard with the greatest vigilance the deposit of the faith delivered to the saints, rejecting the profane novelties of words and oppositions of knowledge falsely so called. There has never been a time when this watchfulness of the supreme pastor was not necessary to the Catholic body; for, owing to the efforts of the enemy of the human race, there have never been lacking "men speaking perverse things" (Acts xx. 30), "vain talkers and seducers" (Tit. i. 10), "errring and driving into error" (2 Tim. iii. 13). Still it must be confessed that the number of the enemies of the cross of Christ has in these last days increased exceedingly, who are striving, by arts, entirely new and full of subtlety, to destroy the vital energy of the Church, and, if they can, to overthrow utterly Christ's kingdom itself.31

Kelty says of *Pascendi Dominici Gregis*, “the tone of this encyclical was notable as it denoted the defensive attitude Catholicism was to take vis-a-vis the modern world for the next fifty years.”32 The Church became heavily defensive and antagonistic towards the world. It was profoundly Roman.

The Council, however, ensured that the Church’s self-understanding would, from that time, be more global. Karl Rahner famously noted that the Council was “the beginning of a tentative approach by the Church to the discovery and official

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31 Pius X, "Pascendi Dominici Gregis (on the Doctrines of the Modernists),” http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/pius_x/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-x_enc_19070908_pascendi-dominici-gregis_en.html, para. 1
realization of itself as world-Church"\textsuperscript{33} In this sense the Church also came to understand a refined sense of collegiality, of a world-episcopate, not at the directive of or advisory to the pope, but rather with him in teaching and decision-making.\textsuperscript{34}

\subsection*{4.3.2 Ecumenism}

Ecumenism is the concern of the Church for unity within the Church. Although it has developed and flourished in a variety of forms since the early twentieth century – documentary, organisational, bilateral dialogues - it has a history that goes back to the earliest divisions in the Church. The New Testament witness to the many local communities of the Jesus movement often appeals to humility, charity and unity (Eph 4:13; 1 Cor 11:17-34; 1 Cor 12:12; Phil 4:1, Col 3:14). The first councils, such as those at Nicea (325CE) and Constantinople (381CE), were called to heal division or develop unity of doctrinal belief. The division between East and West, popularly dated to 1054, was followed by attempts at reunion over the course of centuries, albeit that many of these attempts were thinly guised impositions and forced latinisation by the Roman Church. Since the sixteenth century, the Christian Church has had to confront the divisions between Protestantism and Catholicism. Ironically, some attempts at healing these divisions have, paradoxically, lead to the establishment of new Christian churches, further exacerbating and crystallising division in the Church.\textsuperscript{35}

The modern ecumenical movement\textsuperscript{36} was first embraced by Protestantism in the first half of the twentieth century. However, the productive councils and

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item\textsuperscript{33} K Rahner, \textit{Concern for the Church}, vol. XX, Theological Investigations (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1981), 78.
\item\textsuperscript{34} Ibid., 80.
\item\textsuperscript{35} Jeffrey Gros, Eamon McManus, and Ann Riggs, \textit{Introduction to Ecumenism} (New York: Paulist Press, 1998), 19-25.
\item\textsuperscript{36} The modern ecumenical movement dates back to the Edinburgh Missionary Conference in 1910 and was an initiative of Protestantism. It led to the World Council of Churches in 1948. Initially, the Vatican viewed the World Council of Churches with suspicion but by 1961 it allowed Catholic observers to attend the New Delhi Assembly. The Catholic Church to this day is not a member of the World Council of Churches but retains cordial and productive relations with the Council.
\end{enumerate}
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conferences in the early years of this movement did not align with the Catholic understanding of ecumenism. The Catholic Church held that Christian unity was more about returning separated brethren to the fold of the Roman Church. In his 1928 encyclical *Mortalium Animos* Pius XI stated the Catholic position:

So, Venerable Brethren, it is clear why this Apostolic See has never allowed its subjects to take part in the assemblies of non-Catholics: for the union of Christians can only be promoted by promoting the return to the one true Church of Christ of those who are separated from it, for in the past they have unhappily left it. To the one true Church of Christ, we say, which is visible to all, and which is to remain, according to the will of its Author, exactly the same as He instituted it.

Although, this remained the official position of the Catholic Church, there were Catholic theologians and bishops who began to question this stance. It wasn’t until the pontificate of John XXIII and the Second Vatican Council itself that the Catholic Church’s ecumenical position took a significant reversal. *Humanae Salutis* was published in 1961 and formally marked John XXIII’s convocation of the Council. It gave a hint of his ecumenical agenda when he requested all Christians of Churches separated from Rome to pray for the ecumenical success of the council, that it may be to their advantage. One of the decrees of the Council – *Unitatis Redintegratio* (Decree on Ecumenism) - was addressed solely to the ecumenical issue.

### 4.3.3 Relationship with Non-Christian Religions

*Unitatis Redintegratio* served to bring the Catholic Church into the modern ecumenical movement. It ensured that the Roman Catholic Church would embrace the idea of Christian unity and make important contributions towards that goal. The Second Vatican Council also promulgated a declaration concerned with the Church’s relationship with other religions. This declaration was *Nostra Aetate*

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38 Pius XI, "Mortalium Animos (on Religious Unity),"
(Declaration on the Relation of the Church to Non-Christian Religions). *Nostra Aetate*, as it was promulgated in 1965, is a far cry from the document that was initially intended by Pope John XXIII. In calling the Council, John XXIII had only two broad objectives: internal reform of the Church and enhanced dialogue with other Christian Churches.\(^{39}\) However, it is also true that he desired the Council to make a declaration on the relationship between the Church and Jews.\(^{40}\) This desire stemmed from his earlier work as apostolic delegate in Bulgaria and Turkey in the 1930s.\(^{41}\) As apostolic delegate to these countries the pope took a personal interest in the welfare of Jews and became proactive in preventing deportations of Jews from Slovakia, Hungary and Bulgaria to the extermination camps in Poland.\(^{42}\) Such a close association with the Jews of the East heightened his sensitivities to the plight of Jews as well as to the instances of anti-Jewish practices in the Church’s life.

### 4.3.4 Colleghiality

An understanding of collegiality, and especially an historical understanding of collegiality, is important for understanding the Second Vatican Council. Collegiality was and continues to be an important feature of the Council. McBrien defines collegiality as

> the structured expression of the communal nature of the Church. It applies immediately to the unity that exists among all the local, or particular, churches in the universal Church and to their unity with the local church of Rome and its bishop, the pope. Collegiality is concerned with the relationship of the bishops – the episcopal hierarchy – to the papacy. It also applies to the pastoral

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\(^{40}\) Cassidy, *Ecumenism and Interreligious Dialogue*, 125.


\(^{42}\) "Declaration on the Relationship of the Church to Non-Christian Religions: Introduction and Commentary," 7-8.
Collaboration that marks (or should mark) their common work on behalf of the mission of the Church.  

Collegiality is not a modern idea; it did not have its birth at the Second Vatican Council. Although collegiality was a significant theme of the council, to attempt to grasp it only from the perspective of the council results in an incomplete understanding of the term. Rather, collegiality is a centuries old theological and canonical tradition and it requires a commensurate historical awareness.

A sense of collegiality can be found in the writings and actions of Cyprian, the third-century martyr-bishop of Carthage in northern Africa. Cyprian certainly held the view that the Bishop of Rome was the successor of Peter. However, he also held the view that all bishops were the successors of Peter. The one difference, in this regard, between the Bishop of Rome and the bishops of other dioceses was that the Bishop of Rome was the successor of Peter in the sense that he was the bishop of the church over which Peter presided. For Cyprian, each bishop had independence in his own jurisdiction and no other bishop can set himself up as the bishop of other bishops.

In the early Christian centuries, Rome was an important and prestigious church in the Mediterranean. It was the church of the Empire’s capital and largest city. It was the church of apostolic origins. For these reasons Cyprian afforded it unique respect. He regularly wrote to Rome informing the church there of decisions taken in Carthage. He also wrote to Rome following African synods. He wrote not seeking approval or ratification of synodal decisions, but rather in the hope that Rome would “agree that what the Africans were doing was the right thing for their situation.” This idea encapsulates Cyprian’s understanding of collegiality. Individual bishops had the right to act in ways that best served their local church. Sometimes this required actions that were different from, or even opposed to,
other bishops. Whether acting in similar or different ways, episcopal unity – collegiality – would be maintained with mutual bonds of charity and respect.46

However, Cyprian did not see his episcopacy as submissive to the Roman bishop: “while there was deference, respect and even imitation of what happened in the Roman church, Cyprian was never subservient or beholden to it.”47 Often, in his letters he disagreed with the leader of the Roman Church. He mocked Stephen I (Bishop of Rome between 254-257CE) because he rejected the need for rebaptism in the case of people who had been baptised by heretics and schismatics.48 This was not the only clash that Cyprian had with Stephen. He also disputed Stephen’s decision to restore a lapsed Spanish bishop to his bishopric. He also urged Stephen to depose Marcian (Bishop of Arles) who refused reconciliation to lapsed Christians in a time of persecution.49 There is also evidence suggesting that Cyprian was critical of Cornelius (Bishop of Rome between 251-253CE) and his openness to dialogue with excommunicated Carthaginian clergy.50

There is less certainty about the extent to which papal primacy existed in the early church. While Schatz suggests that a search for evidence of papal primacy, in the modern sense of the word, is redundant and ahistorical, he does suggest that “if one had asked a Christian in the year 100, 200, or even 300 whether the Bishop of Rome was the head of all Christians, or whether there was a supreme bishop over all the other bishops, and having the last word in questions affecting the whole Church, he or she would certainly have said no.”51 However, there are opposing views. Sullivan suggests there is “clear proof” that bishops of Rome in the early Church imposed their authority over other churches. This proof can be found in a letter from Firmilian, a third-century Bishop of Caesarea, to Stephen.52 O’Malley also suggests that Stephen was the first pope to impose a kind of papal primacy

46 Ibid., 105-06.
47 Ibid., 111.
50 Dunn, Cyprian and the Bishops of Rome: Questions of Papal Primacy in the Early Church, 111.
over other churches. However, this imposition was met with resistance - certainly, Cyprian was one source of resistance - and did not have universal acceptance.

Collegiality was a central theme of the Second Vatican Council. However, even to this day it competes with the powerful idea that the Church is an absolute monarchy with the pope as its earthly and in-all-respects-infallible leader. It is “an abstraction that indicates the relation inhering in each bishop by which each is oriented individually towards all of the other bishops in the college of bishops and collectively in their common responsibility for the entire Church.”

This competing idea had its origins in the papal-centralism of the late nineteenth century, especially the First Vatican Council. That council came to an abrupt end due to the Franco-Prussian War. It ended having promulgated the doctrines of papal primacy and papal infallibility. However, from here was borne the idea that bishops were the vicars of the pope. Collegiality, when understood correctly, confirms, as O’Malley says, that “the bishops are not, therefore, heads of a branch office of the Vatican.”

The Second Vatican Council, primarily but not exclusively a gathering of the bishops of the world, not only served as an exemplar of collegiality but also addressed collegiality in its most solemn constitution Lumen Gentium (Dogmatic Constitution on the Church). Chapter three (the longest chapter of the constitution) is concerned with the episcopate, the role of the bishop. Here, Paragraph 21 directly refers to the college of bishops:

> But Episcopal consecration, together with the office of sanctifying, also confers the office of teaching and of governing, which,

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however, of its very nature, can be exercised only in hierarchical communion with the head and the members of the college.\(^57\)

Then in paragraph 22, *Lumen Gentium* reminds the reader of the apostolic origins and ancient practice of collegiality. Collegiality among bishops runs parallel with the college of the apostles. This same collegiality was evident in the early centuries when bishops throughout the world (including Cyprian as mentioned above) acted in communion with one another, most especially in synodal gatherings.\(^58\)

Just as in the Gospel, the Lord so disposing, St. Peter and the other apostles constitute one apostolic college, so in a similar way the Roman Pontiff, the successor of Peter, and the bishops, the successors of the apostles, are joined together. Indeed, the very ancient practice whereby bishops duly established in all parts of the world were in communion with one another and with the Bishop of Rome in a bond of unity, charity and peace, and also the councils assembled together, in which more profound issues were settled in common, the opinion of the many having been prudently considered, both of these factors are already an indication of the collegiate character and aspect of the Episcopal order; and the ecumenical councils held in the course of centuries are also manifest proof of that same character.\(^59\)

### 4.3.5 Subsidiarity

The principle of subsidiarity, in its broadest terms, holds that nothing should be done at a higher level that can be done as well or better at a lower level.\(^60\) It was first enunciated in 1931 by Pope Pius XI\(^61\) in his social encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno*. In this context, the principle was applied to the tension between government and private initiative. Pius XI contended that the state should intervene only when the common good could not be achieved in a decentralised way:

\(^{57}\) Vatican Council II, "Dogmatic Constitution on the Church (Lumen Gentium)", para. 21.
\(^{59}\) Vatican Council II, "Dogmatic Constitution on the Church (Lumen Gentium)", para. 22.
\(^{60}\) McBrien, *Catholicism*, 945-46.
As history abundantly proves, it is true that on account of changed conditions many things which were done by small associations in former times cannot be done now save by large associations. Still, that most weighty principle, which cannot be set aside or changed, remains fixed and unshaken in social philosophy: Just as it is gravely wrong to take from individuals what they can accomplish by their own initiative and industry and give it to the community, so also it is an injustice and at the same time a grave evil and disturbance of right order to assign to a greater and higher association what lesser and subordinate organizations can do.62

And in the following paragraph:

The supreme authority of the State ought, therefore, to let subordinate groups handle matters and concerns of lesser importance, which would otherwise dissipate its efforts greatly. Thereby the State will more freely, powerfully, and effectively do all those things that belong to it alone because it alone can do them: directing, watching, urging, restraining, as occasion requires and necessity demands. Therefore, those in power should be sure that the more perfectly a graduated order is kept among the various associations, in observance of the principle of "subsidiary function," the stronger social authority and effectiveness will be the happier and more prosperous the condition of the State.63

Oftentimes, Catholic schools in Australia have varying enrolments of non-Catholic students due to their geographical location. The principle of subsidiarity, in terms of the focus of this study, defers decisions about enrolments to the local level. It may be that a policy decision will be more appropriate in one school and less appropriate in others.

4.4 Church Dialogue about Other Religions

Early in 1959 Pope John XXIII issued a directive to omit the word ‘perfidious’ from the solemn intercessions of the liturgy for Good Friday. Prior to this the Church included the following two intercessions: “Let us pray for the perfidious Jews” and

62 Ibid., para. 79.
63 Ibid., para 80.
“Almighty, eternal God, who in your mercy do not reject even Jewish perfidy”. It is worth noting that the English term “perfidious” has a particularly derogatory sense, but its Latin root means “unbelieving”. The word “perfidy” was used in other liturgical prayers and John XXIII had these changed as well. In particular, the formula for adult baptisms had reference to the perfidy of heretics, Jews, Muslims and pagans. The papers of John XXIII revealed a note that attributed this decision to his predecessor, Pius XII, who in his personal prayer removed the offensive and hostile words. Despite his concern for and association with Jews in Bulgaria and Turkey and his sensitivities to the unfriendly texts in the Church’s liturgy, it wasn’t until John XXIII met with Jules Isaac in 1960 that he began to consider the Jewish question as a conciliar imperative.

4.4.1 John XXIII Meets Jewish Educator, Jules Isaac

The most significant catalyst for Nostra Aetate was a meeting between Pope John and an 80-year-old, retired professor from France, Jules Isaac. Isaac was a Jew who had a distinguished history working in education in France: he had co-written a secondary school history textbook, had been an inspector of schools and was elevated to a senior position in the French Ministry of Culture. However, once racial laws were passed in 1940 banning Jews from most offices in the French government and some professions, he lost his job and was left on the streets with his family. His wife and daughter died in the Nazi concentration camps. Isaac then committed the rest of his life to making a difference in the world for his Jewish people. Subsequently, he became President of the Jewish-Christian Friendship Association and established a relationship with the local Catholic bishop, Monsignor de Provencheres. Inspired by John XXIII’s Good Friday gesture, he was encouraged by his friends to seek a papal audience. With the help of his local bishop the audience was organised. Isaac then meticulously prepared for his meeting with the pope: preparing papers in French and Italian; wondering what

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64 Alberigo and Komonchak, History of Vatican II: Announcing and Preparing Vatican Council II: Toward a New Era in Catholicism, 1, 394.
65 Ibid.
should be the essence of his message to the pontiff. He decided his goal was to seek a revision of the Church’s teaching about Jews and Judaism.67

Isaac's audience with the pope occurred in the early afternoon of 13 June 1960. The pope began by expressing to Isaac his personal devotion to the Old Testament and his connection with France. This was followed by further congenial discussion until Isaac, aware that his time was limited, took the lead in the discussion. He intimated that the Catholic Church’s teaching of contempt had created a spiritual ghetto that imprisoned Israel. He suggested that despite a growing feeling of respect towards Jews, there existed in the Church two poles of thought. Isaac suggested that the Church needed a proclamation from the highest office that the teaching of contempt was anti-Christian. He then presented his memorandum to the pope and suggested that a sub-committee could be formed to address the very question. John XXIII responded by saying he had been thinking of that since the beginning of their meeting.68 Despite the pope’s close affinity with the Jews, he had not heretofore consciously considered that the Jewish question should be a concern of the Council. It seems that the meeting with Jules Isaac was a catalyst for using the Council to address the Jewish question. Following the meeting, the pope directed Isaac to Cardinal Augustin Bea and instructed Bea, as President of the Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity, to prepare a schema on the relationship between the Church and the Jews.69

4.4.2 A Document about the Jews

Cardinal Bea and the members of the Secretariat for Christian Unity completed the first draft of *Decretum de Iudaeis* (Decree Concerning the Jews). It was a short statement of four paragraphs treating the Church's beginning in, and spiritual continuation from Israel; the Church’s love of the Jews from whom ‘sprang Christ

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the Lord'; the unity of the Church and the Jews in terms of their salvation with God and a condemnation of anti-Semitism.70

Although the members of the Secretariat were well pleased with their work and were beginning to sense the import of this document, political manoeuvring was to put a halt to its further progress to conciliar proclamation. On 12 June 1962 the World Jewish Congress announced that it was sending Dr Chaim Wardi to Rome as its official representative. This was partly due to the imminent beginning of the Council but more so to the desire of the Congress to have a representative in the major cities of the world. This decision was reported by the media as the Congress’ attempt to self-appoint an observer at the Council. This raised the ire of people within the Vatican and also that of a number of Arab governments. Such was the reaction to this affair that the Central Preparatory Commission decided to take the schema concerning the Jews off the agenda for the Council.71

Cardinal Bea then sought intervention from the pope to return the Declaration to the Council agenda. Also, other forces were at work seeking to keep the Jewish question alive: the issue was receiving noticeable press coverage; the Chief Rabbi of Rome made an address to the Council fathers requesting that the Church follow the lead of Pope John and do all it can to remove anti-Semitic ideas from its liturgy and prayers; and the World Council of Churches had adopted a resolution condemning anti-Semitism at its assembly in New Delhi in 1961. Sources against the issue came in the form of further Arab questions and intervention regarding the Church’s treatment of the Jews at the Council.72

4.4.3 Inclusion of the Jewish Question in the Decree on Ecumenism

Pope John acceded to Cardinal Bea’s request. The declaration was alive again. This time, however, it was included as part of the Decree on Ecumenism. The Secretariat redrafted its document adding a significant rejection of the charge of

deicide against the Jews and a warning to clergy to avoid anti-Semitic interpretations of the Passion. This new draft became Chapter IV of the Decree on Ecumenism.

There were differences of opinion as to whether the statement on the Jews belonged in the ecumenical decree. Those who believed it was right to include it with ecumenism argued that the Church had its roots in Israel, that the division of the Jews into those that accepted Jesus as Messiah and those that did not was the precursor to all subsequent divisions in the Church, and that Christians and Jews had a shared salvific history.73 Those that argued against the Declaration were either wary of the continued political instigations of Arab governments and did not want to agitate the situation further by releasing a statement on the Jews or didn’t believe that a statement on the Jews should be included in the Decree on Ecumenism.74

4.4.4 A Stand-Alone Document on Other Religions

The document was drafted again. This time, it was intended as an appendix to the Decree on Ecumenism and was called “On Jews and Non-Christians”. It remained substantively about the Jews but included a brief paragraph about Muslims.75 This draft removed the word “deicide” from the text but kept a sentence that treated the death of Christ: “They [members of the Church] should also guard against attributing to the Jews of our time what was done during Christ's Passion.”76 In his excellent commentary of the text, John Oesterreicher tells the story of a bishop who approached him complaining about the use of the word deicide. The bishop said to Oesterreicher that any statement that declares the Jews are not deicide would be insulting. “What would you say if someone suddenly announced, in public, ‘Oesterreicher is no thief? How would you like that?” [Oesterreicher replied,] “Your Excellency, that depends on the situation. If this ‘defence’ came like lightning out of a clear sky, I should of course be thunderstruck. But if, for years, I

73 Ibid., 50-53.
74 Ibid., 48.
75 Hastings, A Concise Guide to the Documents of the Second Vatican Council (Vol. 1), 197.
had been the victim of a slander, then I should feel that I had been set free by such public vindication. I should in fact be pleased about it.”

The debate about the relative worth of a statement on the Jews continued. Some believed it to be of great significance given the Church's less than perfect understanding of the Jews; others continued to be sympathetic to Arab governments who were concerned that any statement on the Jews would be received as a statement in support of the Israeli nation; still others within the Church were passively anti-Semitic themselves and were more concerned that the Council should affirm its traditional doctrines and practices.

As early as 1963 some of the Council fathers had proposed that the document on the Jews be expanded to include all non-Christians. Toward the end of the third session (1964) this proposal gathered momentum with support of more fathers. It also had the support of Paul VI who was keen to include a statement celebrating the variety of human experiences beyond Christianity to other religions.

In its justification of the document the Council said, “The aim of the Declaration is not an exhaustive presentation of the religions and their faults and weaknesses, it is rather to point to the connections between peoples and their religions which serve as a basis for dialogue and co-operation. Hence it takes more notice of that which unites (Christians and non-Christians) to one another.”

4.5 Addressing Education at the Council

Education was not a central concern of the Council. The constitutions of the Council were not directly about education. Most of the documents were directly theological and ecclesial in nature. However, one of the declarations, Gravissimum Educationis (The Declaration on Christian Education) addressed education, and

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77 Ibid., 65.
78 Ibid., 94.
another document, *Ad Gentes Divinitus* (The Decree on the Missionary Activity of the Church) made a comment about education.

4.5.1 The Declaration on Christian Education (*Gravissimum Educationis*)

The Council's document on Christian education exemplifies McBrien's “both/and” approach to conciliar reception, an approach supported by O'Malley (see above). It has elements that demonstrate continuity with the tradition and elements that demonstrate discontinuity with the tradition. Significantly for this study, continuity is evident in *Gravissimum Educationis*’ treatment of parents as the primary educators of their children. Discontinuity, or progress as Pohlschneider calls it, is evident in the document's openness to non-Catholic schools, other instruments of education and to the education of non-believers.

Contemporary Catholic education is the recipient of a long tradition upholding parents as the primary educators of their children. Almost all Catholic schools acknowledge this tradition in some form. It is heard at parent information sessions, written in school prospectuses and affirmed in school policy and mission statements. This tradition has continued since *Divini Illius Magistri*, the 1929 encyclical of Pope Pius XI. In that encyclical, Pius wrote:

> The family therefore holds directly from the Creator the mission and hence the right to educate the offspring, a right inalienable because inseparably joined to the strict obligation, a right anterior to any right whatever of civil society and of the State, and therefore inviolable on the part of any power on earth.

