“Be Not Afraid”

A History of Catholic Schooling in Massachusetts

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by Cara Stillings Candal, Ed.D.

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Executive Summary

Catholic schools and the quality education that they provide are important not only to Catholics but to people of all faiths and society as a whole. This is evident in the numbers of non-Catholics who are enrolled in the country's Catholic schools, and it is largely because of the high-quality, values-based education that Catholic schools provide.[1] As Dr. Mary Grassa O'Neill, Secretary of Education and Superintendent of the Archdiocese of Boston notes, "Catholic education is a vital and important part of society…Catholic schools achieve excellence in education and Catholic identity, and our schools form good, caring people every day."

There are 209 Catholic schools in Massachusetts, 124[2] of which are within the Archdiocese of Boston. The academic success of students in these schools is manifest in high test scores—Archdiocese of Boston schools outscore the nation, the state, and Boston Public Schools on Stanford 10t and SAT tests—and high graduation and college attendance rates. Perhaps most impressive, Catholic schools achieve these results while spending less money than their public school counterparts.

On average, elementary Catholic schools in the Archdiocese of Boston educate students at a per-pupil cost that averages $6,000.[3] This compares quite favorably with the average per-pupil expenditure in Massachusetts public schools, which is above $13,000 per pupil.[4] Catholic school per-pupil costs, however, do not accurately reflect the tuitions that Catholic schools charge. At the elementary level, the average tuition in Archdiocese of Boston schools is $4,000[5] per student. This means that Archdiocese schools do more for students with less money, and that they work relentlessly to accommodate students who cannot afford even the comparatively low cost of a high-quality Catholic education. This is one reason why the state's poor, minority, and immigrant families choose Catholic schools. According to Boston Public Schools, of the 25 percent of students living in Boston who choose not to attend the city's public schools, 47 percent are black. The majority of those students are enrolled in parochial schools both in and outside of the city of Boston.[6]

Despite their success, Catholic schools, like other independent schools and public schools across the country, are facing great declines in student enrollment.[7] Many Catholic schools are financially strained, dealing not only with a downward trend in the school-aged population but also with the impact of historical downward shifts in the number of people entering seminaries and convents, places which once produced excellent teachers and school leaders who could work for salaries much lower than those required (for survival) by their lay counterparts. Thus, at a moment in our nation's history when the quality of public schooling is under intense scrutiny, one high-quality educational option that has traditionally been available to poor and minority students is becoming far less available.

Inner-city Catholic schools, especially, enroll large populations of students who are poor, minority, and require scholarships or some other form of tuition remission. In Massachusetts these schools receive no state funding despite a per pupil cost that is one-quarter to one-half the cost of traditional public and charter schools. They receive only a small amount of federal money, in the form of Title dollars allocated to provide schools with additional resources for poor students. Despite these challenges, the Catholic schools that remain in Massachusetts and in the city of Boston are holding fast to their mission of providing a high-quality education for the students who need it most.

The Catholic school mission, and the Catholic school community's ability to fulfill it, is precisely why the current crisis in Catholic education merits urgent attention. The following policy paper explores the history of Catholic education in Massachusetts and, more specifically, in the Archdiocese of Boston. With an eye to the

Church's educational mission and how it has changed over time in Boston, this work goes on to review the many sociological, political, and historical factors that have contributed to the current financial and enrollment crises in urban Catholic education in Massachusetts.

The overall aim of this policy paper is not only to reveal the urgency of the problem in Catholic education; it also strives to explain why Catholic schools in Massachusetts and in the city of Boston should be considered essential partners in education. It does so by presenting academic data on the successes of Catholic schools in the Archdiocese of Boston and the state and nationwide; it makes comparisons to surrounding public school systems, such as the Boston. Finally, this paper outlines current efforts on the part of the Catholic community and the Archdiocese of Boston especially, to reverse the discouraging trend of Catholic school closures in Boston and beyond. The report concludes by providing recommendations for the perpetuation of Catholic schools in Massachusetts.

Catholic Schooling in Massachusetts and Boston: A Brief History

The history of Catholic education in Massachusetts, and especially in Boston, is in many ways the recent history of the city of Boston itself. Tracking the establishment of Catholic schooling, it is possible to trace the city's immigrant history, political history, and broader public education history as well. In the sense that they share, embody, and reflect the educational values of a state that was the first to recognize education as a public good, Catholic schools in Boston and in Massachusetts at large are unique.

Though the number of Catholic schools across the state is declining, this decline comes on the heels of a great increase in the number of Catholic schools established in the 1940s and 1950s. The rise of Catholic education in Massachusetts was fast and furious during that time; prior to the 1940s it was anything but.

In 1825, twelve years before Horace Mann would become the first secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education, only one Catholic school existed within what is known today as the Archdiocese of Boston. Despite changing immigration patterns after 1846 that would bring greater numbers of Catholics to the city and to the state, the number of Catholic schools would grow very little until well into the twentieth century. This, in part, was due to the perceived high quality of an emerging public system in the state, one that Mann viewed as "an engine of social reform" meant to deal with issues such as immigrant acculturation.[8] In even larger part, however, the early slow growth of Catholic schools in Massachusetts was due to a hostile brand of anti-Catholic sentiment, which infused state politics well into the twentieth-century.[9]

Anti-Catholic sentiment peaked in the 1850s, fueled by the astounding number of poor, Irish immigrants who came to Boston to escape famine in their homeland. "In 1825 the population of Boston was less than 10 percent Catholic… by 1850, the city was 40 percent Irish."[10] These immigrants brought with them not only their Catholic religion but also a lack of social and financial capital that, in the eyes of the ruling Protestant elite, posed a problem for the city and the state.