*Gravissimum Educationis* continued this tradition of affirming parents as primary educators. It emphasises the rights of parents to choose a school for their children and the duty of the State to support them with the necessary financial aid. To understand how this came about, one needs to understand the development of the text itself. The Council’s inclusion and continuation of the tradition of parental

80 Pius XI, "Divini Illius Magistri (on Christian Education)", para. 32.
primacy over education came about through the redaction and evolution of the
text itself. It was included in *Gravissimum Educationis* partly because of the
development of this text from a narrow-focused schema on Catholic schools to a
final, promulgated document on the broader topic of Christian education. It should
be noted that the first schema (draft) was titled *De Scholis Catholicis* (On Catholic
Schools). It initially included chapters on the principles of education, the
importance and requirements of the Catholic school, the rights of family and the
Church, the rights and duties of teachers, the necessity of preserving and
developing the Catholic school, the means required to maintain the Catholic school,
central organisation and cooperation.

A second draft was then developed and to the scheme were added two further
chapters, one on academic studies at Catholic and Church universities and another
on obedience to the Magisterium in theological science. This second draft was
reviewed in June 1962 and reworked to include three parts. The first part was
called “On Catholic Schools”; the second was called “On Academic Studies”; and the
third part was called “On Obedience to the Magisterium of the Church in Respect of
Theological Disciplines”. The third schema of the document took shape.

By April 1963, a fourth draft was prepared and sent to all the Council fathers. It
had three parts and clearly had broadened its scope beyond just that of the
Catholic school. The first part was a section on general education. The second part
was on Catholic schools in general and the third part was dedicated to Catholic
universities.

The Conciliar Commission on Seminaries, Studies and Catholic Education was
given the task of reviewing the comments made by the Council fathers. This
occurred during the second session of the council, in the northern Autumn of 1963.
The commission drafted a fifth schema of the document that included a preface
and three sections. The first section was on education in general. The second

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82 Ibid., 2.
83 Ibid., 3.
84 Ibid., 4.
section was on the school in general and the Catholic school in particular and the third section was on Catholic universities.

By January 1964 however, the Council’s Coordinating Commission sought to limit the amount of work that the council fathers had to attend to before the close of the council – by the end of the third session in 1964, eleven schemas remained unfinished. To that end, the Coordinating Commission asked the Conciliar Commission dealing with this document to reduce it to a votum about the importance of education and of Catholic schools. The Commission also suggested that the votum would outline the principles of education and culture. However, by April 1964 the Commission “decided that instead of a votum, propositiones would simply be compiled, as had been done with some of the other schemas. These propositions were to contain the essential points upon which the council fathers had to vote” (Pohlschneider, 1969, p. 4). Once they received the propositions however, many of the council fathers complained that such an important document had been reduced to such an unsatisfactory form. When the third session met in September 1964, the Conciliar Commission met to review the comments of the Council fathers about the propositions. It was clear that the original conception of the document, focused on Catholic schools, was too narrow. A document that more broadly treated education, and Christian education in particular, was required by the Council fathers. This led to the decision to change the propositions on Catholic schools to a declaration on Christian education. At this stage, time remained critical for the Commission. Nevertheless, a schema of the Declaration on Christian Education was developed.

Worldwide at this time there was an increase in the number of schools. Following the Second World War governments and international organisations were promoting education in greater ways. In particular, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) was promoting education as a means of sustaining peace and international understanding through its Associated Schools Project Network (ASPNet) which was initiated in 1953. Other factors that contributed to the growth of education at this time included
general population growth, campaigns against illiteracy and the raising of the compulsory school leaving age in a number of countries.85

However, the growth in the number of schools worldwide was not proportionately matched by the growth in the number of Catholic schools. As a result, many Catholic students were compelled to attend state schools. The Council fathers had to address the specific issue of Catholic schooling, but aware of the difficulties many faced in attending Catholic schools, they also had needed to address the education question more generally.

In November 1964, the declaration was presented to the Council. However, it was scheduled to be discussed for two days only. Only 21 of the Council fathers had the opportunity to speak to the document. A further 13 fathers had indicated a desire to address the declaration but, because of time, were prevented from doing so. They put their comments in writing for consideration by the Conciliar Commission in the months between the third and fourth sessions of the Council. In the meantime, on the 19th of November 1964, 1457 Council fathers voted in favour of the declaration; 419 fathers voted against it; three votes were invalid.86

Between the third and fourth sessions, the Conciliar Commission considered the contributions that had been submitted about the declaration. These contributions came from individual Council fathers and episcopal conferences. The Commission re-drafted the text – the eighth draft – for consideration at the final session of the council. This re-draft was twice as long. Despite an attempt by a block of bishops who opposed the declaration to have more discussion about the text, the majority of Council fathers were in favour of the declaration. On 28 October 1965 2290 fathers voted in favour of the declaration while 35 voted against it. With that vote, the Declaration of Christian Education was promulgated by the pope.87

The declaration, then, considered the importance and problem of education more generally. It sought to articulate the universal right to education (para. 1), the
nature of Christian education (para. 2) and the duties and rights of educators themselves (para. 3). It called on the educators in Catholic schools to do all they can to extend “more rapidly the benefits of suitable education and instruction throughout the world” (para 1). With regard to identifying educators, the Council upheld the teaching of Pius XI in *Divini Illius Magistri* about the primacy of parents:

> Since parents have given children their life, they are bound by the most serious obligation to educate their offspring and therefore must be recognized as the primary and principal educators. This role in education is so important that only with difficulty can it be supplied where it is lacking. Parents are the ones who must create a family atmosphere animated by love and respect for God and man, in which the well-rounded personal and social education of children is fostered. Hence the family is the first school of the social virtues that every society needs. It is particularly in the Christian family, enriched by the grace and office of the sacrament of matrimony, that children should be taught from their early years to have a knowledge of God according to the faith received in Baptism, to worship Him, and to love their neighbour.\(^{88}\)

In this sense the declaration acts in continuity with the educational tradition of the Church.

A second conciliar document, the *Declaration on Christian Education (Gravissimum Educationis)* recognises the universal right to education. However, it then offers a confused account about the enrolment of students who are not Catholics in Catholic schools and the service that the Catholic school can provide to these students. Paragraph 8 of this document notes three special functions of Catholic schools: to develop an atmosphere animated by the Gospel, to promote growth in baptismal life, and to direct culture to salvation.

> It is, however, the special function of the catholic [sic] school to develop in the school community an atmosphere animated by a spirit of liberty and charity based on the Gospel. It enables young people, while developing their own personalities to grow at the same time in that new life which has been given them in Baptism. Finally, it so directs the whole of human culture to the message of

salvation that the knowledge which the pupils acquire of the world, of life and of humanity is illumined by faith.\textsuperscript{89}

The second function named in this quote - the promotion of growth in the baptismal life of students - implies that students in Catholic schools are Christian. However, paragraph 9 of this document treats directly the different types of Catholic schools and students who are not Catholics: “the church attaches particular importance to schools, especially in the territories of newly founded churches, which include non-catholics [sic] among their pupils.”\textsuperscript{90} In this statement the Church acknowledges the presence of students who are not Catholics in Catholic schools and especially the importance of these students and their schools in areas of the world where Catholicism and Christianity are in their infancy. At the same time, although all Catholic schools should conform as far as possible to a particular Catholic identity, they will necessarily take on different forms according to local circumstances: “Although catholic [sic] schools may vary in kind from place to place, all schools which are in any way dependent on the church should conform as far as possible to this prototype.”\textsuperscript{91} Adding to the confusion, this document then calls on the Church to increase the effectiveness of schools “especially in caring for the poor, for those who are without family ties, and for non-believers.”\textsuperscript{92}

\textbf{4.5.2 The Decree on the Missionary Activity of the Church (Ad Gentes Divinitus)}

The \textit{Decree on the Missionary Activity of the Church (Ad Gentes Divinitus)} is particularly concerned with the evangelising and missionary work of the Church. This decree posits that Catholic schools are a valuable public service in the regulation of the affairs of social and economic life and that they are also the most valuable means of forming and developing Christian youth. The document states that:

Christians...should apply themselves with special care to the education of children and young people through various types of

\textsuperscript{89} Ibid., para. 8.
\textsuperscript{90} Ibid., para. 9.
\textsuperscript{91} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{92} Ibid.
schools, and these are not to be considered solely as an outstanding means for forming and developing a christian [sic] youth, but as a service of great value to people, especially in the developing countries, one that is ordered to raising human dignity and promoting more human conditions...In this work the faithful, after due consideration, should be eager to collaborate in projects initiated by private, public, state, or international bodies, or by other christian [sic] or even non-christian [sic] communities.93

It seems that the document supports the idea that Catholic schools will enrol Christian students who are not Catholics. It also suggests that Catholic schools can be of great service to students who are not Christians.

4.6 Conclusion

The Second Vatican Council was epochal in the history of the Church. Many features of the Council represented continuity of the Church tradition. However, other features represented discontinuity. Those latter features included the global church, ecumenism, and the relationship with non-Christian religions. For Catholic schools seeking to address their increasing enrolments of non-Catholic students, these features of the Council are significant. They can provide for Catholic schools a foundational platform for greater ecumenical and inter-religious openness. Collegiality and subsidiarity, two other features of the Council, represent two models for decision-making in the Catholic school. They represent Catholic ways of ‘doing business.’ The Council should not be overlooked by Catholic schools. It has ecclesial significance and addressed issues at the heart of the issue of students who are not Catholics in Catholic schools.

This chapter is concerned with Queensland Catholic education in the 1970s. This period saw the return of federally-funded state-aid to Catholic schools that had immediate and long-term consequences for the way in which Catholic education was structured and governed. An initial and unique Queensland response to the return of state-aid for Catholic schools was the Queensland Catholic Education Office commissioned report about the future of Catholic schools titled *Project Catholic “School”: A Blueprint for the Administration of Catholic Schools in Queensland*. The report sought to address questions about the best administrative structure for the governance of future Catholic schools, given the access to new funds. This chapter sets the historical context of this report and identifies the findings and implications of the report that are pertinent to this study. On the whole, this report reveals a general openness to the issue of students who are not Catholics in Catholic schools in the 1970s, an issue as much alive then as it is now.

### 5.1 The Historical Context of the Return to Lay Staffing and State Aid

The 1970s marked the beginning of a period where staff in Catholic schools moved from being dominated by the teaching religious to being dominated by lay teachers.¹ It was also the decade where a century of no state aid to non-government schools came to an end. The import of these changes was significant. The return to state aid allowed Catholic schooling to become more systematised and structured. The gradual move towards a dominant lay staffing profile raised the issue of religiosity and questions about the capacity of lay school educators to maintain a Catholic identity in the school. The religiosity of lay staff and their capacity to engender a Catholic identity for the school were indicative of the

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¹ O'Donoghue, "Rescuing Lay Teachers in Catholic Schools from Anonymity for the Period 1870-1970," 78-79.
transformation in Catholic schools during the course of the 1970s. It was a transformation brought on by a doubling of enrolment numbers in Catholic schools between the 1950s and the 1970s.

After the colonial Education Acts of the 1870s and 1880s, Catholic schools had operated in a self-managed and self-funded way. Their exclusion from State Aid for a century had resulted in a crudely formed system of Catholic schools overseen in each diocese by an episcopally-appointed school inspector. While the organisation of schooling was systemic in the sense of diocesan oversight, it was a form of organisation that, in hindsight, could be considered rudimentary compared to the systemic organisation that was to be developed in the years after the resolution of the state aid issue. Between 1880 and 1960, most new Catholic schools were founded by the religious orders; in the same period, many of the small Catholic schools founded prior to 1880 closed. ²

5.1.1 The Impact of Sectarianism and Perceptions about Religiosity on Lay Staffing in Catholic Schools

The significance of the move towards predominantly lay staffing in Catholic schools must be understood in the context of perceptions about the religiosity of the laity. The religiosity of lay teachers had come to be questioned³ in part due to the prevailing Catholic culture of the previous century where sectarianism elevated Catholicism over Protestantism and other forms of religiosity, and where clericalism elevated the ordained and consecrated religious over and above the laity. These phenomena require some historical context.

During the century of independence, from the 1870s to the 1970s, the Catholic Church continued to place great emphasis on Catholic schools as part and parcel of

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² Luttrell and Lourey, *St Mary’s to St Catherine’s: Catholic Schools of the Archdiocese of Sydney, 1836-2006*, vii.
³ Graham, "Daring to Engage: Religious and Spiritual Formation of Lay Catholic Educators in Australia."
Australian Catholicism. This emphasis was evident in the pronouncement from the First Provincial Council of Bishops meeting in Melbourne in 1869 that insisted that the education of young people and the Catholic faith are inseparable. The bishops made a close link between religion and education that remains to the present day. This idea that religion should be infused through all aspects of education was the main reason why the Australian Church hierarchy committed to a system of Catholic schools after the loss of funding in the 1870s. Australian Catholic educators and missiologists Therese D’Orsa and Jim D’Orsa have said that in the century from the 1870s onwards, “education was seen as the principal way in which the Church reached out to Catholic people, the policy was often ‘schools before churches.’” Catholic schools, therefore, were seen as the seedbeds of faithfulness and Church loyalty.

Even before the Education Acts of the 1870s, the Church in the colony placed great importance on Catholic education. John Bede Polding was a Benedictine and the first Archbishop of Sydney. He was born in Liverpool (then in the county of Lancashire) in 1794. He arrived in Sydney in 1835 and, initially with fellow Benedictine William Ullathorne, he aspired to bring the Benedictine vision, which had flourished in Europe, to the colony. However, like Polding’s request to Rome that all future Archbishops of Sydney be chosen from the Benedictines, Benedictine monasticism did not succeed. There were not enough Benedictines willing to come to the great south land to continue the mission. Polding though, was known for his pastoral concern for the people. He often travelled from Sydney to the outback to minister to Catholics, and newly-arrived convicts were entrusted to his care for a few days before they were assigned.

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Education was also a concern of Polding's: “From his earliest days in the colony Polding concentrated attention on Catholic schools. He sought to increase their number and improve their quality.” By 1836 he had established or maintained 13 primary schools, seven for boys and six for girls. In 1837 he asked two lay married couples to establish Catholic schools in Wollongong and West Dapto.

This commitment of Polding and other bishops to Catholic schooling and the emphasis they placed on Catholic schooling in the wider life of the Church ran parallel with a battle played out in Australian culture between the Catholic worldview and Protestant and secular worldviews. After the promulgation of the “free, compulsory and secular” education acts (Victoria in 1872, Queensland in 1875, New South Wales in 1880), Australian Catholics “gird[ed] their loins for the fight against secularism” and the fight against anti-Catholic feeling. Kelty attested as much when he argued that “the beginning of Catholic school systems during the nineteenth century, in the United States and Australia, was conceived by the bishops as a means of offering an education to Catholics which was fully religious in the face of secularism.” This fight against secularism and sectarianism manifested itself in regular battles between the Catholic Church and governments about state aid for Catholic schools.

The legacy of this battle cannot be understated. By the time funding of non-government schools had been granted with the release of the Australian Schools Commission report (the Karmel Report) in 1973, there had been a century of sectarianism and religion-state animosity. Catholics, and especially those Catholics involved in Catholic education, inherited a mistrust of other-than-Catholic religiosity and a mistrust of anything understood as “secular”. Anything or anyone not explicitly identified as Catholic was understood to be the antithesis of

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8 McGee, The Forgotten Ones: Teachers in the Catholic Schools of New South Wales before 1880, 28.
9 Ibid., 31-32.

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Catholic schools and usually only welcome in the context of market viability. Even within the Catholic tradition itself, some people were more Catholic than others and therefore, they were more acceptable and their presence brought greater Catholicity to Catholic schools. Those people were the members of the ordained clergy and the religious congregations. Catholic lay teachers – because they did not belong to the consecrated religious orders – were in a sense less Catholic than priests, nuns and brothers.\(^\text{16}\)

So, by the 1970s, when lay staff were increasing in number in Catholic schools and the teaching religious were declining, there existed an historical and developed perception that the religiosity of lay teachers was somewhat less than that of the ordained and consecrated religious who were teaching in schools. The capacity of lay teachers to maintain an appropriately Catholic ethos and environment in Catholic schools was questioned.

### 5.1.2 State Aid and the Growth in Catholic Schools

The return to mostly lay personnel in Catholic schools\(^\text{17}\) was concurrent with the Karmel decision in favour of funding for non-government schools and the development of Catholic schooling systems that followed it. The ‘Karmel Report’ was the popular name given to the 1973 report of the Australian Schools Commission – chaired by Professor Peter Karmel - which “recommended steep increases in the amount of funding for schools across all sectors.”\(^\text{18}\) Before this decision Catholic schools were coming under mounting financial pressure. Between 1950 and 1975, the number of students in Australian Catholic schools


\(^{\text{16}}\) O’Donoghue, "Rescuing Lay Teachers In Catholic Schools from Anonymity for the Period 1870-1970," 79-82.


more than doubled. Mostly, this was due to the baby boom after the Second World War and the federal government immigration agenda following the war. More students necessitated a need for more staff. The religious orders could not provide more staff, and so Catholic schools came under increasing pressures to provide more lay staff in schools: “Catholic schools were at breaking point.”

The securing of federal government “would change fundamentally the relationship between Catholic education and government authorities.” That funding meant that Catholic schools and systems finally had “energies [that] could be expended on matters of a more reflective turn.” These matters for greater reflection included the nature and purpose of Catholic schooling. Consequently, Catholic schools were in a position to ask questions such as ‘who belongs in a Catholic school?’ and ‘who is responsible for the pastoral focus of Catholic schools?’

An initial response to the financial support offered by the federal government in the 1960s and the Karmel Report of the 1970s was a review of Queensland Catholic schools, finalised as a report titled Project Catholic “School”: Renewal of Vision: A Blueprint for the Administration of Catholic Schools in Queensland. The word “School” in the title was placed in inverted commas in order to convey to the report’s readership the idea that the contemporary understanding of school was not necessarily accepted as the best or definitive form of Catholic education.

5.2 Brief History of Project Catholic “School”

Project Catholic “School” was led by a team of people mostly from the Queensland Catholic Education Office. The project team was led by Sr Anne McLay, rsm (General Councillor of the Sisters of Mercy and Research Consultant with the Queensland Catholic Education Office) and included Alan Druery (Secretary,
Queensland Catholic Education Office), Paul Corkeron (Planning Officer, Queensland Catholic Education Office), Denise Coghlan, rsm (General Councillor of the Sisters of Mercy) and Associate Professor A. Ross Thomas (University of New England) who acted as a consultant to the project team. The project team was established in 1976 and published its report in 1979.24

Project Catholic “School” was concerned with the future of Catholic schooling in Queensland. Its primary purpose was to devise an administrative model that could be adopted by Catholic education authorities to meet the future needs of Catholic schools. Many of its recommendations in chapter six are concerned with the principles and structures of school organisation. However, the genesis of Project Catholic “School” lay also in the heightened role of the federal government (via the Australian Schools Commission) in Catholic school funding and by the “shift within the [Catholic] schools from a predominantly religious to a predominantly lay staffed system.”25 The introduction to Project Catholic “School” hints at the significance of these issues for the project team: It notes that “the main pastoral work of Catholic schools of Australia has been borne to date by religious, especially religious women”26 and that Catholic schools are in a period of transition towards predominantly lay staffing. These issues, somewhat different to questions regarding administrative modelling, were the reason why the project team noted “many of our recommendations are about…the building of a strong ‘Catholic consciousness’ within our schools.”27

This transition towards predominantly lay staffing of Catholic schools, Project Catholic “School” suggests, should be seen in the context of the traditional image of the Catholic school. It is a move from a system of Catholic schools each connected to “the local parish with the parish priest as the top local authority…staffed and administered by teachers who were clearly identifiable as religious through their dress, habitation, mode of living and close involvement in parish life”28 to a system

26 Ibid., 4.
27 Ibid., 14.
28 Ibid.
of Catholic schools where the “traditional image is in the process of being broken. The historic symbols are being lost. The schools are now predominantly staffed by lay-men and lay-women – quite frequently non-Catholics, certainly not so readily recognizable as committed to the religious goals of the school...There is no longer the urgency for the Catholic minority to be ‘emancipated’ socially.”

5.2.1 Ending the tradition of a hierarchy of religiosity

Significantly for this study, the introduction to Project Catholic “School” also made an important point about a tension between the tradition of a hierarchy of religiosity in the Church and about a theological emphasis unfolding after the Second Vatican Council. The tradition – noted in chapter two above - was that priests and the religious orders provided for Catholic schools an image that was identifiably Catholic. Stated in other ways, the tradition was that lay teachers, even though they may have been Catholic, do not provide the same image as the teaching religious.

But the Second Vatican Council emphasised a change from that idea in its articulation of the priesthood of all believers. Lumen Gentium countered a purely hierarchical understanding of religiosity in the Church with the idea that all are called to the priesthood of Christ and to make a contribution to a better understanding of the gospel.30 “Catholic men and women are also prophets or teachers in the Church, even as they recognise the authoritative teaching of the hierarchy.”31 Australian theologian, Anne Hunt, has noted,

The council’s teaching on the laity, their rights and duties was one of its ground-breaking achievements. In the much expanded vision of the role of the laity which the council opened up as a corollary of its new ecclesial self-understanding, the council challenged both the ordained and the laity to a renewed sense of coresponsibility for the shared koinonia and mission of the church

29 Ibid.
and the development of the structures and processes to enable it.32

The authors of Project Catholic “School” sought to address this teaching from the Council. It was a tension for the authors of the report because although the Council had affirmed that lay teachers in Catholic schools – in terms of their religiosity for ministerial witness and pastoral work – were not less than those who belonged to the clergy or to the religious orders, the awareness of this affirmation may not have been received by the stakeholders in Queensland Catholic education. The report authors were aware that Catholic schools of the future would be increasingly staffed by lay educators and that would require reception of the Council’s teaching on the laity by stakeholders in Queensland Catholic schools. As the introduction of Project Catholic “School” notes, “the greatest problem lies, probably, in a general lack of awareness that all Christians participate in the Church’s mission and that, while there are a variety of ministerial gifts, all are equal, co-responsible, and interdependent.”33 Ultimately, Project Catholic “School” affirmed the role of the lay teacher and the lay teacher’s capacity to engender a Catholic identity in the Catholic school.

The treatment of the religiosity of staff in Project Catholic “School” is relevant for this study because it can shed light on perceptions about the religiosity of students. The survey results from stakeholders revealed that by the mid-1970s, the impetus of the Council in terms of its teaching about the priesthood of all believers and the coresponsibility of the laity and the religious, was, in fact, beginning to be received. The authors of Project Catholic “School” were cognisant of the Council’s teaching and that awareness was present in the stakeholders who responded to the survey. Project Catholic “School” revealed that 66% of stakeholders disagreed with the idea that all students should be Catholics and 76% of stakeholders disagreed that only children of practising Catholics should be enrolled.34 It seems, by the 1970s, the long-held tradition of sectarianism (in terms of who belongs in Catholic schools) was not having the traction it once had.

34 Ibid., 135.
5.3 Project Catholic “School” and Students who are not Catholics

Given the wider context, including the Vatican context, of Catholic education at this time, there are particular issues in Project Catholic “School” that are pertinent to the presence of students who are not Catholics in Catholic schools. They are issues that can inform contemporary Catholic schools about how they might address students who are not Catholics.

First, chapter two invites a knowledge of history so that the nature of contemporary schools might be better understood in the context of history. Of particular interest to this study is the narrative in chapter two about the first Catholic Bishop of Queensland, James Quinn. Quinn was installed as Bishop in 1859 and died in office in 1881. McLay et al shed light on Quinn’s tolerance and his pragmatic approach to Christian charity and to humanitarianism. They argue that Quinn had a “vision of a pluralist Australia, where diverse religions and national groups could live harmoniously together without repudiating their accidental cultural differences.”  

During the period of Quinn’s episcopacy, Brisbane Catholics shared functions with Protestants, had schools declared open to all, were forbidden to proselytise and had schools where the student cohort included “a considerable number of non-catholics [sic].” He was often “censured by other members of his church for undue familiarity with Protestants.”

At the same time and despite his apparent ecumenical openness, Quinn had an uncompromising view of discipline and authority. Haines described Quinn’s model of authority (alongside that of two bishops of New South Wales) when it came to Catholic education: “They had little confidence in the laity in this regard and they distrusted many of their priests, especially the ignorant and drunken ones they so

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36 Ibid.
often encountered. None of them was able to delegate authority: they ruled as despots.”

So, although the issue of students who are not Catholics in Catholic schools might seem to be gaining more traction at the present time, it is not a new issue. Non-Catholic students have been a concern in Catholic schools since the beginning of Catholic education in Australia. Since the advent of Catholic schooling in Australia, students who are not Catholics have had a presence in those schools. Their presence has, at times, been welcome and a means by which each Catholic school has offered a public service to its community. The enrolment of students who are not Catholics has also been one way that Catholic schools have sought to embrace their local and surrounding community.

5.3.1 Survey results

Data for Project Catholic “School” was collected through questionnaires (first and second phase), written responses to newspaper advertisements and interviews and think tank sessions. The first phase questionnaire, written responses and interview and think tank sessions were used to construct a Profile of the Ideal Catholic School. This Profile evolved through four versions (the final version was called A Profile of the Catholic School of the Future). It was written around six parts (or topics):

Part 1: The Catholic school as a community of Christian faith

Part 2: The religious atmosphere of the Catholic school generated by the presence of committed Christian staff and the faith and values of parents and students.

Part 3: Education for personhood and responsible freedom.

Part 4: The cultivation of intellectual and educational values.

38 Haines, Lay Catholics and the Education Question in Nineteenth Century New South Wales: The Shaping of a Decision, 93.
Part 5: The orientation to community, especially parents-school relationships.

Part 6: Cyclical evaluation of structures and processes.

The second phase questionnaire “was arranged about those topics.”\(^{39}\) It was structured in such a way that it sought positive statements that would reflect how each topic could flourish in the ideal Catholic school. It also sought statements from respondents about how current processes in schools hindered the development of each topic. Analysis of the data from this questionnaire was collated and classified into one of nine significant areas of study:\(^{40}\)

1. The role of parents
2. Students
3. Staff selection and the role of staff
4. Catholic education as Christian ministry
5. Curriculum development within the school
6. The role of parish clergy
7. Centralisation/decentralisation and boards of education at the local level
8. Organisation and relationships within and beyond the school
9. Funding

The data from the second phase questionnaire generated a raft of implications, amounting to 63 pages of the report. The authors of *Project Catholic “School”: Renewal of Vision: A Blueprint for the Administration of Catholic Schools in Queensland,*\(^{46}\) set out the implications according to each of these nine areas of study. The implications were preceded by a message to relevant stakeholders (such as principals and staff, diocesan authorities, parents and religious orders) and followed by percentile results of the questionnaire in tabular form.

Some of the implications were pertinent to the issue of students who are not Catholics in Catholic schools and demonstrate that this issue had organisational traction during this critical time for Catholic education in Queensland in the mid-


\(^{40}\) Ibid., 80.
1970s. The issues pertinent to this study are set out below in the order they are presented according to the nine significant areas of study.

5.3.1.1 Lack of Acceptance of Different Theological Viewpoints Within the Catholic Tradition

The data revealed a perception amongst parents (65%) of a lack of acceptance of different theological viewpoints within the Catholic tradition. That is to say that most parents were of the opinion that only a uniform theological view was acceptable in the Catholic school environment. Similar results were found in the responses from the clergy (60%) (significant area of study #9). There was higher percentage of acceptance of this from central administrators (87%) and secondary principals (82%). This finding was considered a deficiency by the project team. That is, it was a factor that tended to prevent the achievement of school objectives. It would seem that, even within the Catholic tradition itself, there was a desire for religious diversity as a means of enhancing the quality of the Catholic school and its reception in the local community. This was evident in the concurrently promulgated Vatican document, The Catholic School when it noted that pluralistic society demands that the local church must solve its particular local problems “within its own social-cultural context.” This includes the religious context of the school and the religious diversity of the school’s student cohort. Key stakeholders surveyed for Project Catholic “School” thought that the objectives of the Catholic school would be better able to be met when there exists a spectrum of religious opinion within the school community.

41 Ibid., 84, 87.
42 Ibid., 118, 21.
43 Ibid., 87.
44 Ibid., 84.
46 Ibid., para. 2.
5.3.1.2 The Degree of Openness of Student Enrolment (Commitment to Catholicism)

In the words of the project authors, “there was strong disagreement with the proposal that all students should be Catholic or that only children of practising Catholics should be enrolled.”47 19% of respondents agreed with the proposal that all students be Catholics. 66% of respondents disagreed with this proposal and 16% were uncertain about the proposal. Only 10% of respondents agreed with the proposal that all students be children of practising Catholics, 76% disagreed with this proposal and 14% were uncertain.48 Respondents to the questionnaire were clearly open to the idea that Catholic schools should enrol students who were not Catholics. This raises doubts, at least at this time in the history of Catholic education in Queensland, about traditional understandings of what Catholic schools are and who belongs in them. Arthur has enunciated the traditional understanding (albeit from an English perspective) in this way:

...the traditional policy positions of the Catholic Church in England, which were namely to ensure the existence of a Catholic education (curriculum) for Catholic children (admissions) taught by Catholic teachers (appointments) in Catholic schools (control).49

The Australian Catholic bishop Michael Putney has offered a similar recollection of this traditional view of the Australian Catholic school, arguing that it would have been established by Catholic authorities, to serve the needs of Catholic families, enrolling students who were both Catholic and active participants in Catholic Eucharist on Sunday and taught a Catholic curriculum by Catholic teachers.50 Arthur and Putney give further weight to the pervasiveness of the dominant myth of the creation of Catholic schools as mentioned in chapter one. In spite of this traditional view, Project Catholic “School” suggested something different for Catholic schools of the future. It suggested that there should be "consideration of the degree of openness of student enrolment in terms of commitment to

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48 Ibid., 90.
Catholicism and of moral behaviour.”\textsuperscript{51} Project Catholic “School” proposed an approach to student enrolments in Catholic schools that differed from the traditional view. It anticipated a more religiously-diverse student cohort in the Catholic school.

\subsection*{5.3.1.3 Religious Adherence of Catholic School Staff}

The data revealed that stakeholders thought that teachers in Catholic schools should be committed Christians. However, there was “strong disagreement with the thought that all staff should be committed Catholics.”\textsuperscript{52} It seems that the openness that stakeholders felt towards the religious identity of students was extended to staff. However, respondents proffered a qualification about staffing that they did not offer about students, namely that staff should be committed Christians. This raises tension with one of the concerns of this study, namely the degree to which Catholic students affect the Catholicity of the Catholic school. These findings of Project Catholic “School” suggest that the stakeholders had an understanding that it was more the religious commitment of the staff that contributed to the identity of the school than it was the religious commitment of the students. Presumably, stakeholders felt that staff were more responsible for maintaining the Christian ethos of the school and thus needed to be Christians.

\subsection*{5.3.1.4 Openness as a Form of Service}

Questionnaire data affirmed the idea that the Catholic school is a form of the Church’s educational ministry. Ministry, the report suggested, could be categorised according to three elements of Christian life and teaching: doctrine, fellowship and service.\textsuperscript{53} Significantly for this study, the “openness” of the Catholic school was considered as a part of the service of the Catholic school. In this regard, the report noted the stakeholders’ “rejection of the selection criteria aiming for a student

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item McLay et al., “Project Catholic “School”: Renewal of Vision: A Blueprint for the Administration of Catholic Schools in Queensland,” 89.
\item Ibid., 95.
\item Ibid., 99.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
population and a staff that are completely Catholic." It seems clear that the data received from the questionnaire revealed an attitude of welcoming of students who are not Catholics.

### 5.3.1.5 The Teaching of the Great Religions Other than Christianity

One of the implications from the questionnaire data that has indirect relevance to this study is that Catholic schools introduce programs to make students aware of the great religions other than Christianity. Again, this reflects openness to religious diversity. Not only did stakeholders desire that Catholic schools represent a religiously diverse student body, they also desired that students be educated in the great religions of the world. 72% of respondents agreed with the proposal that students be taught religions other than Christianity. They rejected a mono-religious perspective in curriculum design.

### 5.3.1.6 Compulsory Attendance at School Worship

One of the proposals in the second stage questionnaire was that attendance of students at school worship and other religious services be compulsory. Overall, 43% of people agreed with this proposal; 41% disagreed; 16% were uncertain. However, there were differing responses between stakeholders. A majority of parents (55%) and 46% of primary staff agreed with the proposal. However, the majority of central administrators (61%), priests (53%) and secondary principals (52%) disagreed with this proposal. Interestingly, those with a seemingly greater interest in attendance at worship as a measure of the religious atmosphere of the school – priests and central administrators – were those who most strongly disagreed with this proposal. This is of interest to contemporary Catholic schools because it proffers a contradiction with some contemporary ideas about the place of worship in Catholic schools. The Catholic Bishops of New South Wales and the

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54 Ibid., 100.  
55 Ibid., 113.  
56 Ibid., 135.  
57 Ibid.
Australian Capital territory have argued that Catholic schools “are Eucharistic communities within the parish context where, as far as possible, students regularly take part in Mass and Reconciliation.” However, Project Catholic “School” reveals that there has been difference of opinion about worship in a Catholic school. A majority of senior personnel in Catholic schools in Queensland in the 1970s expressed a view that worship in the Catholic school should not be compulsory.

5.3.2 Reception of Project Catholic School

For the purposes of this study, Project Catholic “School” is informative about the history of Catholic schooling in Queensland. First, it is a reminder of the paradigmatic time of the 1970s for Catholic schooling. Despite contemporary concerns that the present age is “pivotal...or a major point of transition,” Project Catholic “School” was the product of a particularly transitional period for Catholic schooling in Queensland. The 1970s and the return to a system of government funded Catholic schools was particularly significant because it gave Catholic schools opportunity to broaden their educational and pastoral horizons. Project Catholic “School” was an initial exercise in exploring what those horizons might be.

Second, the 1970s saw the return to predominantly lay-staffed Catholic schools. The significance of this for the religious and pastoral life of Catholic schools is important because it marked a time where the Catholicity of schools began to assume added importance, while a traditional marker of school Catholicity – priests and the religious orders – was on the decline. Those two issues seem to be magnified in importance today: the Catholicity of schools is being questioned and challenged in ways not previously seen and the presence of priests, nuns and brothers in Catholic schools has virtually disappeared.

58 Catholic Bishops of New South Wales and the Australian Capital Territory, Catholic Schools at a Crossroads: Pastoral Letter of the Bishops of NSW and the Act, 10.
Third, a review of Project Catholic “School” reveals that the issue of students who are not Catholics was of significant interest for those involved in Catholic education in Queensland at the time. In general, the project is telling about an openness to a religiously diverse Catholic school. Stakeholders at the time favoured a student cohort that included students who were not Catholics. They desired an educational curriculum that included exposure to religions other than Christianity. There was a degree of openness to the idea that attendance at religious worship not be compulsory. To a lesser degree, stakeholders were less open to the idea of a religiously diverse staff: while they did not expect all staff to be committed Catholics, they did expect staff to be committed Christians.

5.4 The Catholic School

The three-year period of the Project Catholic “School” review coincided with the promulgation of The Catholic School, a 1977 document from the Vatican’s Sacred Congregation for Catholic Education. The project team named this document in chapter two noting that it re-affirmed the teaching of the Second Vatican Council about Christian education, namely, that Catholic schools have value and validity in national school systems. Catholic schools contribute to educational systems and thus are an authentic apostolate of the Church.

The Catholic School sought to expound on the contribution of Catholic schools especially in a changing global context. It sought to reaffirm the Church’s teaching about Christian education from the Second Vatican Council in a world marked by cultural pluralism, relativism, secularism, materialism, pragmatism and technocracy. The Catholic School reiterates the educational value of the Catholic education system.

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*Education Journal of Australia* 25, no. 2 (2009); Chambers, "Students Who Are Not Catholics in Catholic Schools: Lessons from the Second Vatican Council About the Catholicity of Schools."


school especially in the context of its apostolic and civic usefulness.\textsuperscript{64} That is to say, \textit{The Catholic School} recognised the religious and public roles of Catholic schools and their complementary value to national education systems.

This Vatican document seeks to identify these roles within a disposition of cultural engagement with the world: “A close examination of the various definitions of school and of new educational trends at every level, leads one to formulate the concept of school as a place of integral formation by means of a systematic and critical assimilation of culture.”\textsuperscript{65} The Catholic school, even though one of its roles is for a particular religious formation for some of its students, has a place within national state-based systems of education. This place includes openness to the enrolment of students who are not Catholics and the provision of a quality education for them.

Whether or not the Catholic community forms its young people in the faith by means of a Catholic school, a Catholic school in itself is far from being divisive or presumptuous. It does not exacerbate differences, but rather aids cooperation and contact with others. It opens itself to others and respects their way of thinking and of living. It wants to share their anxieties and their hopes as it, indeed, shares their present and future lot in this world.\textsuperscript{66}

\subsection*{5.4.1 The Public Role of the Catholic School}

Related to openness is the public role of the Catholic school. This issue is given significant treatment in the congregational documents of the Church but is often ignored in local documents of the Church about education. If it is not ignored, it is usually only given cursory treatment in the context of welcoming students who are not Catholics. Documents of the Australian Church at episcopal levels and at the level of diocesan education office do not name, explicitly, the public role of the

\begin{footnotes}
\item[64] See para’s 4, 9, 73-77, 81-82.
\item[66] Ibid., para. 57.
\end{footnotes}
Catholic school. This prompts the question about that public role. A review of the
Church’s documents about Catholic education from the Congregation for Catholic
Education reveals that the Church has had much to say about the public role of the
Catholic school. It is a consistent theme in Church documents. Yet, it rarely gets
attention in religious education theory and policy.

The Second Vatican Council, in its document *Gravissimum Educationis*, espoused
the religious and public usefulness of different types of Catholic schools. It clearly
established the ecclesial identity of the Catholic school. That is, the Catholic school
is in effect, an agency of the Church; it represents an educational arm of the Church
itself. It would seem, to that end, the Catholic school has a role to play in education,
catechesis and evangelisation. At the same time though, *Gravissimum Educationis*
also espoused the public role of the Catholic school in the context of Catholic
schools having similar functions to all schools:

> The influence of the Church in the field of education is shown in a
special manner by the Catholic school. No less than other schools
does the Catholic school pursue cultural goals and the human
formation of youth.67

This supports the idea that Catholic schools have a public role. They should
welcome students who are not Catholics. Indeed, they should welcome students
who are not Christians. The reason for this welcome is that Catholic schools are not
intended to be a form of sub-culture or religiously insular institutions in ways like
Catholic seminaries. Catholic seminaries are for Catholics, by Catholics, for the
purpose of formation into the Catholic priesthood. Catholic schools on the other
hand, whilst they have an important role to play in the catechetical and religious
formation of Catholic students, are not solely for that purpose. They have a public
role to play in service to the wider community.

This public role is further supported in *Gravissimum Educationis* when it suggests,
as was mentioned in chapter two, that priests should give especial assistance to
students and families who are strangers to the gift of faith.68

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67 Vatican Council II, "Declaration on Christian Education (Gravissimum Educationis)", para. 8.
68 Ibid., para. 9.
Educationis does not qualify or describe that assistance, but it does point to a priority for, and openness to, students and families from outside the Catholic community. To be clear, the document does not state that priests should give especial assistance to Catholic students; rather, it espouses a form of priority for those students without faith.

The Sacred Congregation for Catholic Education in its 1977 document, The Catholic School said:

Such agreements [by way of arrangements, conventions and contracts with governments] have been reached through the good offices of the respective governments, which have recognised the public service provided by Catholic schools, and through the determination of the Bishops and the Catholic community at the national level. These solutions are an encouragement to those responsible for Catholic schools in countries where the Catholic community must still shoulder a very heavy burden of cost to maintain an often highly important network of Catholic schools. These Catholics need to be assured, as they strive to regularise the frequent injustices in their school situation, that they are not only helping to provide every child with an education that respects his complete development, but they are also defending freedom of teaching and the right of parents to choose an education for their children which conforms to their legitimate requirements.69

Here again, the public role of the Catholic school is espoused in a congregational document. In this instance it is in the context of government funding. The Church here acknowledges the collaboration of Catholic schools with state and government agencies in securing the existence of Catholic schools. Catholic schools in Australia since the election of the Labor Government under Gough Whitlam in 1972 and the subsequent Karmel Report in 1973 have had access to government funding. That government funding carries with it a requirement of public accountability. In the century of no government funding (1870s to 1970s) Catholic schools were supported by the Catholic community and those who paid fees in Catholic schools. It has been argued that this period of self-funding was critical to the establishment of the vitality and particular identity of Catholic schools: “The struggles of the previous decades [prior to the 1960s], however, had made

69 Sacred Congregation for Catholic Education, “The Catholic School,” para. 82.
religious character, [sic] a key aspect of the culture of Catholic schools and within this RE was a critical aspect of the schools’ rationale."

In the Congregation for Catholic Education’s 1988 document, The Religious Dimension for Education in a Catholic School, the public role of the Catholic school was raised again. In the section titled “The Catholic School as an Open Community” the Congregation articulates the Catholic school as a service to the local community and to wider society. It notes the work done by Catholic schools in forming good citizens and the collaboration between the church and governments. In an implied reference to funding, the Congregation notes the injustice of accepting the public service without offering public monetary support. Again, here is the issue of accountability that also feeds into the funding debate. Government funds require some public accountability.

That Catholic schools help to form good citizens is a fact apparent to everyone. Both government policy and public opinion should, therefore, recognize the work these schools do as a real service to society. It is unjust to accept the service and ignore or fight against its source. Fortunately, a good number of countries seem to have a growing understanding of and sympathy for the Catholic school. A recent survey conducted by the Congregation demonstrates that a new age may be dawning.

Nevertheless, although the Church documents at Vatican level often make implied or explicit reference to state funding of Catholic schools when it discusses the public role of the Catholic school, they do remain separate issues. To be sure, congregational documents regularly note the public role of the Catholic school. This study suggests that this public role is, according to Church documentation, a distinctive feature of Catholic schools.

In the 1997 Congregation for Catholic Education document, The Catholic School on the Threshold of the Third Millennium, the public role of the Catholic school was raised again.

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72 Ibid., para. 46.
The school cannot be considered separately from other educational institutions and administered as an entity apart, but must be related to the world of politics, economy, culture and society as a whole. For her part the Catholic school must be firmly resolved to take the new cultural situation in her stride and, by her refusal to accept unquestioningly educational projects which are merely partial, be an example and stimulus for other educational institutions, in the forefront of ecclesial community's concern for education. In this way the Catholic school's public role is clearly perceived. It has not come into being as a private initiative, but as an expression of the reality of the Church, having by its very nature a public character. It fulfils a service of public usefulness and, although clearly and decidedly configured in the perspective of the Catholic faith, is not reserved to Catholics only, but is open to all those who appreciate and share its qualified educational project. This dimension of openness becomes particularly evident in countries in which Christians are not in the majority or developing countries, where Catholic schools have always promoted civil progress and human development without discrimination of any kind. Catholic schools, moreover, like state schools, fulfil a public role, for their presence guarantees cultural and educational pluralism and, above all, the freedom and right of families to see that their children receive the sort of education they wish for them.73

Again, this text highlights the concern of the Catholic Church for education more broadly. It locates the Catholic school within a system of a plurality of schools. Catholic schools exist in a form of partnership, or on equal footing, to other schools, including state-governed schools. This text highlights again the argument of the Catholic Church, articulated since the days of colonial education, that a full and rounded education must include and be coherent with the religious dimension of life. However, the text is not antithetical to, or dismissive of, other forms of schools. Rather, it sees a goodness and health in a variety of school forms. This text can be considered an example of the Catholic Church seeking to enter into and embrace the world through its educational mission. It is unequivocal about the public role of the Catholic school and the service the Catholic school provides to the wider society. For the purposes of this study, the document clearly states that the Catholic school is not for Catholics alone. It is open to all. However, this text places a caveat on this openness: The Catholic school is open to "all those who

appreciate and share its qualified educational project.”\textsuperscript{74} This quote has been taken up in the defining features of Catholic schools as stated in \textit{The Queensland Bishops Project: Catholic Schools for the 21st Century}.\textsuperscript{75}

\section*{5.5 Conclusion}

This chapter has revealed that the election of the Whitlam Government and findings of the Karmel Report marked a return to government funding for Catholic schools. This new source of funding allowed the beginning of more systematised and bureaucratic systems of Catholic schools. The growth in those systems coincided with strong growth in student numbers in Catholic schools and a move away from a staffing profile that consisted mostly of the teaching religious, towards a primarily lay staffing profile. In Queensland, Project Catholic “School” was an opportunity for the Catholic education sector in that state to consider, in light of new funding sources, what a Catholic school of the future might look like. The findings of \textit{Project Catholic “School”} revealed that, in many regards, there was an evolving sense of openness about diverse religiosity and who might belong in Catholic schools. In the main, stakeholders welcomed a religious diversity in the student cohort, they considered that welcome a form of service to the wider society and they thought that the teaching of other religions in the Catholic school was worthwhile. At the same time, the Vatican document, \textit{The Catholic School} recognised both the religious and public roles of Catholic schools and their complementary value to national education systems. The public role of the Catholic school has not yet been fully received by Australian Catholic education. Nevertheless, the inward-looking, sectarian and defensive attitudes of the past about who belonged in Catholic schools appeared to be being challenged.

\textsuperscript{74} Ibid., para. 16.
\textsuperscript{75} Queensland Catholic Education Commission, ”The Queensland Bishops Project: Catholic Schools for the 21st Century,” 10.
Chapter 6 – Unanswered Questions

The purpose of this chapter is fourfold. First, it reveals the paradigmatic change that occurred in Catholic schools in the period from the late 1980s through to the early years of the Twenty-First Century. That change included a move towards greater clarity about the educational and catechetical capacities of the Catholic school. Yet that clarity also exposed a contradiction for Catholic schools and their diverse student enrolments. The capacity of the Catholic school to engage in catechesis with its students was put in the context of catechesis as a life-long process and a process best suited to a faith community.¹ The capacity of the Catholic school to engage in catechesis was limited because it does not have students for life and Catholic schools are not faith communities in the same way that parishes are faith communities.² Yet, at the same time, Catholic schools were coming under forms of pressure to ensure that they were initiating people into traditional forms of Catholic faithfulness, namely parish membership and sacramental life (including Sunday worship).³

Second, this chapter expounds on the increasing degree to which Catholic schools and diocesan systems were managed by lay people. During that period the replacement of the ordained clergy and consecrated religious in schools by lay teachers and education professionals was consolidated. This occurred among the teaching ranks in Catholic schools themselves and also in leadership and staffing positions in central diocesan education offices. In the midst of this ‘religious-to-lay’ change, Catholic education offices became increasingly complex and bureaucratised. By the end of this period, Catholic schools were more likely to be systemically governed and managed (by lay people) and less likely to be parish

owned with hands-on management by the parish priest. As a result, religiosity of lay staff again became an issue that ran concurrently with the increasing enrolments of non-Catholic students in Catholic schools. Perceptions of religiosity – which have historical grounding in Australian Catholic education (see chapter one) - were the impetus for questions about both developments: Can lay staff engender and maintain the Catholic identity of the school in the same ways as the teaching religious? Does the presence of non-Catholic students have a detrimental affect on the Catholic identity of the school?

A third purpose of this chapter is to show that the Church’s educational documents continued to reveal a view of Catholic education that was culturally-aligned, and not oppositional to culture. In the period under review in this chapter, the Vatican’s Congregation for Catholic Education released two documents: The Religious Dimension of Education in a Catholic School (1988)\(^4\) and The Catholic School on the Threshold of the Third Millennium (1997).\(^5\) Both documents addressed the place of students who are not Catholics in Catholic schools: consistent with previous educational documents of the church, they conveyed a welcome to non-Catholic students.\(^6\) The two documents also place the Catholic school in the midst of its surrounding culture in a position where it is “firmly resolved to take the new cultural situation in her stride.”\(^7\)

Fourth, this chapter considers a 2001 report commissioned by the Queensland Catholic Education Commission titled, The Queensland Bishops’ Project: Catholic Schools for the 21st Century. This document remains significant for Catholic education because it was one of the first to articulate the tension between maintaining a strong Catholic identity in Catholic schools and at the same time offering, in historically novel ways for the Church hierarchy, Catholic schools as open and accessible to students and families, including those who are not

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\(^4\) Congregation for Catholic Education, "The Religious Dimension of Education in a Catholic School".
\(^5\) "The Catholic School on the Threshold of the Third Millennium".
\(^7\) "The Catholic School on the Threshold of the Third Millennium", para. 16.
Catholics, and who value and share the school’s qualified educational project. This articulation of the tension between maintaining Catholic identity and being open to others was a precursor to the fundamental challenge of inter-cultural dialogue in the Catholic school as proposed by The Congregation for Catholic Education in its 2013 document *Educating to intercultural dialogue in Catholic schools: Living in harmony for a civilization of love* (see chapter six). However, in terms of offering a response about resolving the tension between maintaining Catholic identity and being open to plurality, the documents addressed in this chapter were silent.


A significant document for Catholic schools was promulgated by the Vatican's Congregation for Catholic Education in 1988. This document, *The Religious Dimension of Education in a Catholic School*, sought to further develop the themes articulated in Vatican and congregational documents since the Second Vatican Council including *Gravissimum Educationis* (1965), *The Catholic School* (1977) and *Lay Catholics in Schools: Witnesses to Faith* (1982). *The Religious Dimension of Education in a Catholic School* proposes the Catholic school as a form of mediator between faith and culture. It asserts the responsibility of the Catholic school to be faithful to the Gospel and attuned to the prevailing culture in which it exists.

The document has also assumed significance for religious education in Australian Catholic schools because of its articulation of two dimensions of religious education: religious instruction and catechesis. This has been widely received and applied in diocesan education systems and religious education curricula, especially in Queensland. Of relevance to this study in particular, is that the document explicitly articulates an understanding of religious education in the context of student cohorts in Catholic schools that include increasing numbers of students

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who are not Catholics. In three places in that document, it acknowledges the presence of students who are not Catholics in Catholic schools and hints at some of the consequences of that presence for the formation of faith in Catholic schools.¹⁰ In religiously diverse student cohorts, catechesis presents a tension for Catholic schools. Traditionally, and even to the current day, Catholic schools offer catechesis in a unilateral way. That is, the students in the Catholic school are offered the same catechetical program regardless of their religious affiliation. Sometimes, and in some ways, that program is imposed on students. The Religious Dimension of Education in a Catholic School made clear the problem of imposition of catechesis: “To proclaim or to offer is not to impose, however; the latter suggests a moral violence which is strictly forbidden, both by the Gospel and by Church law.”¹¹ This text, which remains mostly unknown to those in Catholic schools, assumes heightened currency in Catholic school environments with enrolments of students who are not Catholics.

The increasing awareness of religious plurality in the student cohort makes the traditional offering of the catechetical program problematic. It begs questions for Catholic schools of the like: do our students understand that our catechetical program is a form of offer? What is the school’s response if students decline the offer of catechesis? Are we to offer faith-forming opportunities in the home tradition of the student?

6.1.1 The Relationship between Catholic Schools and Culture

The Religious Dimension of Education in a Catholic School continues the teaching of the Church since Gravissimum Educationis about the alignment between Catholic education and the prevailing culture. That is, it seeks to apply the Church’s teaching about the importance of Christian education and the religious dimension of that education to a world that had developed and changed in the twenty years

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¹¹ Ibid., para. 6.
since the Council. In particular, *The Religious Dimension of Education in a Catholic School* identifies this changed world with a greater religious diversity especially evident in the school,“a wide choice of educational opportunities, and complex communication systems,” and “religious questioning of young people.” It requires that the Catholic school be a community of “integral human formation.” A key purpose of the document is to assist those in charge of Catholic schools in establishing, maintaining and promoting the religious dimension of the school for a student cohort that is different from student cohorts at the time of the Council and for a staffing profile that is mostly lay.

However, for those involved in contemporary Catholic schools, the difficulty is the contradiction between the principles and content of *The Religious Dimension of Education in a Catholic School* and the historical legacy of Catholic schools in Australia. In chapter one, it was argued that the dominant myth of the origins of Catholic schools held that the Catholic school served to maintain the Catholic faith and serve the Catholic Church in a hostile environment of sectarianism. In Australia’s colonial times there was a religious mentality of “us and them” which pitted Irish Catholicism up against British Protestantism. The tension was as much social, civic and cultural as it was religious. In particular, the nature of the religious tension was such that Catholic schools sought to develop better Catholics. In terms of religious education, their primary task was catechetical: it was imperative for the Catholic school to foster a Catholic culture. Even up until the 1960s, “religious education was defined in terms of Church and belief: religious education in school was a form of Church catechesis.” To that end, the myth endorsed a strongly catechetical understanding of the Catholic school.

According to the myth, it is anathema that a Catholic school might distance itself from the task of maintaining church affiliation and observance. But, *The Religious Dimension of Education in a Catholic School* reminds educators that times have changed.

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12 Ibid.
13 Ibid., para. 8.
14 Ibid., para. 20.
15 Ibid., para. 98.
changed and that religious pluralism is an increasingly dominant feature of society and Catholic schools. Catholic schools, although cognisant of this diverse student enrolment profile, seek ways of enhancing Catholic identity in this context. The paradigms and cultural understandings of the past cannot always serve the present. *The Religious Dimension of Education in a Catholic School* invites the question, what might Catholic education then look like in a pluralist landscape?

When considered from the perspective of those who hold to the unhistorical, mythical origins of Catholic education in Australia (mentioned in chapter one), an embrace of religious pluralism and the prevailing culture in Catholic schools can be perceived as a threat. The idea that a Catholic school might offer limited or no opportunities for faith formation for some students is contrary to the ideas sustained by the myth. The myth emphasises that the primary function of Catholic schools is church maintenance. Accordingly, catechesis assumes added importance in this view of Catholic education. To suggest then that catechesis might be limited in the Catholic school is a threat to this view. It reveals a contradiction that demonstrates the complexity of the issue of students who are not Catholics in Catholic schools. Catholic schools are historically and culturally bound to a dominant narrative about their origins in this country that emphasises sectarian loyalty and defence against anti-Catholic and secular sentiment. Yet Vatican documents on Catholic education suggest that Catholic schools are open to non-Catholic students, the possibility for catechesis is limited in Catholic schools and that Catholic schools should take their surrounding culture in their stride. And again, at the same time, students who are not Catholics are taking their place in Catholic schools in increasing numbers.

### 6.1.2 The Distinction Between Religious Instruction and Catechesis

*The Religious Dimension of Education in a Catholic School* brings into sharper focus the educational and catechetical goals of the Catholic school. The catechetical goals

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of the Catholic school as enunciated in this document are especially relevant for this study because they challenge the prevailing status quo of what happens in Catholic schools in terms of faith formation. That is, many Catholic schools maintain a traditional cultural-religious framework about faith, worship, prayer and other associated aspects of catechesis in the school. They interpret the needs of students in that light. As a consequence, despite religious diversity among students, the catechetical program in Catholic schools is unilaterally implemented. At times, it is imposed on students.

In Australian Catholic schools the term religious education usually refers to the broad scope of all teaching and learning in and about religion. It includes the learning about religion that usually takes place within the walls of the classroom. In Australian Catholic schools, this learning is usually facilitated by the classroom teacher who has attained a form of accreditation to teach religious education in the school. This classroom learning usually follows a system-developed or school-developed program of units and topics. The Religious Dimension of Education in a Catholic School refers to the educational dimension of religious education as “religious instruction”. Accordingly, religious instruction sits alongside other disciplines of learning in a school. It looks the same as those other disciplines. It uses similar teaching methods and pedagogies, it has a commensurate allocation of teaching and learning time in the timetable, it assesses students in ways that other subjects assess students, it should be taught by teachers with appropriate qualifications, and allocated similar resources in terms of budgets. The Religious Dimension of Education in a Catholic School identifies the Catholic school as a school that shares similar aims, methods and characteristics with all schools. The Catholic school is a civic institution and, consequently, it must provide a form of quality religious instruction that contributes to the transmission of culture. Of religious instruction, the document says that,

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the aim of the school however, is knowledge. While it uses the same elements of the Gospel message, it tries to convey a sense of the nature of Christianity, and of how Christians are trying to live their lives.21

Religious education in Australian Catholic schools is understood, at least in Catholic education documents, as the first key learning area or discipline of the school.

Catechesis is the second distinctive aspect of religious education that is developed in The Religious Dimension of Education in a Catholic School. Catechesis refers to the process of Christian formation. In Catholic schools, it refers to those processes and activities where students engage with and develop their life in faith. The term catechesis is derived from the Greek (katêcheisthai) and means “to echo back” or “to sound a message”.22 It has traditionally been applied to the process of teaching converts to Christianity as they prepare for baptism. However, the term “today tends to be conceived as a lifelong journey of learning the implications of baptismal belonging.”23 Certainly, since the Second Vatican Council there has been a retrieval of the idea of catechesis as a process applied to the entirety of the Christian life: it is a process of lifelong learning of the faith. The Religious Dimension of Education in a Catholic School describes the task of catechesis clearly: “The aim of catechesis, or handing on the Gospel message, is maturity: spiritual, liturgical, sacramental and apostolic.”24 Furthermore, it suggests a temporal requirement of catechesis: “Moreover, catechesis takes places within a community living out its faith at a level of space and time not available to a school: a whole lifetime.”25

Catechesis in Catholic schools includes class prayer, liturgies (that range from small spontaneous, class-based rituals to large, community-inclusive, highly structured and event-managed celebrations of sacraments), retreats and religious celebrations to mark significant days in the school or church calendar. These

21 Ibid., para. 69.
25 Ibid., para. 68.
formational processes will often be planned, managed and facilitated by a senior administrator in the school (usually the principal’s delegate for religious education). Sometimes these processes will be led by a local or visiting priest or chaplain, another staff member or a member of a religious order of brothers or nuns.

Drawing on the work of Australian religious educator Gerard Rummery,26 The Religious Dimension of Education in a Catholic School makes a distinction between the educational task of religious education (religious instruction) and the formational task of religious education (catechesis). This distinction, although not a new idea for religious education in Australia,27 is important because it recognises that church maintenance is not the singular purpose of Catholic school religious education. Given the increasing religious plurality in Australian society and in Australian Catholic schools, these two objectives do not have equal possibilities in the school setting. The distinction, and the Congregation for Catholic Education’s qualification of it, reminds the Catholic school that its capacity for educational development of students is greater than its capacity for faith formation of students and church maintenance.

Moran argued that catechetical maturity evades many people: “Throughout most of history, people have often attained only a limited understanding of their own religion.”28 It is not possible to foster and achieve this maturity in the relativity few years that schools have children. This is especially true given that these few years align more closely to the beginning of life, not the end of life. Catechesis, as understood in these terms of the Congregation of Catholic Education, is mostly a phenomenon of adult Christian faith, not juvenile Christian faith.

The Second Vatican Council sought to recover an understanding that catechesis is life-long when it instructed bishops to “take pains that catechetical instruction - which is intended to make the faith, as illumined by teaching, a vital, explicit and

26 Rummery, Catechesis and Religious Education in a Pluralist Society.
27 Chambers, “Vitality and Loyalty in Religious Education: Renewing Forms or Perpetuating the Myth?,” 18.
effective force in the lives of men - be given with sedulous care to both children and adolescents, youths and adults.”

The Council sought to retrieve the idea that catechesis and the life in faith involves an ongoing process of conversion and renewal. The Rite of Christian Initiation of Adults has been the greatest achievement of the Church since the Council in restoring the adult catechumenate. Nevertheless, at the level of local churches some dioceses have been quicker to embrace an understanding of adult catechesis than others.

Church documents about catechesis frequently refer to faith development as a process of maturity and a process that is life-long. In 1971, The General Catechetical Directory referred to catechesis as a “form of ecclesial action which leads both communities and individual members of the faithful to maturity of faith.”

It said that Christian communities, with the aid of catechesis, “build themselves up by striving to make their faith mature and enlightened”; “they live...in a mature faith, constantly striv[ing] for conversion and renewal.” Further it equated the life of faith with life itself when it said, “the life of faith passes through various stages, just as does man’s [sic] existence while he is attaining maturity and taking on the duties of his life...Catechesis has the function of lending aid for the beginning and the progress of this life of faith throughout the entire course of a man’s [sic] existence, all the way to the full explanation of revealed truth and the application of it to man’s life.”

John Paul II in his apostolic exhortation Catechesis Tradenda (1979) offered a similar understanding of the lifelong process of catechesis, a process that leads to maturity of faith,

From infancy until the threshold of maturity, catechesis is thus a permanent school of the faith and follows the major stages of life, like a beacon lighting the path of the child, the adolescent and the

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32 Ibid., para. 21.
33 Ibid., para. 22.
34 Ibid., para. 30.
young person.35

The General Directory for Catechesis (1997), a document from the Vatican's Congregation for the Clergy, referred to catechesis as “a process of continuing conversion, which lasts for the whole of life.”36 Such an understanding of catechesis reminds Christians that upon baptism they do not so much become Christians, but rather they begin to become Christians. Indeed, catechesis lacks “a high degree of particularity in childhood.”37 Catechetical particularity is developed in the adult years, and even it eludes many.38

Catholic schools have become clearer about their responsibilities regarding the educational and catechetical forms of religious education that they offer. This clarity has taken documentary form in Queensland.39 The distinction between religious instruction and catechesis as set out in The Religious Dimension of Education in a Catholic School has been echoed in subsequent religious education theory and has become a foundational principle for the model of religious education in Queensland. Queensland Catholic schools refer to the educational dimension of religious education as ‘the classroom religion program.’ They refer to the catechetical dimension of religious education as ‘the religious life of the school.’ The move to this documented two-dimensional model of religious education came in 1997 when Brisbane Catholic Education introduced new guidelines for school religious education. 40 In Brisbane Catholic Education’s subsequent documentation41 it attributed this model to the work of the United States’ religious educator, Gabriel Moran.42 In turn, it is a model that understands religious education in similar ways to those articulated in The Religious Dimension of

36 Congregation for the Clergy, "The General Directory for Catechesis", para. 56.
38 Ibid., 250.
39 Brennan, Religious Education in Dialogue: Curriculum around Australia.
42 Moran, "Understanding Religion and Being Religious."
Education in a Catholic School. This clearer articulation of the place of catechesis in the Catholic school could bring it in to sharper focus, especially in the context of students who are not Catholics.

The Religious Dimension of Education in a Catholic School serves as guidelines for the conduct of Catholic schools. In a way, Catholic schools can read this document as a form of inventory for the running of a Catholic school or as a source of the authentic marks of the Catholic school. It grounds the Catholic school as an agent in the engagement between faith, culture and life and in an educational framework based on the person as human. It notes the increasingly plural demographic of students in Catholic schools and offers characteristics of young people very generally. It also seeks to establish the basis for the religious dimension of the Catholic school with especial attention to religious instruction in the classroom and formation of the student beyond the classroom. The document clarifies the core business of the school as an educational agency seeking to assist students grow in knowledge. It also sees the Catholic school as an agency that seeks to assist students develop to their full human potential in the light of faith.

The distinction between religious instruction and catechesis has consequences for Catholic schools as they address the issue of increasing enrolments of students who are not Catholics. First, it opens the possibility for a distinction in how those two processes are understood in the Catholic school. The distinction can serve as an invitation to Catholic schools to differentiate the forms of catechesis that are offered to Catholic and non-Catholic students. Such a differentiation will enable Catholic schools to demonstrate a practical application of ecumenical and inter-religious sensitivity. It could also provide an opportunity for Catholic schools to live out the Second Vatican Council’s principle of religious freedom. It also allows

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44 Ibid., para. 34.
46 Ibid., paras. 10-23.
47 Ibid., para. 65.
48 Ibid.
49 Donlevy, "The Common Good: The Inclusion of Non-Catholic Students in Catholic Schools," xvi, 8-10, 81.
such a differentiation to remain in alignment with the Catholic understanding of Catholic education.

6.2. The Catholic School on the Threshold of the Third Millennium

Church documents about Catholic education have a common feature. They tend to name and articulate a new order in the world. They identify a point of change in culture signifying a need to re-examine some aspect of Catholic education. From the perspective of Catholic education, the rationale is reasonable enough: the times have changed; we need a new document about Catholic schools. This feature was evident in *Gravissimum Educationis* (1965) which argued that the circumstances of the time had changed and “men [sic] find that the remarkable development of technology and scientific investigation and the new means of communication offer them an opportunity of attaining more easily their cultural and spiritual inheritance and of fulfilling one another in the closer ties between groups and even between peoples.” 50 In *Lay Catholics in Schools: Witnesses to Faith* (1982) the Sacred Congregation for Catholic Education appealed to the ‘signs of the times’ in recognising the theological, social, economic, political, scientific and technological developments of recent years. 51 In 1988 the same congregation (but now named the Congregation for Catholic Education) noted that “Many Catholic schools are located in countries which are undergoing radical changes in outlook and in lifestyle” 52 and that this outlook and lifestyle were marked by urbanisation, industrialisation, a high standard of living, greater educational opportunities and complex communication systems. The eve of the new millennium provided rich pickings for the Congregation for Catholic Education to announce changing times. The Congregation did so from the first paragraph of its 1997 document *The Catholic School on the Threshold of the Third Millennium* and hardly left any ‘isms’

50 Vatican Council II, "Declaration on Christian Education (Gravissimum Educationis)", introduction section.
(subjectivism, moral relativism, nihilism, multiculturalism, pluralism) or ‘ations’ (globalisation, innovation, migration, marginalisation, evangelisation) out. The Congregation for Catholic Education embraced the well-known appeal of the Second Vatican Council to scrutinise “the signs of the times and...interpret...them in the light of the Gospel” in language intelligible to each generation. This document provided an opportunity for the Congregation to announce that changing times demand that Catholic education has fresh eyes for a new social and religious context.

The Congregation for Catholic Education’s awareness of the increasing plurality in student cohorts in Catholic schools intensified with the promulgation of *The Catholic School on the Threshold of the Third Millennium*. Two issues from that document, in particular, have relevance to this study. The first was the place of students who are not Catholics in a Catholic school. The second was the “growing marginalisation of the Christian faith” in developed countries (especially those with a history of Christian evangelisation such as Australia) that have experienced growing multi-culturalism and multi-ethnicity. For Catholic schools in Australia, this second issue manifests itself in the number of students who are Catholic by recorded affiliation or baptism, but who have little engagement with the Catholic Church. It includes students who find meaning in life from secular and other forms of spirituality. To these issues I now turn.

### 6.2.1 Catholic Schools not Reserved for Catholics Only

*The Catholic School on the Threshold of the Third Millennium* was the fourth document released by the Congregation for Catholic Education. This document, as

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56 Ibid., para. 1.
with the preceding three, was explicit in its welcome of non-Catholic students to Catholic schools:

In this way the Catholic school's public role is clearly perceived. It has not come into being as a private initiative, but as an expression of the reality of the Church, having by its very nature a public character. It fulfils a service of public usefulness and, although clearly and decidedly configured in the perspective of the Catholic faith, is not reserved to Catholics only, but is open to all those who appreciate and share its qualified educational project. 57

The novelty with this document's welcome to non-Catholic students was its qualification that the Catholic school is open to those who appreciate and share the school's qualified educational project. It leaves some ambiguity here because the qualified educational project is not described. 58

The welcome to non-Catholic students in this document continues the tension about the place of those students in Catholic schools between the “Vatican congregation with jurisdiction over the educational institutions within the Church” 59 and local and national church documents about Australian Catholic education. The regular and unequivocal welcome to non-Catholic students in the documents from the Congregation for Catholic Education has not been received by Australian dioceses and articulated in their educational documentation. It seems that the legacy of Australian Catholic education’s history (including the history of sectarianism, suspicion of religiosity other than Catholic and esteemed trust in clericalism) has resulted in a resistance to the idea that non-Catholic students have an equal place in Catholic schools. For example, six of the seven Catholic archdioceses in Australia include a hierarchy of categories for enrolment in Catholic schools. In each of those hierarchies, students who are not Catholics are last on the list. 60 Also, the welcome extended to non-Catholic students in Australian

57 Ibid., para. 16.
60 Archdiocese of Brisbane Catholic Education Council, "Enrolment of Students Policy," (Brisbane: July 2012); Archdiocese of Canberra and Goulburn Catholic Education Office, "Enrolment Policy for Catholic Systemic Schools," (Canberra: Catholic Education Commission, 2008);
Catholic schools appears less congenial when concern is raised about the increased enrolment of non-Catholic students and when it is claimed that those students detract from the Catholicity of the Catholic school.61

6.2.2 Catholic Students with Little if any 'Catholic' Identity: The Rise of Contemporary Secular Spirituality

A second issue that emanated from The Catholic School on the Threshold of the Third Millennium was related to the entire cohort of students in Catholic schools more generally and its changing attitudes to religion and spirituality. This document noted that the Catholic school could no longer rely on a student cohort that expresses its religiosity in the traditional ways of previous generations. Instead, it has an indifference to those traditional forms of spirituality that have dominated Catholic schooling. Society at that time was so characterised by pluralism that communal identity was threatened. The gap between rich and poor was widening and technology was advancing at such a rate that economic globalisation had affected more and more people.62 Those changing socio-political contexts had an impact on the way in which young people engage with religion and spirituality.

The changing world, as noted by the Congregation for Catholic Education in 1997, has continued into the Twenty-First Century and impacted on the religiosity of school-aged Australians. Rossiter has argued that, for school-aged people in Australia, traditional forms of Catholic education, and religious education in particular, were no longer viable: “the landscape of spirituality has changed so

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much that a traditional religious education, linked with a religious spirituality, is no longer adequate in Catholic schools.” 63 He contends that the majority of students in Catholic schools are more likely to embrace secular forms of spirituality and only a minority are likely to attach themselves to traditional religious expression and be active members of Catholic parishes. 64 D’Orsa and D’Orsa argued that many young Australians are caught between what they call secular stories and faith stories. Those young Australians “commonly construct a belief system of their own choosing to ‘fill in the blanks’ when it comes to making sense of life.”65 Australian researchers Mason, Singleton and Webber have found that a significant number of Generation Y Australians (Australians aged between 13-29) grew up Christian but were more likely (than their parents) to no longer be Christian by the time they were thirty. 66 In their research, they found that 26.2% of Gen Y respondents had previously been Catholics and 17.9% were currently Catholics. 67 The executive summary of a report into the spirituality of Australian youth by the Australian researcher Philip Hughes noted that 61% of Australians aged between 13 and 18 thought church services were sometimes or usually boring and that “while the church must offer some counter-cultural alternatives to contemporary culture, it must also re-express these in relation to the contemporary social and cultural context.” 68

Similar findings have been found in other parts of the world as well. Smith and Denton have found that not only do American Catholic teenagers score between 5 and 25 percentage points lower on scales of religiosity than their conservative, mainline and black Protestant peers, but also many American Catholic teenagers live “far outside of official Church norms defining true Catholic faithfulness.” 69

63 Rossiter, “Perspective on Contemporary Spirituality: Implications for Religious Education in Catholic Schools,” 131.
64 Ibid., 129.
67 Ibid., 154.
68 Hughes, Putting Life Together: Findings from Australian Youth Spirituality Research, 12.
They add that “on most measures of religious faith, belief, experience and practice, Catholic teens as a whole show up as fairly weak.”

Concurrent with that issue of students who are not Catholics in Catholic schools is the broader problem of student disengagement with traditional Catholic forms of expression. In some ways this puts many of the Catholic students in Catholic schools in the same category as students who are not Catholics. It raises questions about the nature and purpose of Catholic education and the effect that the religiosity of students has on the Catholicity of Catholic schools. It gives rise to the possibility that traditional forms of Catholic expression need not be the arbiter or defining feature of a schools Catholicity.

6.3 Catholic Schools for the 21st Century (Queensland Bishops’ Report)

The turn of the millennium represented a change of sorts for Catholic schooling in Queensland. It coincided with a report commissioned by the Queensland Catholic Education Commission titled *The Queensland Bishops Project: Catholic Schools for the 21st Century.* In that report the Queensland Catholic Education Commission noted a paradigmatic change that had occurred in schools. This change was from the traditional model of Catholic schools - parish-based and owned, parish priest as manager, teacher-controlled curriculum, built on the values and employment practices of the Industrial age – to a new model driven by technological advance.

In terms of noting changing times, *The Queensland Catholic Bishops’ Project: Catholic Schools for the 21st Century* was similar to most Vatican documents about education. It stood at the precipice of a new age requiring a new outlook on Catholic education. The project sought to address the question, what are the defining features of Catholic schools in the context of the Church’s evolving mission in the world? It set out the defining features in terms of the intersection of three major domains of human experience: society, church and education.

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70 Ibid., 216.
72 Ibid., 4.
The defining features of the Catholic school of the future were set out as:

1. Having a strong Catholic identity and give witness to Christian values.
2. Being open and accessible to those who seek its values.
3. Offering a holistic curriculum.
4. Being a community of care and right relationships.
5. Being staffed by qualified, competent people who give witness to Gospel values.\(^73\)

The project report was structured in such a way that it briefly explained each of the features and then offered a number of consequences for Catholic schools and systems related to each feature. For the purposes of this study, the first two features resonate particularly with the issue of students who are not Catholics in Catholic schools.

6.3.1 *Strong Catholic Identity and Witness to Christian Values*

This feature is articulated in terms of Catholic identity, a sacramental view of the world, the ecclesial nature of the Catholic school, ecumenism and ways of modelling Christian values for the broader community. It concerns the core identification of the Catholic school: its Catholicity. The importance of this feature is raised especially in the context of changing enrolment patterns that include increased enrolments of students who are not Catholics. It is also important to note that the increasingly urgent requirement of Catholic schools to demonstrate their Catholicity is in direct proportion to increased secularisation and affluence in Australian society.\(^74\) The Catholic Bishops of NSW and the ACT have also suggested that issues such as “secularisation, consumerism, family dysfunction and values disorientation” \(^75\) affect Catholic schools in ways beyond enrolments and

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\(^73\) Ibid., 7.
\(^74\) Benjamin, "Faithful to Uncertainty: Catholic Schools and an Evangelisation of Hope for the Poorest,” 150.
enrolment patterns. These issues test the very foundations of the identity of the Catholic school. Thus, they require Catholic schools to demonstrate in deliberate and explicit ways their Catholicity.

The report articulated a view that the Catholic school of the future that is not particularly different from the traditional view of the Catholic school. First, a consequence of the report was that the Catholic school would retain a sacramental foundation. In particular, it noted the celebration of Eucharist as the primary sacrament of the Church and the sacrament most visible in the Catholic school.76 The report also noted that the Catholic school has become the “face and place of the Church”77 and that the Catholic school of the future would retain an evangelising function, seemingly as a form of Church maintenance.

It seems this view of the Catholic school does not address the complexities that are arising for Catholic schools as a result of increasing numbers of students who are not Catholics. Also, it does not seem to attend to issue of students who are Catholics but who no longer have any participatory engagement with the Catholic faith. This report allows those tensions to go on in an unresolved way.

6.3.1.1 The Threat of Secularism

But there may be alternative ways of understanding secularism for Catholic schools to consider. Too frequently, secularism and secularisation are established as polar opposites of religious. This may have some popular appeal. There is some thought that the secular has acquired an anti-religious definition, despite its original meaning which was more aligned with the idea of ‘belonging to the age’. Originally, the idea of secular was understood to be interwoven with the religious.78 The two were not mutually exclusive. Since the time of Augustine, and

77 Ibid., 9.
increasingly so in modern times, the secular has come to be associated with the idea of absence of religion. Even the antipathy of religion. It has come to represent the “increasing estrangement between religion and culture.”

Secularism and secularisation are often cited as contemporary challenges to the Church and to its efforts in Catholic education. In Australia, the standard response from episcopal leaders and Catholic education authorities is to ramp up a form of response from the past – a response not dissimilar to ideas of Ryan’s mythic understanding of Catholic schooling mentioned in chapter one. This response argues for a form of Catholic education akin to a fixed truth being taught in the curriculum (especially in Religious Education), the teacher being a witness to the Gospel and a servant of the Church and the community of the parish being homogenous with the community of the school. It represents first, an understanding of secularism as a threat and second, a forward-projection of the past. Arthur has summarised this form of reactionary response of the Church to this understanding of secularism:

Sometimes the Church has disengaged from the public realm and created a society within a society and a culture within a culture. The Church community cocoons its beliefs and practices within its own institutions such as schools, hospitals, social clubs and the like creating a parallel society. The community that makes up the Church partially self-isolates itself and adheres to different norms from the general population.

Renewed emphasis on Catholic identity and Catholic ethos in Catholic schools in religious education literature, Catholic school policy and Catholic school practice seems to reflect this form of response. There is a body of current literature that seeks to highlight the need for teacher formation in faith. There is a growing sense

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of the need to offer a form of accountability in terms of the Catholic school’s competence in catechetical activity and demonstrating its Catholic identity. 82

Eleven consequences are listed for this feature of Catholic identity and witness. They suggest particular actions related to the themes of Catholic identity, sacramentality, ecumenism and Christian values. Much of what is included is consistent with the ideals of the Church especially since the Second Vatican Council.

6.3.2 Openness and Accessibility for those who Accept the Values of the Catholic School

The second feature of Catholic schools in The Queensland Catholic Bishops’ Project is openness and accessibility. To this end the document opened up Catholic schools to all people, with the qualifications that openness be limited to those “who seek the values of the school.” 83 However, with some ambiguity, it proposed that the Catholic school of the future will be open to those who “aspire to live by the values expressed by Jesus” and who “identify with and seek the values of Christ.” The report does not elaborate on what it means to seek the values of Christ.

At the same time that The Queensland Catholic Bishops’ Project: Catholic Schools for the 21st Century was consistent with Church documents in noting a change in the times, it was also similar to much Australian literature about the history of Catholic schooling in Australia. That is, it emphasised the role of the bishops, clergy and religious orders and minimised and was silent about the role of the laity in the history of Australian Catholic education.

It is possible that these two features – ‘Catholic identity and witness’ and ‘openness and accessibility’ – might have a contradictory relationship. At least, The

82 Brennan, Religious Education in Dialogue: Curriculum around Australia, 11, 20, 24, 32, 48, 50, 77-78.
Queensland Catholic Bishops’ Project: Catholic Schools for the 21st Century does not address, in practical or advisory terms, the complexity of establishing and maintaining Catholic schools (with the Catholic ethos which the report describes) and at the same time being open and accessible to non-Catholic families and their children. The report does not answer questions about how these two features might be simultaneously achieved.

6.4. John Paul II and Students who are not Catholics in Catholic Schools

The issue of students who are not Catholics in Catholic schools was addressed at a papal level in 2001, when John Paul II wrote his apostolic exhortation, Ecclesia in Oceania, to the Church in Oceania. That letter to the Church in this part of the world was centred on the christological nature of the Church and on evangelisation in the Oceania region.

In terms of evangelisation, John Paul II addressed Catholic schools in particular. In the context of members of the Church coming to a better understanding of the major religions in the world, the pope said that people from those religions were seeking enrolments in Catholic schools. Of those enrolments, John Paul said, “Where parents from these religions enrol their children in Catholic schools, the Church has an especially delicate task.”

This statement is important for this study because of the source of the quote and to whom it was directed: It was papal in its origins, and Australian (and more regionally broader) in its concern. Never before had a quote about this issue come from so high in the Church hierarchy and been so narrowly, geographically focused.

However, like other documents addressed in this chapter, John Paul II did not elaborate on the delicacy of the task. He did not offer any advice or strategies for

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84 John Paul II, "Ecclesia in Oceania."
85 Ibid., para. 25.
an appropriate response to this task that has had increasing traction in Australian Catholic schools.

6.5 Conclusion

This chapter has shed light on the period from 1988 to the early years of the Twentieth Century when lay management and oversight of Catholic schools and Catholic school systems became entrenched. During this period, the teaching religious, almost wholly, exited Catholic schools. Diocesan systems of Catholic schools became more and more complex.

In Queensland during this period, Catholic schools became more intently aware of the catechetical dimension of religious education that they offered. Catechesis in the school, at least from a documentary point of view, was now seen in the context of catechesis being a life-long process located in the first place, in the worshipping community. The schools role in catechesis was limited.

Church documentation also revealed an awareness of the changing nature of Catholic schools. That changing nature included growing enrolments of non-Catholic students and growing numbers of Catholics who were detaching themselves from traditional Catholic expression. In face of that context, the documents addressed in this chapter asserted the importance of the Catholic school to maintain a strong Catholic identity and, at the same time, they expressed an openness to non-Catholic students and their families. However, the question of how Catholic schools were to maintain their Catholic identity and also respond appropriately to the needs of non-Catholic students remained unanswered.
Chapter 7 – The Importance of Non-Catholics for Intercultural Education in Catholic Schools

Catholic Education theory in Australia has always recognised the importance of Vatican documents for policy and practise of Catholic education in this country. Those documents have tended to inform Catholic education theory and, in turn, inform Australian Catholic schools. In late 2013, the Congregation for Catholic Education promulgated another document to be added to the list of documents released since The Catholic School in 1977. Its title is Educating to Intercultural Dialogue in Catholic Schools: Living in Harmony for a Civilisation of Love.

The purpose of this chapter is to summarise the key themes in Educating to Intercultural Dialogue in Catholic Schools and to show how those themes challenge Catholic schools in the way they seek to navigate Catholic identity. “Identity” is dominating the Catholic education landscape at the present time. It is the term used to measure and describe a Catholic school’s Catholicity. The direction of the identity narrative though is problematic. Recent literature about Catholic identity in the Australian context has tended towards traditional ways of understanding Catholic education. Educating to Intercultural Dialogue in Catholic Schools, however, points to a different understanding of Catholic education and Catholic identity. That understanding emphasises the importance of dialogue with the ‘other’ and with other cultures. This includes other religious cultures.

This chapter also explores how Educating to Intercultural Dialogue in Catholic Schools extends on previous documents from the Congregation for Catholic Education in two significant ways. First, it intimates that students who are not Catholics are not only welcome in Catholic schools, but are necessary in Catholic schools so that intercultural education might be achieved. Second, it offers further qualification about catechesis in the Catholic school that has not been offered in previous congregational documents. In an unprecedented way, Educating to
Intercultural Dialogue in Catholic Schools suggests that catechesis is to be offered to Catholic students alone.

7.1 Summary of Educating to Intercultural Dialogue

The document was first presented in the Holy See Press Office at the Vatican on December 19, 2013. It became available on the Vatican website in early January 2014. It is now available at that site translated in English and Italian with French and Spanish still to come.

Educating to Intercultural Dialogue in Catholic Schools: Living in Harmony for a Civilization of Love is comprised of an introduction, five chapters and a conclusion.

Introduction
Chapter 1 Background
Chapter 2 Approaches to Pluralism
Chapter 3 Some Foundations on an Intercultural Approach
Chapter 4 Catholic Education in View of Intercultural Dialogue
Chapter 5 The Contribution of Catholic Schools
Conclusion


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1 “Declaration on Christian Education (Gravissimum Educationis).”
Chapter one notes that cultural difference is increasingly evident in the “global village” and that religion, although it has more and more been relegated to the private sphere in the Western world, can and must dialogue with atheism and non-religious worldviews. Of interest to educators in Catholic schools is the inclusion in *Educating to Intercultural Dialogue in Catholic Schools* of the words of John Paul II from his apostolic exhortation Ecclesia in Africa, “Catholic schools are at one and the same time places of evangelization, well-rounded education, inculturation and initiation to the dialogue of life among young people of different religions and social backgrounds” [my italics].

Chapter two notes the two traditional approaches to pluralism. In terms of their usefulness for intercultural education, both are incomplete. First, relativism, which endorses the separation and isolation of different cultures making dialogue impossible. For that reason, it is unhelpful for intercultural education. Second, assimilation, which requires the “other” to adapt. In this approach, “exchange is reduced to the mere insertion of minority cultures in the majority one.” Instead, *Educating to Intercultural Dialogue in Catholic Schools* advocates an intercultural approach characterised by encounter, dialogue and mutual transformation. This approach requires a “deep-seated knowledge of the specific identity of the various dialogue partners”. Dialogue, in this approach, understands culture as dynamic: it cannot be closed in on itself.

Chapter three establishes the Church’s teaching about the intercultural aspect of Christianity. The Church has a universal vocation and its call to dialogue with the world is most poignantly enunciated in the first lines of *Gaudium et Spes* (Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World):

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3 Ibid., para. 102.
The joys and the hopes, the griefs and the anxieties of the men of this age, especially those who are poor or in any way afflicted, these are the joys and hopes, the griefs and anxieties of the followers of Christ. Indeed, nothing genuinely human fails to raise an echo in their hearts. For theirs is a community composed of men. United in Christ, they are led by the Holy Spirit in their journey to the Kingdom of their Father and they have welcomed the news of salvation which is meant for every man. That is why this community realizes that it is truly linked with mankind and its history by the deepest of bonds.\(^5\)

This famous text is a reminder to Catholics that Catholicism is much more cultural than it is counter-cultural (which is not to say that there is nothing counter-cultural about Catholicism). Chapter three quotes other sections from *Guadium et Spes* which articulate the Church’s assent to a plurality of cultures. It asserts that culture is sociological, ethnological, historical and dynamic.\(^6\) Chapter three also links intercultural relations with christology. Because humans are created in the image and likeness of God, they are called to communion. Communion is both vertical (with God) and horizontal (with others). Vertical communion is realised through following the person of Christ and this is manifested in the individual and signified in the Church. The horizontal dimension is realised in interpersonal relationships and, in the Christian perspective, these relationships are inspired by the “absolute unity” of the Trinity: “In the light of the revealed mystery of the Trinity, we understand that true openness does not mean a loss of individual identity but profound interpenetration.”\(^7\)

The third chapter also teases out the anthropological foundations of intercultural education. Critically important for Catholic schools is the idea that identity is derived from extending and transcending beyond one’s limits, not retreating back into self. Identity can be found when one opens up to the other, not when one closes in on self. *Educating to Intercultural Dialogue in Catholic Schools* reminds Catholic schools that “to go out from oneself and consider the world from a

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\(^5\) Vatican Council II, "Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World (Gaudium Et Spes)," para. 1


\(^7\) Ibid., para. 37.
different point of view is not a denial of oneself, but, on the contrary, is necessary for enhancing one’s own identity.”

Identity is predicated on an understanding that people are, in their nature, relational beings and relationships flourish when they are based on love. Love is “the strongest, most authentic and most desired bond, which unites people among each other and makes them able to listen to each other.”

Pedagogically, education to intercultural dialogue relies on an encounter between persons. Interpersonal relationships are the basic pedagogical paradigm for intercultural education. It thrives in an educational setting because it understands that culture is historical and dynamic. That idea is ripe for learning and development. Intercultural education invites peoples to their journey to truth. Catholic education in Australia today needs to express itself with “different words” if it is to seek “an idea of education to intercultural dialogue, understood as the individual's journey towards what must be, with a view to dialogue and mutual life-long learning.”

Chapter four sets out the capacity for Catholic schools to engage in intercultural education. It argues that intercultural dialogue aims for peaceful and enriching co-existence and so it is anchored in an understanding of the human being. As such, it calls for a “new commitment to the individual,” the person in communion; it calls for a courageous examination of Catholic educational theory so that the love of the Trinitarian mystery of God, the love with which Jesus loved “is the will to ‘promote’: it is trust in the other person and, consequently, is a fundamentally educational act.”

The Catholic school is a prime place for intercultural education because it should enrol students from a variety of cultures. This should include a variety of religious cultures. Yet, at the same time, each student in the Catholic school (especially the

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8 Ibid., para. 38.
9 Ibid., para. 41.
10 Ibid., para. 44.
11 Ibid., para. 46.
12 Ibid., para. 46.
Catholic student) should have the capacity to develop “his or her own identity in an awareness of its richness and cultural tradition.” 13

Paragraphs 51-54 take the issue of intercultural education beyond the Catholic school. They are concerned with those areas of the world where Catholic education is not possible or restricted. To this end, the document appeals to the Golden Rule. Tellingly, it does not quote Matthew 7:12, Luke 6: 31, Tobit 4:15 or even Sirach 31:15. Rather it offers a generic form of the rule in positive and negative forms: “Do unto others as you would have them do unto you; do not do unto others what you would not have them do unto you.”14 Intercultural education (by definition) extends beyond the bounds of any singular religious tradition. Nevertheless, the document maintains that Catholicism and Catholic schools in particular should play their part. The document is clear that a unified social order requires intercultural education. It is especially true for Catholic schools in an increasingly globalised world.

Chapter five is the longest chapter in the document and the most significant chapter for the remainder of this chapter. It begins with acknowledgement that enrolments of non-Catholic students in Catholic schools are, increasingly, a reality in many parts of the world. This presents an immediate challenge to Catholic schools of not closing in on “identity” as a goal in itself. The multi-religious nature of society is such that students “need to know about different beliefs and dialogue both with those beliefs and with non-believers.”15

The overriding theme of chapter five is the contribution of Catholic schools to intercultural education through witness to the Gospel and by putting the human person at the centre of their agenda. Both of these contributions to intercultural education are Christological. The document reminds readers that the primary criterion for Catholic identity is Jesus Christ: “The goal of Catholic schools, in all

13 Ibid., para. 50.
14 Ibid., para. 51.
their forms, is to live in fidelity to their educational mission, which has Christ as its foundation.”\textsuperscript{16}

The document also warns Catholic schools about being solely and artificially concerned with the cognitive domain. Catholic schools have a concern for the development of the whole person including the relational-affective domain. From an ecclesial perspective, it also warns, in an unprecedented way, “an educating community like the school should not form people to be parochial.”\textsuperscript{17} The task of schools is not to prop-up parishes. Clearly though, it is obvious that Catholic schools and parishes can have healthy relationships and work in partnership. Students in Catholic schools should be assisted by schools to be good citizens of the planet. This necessarily requires that students understand human interdependence and cultural co-existence. Intercultural education, when understood in these terms, poses challenges to those who think that Catholic schools require a ‘critical mass’ of Catholic staff, students, parents and curriculum.\textsuperscript{18} \textit{Educating to Intercultural Dialogue in Catholic Schools} seems to appeal to Catholic schools to widen their horizons in terms of how they understand Catholic identity. Such a broadening of horizons will not water down their Catholicity, but in fact, entrench it in ways that better align with the Council, congregation documents and the signs of the times. From the perspective of student enrolment, a more culturally diverse enrolment profile (and by extension, a more religiously diverse enrolment profile) will allow Catholic schools to become more anthropologically-centred because their engagement with people will look similar to the way people engage with each other in the wider society in which the school exists. That way is an intercultural way.

Chapter five includes a qualitative development in the Congregational documents related to catechesis in schools. Paragraph 56 states that Catholic schools “have a responsibility for offering Catholic students [my italics], over and above a sound

\textsuperscript{16} “Educating to Intercultural Dialogue in Catholic Schools: Living in Harmony for a Civilization of Love”, para. 63.
\textsuperscript{17} Ibid., para. 63
\textsuperscript{18} Arthur, “The De-Catholicizing of the Curriculum in English Catholic Schools,” 84; Pascoe, “Challenges for Catholic Education in Australia,” 792; White, "Restoring Venice: A Call to New Evangelisation."
knowledge of religion, the possibility to grow in personal closeness to Christ in the Church.” This statement is preceded by text about increasing enrolments of non-Catholic students in Catholic schools. A statement about the fundamental right to religious freedom immediately follows it. The context is clear. None of the previous documents from the Congregation for Catholic Education have offered such qualification about catechesis. In The Catholic School, the Congregation said, “the importance and need for catechetical instruction in Catholic schools cannot be sufficiently emphasised. Here young people are helped to grow towards maturity in faith.” The Religious Dimension of Education in a Catholic School differentiates religious instruction and catechesis but does not qualify to whom catechesis is directed (other than the Christian believer). The Congregation’s Circular Letter to the Presidents of Bishops’ Conferences on Religious Education in Schools differentiates religious education in schools from parish catechesis but does not elaborate on catechesis in the school setting.

7.2 The Challenge of Engaging with Difference and Maintaining Identity

At the outset, the document presents the principal challenge facing contemporary Catholic schools that exist in multicultural environments: promoting intercultural encounter and yet maintaining one’s own identity,

Fostering encounters between different people helps to create mutual understanding, although it ought not to mean a loss of one’s own identity...This is a difficult goal, not easy to achieve, and yet it is necessary. Education, by its nature, requires both openness to other cultures, without the loss of one’s own identity, and an

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19 Sacred Congregation for Catholic Education, "The Catholic School".
20 Ibid., para. 51.
21 Congregation for Catholic Education, "The Religious Dimension of Education in a Catholic School."
22 Ibid., paras. 68-70.
24 Ibid., para. 17.
acceptance of the other person, to avoid the risk of a limited culture, closed in on itself.\textsuperscript{25}

This challenge has been articulated in a variety of sub-disciplines related to Catholic education. Grajczonek\textsuperscript{26} notes its currency in Catholic early childhood settings; Hahnenberg\textsuperscript{27} considers it in the context of ministry; Croke\textsuperscript{28} has addressed the tension in the context of school funding and parental choice; Pascoe\textsuperscript{29} has touched on the tension in terms of leadership and systems of Catholic schools; Ryan\textsuperscript{30} has considered the issue in terms of the nature and purpose of Catholic schools; Casson\textsuperscript{31} has addressed the issue in the context of liturgy in schools. Phan\textsuperscript{32} has offered useful insights from interreligious dialogue for religious educators as they grapple with Catholic identity. Also, the Catholic Bishops of Queensland\textsuperscript{33} and the Catholic Bishops of New South Wales and the Australian Capital Territory\textsuperscript{34} have offered an episcopal perspective on what constitutes Catholic identity in Catholic schools. In the current landscape of religious education in Catholic schools in Australia, this challenge dominates all others. It is articulated under the guise of “Catholic identity”, and it has become the \textit{leitmotif} in Catholic schooling in Australia.

The challenge is being paradigmatically shaped by an ideologically traditional understanding of Catholic schooling. Historically, Australia Catholic schooling (and religious education in Catholic schools) has operated via a single tradition

\textsuperscript{25} "Educating to Intercultural Dialogue in Catholic Schools: Living in Harmony for a Civilization of Love", introduction section.
\textsuperscript{28} Croke, "Australian Catholic Schools in a Changing Political and Religious Landscape."
\textsuperscript{29} Susan Pascoe, "Challenges for Catholic Education in Australia."
\textsuperscript{30} Ryan, "Future Catholic Schools: Exclusive, Inclusive and Plural Options."
\textsuperscript{33} Queensland Catholic Education Commission, "The Queensland Bishops Project: Catholic Schools for the 21st Century."
\textsuperscript{34} Catholic Bishops of New South Wales and the Australian Capital Territory, \textit{Catholic Schools at a Crossroads: Pastoral Letter of the Bishops of NSW and the Act.}
approach aiming to pass on “what are seen to be essential and originary truths” so that students might “come to understand the validity and worthwhileness of . . . [Catholicism’s] teachings and practices.” Currently, the single tradition approach remains deeply entrenched in Catholic school religious education (especially in the religious life of the school and forms of catechesis in the school), although there has been an incorporation of other world religions (especially Judaism) in classroom religious education programs. Many Catholic schools also adopt state-based programs of study of religion in the senior years of secondary schooling. Despite these relatively recent additions to Catholic school religious education, Catholic schools predominantly seek to reinforce a single faith perspective (Catholicism).

Further, I will suggest that a satisfactory response to this challenge requires a paradigm shift from ideological traditionalism to historical consciousness. By this I do not mean a shift from a single faith (Catholic only) perspective to a multi-faith perspective. Rather, historical consciousness provides a better framework for understanding how Catholicity embraces the “other”, especially other religions and religious traditions and other cultures. The traditional paradigm is not adequate to meet the challenge set out by Educating to Intercultural Dialogue in Catholic Schools to foster openness and intercultural encounters and to avoid a loss of Catholic identity. It is a paradigm that can tend, if permitted, towards the insular, the fearful, the monological, the excessively counter-cultural and the historically dishonest.

Ultimately though, the traditional paradigm of Catholic schooling is deficient because it is christologically deficient. Because of what and whom it excludes, it only superficially accepts the Christian concept of reality. In a globalised, multicultural society with an overlapping presence of different cultures the traditional paradigm’s acts of exclusion prevent a full expression of love for God and neighbour (Lk 10: 25-28) and it does not adequately propose to open minds

37 Ryan, "Teaching Religion in the Multicultural Classroom," 5.
and hearts to dialogue and evangelisation (Jn 4: 7-26). In its own theology, the traditional paradigm resists the universal presence of Christ on either of two grounds. First, it contends that people from other religions can be saved but only despite their religion. In this contention Christ is only present to the baptised and in the teaching and worship of the Christian (for some, Catholic) Church’s life. Second, it does not give assent to the idea that the risen Jesus can interact with all of humanity. It does not accept that “the risen Jesus lovingly interacts with the whole world, and that means he interacts in ways that are different. He is absent from nobody, but he interacts differently with everybody.”

D’Souza 40 talks of the religious educator’s responsibility to “maintain an educational tension between conservation (tradition) and liberation (of the world).” 41 The ideologically traditional paradigm is no longer fitting because it gives imbalanced assent to these two poles. At worst, it is only interested in conservation; it is not capable of liberation. In the language of Educating to Intercultural Dialogue in Catholic Schools, this traditional paradigm is capable of attending to the needs of students to arrive at knowledge of their own religion (provided it is Catholic Christianity), but it is not capable of opening students up to dialogue and it is not capable of cultivating people to co-exist and build up a civilization of love. 42 In this chapter I propose instead that a sense of historical consciousness of Australian Catholic schooling is more likely to lend itself to a satisfactory balancing of the two demands of the challenge (openness to others and identity maintenance).

Religious education in the school setting is particularly interested in this challenge. The challenge of fostering intercultural encounters for the purpose of mutual understanding while at the same time preserving and maintaining the school’s Catholic identity has implications for both the educational and formational forms

39 Ibid., 219.
41 Ibid., 11.
42 Congregation for Catholic Education, "Educating to Intercultural Dialogue in Catholic Schools: Living in Harmony for a Civilization of Love," paras. 18-20
of teaching and learning that constitute religious education in schools.43 From an educational perspective it might be pertinent to ask, 'does a multi-religious student cohort require particular content in the classroom teaching of religious education?' And ‘can this content contribute to greater intercultural understanding?’ as is the necessary requirement of Educating to Intercultural Dialogue in Catholic Schools. Perhaps even more interesting are the implications for the formational life of Catholic schools. Educating to Intercultural Dialogue in Catholic Schools has the capacity to challenge the contemporary approaches to Catholic education in this country. This chapter proposes that the challenges of Educating to Intercultural Dialogue in Catholic Schools are more capable of being achieved, more palatable and more reasonable when Catholic education in Australia is approached from the lens of historical consciousness. Such a lens rebalances the playing field of Catholic education and religious education. It acknowledges the role of the laity in Australian Catholic schools (especially in the 50 years preceding the 1870s funding crisis for Catholic schools), it more authentically welcomes students who are not Catholics (it understands their place in ecclesiological terms and acknowledges the Church’s long-standing assent to the place of students who are not Catholics in Catholic schools), it gives rightful acknowledgement of the place of lay educators in Catholic schools in terms of their own call to holiness and their capacity to be effective witnesses of the Gospel.44

7.3 Current Articulation of Catholic Identity

The term Catholic identity has entered the lexicon of contemporary Catholic education. It features prominently in current discourse about Catholic education in ways that it did not in even the recent past.45 Pell46 has noted the heightened

currency of the term and the extent to which lay principals and other leaders in Catholic school pursue the identity issue. In contemporary Catholic schools, he said,

Lay principals and the executive staff are responsible for the religious leadership of their schools, including the Catholic life of the schools. Many lay leaders are now more explicit about this than some of the religious principals of ten or twenty years ago. 47

At the moment, Catholic identity seems to be a driving feature and measurement indicator for the quality of Catholic schools. In itself, this is not unusual. However, what are unusual are the indicators by which Catholic identity is gauged. Prominent among these indicators is the increasing number of students who are not Catholics in Catholic schools. This issue, more than any other, has become the yardstick by which Catholic identity is measured. It has been used to ramp up the pressure on Catholic schools to ensure, and even prove, their Catholicity.

The response to this issue of Catholic schools and Catholic school systems is worthy of consideration because it reveals something of how Catholicity is understood in the current religious climate. In the Catholic education narrative in the last ten years in Australia there has been discussion about setting quota limits and caps on the numbers of students who are not Catholics who are enrolled in Catholic schools. 48 Pascoe 49 made a strong claim aligning the notion of Catholic identity (of a Catholic school) with the religious adherence of students. She cited a consultation process in the Archdiocese of Melbourne in 2005 where the prevailing view was that Catholic schools needed a ‘critical mass’ of Catholic students (preferably 85%-95%) to ensure a sufficient Catholic identity. She argued

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*Education 61, no. 2 (2013); Sultmann and Brown, "Modelling Pillars of Australian Catholic School Identity: An Australian Study."


47 Ibid., "State and Church after World War II" section.


49 Pascoe, "Challenges for Catholic Education in Australia," 792.
that Catholic identity is central to school assessments of how they live up to their vision and mission. At around the same time as the abovementioned consultation, the Catholic Education Office in the Archdiocese of Melbourne reviewed its enrolment policy. The Catholic Education Office Melbourne had, to that point (2005), a cap on enrolments of students who were not Catholics. That cap was 7%. According to the Catholic Education Office in Melbourne, the cap on non-Catholic enrolments served “an important symbolic role in establishing clearly that in the Archdiocese of Melbourne Catholic schools are primarily for Catholic students.” Further north, in Sydney, Pell has suggested the possibility of making converts of the (then) 23% of students in Catholic schools who are not Catholics. Further south, in Hobart, a “Call to New Evangelisation” project was established following a 2006 day of discernment “involving pastors, principals, representatives of various Governing Bodies [sic] and senior personnel from the Catholic Education Office.” The student enrolment profile of Catholic schools in the Archdiocese of Hobart became a discussion point in this process. The Tasmanians almost opted for a set quota limit. As a result, the Archdiocese of Hobart has “committed itself to working towards a target of 75% Catholic student enrolment across the entire system of schools.” Presumably, in Hobart 75% is an acceptable critical mass.

In very traditional ways Catholic identity is also being defined by sectarian difference: In Tasmania, Catholic schools have been encouraged to change their names to include the word “Catholic.” Catholic identity is being defined by clientele homogeny: Some Catholic schools systems seek to increase the percentile enrolments of Catholic students. Catholic identity is being defined by staffing religiosity and quality: by noting perceived deficiencies in lay staff in terms of

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50 Ibid., 793.
52 Pell, "Religion and Culture: Catholic Schools in Australia," 844.
54 Ibid., 187.
55 Ibid., 186.
56 Tasmanian Catholic Education Commission, ”Enrolment for Catholic Schools Policy,” section 4.3
perceived strengths of consecrated religious staff. Finally, Catholic identity is being defined by mythological origins of Catholic schools: The Catholic Education Office Melbourne states in its enrolment policy "Catholic schools in Australia were established after the 1870s." But that type of discussion seems to have come to an end. It has been replaced by an acceptance, sometimes a reluctant acceptance, that students who are not Catholics are enrolled in Australian Catholic schools in increasing numbers. In 1996 the percentage of students who were not Catholics in Catholic schools was 19.4%. That figure increased to 24% in 2006 and then to 29% in 2012. That is to say, since 2006 the percentage of students who are not Catholic in Catholic schools has increased at about 1% per year. Although discussion about quotas for non-Catholic students has waned, their presence looms large in the "identity" narrative.

Students who are not Catholics in Catholic schools are a problem in the traditional ideology because by their definition ("not Catholic") they are seemingly antithetical to the nature of the identity in question ("Catholic"). This paradigm of understanding cannot resolve a complex issue. I propose that the increasing numbers of students who are not Catholics in Catholic schools has become a problem not because of definition, but because the issue has not been understood in ecclesial terms. Rather, it has been understood in sectarian, confessional and ideologically traditional ways. In short, students who are not Catholics, for some, have been interpreted as a threat. The threat has been framed as a threat to the Catholicity of the school. That is, when enrolments of students who are not Catholics are increasing, the school’s Catholicity is decreasing.

However, if the increase in the number of students who are not Catholics had been interpreted in ecclesiological terms there is promise for a different cultural

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58 Catholic Education Office Melbourne, *Enrolment for Schools in the Archdiocese of Melbourne*, "Rationale" section.
understanding of their presence in Catholic schools. The Catholic Church, especially in its documents from the Congregation for Catholic Education, has always welcomed the presence of students who are not Catholics in Catholic schools. Papal affirmation for the place of students who are not Catholics in Catholic schools is also not difficult to find: John Paul II in his post-synodal apostolic exhortation, *Ecclesia in Oceania* reminded Catholic schools in this part of the world that they were not immune from multi-religious communities. He reminded Catholics that it was important for them to better understand the great religions of the world (he specifically mentioned Judaism, Islam, Hinduism and Buddhism). In the context of Catholic schools he said, “Where parents from these religions enrol their children in Catholic schools, the Church has an especially delicate task.” Educating to Intercultural Dialogue in Catholic Schools further affirms the cultural reasonableness and the ecclesial appropriateness of Catholic schools enrolling students who are not Catholics.

### 7.4 The Conflict between the Dominant Myth and Historical Consciousness

Since the beginning of the Twentieth Century the world has experienced a heightened sense of historical consciousness. In matters related to religion and the Church in particular, this historical consciousness has been evident in the field of biblical studies, liturgy and ecclesiology. For example, historical Jesus studies have made a contribution to the Church’s self-understanding and to developments in inter-religious dialogue.

In turn, there is a growing historical awareness of the purpose and profile of Catholic schools in Australia. Ryan suggested that the appeal of *Educating to Intercultural Dialogue in Catholic Schools* for innovative and courageous fidelity

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62 John Paul II, "Ecclesia in Oceania".

63 Ibid., para. 25.

64 M. Ryan, personal communication, 03 February 2014.
(Introduction section) applies also to fidelity to Australia’s Catholic education tradition and history. The dominant narrative of Catholic schooling in Australia gives favour to the bishops and consecrated religious from the 1870s onwards and goes close to silencing the contribution of the laity prior to the Colonial Education Acts. Many have perpetuated the dominant narrative and argued it as historical truth either explicitly or by omission. For example, the Catholic Education Office of Melbourne, at the beginning of its enrolment policy, claims “the Australian bishops established Catholic schools in the 1860s as a key instrument of catechesis and sacramental preparation for Catholic children.” To date, only a few have challenged this idea and given voice to the pioneering work of lay teachers in the first half of the Nineteenth Century. To be sure though, there is a developing body of literature that gives assent to the contribution of lay staff to development and maintenance of Catholic schools in Australia. That body of literature also gives assent to the place of non-Catholic students in Australian schools.

John Luttrell offers perhaps the most convincing reason why the contribution of lay educators prior to the 1870s Education Acts has been forgotten: "There were hundreds of teachers in these [Catholic] schools up to 1870. Nearly all were lay people; the Religious Congregations became involved later. Unfortunately we have very limited information about these early teachers, perhaps because the first Catholic history was written by clergymen." Brian Maher has a similar take on the weight afforded to the religious when discussing the origins of Catholic schooling in this country: “While the religious orders had their own chroniclers,

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65 Catholic Education Office Melbourne, Enrolment for Schools in the Archdiocese of Melbourne.
66 Ibid., Rationale section.
70 Ibid., 12.
71 Maher, Planting the Celtic Cross: Foundations of the Catholic Archdiocese of Canberra and Goulburn.
the early lay teachers had no scribe to record their labours systematically.”

The consequences of perpetuating the myth has a limiting impact on the possibilities for the discipline of religious education in Australian Catholic schools. This has been articulated by Welbourne who said, “such is the power of the myth on Australian religious education, that it prevents religious educators from ‘mov[ing] away from narrow experiences and widen[ing] their horizons in order to bring new meaning to the discipline.” Yet, despite the founding and creative contribution of lay educators to Catholic schooling in Australia, the contemporary lay educator in Catholic schools is marginalised and side-lined with a mentality that they are not good enough for sustaining an authentic Catholic identity. The argument goes that because the percentage of consecrated religious in Catholic schools has dropped from 83% in 1950 to 0.5% in 2004, the corresponding increase in the number of lay educators will detrimentally impact on the Catholicity of the Catholic school. That is, lay educators have not got the spiritual and Catholic capital to maintain and promote a Catholic identity. Grace has argued, that unless the agenda of lay teacher formation can be met, there will be an inevitable depletion of the historical deposit of the spiritual capital in our schools and the gradual incorporation of Catholic schools into a secularized and marketised contemporary educational culture.

Pell, who understands the place of lay educators in the first 70 years of Catholic education in Australia, also makes a link between a decreasing Catholic identity of Catholic schools and an increase in the percentage of lay educators in Catholic schools (plus a commensurate decrease in the percentage of consecrated religious working in Catholic schools). In particular, Pell is wary of the almost totally lay management of Catholic education offices and diocesan systems. As “bishops abdicate” Catholic education office responsibility and as religious orders hand over

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72 Ibid., 168.
73 Welbourne, ”Responding to Multiculturalism in Australian Catholic Schools: Towards a Transformation of School Culture and Religious Education.”
74 Ibid., 63.
75 Pascoe, ”Challenges for Catholic Education in Australia,” 790.
76 Grace, ”Renewing Spiritual Capital: An Urgent Priority for the Future of Catholic Education Internationally.”
77 Ibid., 124.
78 Pell, ”Religion and Culture: Catholic Schools in Australia.”
79 Ibid., ”State and Church after World War II” section.
policy control to “totally lay boards”, the Church should be wary because “it is vital that neither properties nor institutions move outside official Church control (variously defined) to become independent secular institutions.”

Spiegel offers competing models of time through which we can survey the tension that exists in Catholic education and certainly in religious education. Her models of time, though, require some explanation. Spiegel proffers two ways in which to understand the past: “liturgical time” and “historical time”. She uses Jewish history to show that the former has dominated the latter almost to the point of exclusion and silence. “Liturgical time” refers to an understanding of Jewish history through the lens of biblical history. In particular, it demands that all events in the Jewish world be interpreted only insofar as they could be subsumed within Biblical categories of events and their interpretation bequeathed to the community through the medium of Scripture, that is to say, only insofar as they could be transfigured, ritually and liturgically, into repetitions and reenactments of ancient happenings.

Given the need for Jewish events to be interpreted in the light of the grand narrative of the Old Testament and the decisive event of the covenantal relationship between God and Israel and the making of the nation Israel, each Jewish event (of historical time) loses some of its telling identity. It becomes a form of suppressed history because it is understood not in its own right, but only through the prism of biblical history. What it can tell is limited to the degree to which it accords with the Biblical narrative. Vidal-Naquet has argued that because of this tension, the grand Jewish covenantal narrative has blocked history from “exercising its rights.”

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80 Ibid.
82 Ibid., 152.
7.5 The Need for Paradigmatic Change in Ecclesiological Emphasis

The Catholic education documents of the Roman Curia should be understood as contributors to ecclesiological understanding. That is, they have something to say, through the lens of Catholic education, of what it means to be Catholic. They can inform Catholic schools about what is “Catholic” about Catholic schools. Even a cursory glance at the Catholic education documents from the Roman Curia reveals a welcome to students who are not Catholics.

From the outset *Educating to Intercultural Dialogue in Catholic Schools* sets forth a challenge to Catholic schools themselves. It is a challenge that is pertinent to Australian Catholic schools in the present time as they seek to navigate their way to an identity that stands authentically in a society that is increasingly marked by secularism, detrationalism and pluralism. It is a challenge that requires Catholic schools to appropriately deal with their increasing enrolments of students who are not Catholics. The challenge is stated in the introduction to *Educating to Intercultural Dialogue in Catholic Schools*:

> Education, by its nature, requires both openness to other cultures, without the loss of one's own identity, and an acceptance of the other person, to avoid the risk of a limited culture, closed in on itself.  

Hutton and McQuillan in a unique and visionary statement for Catholic education in this country have given countenance to the idea that Catholic schools should offer forms of religious formation to students who are not Catholics who are enrolled in Catholic schools. They say,

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The documents [of the Catholic Church] also seem to recognise that conversion is not the sole aim of enrolling these non-Catholic students in Catholic schools. This at least opens the door to considering a school that sets out intentionally not only to enrol those of other faiths but to consciously work to strengthen and grow these students in their own faith and to provide instruction and pastoral care that is linked to this.  

The same can be said for Catholic education in Australia. Although there has been a return to historical consciousness, it seems that Catholic education is being pulled in the other direction. It is resisting the sense of history that has been so attractive to other disciplines. Catholic education, has used the “Catholic identity” bait to lure a craving for a return to the imagined past.

It appears as though Educating to Intercultural Dialogue in Catholic Schools is encouraging those in Catholic education to embrace the possibilities of “Historical Time” and create Catholic school cultures that are most amenable to that. It is cognisant of the growing numbers of students who are not Catholics who are enrolling in Catholic schools. But, rather than being threatened by these numbers, it seeks to understand what it could mean for the future of Catholic education.

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88 Ibid.
Conclusion

C.1 Introduction

The originality of this research study has been its investigation, through an historical lens, of the place of non-Catholic students in Catholic schools in Australia. That investigation has focused on documents that reveal the presence of non-Catholic students in Catholic schools, Catholic education documents from the Australian Catholic education context and also documents of the Catholic Church itself. These latter documents have originated from the local churches in Australia, the Roman Curia, the papacy and church councils.

This conclusion will discuss the significance of what this study has revealed about the history of non-Catholic students in Australian Catholic schools. It will situate that history in the context of four perspectives that can guide Catholic schools as they navigate their way at a time when, on national average, more than one in four students in Catholic schools in Australia is not a Catholic. It will then examine key issues in Catholic schools that are impacted by the place of students who are not Catholics in Catholic schools and propose a course forward in order for Catholic schools to better manage this enrolment trend. The final section of this chapter will offer recommendations for further research and development related to the issue of students who are not Catholics in Catholic schools.

C.2 Four Perspectives

This study proposes four perspectives to assist an understanding of the place of students who are not Catholics in Catholic schools. Students who are not Catholics in Catholic schools have come to be understood as a problem. This study proposes that the degree to which they are considered a problem has been overstated. This need not be the case. Rather, the history of Catholic education in Australia and a consistent and regular welcome of these students in Church documents, suggests that students who are not Catholics have an accepted place in Catholic schools. Of
course, their religiosity, being other than Catholic, demands particular consideration. As John Paul II has noted in his apostolic exhortation to the Church in Oceania, the enrolment and place of students who are not Catholics in Catholic schools requires “an especially delicate task.”¹ The following four perspectives will assist Catholic schools and Catholic school systems to better consider these students in such a way that the Catholicity of the school is enhanced, the religious freedom of students is respected and asserted, the contribution of lay teachers is rightfully recognised, catechesis in Catholic schools is refined and the history of Catholic education in Australia is remembered.

The four perspectives that follow are articulated in language of “more..., less...” so that polemics are avoided. Indeed, there are two poles to each of the following perspectives. Naming the perspectives in such a way is an assent to the “both/and” character of Catholicism (and hence Catholic education). Naming the perspectives in this way recognises dualistic complexities² that sometimes confront Catholic schools. Usually, when Catholicism is understood and articulated from an “either/or” perspective, something is omitted, avoided or awry. There is a second reason to articulate the following perspectives in “more..., less...” language and that is to assert that Catholic education, in recent times, has given excessive weight of emphasis to one side at the expense of the other. It is to argue that what is needed is a form of re-balancing.

C.2.1 More Historical Consciousness, Less Traditionalism

This study is primarily concerned with the history of Catholic education in Australia. It argues that the issue of students who are not Catholics can be considered in light of the historical trajectory that the issue has taken since the earliest days of Catholic education in Australia. An awareness of that history lessens the gravity of the issue today and provides a perspective from which a

¹ John Paul II, “Ecclesia in Oceania,” para. 25.
helpful response might be framed. The historical record reveals that students who are not Catholics have always had a presence in Catholic schools. One of the earliest Catholic schools in Australia, the Catholic school in Parramatta in the 1820s, had an enrolment of 23% non-Catholic students. The historical documents of the Catholic Church also reveal a welcome to students who are not Catholics.

Its survey of Catholic education across a period of time has revealed that the current arguments about Catholic identity and the perceived problems related to the increasing enrolments of students who are not Catholics have been framed against a non-historical, classicist form of Catholicism that claims orthodoxy. This study argues that such a form of Catholicism is not orthodox at all. Instead, it represents an attempt to take Catholic education to a place that is at variance with the Catholic Church’s own vision of Catholic education. That vision, with Jesus Christ and the human person at its centre, understands Catholic schools to be pluralistic (in terms of the religious adherence of students), engaged with the world (not against the world), and a pilgrim expression of the church itself as enunciated in chapter seven of the Dogmatic Constitution on the Church (*Lumen Gentium*). That is, while Catholic schools are unified in the sense that they are ‘Catholic’, they also reflect a plurality similar to the plural forms of expression of Catholicity in the wider Catholic Church in Australia (parishes and faith communities).

A ‘pilgrim’ school and a ‘pilgrim’ church are more historically grounded and removed from the traditional, neo-scholastic understanding of the Church as a perfect society. This study does not argue that the current literature describes Catholic schools or the Church in neo-scholastic terms. However, it does argue that the current literature tends to understand schools as static and unchanged, without any necessary engagement with the surrounding cultural and social contexts. Catholic education in Australia has repeatedly responded to the demands that history has placed before it. An historical grounding is important for

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Catholic schools as they grapple with the changing and increasingly pluralist nature of Australian society.

Recourse to history can assist Catholic schools as they navigate changing religious, social, enrolment and staffing contexts. Hurley proposed an ecological framework for understanding Catholic school culture. She used the analogy of the dynamic, organic entity of a tree to propose a culture “focused on cultivating moral purpose, vocation and compassionate relationships.”

Interestingly, she also noted that while school culture is inherently social, “it is also historical.” That is, the history of Catholic schools contributes to their culture. Hurley’s idea about the place of history in school culture leads to the tension that exists in Catholic education history whereby the powers of overtly religious themes compete (usually successfully) against the objectivity of history. In the current “Catholic Identity” debates, the traditional understanding of Catholic schooling in Australia – the dominant narrative - is being asserted and the history of Catholic schooling, especially the pre-1870s history, is being silenced or forgotten. The competition has been so lopsided that objective history of Catholic education and particularly the place of lay teachers and students who are not Catholics, has been silenced in the narrative.

C.2.2 More Openness, Less Defensiveness

Recent debates about Catholic identity of Australian Catholic schools are marked by a traditional form of defensiveness of Catholicity. Catholic schools seem to be being measured and evaluated against markers of explicit Catholic religiosity. How many Catholics are in the school? How many teaching religious are on staff? Are staff Catholics and are they involved in their local parish? These are common questions posed in the Catholic education arena, but questions that are not asked about other Catholic agencies such as Catholic hospitals and Catholic social

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5 Ibid., 19.
services, for example. Catholic schools are "one of the ‘jewels in the crown’ of the Catholic community" as the bishops of New South Wales and the Australian Capital Territory have recently said.\(^6\) Individually, they are a gift and a service to their local communities providing the people in those communities with another educational alternative for their young people. But the religiosity of staff and students is a paltry measure of the Catholicity of schools. It detracts from the real measure of a school’s Catholicity: its centredness on Jesus Christ\(^7\) and the human person.\(^8\)

The history of Catholic education in Australia also suggests that Catholic schools have a public role. In the period prior to the colonial Education Acts of the 1870s and 1880s, and since the re-introduction of state aid for Catholic schools in 1973, Catholic schools have been publicly funded. The Catholic schools in the early years of Catholic education up until the 1840s were considered government schools. The documentation of the Church also consistently affirms a public role for the Catholic school.\(^9\) Those documents frequently speak of the public service offered by Catholic schools and they cite the Catholic school's openness to students who are not Catholics as a form of that public service.

It is understandable that Catholic schools are concerned with defending their Catholic character. However, it is possible to primarily measure this via its sense of a vertical communion with God and a horizontal communion with people. Upon these axes can be found a Catholic school's Catholicity. At the same time, a Catholic school’s Catholicity can be measured by its openness to others and its openness to a public role.

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\(^8\) Ibid., para. 46.

C.2.3 More Ecumenical and Inter-Religious, Less Confessional and Sectarian

The Second Vatican Council promulgated a document focused on ecumenism (*Unitatis Redintegratio*) and a document focused on the Church’s relationship with non-Christian religions (*Nostra Aetate*). The former is a decree of the Council, the latter a declaration. Compared to the constitutions of the Council, their status is minor. However, their reception in the Church has been major. The Catholic Church’s change of direction in terms of ecumenism and inter-religious dialogue has been a feature of Catholicism since the Council. Catholic schools can enhance their Catholicity by developing and fostering an ecumenical and inter-religious culture.\(^\text{10}\)

The enrolment of students who are not Catholics can be seen to be a marker of a Catholic school’s nod to the ecumenical and inter-religious nature of Catholicism. From that perspective, students who are not Catholics can be warmly and legitimately received in the Catholic school. But just as the Catholic school has a responsibility to provide Catholic students with a form of catechetical development, so too must the Catholic school consider the religious development of its other-than-Catholic students. David Hutton and Paul McQuillan (respectively, former Director and Deputy Director of Brisbane Catholic Education) have argued that the enrolment of non-Catholic students in Catholic schools “at least opens the door to considering a school that sets out intentionally not only to enrol those of other faiths but to consciously work to strengthen and grow these students in their own faith and to provide instruction and pastoral care that is linked to this.”\(^\text{11}\)

This statement by Hutton and McQuillan is a challenge for Catholic schools. It calls for a differentiation in the forms of catechetical religious education they provide to their students. It has consequences for school retreats, prayer and liturgy. At the

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\(^{10}\) M.C. Boys, "Educating Christians in Order That Strangers Become Neighbours," *Journal of Religious Education* 50, no. 2 (2002); Chambers, "Students Who Are Not Catholics in Catholic Schools: Lessons from the Second Vatican Council About the Catholicity of Schools."; Hutton and McQuillan, "Leading Catholic Schools in an Era of Religious Diversity."

\(^{11}\) "Leading Catholic Schools in an Era of Religious Diversity," 7.
moment, Catholic schools mostly provide a uniform program of religious education. In a sense, there is a hidden assumption that all students are Catholic. Consequently, they are subjected to Catholic forms of religious education. From the perspective of the classroom religious education program, this is defendable and reasonable. However, from the perspective of the faith development of each child, such an approach could be considered a form of imposition and a breach of religious freedom.

The privilege given to the ordained and consecrated religious in the dominant narrative must now, in contemporary times, be understood against a cultural lens that perceives organised religion in a way that is different from how it was perceived in the past. Organised religion is no longer privileged, but rather, an increasing number of people reject it. McKinney and Sullivan note, “Catholic schools and universities (institutional forms of Catholic education) operate in a contemporary socio-political and cultural-intellectual milieu that is increasingly dismissive and hostile towards organized religion.”\(^\text{12}\) In a similar way, Croke, discussing the change in the Catholic educational landscape in the last 25 years, has said that, “In Australia, as in most western societies, religious thought and practice are often eyed with anxiety.”\(^\text{13}\) So now, the dominant myth, which has been dismissive and hostile to anything that is the antithesis of organised religion is now being used to hold currency in an environment that is dismissive and hostile to organised religion itself. In a Catholic education landscape that includes increasing numbers of students who are not Catholics and a staffing profile that is virtually all lay, the dominant narrative faces sustained pressure. This study contends that Catholic education needs a new paradigm. A greater historical consciousness about the origins of Catholic schools in Australia can provide an alternative perspective that is honest to both the historical record and to the Catholic tradition itself. Greater historical awareness can at one and the same time allow Catholic schools to serve a diverse student cohort and also uphold “the distinctive contribution of those Christian educators who are guided by the image

\(^{12}\) Stephen J. McKinney and John Sullivan, eds., *Education in a Catholic Perspective* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 22.

\(^{13}\) Croke, “Australian Catholic Schools in a Changing Political and Religious Landscape,” 815.
of the community of faith” as a defining feature of the corporate character of the school.

The traditional privilege to organised religion poses a problem to contemporary Catholic schools. First, there has been an exodus of the teaching religious from Catholic schools. In Victoria, in 2004 the percentage of teachers and principals who were from the religious orders or ordained priesthood was 0.5%. In 1950 the figure was 83.5%. Second, organised religion does not exert the same social capital that it once did. Rossiter has argued that religious education in particular has come to a stalemate in this country because Catholic schools seem preoccupied with maintaining an ideologically traditional form of Catholicity and religious education, yet the students in Catholic schools are becoming increasingly distant from such an expression of religious life. Consequently, students see less and less relevance in traditional forms of religious education. Rossiter argued that, “if religious education is to be relevant to the needs of pupils, it should accept and address constructively the new situation where only a minority will ever become engaged in Catholic parishes.”

D’Orsa and D’Orsa perpetuate the dominant myth that gives voice to the role of the clergy and religious, but does not give voice to the role of the laity in establishing Catholic schools in this country. They argue that,

In Australia, Catholic education stands in the tradition of Archbishop Polding, the first Catholic bishop, who together with the other bishops of his time established Catholic education systems as we know them today. These initially utilised the

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17 "Perspective on Contemporary Spirituality: Implications for Religious Education in Catholic Schools," 129.
services of members of religious orders, but increasingly since the 1970s, Catholic education is provided mostly by lay people.\textsuperscript{19}

Even though D’Orsa and D’Orsa note the current dominance of lay staff in Catholic schools and even though they qualify the role of Polding\textsuperscript{20} and his brother bishops with establishing “Catholic education systems” [my italics], they do not note the system of Catholic schools that had been operating in the colony prior to Archbishop Polding’s 1948 appointment of Father John McEncroe to be the first Director and Inspector of Catholic schools in the Archdiocese of Sydney.\textsuperscript{21} They make no comment here about the role that lay teachers played in Catholic schooling in this country in its formative years.

\textbf{C.2.4 More Cultural, Less Counter-Cultural}

It is a common catch-cry in Catholic education that Catholic schools be counter-cultural;\textsuperscript{22} to be counter-cultural is to be aligned with the Gospel; to be counter-cultural is to reflect the social teaching of the Catholic Church; to be counter-cultural is to reject cultural phenomena such as consumerism and individualism. Such is the argument of the Catholic education counter-culturalists.

This study presents no argument against Catholic schools being counter-cultural. However, it does argue that Catholic schools can also be cultural. In fact, this study contends that Catholic schools should be more cultural than counter-cultural. It takes particular inspiration from the opening lines of the Second Vatican Council’s Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World (\textit{Lumen Gentium}),

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\textsuperscript{19} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{20} John Bede Polding was appointed Vicar Apostolic of New Holland in 1834 and Archbishop of Sydney in 1842.
\textsuperscript{21} J. Luttrell, \textit{The Inspector Calls} (Leichhardt: Catholic Education Office, Sydney, 2003), 2.
\end{flushleft}
The joys and the hopes, the griefs and the anxieties of the men of this age, especially those who are poor or in any way afflicted, these are the joys and hopes, the griefs and anxieties of the followers of Christ. Indeed, nothing genuinely human fails to raise an echo in their hearts. For theirs is a community composed of men. United in Christ, they are led by the Holy Spirit in their journey to the Kingdom of their Father and they have welcomed the news of salvation which is meant for every man. That is why this community realizes that it is truly linked with mankind and its history by the deepest of bonds.\textsuperscript{23}

With this famous statement, the Church aligns itself with the world, not in opposition to it. Catholic schools have a responsibility to reflect and embrace culture. Of course, there will be aspects of culture that Catholic schools oppose. This is the case for all schools and all elements of a society. But, in terms of culture, the over-riding expression of Catholic schools can be an embrace of culture. It can include a concern for other people, a promotion of participation and a goal of intercultural education.\textsuperscript{24}

Counter-culturalism, taken to excess, can lead to dangerous blends of systems such as Manichaeism and Gnosticism (and other dualistic systems) whereby the created order is condemned and rejected. Such a position, when taken to extremes, can deny the distinctive Catholic principle of sacramentality. This principle affirms the goodness of creation and affirms that God is the source of the created order.

\textbf{C.3 Discussion of Key Issues Impacted by the Place of Students who are not Catholics in Catholic Schools}

This section of the study explores and discusses the key issues in Catholic schools that are impacted by the current enrolment trend of students who are not Catholics in Catholic schools. These issues include the place of students who are not Catholics in Catholic schools, the need to reconceptualise the history of Catholic schooling in Australia, the Catholic identity of Catholic schools, the

\textsuperscript{23} Vatican Council II, "Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World (Gaudium Et Spes)," para. 1.

\textsuperscript{24} Congregation for Catholic Education, "Educating to Intercultural Dialogue in Catholic Schools: Living in Harmony for a Civilization of Love."
religious education of students who are not Catholics, enrolment policies in Catholic schools, and the public role of Catholic schools.

C.3.1 The Place of Students who are not Catholics in Catholic Schools

This study has revealed a disparity between the rhetoric about students who are not Catholics in the Church documentation that comes out of the Vatican and the rhetoric about those students at local and national levels of Catholic education. There is a mismatch between the way that the Vatican documents articulate the place of non-Catholic students in Catholic schools and the way those students are given agency in the Australian Catholic education context. Documents from the Vatican “consistently acknowledge the presence of these students and welcome them into the Catholic school community”.25 Documents from the Australian context, including diocesan and school enrolment policies, approach non-Catholic students in Catholic schools which a degree of suspicion and a lack of welcome.

Vatican documentation, which includes papal pronouncements, congregational pronouncements and council documents, is alert to the presence of non-Catholic students in Catholic schools. Since the Second Vatican Council, the Church’s documentation has welcomed, and sometimes even favoured, the place of students who are not Catholics in Catholic schools. Gravissimum Educationis, the Council document on Christian education, entreats all those involved in Catholic education to provide especial assistance to students “who are strangers the gift of Faith [sic].”26 Documents from the Congregation for Catholic Education reveal an evolution of this welcome to students who are not Catholics. By 2013 when the Congregation for Catholic Education released Educating to Intercultural Dialogue in Catholic Schools: Living in Harmony for a Civilization of Love, students who are not Catholics are understood important for Catholic schools because they provide one means by which Catholic schools can foster openness and intercultural encounters between students. It was that document that drew links between the Catholic

25 Ryan, Religious Education in Catholic Schools: An Introduction for Australian Students, 54.
school’s requirement to address the Christian concept of reality (namely, life centred on Jesus Christ) and the importance of Catholic schools providing an opportunity for young people of different religions to meet and engage in the “dialogue of life.”

The rhetoric in Australian Catholic education literature is less welcoming and more suspicious of students who are not Catholics. In enrolment policies across the country, those students are placed last in categories of priority for enrolment. The Catholic education offices in the seven Australian archdioceses have enrolment policies that give priority to Catholic students. With the exception of the Catholic education office in Brisbane, the enrolment policy of each archdiocesan office includes a list of prioritised categories (of between five and eleven categories). Typically, those categories include (in descending order) Catholic students from the local parish, Catholics with siblings enrolled in the school, Catholic students from other parishes, students from Orthodox traditions, students from other Christian traditions and students from other religions.

Chapter three of this study treated the importance of the Second Vatican Council for the Church in general and for Catholic schools in particular. It noted that the Council was multi-dimensional in that it affirmed points of continuity and discontinuity in the Church. The Council re-asserted much of the Church’s traditions and it also introduced novelties, new directions for the Church, as it sought to engage with the world and modernise itself. Some of the novelties of the Council have application in contemporary Catholic education. These include greater openness to followers of other Christian traditions and other religions and acknowledgement of the truth and validity of these traditions and religions.

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29 Rush, "Toward a Comprehensive Interpretation of the Council and Its Documents."
C.3.2 The Need to Reconceptualise the History of Catholic Schooling in Australia

This study has explored the place of students who are not Catholics in Catholic schools in Australia. The historical record has revealed that those students have always had a place in Australian Catholic schools, going back to the earliest schools in colonial times. However, in contemporary times the place of those students has come to be questioned, relegated and situated at the margins of enrolment in Catholic schools. Recent literature has asserted a place for those students only after Catholic students have been granted their places.\(^{30}\) It has asserted a desire to raise the percentage of Catholic students in Catholic schools.\(^{31}\) It has also suggested that students who are not Catholics detract from the Catholicity of Catholic schools.

Chapter one identified a dominant narrative about Catholic schooling in Australia that stresses the origins of those schools to have been situated around the 1870s and 1880s. That narrative argues that Catholic schools were established by the bishops in response to Protestant and secular forces that denied Catholic schools access to government funding. In that context of funding crisis, Catholic schools came to be understood as a form of education for Catholic families at a time of sectarian antagonism.

This paradigm of thinking about Catholic schools has endured to the present day. The current upward enrolment trend of non-Catholic students in Catholic schools – from 19.4% in 1996\(^{32}\) to 29% in 2012\(^{33}\) - serves to suggest that Catholic schools of the current time are at deviance to the “original” Catholic schools. Thus, the primary Catholic identifier of Catholic schools, a student cohort that is Catholic, is at risk.

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\(^{31}\) Catholic Bishops of New South Wales and the Australian Capital Territory, Catholic Schools at a Crossroads: Pastoral Letter of the Bishops of NSW and the ACT; Pascoe, "Challenges for Catholic Education in Australia."; White, "Restoring Venice: A Call to New Evangelisation."


C.3.2.1 *The Problem with the Dominant Narrative*

The dominant narrative of Catholic schooling in Australia has served a particular purpose. It has communicated to those involved in Catholic education and to the wider Catholic community that “Catholic schools have prevailed against the most formidable opposition imaginable – the powerful secular colonial legislators and rival church opponents.”  

It has also sustained those involved in Catholic education in understanding that Catholic schools are for those “full of conviction and piety.”  

Ecclesiologically, Catholic schools “came to be seen by the Church as one of its instruments for holding on to, and reestablishing its control over, the faithful.”  

Catholic schools have been positioned, via the dominant narrative, more so as agencies for the maintenance of parish communities than as agencies of educational service to the Catholic and wider communities. From this perspective, it is easy to see why increasing enrolments of students who are not Catholics might be perceived as a threat: Catholic schools, according to this perspective, should be seen as explicitly Catholic especially in the religious adherence of its enrolled students. In this way, Catholic schools not only provide a connection to the local Catholic parish, they mirror the religious commitment of the local parish.

On the other hand, the dominant narrative of Catholic schooling in Australia mitigates and relegates the place of non-Catholic students in Catholic schools. In that narrative they are silenced and forgotten. Their religiosity excludes them from the dominant narrative’s primary purpose of Catholic schools. The dominant narrative gives preference to the period from around the 1920s to the 1970s during which time the religious orders dominated the staffing profile of Catholic schools. This represents a time that Croke calls the “golden era” of Australian Catholic schooling because of the religiously homogenous profile of Catholic schools in that period. Consequently, when contemporary Catholic schooling is articulated in light of the dominant narrative, students who are not Catholics are

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35 Croke, "Non-Catholics and Catholics in Catholic Schools in Australia," 67.
37 Croke, "Non-Catholics and Catholics in Catholic Schools in Australia," 67.
afforded a place, but that place is only on the periphery. Practically, their place is found at the bottom of Catholic school enrolment criteria lists.

Also, the heightened awareness of the percentage of enrolments of non-Catholic students is understood only against the measure of the period from the 1920s to the 1960s. The current enrolment rate of 29% students who are not Catholics in Catholic schools is measured in comparison to a period when enrolments of Catholic students was at its highest. It neglects other periods in Catholic education history in Australia. Against the period from the 1920s to the 1960s, the current enrolment trend of increasing numbers of students who are not Catholics renders contemporary Catholic schools lacking in terms of their Catholic identity. But such a reading is slanted towards a particular time in history. It is a reading that is incongruous with a wider scope of history of Catholic education in Australia. It neglects the Nineteenth Century when Catholic schools had significant enrolments of non-Catholic students. It also neglects the period from the 1960s to the present when non-Catholic students again became prominent in Catholic schools. Against the history of Catholic schooling in Australia, the period from the 1920s to the 1960's is revealed to be more an aberration than the norm in terms of student enrolments. That period was marked by intense denominational difference and hostility. It was that period where Catholic school enrolments were most religiously homogenous. Outside of that period though, Catholic schools have always enrolled students who are not Catholics.

C.3.2.2 Historicity

Chapter two of this study has revealed that the history of Catholic schools in Australia goes back well before the 1870s, to the early 1800s. In terms of religiosity of staff and students, the Catholic schools in the early colonial period are a closer reflection of contemporary Catholic schools, than the Catholic schools of
the first half of the Twentieth Century.\textsuperscript{38} The laity dominated the staffing profile of colonial Catholic schools and non-Catholic students regularly had a presence in Catholic schools. The Catholic school in Hunter Street Parramatta in the 1820 had an enrolment of 23\% non-Catholics. The Catholic school run by Patrick Newman in Campbelltown in 1880 had an enrolment of 37\% non-Catholic students. The historical record presents a different account of the history of Catholic schooling in Australia than that presented by the dominant narrative.

A greater sense of history can provide for leaders in Catholic schools an alternative lens by which they can understand and articulate the place of students who are not Catholics. A more refined sense of history reveals that Catholic schools in Australia have enrolled non-Catholic students since the beginning of Catholic education in this country. Those students have been welcomed and have contributed to the well-regarded system of Catholic schools that exists in Australia. As an example, in 1852, well before the Second Vatican Council marked a change in the Church’s attitude towards non-Catholic Christians, the Catholic school in Booroowa, New South Wales was noted in the local press for its contribution to ecumenical unity because of its enrolments of Catholic and non-Catholic students.\textsuperscript{39}

\textit{C.3.2.3 Fidelity to Catholic Tradition and to Australian Catholic History}

The increasing enrolments of non-Catholic students in Catholic schools in Australia has assumed elevated importance in recent years. That importance has been articulated in terms of a credibility and acceptance of Catholic schools in the wider Australian society. It has also been articulated as a threat to the Catholicity of Catholic schools. This thesis argues that a greater historical consciousness about Catholic schools in Australia can ease concerns about increasing enrolments of students who are not Catholics and about the effect of those enrolments on the Catholicity of Catholic schools. The presence of students who are not Catholics in


\textsuperscript{39} Goulburn Herald and County of Argyle Advertiser, "Country News."
Catholic schools is not a novelty for Catholic schools. They have been present in Catholic schools since the first Catholic schools in colonial Australia.

One of the arguments for minimising the percentage of non-Catholic students in Catholic schools is founded on an idea of fidelity to the Catholic tradition. The argument goes that the more Catholics there are in Catholic schools, the more Catholic the school is. Conversely, increased enrolments on non-Catholic students have an effect of “de-Catholicising” the school. This study reveals this to be a superficial and ultimately, errant argument.

A concern about the rising enrolments of non-Catholic students in Catholic schools is that such an enrolment trend detracts from the Catholicity of the Catholic school. The presence of non-Catholic students in Catholic schools has come to be seen as a threat to the Catholic identity of the school. This study makes a contribution towards dispelling that concern. This thesis argues that the presence of non-Catholic students in Catholic schools, in fact, reveals a twofold fidelity to Catholicity: fidelity to the Catholic tradition (especially in terms of the Second Vatican Council and the Church’s educational documents) and fidelity to the history of Catholic education in Australia.

The Catholic Church’s documentation on Catholic education consistently affirms the place of non-Catholic students in Catholic schools. Their presence is welcomed and this study proposes that openness to students who are not Catholics in fact constitutes a feature of the Catholic school’s Catholicity. This welcome to non-Catholic students in the Church’s educational documents stands alongside and in consistency with the Church’s teaching about non-Catholic Christians (ecumenism) and non-Christians (The Church’s relations with other religions) since the Second Vatican Council. Enrolments of students who are not Catholics in Catholic schools is both legitimate and, since the Congregation for Catholic Education’s most recent document on intercultural education, necessary.

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C.3.3 Catholic Identity: A Mismatch Between Vatican Documents and Local Documents

The issue of students who are not Catholics in Catholic schools has become a dominant feature of debates about the Catholic identity of Catholic schools. This study has revealed a mismatch and a conflict between how students who are not Catholics in Catholic schools are interpreted in documents coming out of the Vatican (especially papal documents and documents from the Congregation for Catholic Education) and how they are interpreted in Australian Catholic educational documents and Australian Catholic education theory. On the one hand, documents from the Vatican tend to be welcoming and receptive to the place of students who are not Catholics in Catholic school. They assume a Catholic school system that includes Catholic students and non-Catholic students. On the other hand, Australian Catholic education documents are more wary about the place of non-Catholic students in Catholic schools.

C.3.3.1 The Understanding of Students who are not Catholics in Vatican Documents

This study has included analysis of documents from the Second Vatican Council, documents promulgated by popes and documents from the Roman Curia. Those documents frequently refer to the place of students who are not Catholics in Catholic schools. *Gravissimum Educationis*, the Second Vatican Council’s decree on Christian education, offers affection for those Catholic schools that enrol non-Catholic students and it implores pastors involved in Catholic education to give especial assistance to those in their schools who are strangers to the gift of faith.\(^{41}\) John Paul II, in his apostolic exhortation to the Church in Oceania has affirmed the place of students who are not Catholics in Catholic schools.\(^{42}\) The Congregation for Catholic Education, has released seven documents about Catholic schools since 1977. Those documents consistently offer a welcome to students who are not Catholics in Catholic schools. This study considers that these Vatican-level

\(^{41}\) Vatican Council II, "Declaration on Christian Education (Gravissimum Educationis)," para. 9.
\(^{42}\) John Paul II, "Ecclesia in Oceania," para. 25.
documents present an understanding of the place of students who are not Catholics such that their presence, especially in the context of the public role of the Catholic school and the ecumenical and interreligious imperatives of the Catholic Church, represents a distinctive feature of the Catholicity of Catholic schools. That is to say, instead of detracting from a Catholic school’s Catholic identity, the presence of students who are not Catholics in Catholic schools reflects the Catholic nature of Catholic schools. Their presence reflects the Catholic openness to truth and inter-cultural education.

The Vatican documents are alert to the inter-religious potential of Catholic schools that have religiously diverse student enrolments. Those documents propose that diversity of enrolments in Catholic schools will, in most places, mirror the religious diversity that exists in wider society. To that end, the Catholic school can serve as a place of initiation and apprenticeship into the demands of post-schooling society where people of different religious beliefs and faiths encounter one another. Post-colonial Australia may have a strong Christian heritage, but the presence of other religions (and the absence of religion) is becoming more and more visible. As Ryan notes, “in neighbourhoods where Church spire and cathedral bell were once prominent, mosque, synagogue, temple, pagoda and gurdwara are now also present and popular.”43 The documents from the Vatican about Catholic education resonate with the multi-cultural reality of contemporary Australia (and other parts of the world).

C.3.3.2 The Understanding of Students who are not Catholics in Australian Education Documents and Theory

Australian Catholic education documents (diocesan and Catholic education offices) and Catholic education theory tend to be more reserved and apprehensive about the place of students who are not Catholics in Catholic schools. That

documentation and theory are more closely aligned to a “Church maintenance” model of Catholic schools. By that measure, they are more circumspect about the presence of non-Catholic students in Catholic schools. It is that model of thinking about Catholic schools that results in Pell proposing strategies to “make converts” out of the non-Catholic population of Catholic schools. It is that model which proposes a percentile upper limit of non-Catholic students in Catholic schools. A church maintenance model is evident in the arguments for a critical mass of Catholic students. Common across all these arguments about non-Catholic students in Catholic schools is a concern for the Catholicity of the school that masks a sectarian and confessional understanding of Catholic schools.

C.3.3.3 Problems with the Critical Mass Argument

Recent Australian literature about Catholic identity in Catholic schools has proposed an argument for a critical mass of Catholic students as a means of ensuring the Catholic identity of the Catholic school. A consequence of this argument is that students who are not Catholics will be excluded from Catholic schools.

The critical mass argument assumes that the student body, through the religious adherence or commitment of each student, determines the Catholicity of the Catholic school. It contends that a Catholic school can only be Catholic, or at least suitably Catholic, when the majority of its students are themselves Catholics. This study suggests that the critical mass argument represents a more defensive and inward-looking understanding of Catholicity.

44 Pell, "Religion and Culture: Catholic Schools in Australia," 844.
The critical mass argument runs counter to the claims made in the educational documents of the Church. Those documents make no claim that students who are not Catholics have a detrimental effect on the Catholicity of the school. Instead, a consistent narrative throughout those documents is that students who are not Catholics are welcome in Catholic schools. Further, this study argues that as the Congregation for Catholic Education’s documentary heritage has evolved generally, so too has its understanding of the place of non-Catholics in Catholic schools. In its early documents the Congregation for Catholic Education adopted a position that Catholic schools offered an educational and ecclesial service and this was offered to Catholics and non-Catholics alike.\(^{46}\) By 1988 when the Congregation for Catholic Education released *The Religious Dimension of Education in a Catholic School*, it asserted the right and freedom of the Catholic school to proclaim the Gospel alongside the rights of its students to religious freedom and to abide by their personal consciences.\(^{47}\) In *The Catholic School on the Threshold of the Third Millennium*, the Congregation added another qualification to its evolving understanding of openness and the place of students who are not Catholics in Catholic schools: enrolment in Catholic schools is for those – Catholics and non-Catholics – who appreciate and share the “qualified educational project”\(^{48}\) of the Catholic school. By 2013, when the Congregation for Catholic Education released *Educating to Intercultural Dialogue in Catholic Schools: Living in Harmony for a Civilization of Love*, its understanding of openness and the place of non-Catholics in Catholic schools evolved in two more ways. First, in that document, the Congregation not only welcomed non-Catholics in Catholic schools but emphasised the necessity and importance of dialogue between young people of different religious backgrounds in a world marked by secularisation and globalisation. Second, the Congregation offered a development for Catholic schools in the way they understand their catechetical responsibility. That is, Catholic schools “have the responsibility for offering Catholic students, over and above a sound knowledge of religion, the possibility to grow in personal closeness to Christ in the

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\(^{48}\) "The Catholic School on the Threshold of the Third Millennium", para. 16
Church.” In sum, whereas the critical mass argument appears inward-looking and sectarian, the documents from the Roman Curia reveal an evolving understanding of the place of non-Catholic students in Catholic schools marked by greater openness and importance of ecumenical and inter-religious engagement.

**C.3.3.4 Catholicity Includes Openness to the Religiosity of all Students**

The argument for a critical mass of Catholic students is built on an idea of mutual exclusivity between “Catholics” and “non-Catholics”. That is, one cannot be a part of the other; the more one is present, the more the other is absent. This argument prefers exclusion and barrier for the purpose of maintaining traditional religious identity over tolerance and multi-religious cooperation for the purpose of forging “a new world order of religious understanding founded on a religiously diverse citizenry.”

**C.3.4 Religious Education and Students who are not Catholics**

Religious education in Queensland Catholic schools is aligned with the articulation of religious education in the Congregation for Catholic Education’s *The Religious Dimension of Education in a Catholic School.* That document proffered a two-dimensional understanding of religious education in Catholic schools. The first dimension is an educational dimension that the Congregation for Catholic Education names ‘religious instruction.’ In Queensland, this dimension of religious education is named the ‘classroom religion program.’ It is focused on knowledge and cognitive processes and it “tries to convey a sense of the nature of Christianity,

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51 Congregation for Catholic Education, "The Religious Dimension of Education in a Catholic School."
and of how Christians are trying to live their lives.” 52 The second dimension is catechesis and is concerned with the faith development of students in Catholic schools. The aim of catechesis is “maturity: spiritual, liturgical, sacramental and apostolic.” 53

The current articulation of classroom religious education in Queensland does not presume or require a faith commitment from students. All students, regardless of their religious affiliation or lack of religious affiliation, are expected to engage in the classroom religious education program. It is expected that, in that program, teachers will utilise professional competencies and teaching and learning pedagogies similar to those used in other subject areas.

The extent to which Catholic schools incorporate teaching about other Christian traditions and other world religions is increasing. The teaching of Judaism, in particular, has gradually been filtering down into the primary school year levels so much so that it is a feature of all year levels in Catholic schools. 54 This thesis advocates for the teaching of other religions in Catholic schools, especially for its potential to enhance intercultural education.

The appropriateness of, and capacity for, Catholic schools to engage in catechesis has been a significant concern of this thesis. Traditionally, faith formation and Church maintenance have been central to the claims of Catholic schools. In the same tradition, they are also expected outcomes of Catholic schools.

C.3.5 Enrolment Policies and Students who are not Catholics

The Catholic education offices in the seven Australian archdioceses have enrolment policies that give priority to Catholic students. 55 With the exception of the Catholic

52 Ibid., para. 69.
53 Ibid.
54 Elliott and Stower, Religious Education Archdiocese of Brisbane.
55 Archdiocese of Brisbane Catholic Education Council, "Enrolment of Students Policy.", Archdiocese of Canberra and Goulburn Catholic Education Office, "Enrolment Policy for Catholic Systemic
education office in Brisbane, the enrolment policy of each archdiocesan office includes a list of prioritised categories (of between five and eleven categories). Typically, those categories include (in descending order) Catholic students from the local parish, Catholics with siblings enrolled in the school, Catholic students from other parishes, students from Orthodox traditions, students from other Christian traditions, students of other religions.

Sometimes attempts are made to justify this priority to Catholic students in historical terms. For example, “The Australian bishops established Catholic schools in the 1860s as a key instrument of catechesis and sacramental preparation for Catholic children.”

Although this is an oft-repeated narrative in Australian religious education, others have established the factual inaccuracies in statements such as this. Sometimes the priority to Catholic students is justified on missiological terms: “Catholic schools exist to further the mission of the Church” and “Catholic schools participate in the evangelizing mission of the Church.”

My contention in this thesis is that the public role of the Catholic school is part of the mission of the Church.

Other than being placed last in the hierarchy of priorities, there is some assent to the place of students who are not Catholics in Catholic schools in these enrolment policies. The Hobart policy quotes Roman documents that welcome students who are not Catholics in Catholic schools.

The Adelaide policy suggests consideration of ecumenism, the Church’s ministry to the world and the contribution of non-Catholics to Catholic schools in the design of school-based enrolment policies. However, none of the policies names the public role of the Catholic school as the ecclesial context by

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56 Catholic Education Office Melbourne, Enrolment for Schools in the Archdiocese of Melbourne, Appendix 1 "Enrolment Priorities" section; Catholic Education Office Sydney, "Questions Frequently Asked by Parents About Catholic Education in Sydney," "Who can enrol in a systemic Catholic school?" section; Catholic Education South Australia, "Enrolment Policy 2005", Section 9; Tasmanian Catholic Education Commission, "Enrolment for Catholic Schools Policy," Section 6.2.

57 Luttrell and Lourey, St Mary's to St Catherine's: Catholic Schools of the Archdiocese of Sydney, 1836-2006; McGee, The Forgotten Ones: Teachers in the Catholic Schools of New South Wales before 1880; Ryan, "Mythic Foundations of Australian Catholic Schools: Assessing the Heritage for Religious Educators."

58 Catholic Education Commission of Western Australia,"Student Enrolment", "Rationale" section.

59 Tasmanian Catholic Education Commission, "Enrolment for Catholic Schools Policy," "Rationale" section.

60 Ibid.

which students who are not Catholics are (or should be) enrolled. The degrees to which Catholic students are prioritised and students who are not Catholics are relegated in Australian enrolment policies seems to reflect an unrefined interpretation of curial and congregational education documents. The Church has a mission to the world and that mission goes beyond the internal, the insular and the inward-looking. To borrow the language of Archbishop of Brisbane, Mark Coleridge, these lists of hierarchy of priorities look more like circling the wagons in defence and less like rolling the wagons out for a new evangelisation of embracing the world through Catholic schools.\textsuperscript{62}

The manner in which Catholic schools welcome students who are not Catholics is ambivalent. On one hand, they are given a welcome of sorts in local and national documents. For example, the Catholic Bishops of New South Wales and the Australian Capital Territory seek to reaffirm their “commitment to the essential elements of the Catholic school, while recognising, and even embracing, changing enrolment patterns as ‘signs of the times’ and of a new mission for Catholic education.”\textsuperscript{63} On the other hand, students who are not Catholics are usually relegated to the bottom of the criteria list in Catholic school enrolment policies. Sometimes their presence in Catholic schools is seen as a necessary evil to maintain market viability.\textsuperscript{64} On both hands, assent to the public role of the Catholic school - a dimension of its Catholicity - is not given due prominence. Where students who are not Catholics are welcomed without any reference to the Church’s assent to the public role of the Catholic school, that welcome looks polite but arbitrary and it hangs without ecclesial or missiological context or reference to the Catholic view of education. Where students who are not Catholics are relegated to the lower rungs of the enrolment policy criteria ladder solely on grounds of religious adherence, their welcome looks impolite, tokenistic, market-driven and ignores the Church’s assent to the public role of the Catholic school.

\textsuperscript{63} Catholic Bishops of New South Wales and the Australian Capital Territory, Catholic Schools at a Crossroads: Pastoral Letter of the Bishops of NSW and the Act, 8.
C.3.6 The Public Role of Catholic Schools

Congregational documents regularly note the public role of the Catholic school. This study suggests that this public role, in accord with conciliar and curial documentation, should be a distinctive feature of Catholic schools. It could serve to ameliorate the Catholicity of Catholic schools and bring greater clarity to the religious education offered by Catholic schools. Croke articulates a pressing concern for contemporary Australian Catholic schools: “The present challenges for Catholic schools in Australia involve finding new ways to consolidate their integrity and authenticity in a climate of reduced religious commitment from Catholic parents and the potential encroachments of government regulation.”65 This applies especially to the catechetical dimension of religious education offered in Catholic schools. A refined articulation of the public role of the Catholic school could contribute to a better understanding of how, when and to whom religious formation should be offered in Catholic schools. For those who are Catholics, the public role serves as a reminder that not all students and families seek Catholic forms of catechesis. For those who are not Catholics the public role serves as a reminder that the Catholic school is open to all.

Also, an embrace of the public role of the Catholic school can assist schools in evaluating their religious education programs (especially their catechetical programs) in terms of their conciliar and ecclesial directive to engage with the world. Prior to his installation as Archbishop of Brisbane, Mark Coleridge opined about the need for the Church to project outward to the world. He suggested that the Church needed to be “a more missionary Church, one looking outward, not inward.”66 Archbishop Coleridge argued that despite pressures and issues facing the Church it was not a time to circle the wagons in defence, but rather to roll the wagons out in a form of new evangelisation that embraces the world. It was the same sentiment that he offered at his installation mass as Archbishop of Canberra-Goulburn where he argued that the task for the Church was “to roll the wagons into the world and engage with it.”67 The public role of the Catholic school is a feature of Vatican documents about Catholic education and it would seem to be an appropriate platform upon which the Catholic Church could engage in its

65 “Australian Catholic Schools in a Changing Political and Religious Landscape,” 812.
66 Dobbyn, ”Archbishop Mark Coleridge to Shepherd Brisbane Catholics.”
mission to the world, especially to those in local communities near Catholic schools who are not Catholics.

A tradition in Catholicism is to refer to Catholic social teaching as ‘the church’s best kept secret.’ This naming goes back more than twenty-five years. But, the Church’s social teaching is no longer a secret. It is especially no longer a secret in Catholic schools. Actually, the social teaching agenda of the Church is a prominent feature of the religious life of Catholic schools. It is common for Catholic schools to be involved in social outreach, advocacy, fundraising and community justice programs. In fact, so well-known is Catholic social teaching in the wider educational context, that a recent attempt at academic integration of Catholic themes in Catholic universities invited authors to discuss themes other than social justice. The reasoning of the editors was that social justice is “covered well” and receives “considerable resources” unlike other “Catholic religious themes.” Catholic social teaching is no longer the Church’s best-kept secret.

Parents and caregivers who are consumers in the new educational market will sometimes crudely name government-controlled schools ‘public schools’ and all other schools ‘private schools.’ The terms private and public are particularly common in the popular discourse about schools. Given the developments in government funding of schools in Australia since the 1970s, Campbell, Proctor and Sherington prefer names such as ‘government-controlled and ‘government-assisted.’ An understanding of “type-of-school” is relevant for Catholic schools –

72 Ibid.
74 Ibid., 83.
75 Ibid., 9-10.
especially those Catholic schools with a renewed focus on their Catholicity - because documents from the Congregation for Catholic Education identify a public role for the Catholic school.

Despite a common assumption that all non-government schools are private schools, leaders and administrators in Catholic schools reject the idea that Catholic schools are private schools. Campbell argues that “a relatively poor Catholic parochial school governed by a diocesan Catholic Education Office has very little in common with an exclusive, high-fee, independently governed corporate school.”

However, what constitutes a “private” school is not clear. It could be argued that a private school is one that charges fees. Alternatively, it could be a school without government funding. More importantly, the term “private” is perhaps less aligned with fees and funding and more aligned with social class. The rejection of Catholic schools being forms of private schools seems to equate to a rejection of the idea that Catholic schools are elitist and part of class-based schooling system.

At the same time and understandably, leaders and administrators in Catholic schools never refer to Catholic schools as public schools. Indeed, Catholic schools are ecclesial agencies and should be “place[s] of ecclesial experience.” However, assent to the public role of the Catholic school is frequent in literature from the Roman Curia. Also, support for the public role of the Catholic school is implied in documents from the Council. This literature has been largely ignored at national and local levels of Catholic schooling in Australia. This thesis seeks to give voice to that literature and suggests that the public role of the Catholic school offers possibilities for Catholic schools in enunciating their Catholic identity and

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80 Vatican Council II, "Declaration on Christian Education (Gravissimum Educationis)," paras. 8-9; "Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World (Gaudium Et Spes)," paras. 42-43.
implementing their religious education programs. Clarity about the public role of the Catholic school – as a distinctive feature of the school’s Catholicity – can inform the religious education program offered in the school. In particular, in schools with religiously diverse enrolments, it can bring into sharper focus the possibilities for and against catechesis.

A public role should be a feature of Catholic schools alongside their ecclesial and academic roles. Porath\(^{81}\) offers an excellent advocacy for understanding the academic role of the Catholic school as an essential feature of the Catholic school’s Catholicity. While I accept Porath’s argument, this thesis has been more concerned with the nexus between the public and religious roles of the Catholic school.

**C.3.6.1 Implications of the Public Role for Religious Education in Catholic Schools**

The manner in which Catholic schools welcome students who are not Catholics is ambivalent. On one hand, they are given a welcome of sorts in local and national documents. For example, the Catholic Bishops of New South Wales and the Australian Capital Territory seek to reaffirm their “commitment to the essential elements of the Catholic school, while recognising, and even embracing, changing enrolment patterns as ‘signs of the times’ and of a new mission for Catholic education.”\(^{82}\) Also, Catholic Education Archdiocese of Brisbane notes that Catholic schools are not restricted to Catholics alone and that there are minimal differences in the values and attitudes of Catholic families and other-than-Catholic families.\(^{83}\) On the other hand, students who are not Catholics are usually relegated to the bottom of the criteria list in Catholic school enrolment policies. Sometimes their presence in Catholic schools is seen as a necessary evil to maintain market viability.\(^{84}\) On both hands, assent to the public role of the Catholic school - a dimension of its Catholicity - is not given due prominence. Where students who are

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\(^{83}\) Catholic Education Archdiocese of Brisbane, "Who’s Coming to School Today? Summary of Research Findings," "Catholic schools are not only schools for Catholics" section.

not Catholics are welcomed without any reference to the Church’s assent to the public role of the Catholic school, that welcome looks polite but arbitrary and it hangs without rationale to the Catholic view of education. Where students who are not Catholics are relegated to the lower rungs of the enrolment policy criteria ladder solely on grounds of religious adherence, their welcome looks impolite, tokenistic, market-driven and ignores the Church’s assent to the public role of the Catholic school.

C.3.7 Emphasis on Catholicity

Although it might seem obvious, many Catholic schools are increasingly concerned with their Catholicity. These schools seek to find ways of expressing their Catholicity in a changing educational environment. Over the last twenty years Catholic schools in Australia have been increasingly concerned that their identity is, in fact, sufficiently Catholic. It seems the warrant for this concern emanates from changes in Catholic school staff profiles, changes in student cohorts and changes in culture where, more and more, religion seems to be privatized and removed from the public sphere. That is to say that Catholic schools in Australia are now staffed and led, overwhelmingly, by professional, lay educators; Australian Catholic schools enrol an increasing number of students who are not Catholics and an increasing number of students who no longer can be assumed to have a

87 Pascoe, "Challenges for Catholic Education in Australia," 798-800.
traditional Catholic upbringing;\textsuperscript{90} and schools exist within an all-pervasive secularism, detraditionalism and pluralism.\textsuperscript{91} The Church itself, through its hierarchy, is especially concerned with the Catholicity of schools. It is in these contexts that Catholic schools seek to enhance and protect their Catholicity. It is also in these contexts that the Catholicity of schools is sometimes contested.

\textit{C.3.7.1 Lay Staff and Catholicity of Schools}

The change to the staffing profile of Catholic schools in recent generations has been well documented.\textsuperscript{92} Catholic schools prior to the 1870s were staffed predominantly by lay people.\textsuperscript{93} This was followed by a century in which Catholic schools were predominantly staffed by religious orders. Now, that predominance has been replaced by lay teachers again. This is now seen as a threat to the Catholicity of schools.\textsuperscript{94} With this, the second coming of the lay teacher in Catholic schools, the Catholicity of those schools comes into question. For many, the religious capital that the religious orders brought to Catholic schools cannot be replaced by the more professionally-literate lay teachers without a significant program of spiritual and religious formation.


\textsuperscript{93} Luttrell, Worth the Struggle: Sydney Catholic Schools 1820-1995, 12; McGee, The Forgotten Ones: Teachers in the Catholic Schools of New South Wales before 1880.

\textsuperscript{94} Earl, "Challenges to Faith Formation in Contemporary Catholic Schooling in the USA: Problem and Response."; Grace, "Renewing Spiritual Capital: An Urgent Priority for the Future of Catholic Education Internationally."; J.D. Graham, "Daring to Engage: Religious and Spiritual Formation of Lay Catholic Educators in Australia."
C.3.7.2 Students and Catholicity of Schools

Students feel less attached to the tradition of Catholicism. Moving away from traditional forms of faith development, they are "actively constructing a religious identity that they understand and can claim as their own." These days, students in Catholic schools assume greater agency in determining their own sense of identity. This is especially true in matters religious. For students, the Christian story is "but one of many sources of meaning." The Christian story in the narrative of Catholic education competes with many constructs in the lives of students. Many students experience a "high level of uncertainty...about their personal [religious] beliefs." It has been suggested that this is a consequence of the modern worldview in which students live and through which their education is designed. Catholic schools cannot assume that their students will embrace Catholicism, let alone embrace it in traditional ways.

C.3.7.3 Church Hierarchy and Catholicity of Schools

The hierarchy of the Church frequently comes to the issue of Catholic schooling and the identity of Catholic schools from the perspective of Church maintenance. From this perspective, the Catholic identity of schools is evaluated in terms of the numbers of Catholic school students and their families who are Catholics and who actively worship in Catholic parishes. In a pastoral letter to Catholic educational leaders, staff, parents and the broader Catholic community, the Catholic Bishops of New South Wales and the Australian Capital Territory have established essential

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95 G. Rossiter, "Re-Orienting the Religion Curriculum in Catholic Schools to Address the Needs of Contemporary Youth Spirituality," 57-58.
100 Ibid., 72.
requirements for maintaining a Catholic ethos within Catholic schools.\textsuperscript{101} These include maintaining a critical mass of Catholic students. The bishops, in their pastoral letter, seek “some formula that will reverse the substantial drift away from participation in the Church.”\textsuperscript{102} Pell has proposed (as seemingly appropriate) the idea of strategies for the conversion of students who are not Catholics in Catholic schools.\textsuperscript{103} Putney has convincingly argued for the ecclesial and christological identity of the Catholic school: “The Catholic vision does not have a focus on Christ and, as it were, an optional extra of dealing with the Church. Being part of the Church is part of our response to Christ. This has to be true of schools as well.”\textsuperscript{104} Unlike other Catholic institutions such as hospitals and social services, Catholic schools are under pressure to deliver people to the church pews on Sunday. At times and for some, the Catholicity of Catholic schools hinges on it.

\textbf{C.3.7.4 Catholic Schools as Part of a Growing Educational Market}

Socio-economic forces also challenge the Catholicity of Catholic schools. The Catholic school is now part of an educational marketplace where many families make active consumerist decisions regarding the education of their children. There has been a growth in the number of non-government other-than-Catholic schools and an increase in the number of schools that offer specialty in particular disciplines and subject areas.\textsuperscript{105} In the context of market, Catholic schools should be able to use their Catholicity as part of their brand identification. But they also now compete with other types of schools for the enrolment of Catholic students.

These contexts present tensions and contestabilities for Catholic schools. For leaders in Catholic schools and Catholic school systems, it is difficult to address them in ways that please everyone. Oftentimes, unreasonable expectations are

\begin{footnotes}
\item[101] Catholic Bishops of New South Wales and the Australian Capital Territory, Catholic Schools at a Crossroads: Pastoral Letter of the Bishops of NSW and the Act, 10.
\item[102] Rossiter, "Perspective on Contemporary Spirituality: Implications for Religious Education in Catholic Schools," 130.
\item[103] "Religion and Culture: Catholic Schools in Australia," 844.
\item[104] Putney, "The Catholic School of the Future," 397-98.
\item[105] Croke, "Non-Catholics and Catholics in Catholic Schools in Australia," 71-72.
\end{footnotes}
placed on Catholic schools in terms of how they deal with these contexts. The manner in which they are used to assess a Catholic school's Catholicity is sometimes overdone and over exaggerated. But there is another context, present in virtually every Catholic school and related to Catholicity, that is underdone and undersold. Mostly, it is not recognised at all. It is the public role of the Catholic school. This thesis has sought to give voice to Australian Catholic education history and conciliar and curial documentation about the public role of the Catholic school. Although that documentation is reasonably extensive and mostly clear, it has not gained traction at national and local levels of Catholic education in Australia. Yet, it can assist Catholic schools as they navigate their Catholicity and catechetical forms of religious education in increasingly complex contexts. The public role of the Catholic school can assist Catholic schools in dealing with issues of diversity especially in terms of increasing enrolments of students who are not Catholics. Ongoing silence about the public role of the Catholic school risks Catholic identity being limited to the overtly religious dimension. An authentic Catholic education is more than that. Despite the silence about the public role of Catholic schools in the Australian Catholic education discourse, documentation from the Curia suggests that the public role should be a distinctive feature of Catholic schools.
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