Across Massachusetts and other states, anti-Irish and anti-Catholic sympathizers formed political and social groups aimed at "preserving Protestant supremacy."[11] Among those groups in Massachusetts, a small party that called itself the "Know-Nothings" would come to have a great impact on education. "The Know-Nothings most enduring accomplishment was an amendment to the Massachusetts Constitution that survives to this day in modified form, commonly called the 'Anti-Aid Amendment.'"[12] That amendment, in brief, prohibits state monies from being directed toward sectarian schools. It was altered slightly in 1917 by another nativist-style amendment that prohibits aid to any institution "not publicly owned and under the exclusive

control, order and superintendence" of the state or federal government.[13] The 1917 amendment also prevented the 1854 amendment from being repealed via the state's initiative petition process.

At the time of its passage, the 1854 Anti-Aid Amendment affected comparatively few schools in the state—passage of the amendment was in almost every sense preemptive. Indeed, even after this nineteenth-century Amendment was expanded and protected by the 1917 Anti-Aid Amendment, Catholic education in the state began to flourish due to the growing Catholic demographics of the state. At the turn of the twentieth-century, leaders in the Catholic community who had once been quiet on the subject began to suggest that Catholic schools were "preferable for Catholic children," though those same leaders noted that parish schools should not be opened to the financial detriment of the parish, especially since the city schools were known for academic excellence. The establishment of parish schools thus proceeded at a slow pace, with the working-class and poor more likely to call for them and enroll their children.[14] Of course, the poor could not afford to pay the cost of educating their children, so parishes in poor communities bore the brunt of the financial burden.

Between 1900 and the 1940s the number of Catholic schools continued to grow at a steady pace, though none of the schools established were under diocesan control. Individual parishes would instead establish their own schools, creating a large "system of schools" as opposed to a "school system."[15] By 1940, however, it was becoming clear that the parish system of schools might need outside support if it was going to sustain the booming demand for Catholic education. At this point in time, Boston had become the third largest diocese in the United States, which had seen an overall increase in church attendance and in the numbers of men and women becoming priests and nuns. By 1942 the city was home to 158 parish grammar schools and 67 high schools.[16]

To meet the increase in demand for Catholic schools, in the 1960s, Archbishop Richard Cushing began to "encourage the development of multi-parish diocesan high schools."[17] Especially in the inner city of Boston, where the working-class and poor were most likely to attend Catholic schools, bringing several schools together was a cost-effective way to ensure that a Catholic education was available to all. Moreover, given the Church's emphasis on providing educational support for those most in need, growing Catholic educational offerings in this way and ensuring the financial support of the Archdiocese of Boston would allow parish priests to continue their commitment to educating the poor. At the time, according to *New York Times* columnist, John H. Fenton, Boston was one of the most extensive and well-equipped Catholic parochial school systems in the country.[18]

What at first glance seemed to be a wonderful period for education, marked by increasing enrollments and the expansion of Catholic schooling, would ultimately be the era in which the current crisis in Catholic education began. For, it was in the 1960s and into the 1970s that the Church began to see a decrease in the number of Catholics choosing to become priests and nuns and an increase in the number of seminarians choosing to leave seminary.[19] Practically, this meant that the future of Catholic schooling would depend in great part upon Catholic laity if it were to survive. Priests and nuns provided free and highly qualified labor to the schools and although it might be possible to find Catholic lay people with similar qualifications, there was no doubt that they would need to be compensated for their labor.[20]

The 1970s in particular represented a turning point for education in Boston more generally. Contentious plans to desegregate by busing children in and out of schools in their immediate neighborhoods left many inner-city Boston Catholics and non-Catholics outraged. Lacking what they felt was clear endorsement from Archbishop Cardinal Medeiros, who indicated

great support for desegregation and tacit support for the busing plan, many Catholics questioned Church leadership.[21] Moreover, by the 1970s, many of the Irish and Italian immigrants who had most utilized the city's Catholic schools in earlier decades had moved up the social ladder and into the suburbs, where demand for Catholic schooling was not as high, in part because of a general decrease in church attendance and in part because of confidence in the quality of suburban public schools.[22]

Into the 1980s, this population movement meant that Boston was undergoing a large demographic shift. African Americans had already settled on the outskirts of formerly Irish communities such as Dorchester, and a new wave of immigration, which included refugees from Asian countries torn by war and a large number of Caribbean immigrants, swept the city.[23] By this time, a great number of Boston's Catholic schools had closed—"between 1965 and 1973, the total enrollment of students in archdiocesan schools fell from 151,562 to 84,769."[24]

This demographic shift and remarkable decline in enrollment did not stop the Archdiocese or Boston's parish schools from fulfilling their vital educational mission, however. Although schools were closing, the new residents of these formerly Irish sections of town began to take advantage of the Catholic school system. African American families, especially, came to see Catholic education as an attractive alternative to public schools.[25] During the 1980s, sociologists and educationists began to take note of the comparatively high quality of education that Catholic schools were offering to minority and poor students. The schools of the Archdiocese of Boston were no exception.

In a landmark study in the 1980s, noted sociologist James Coleman described how the culture of Catholic schooling, a culture that espouses high academic expectations regardless of student background or circumstance, was serving poor and minority students in a way that the public schools were not.[26] Coleman, and later Bryk, Lee, and Holland, in their book *Catholic Schools and the Common Good*, also brought to public attention the lengths to which inner-city Catholic schools would go to educate all students, including non-Catholics, regardless of a family's ability to pay tuition.[27] Indeed, both studies suggested that public school systems across the country, which had long been plagued by large gaps in achievement between white middle-class pupils and their poor and minority counterparts, could learn a lot from Catholic schools.[28]

In Massachusetts and particularly in Boston, it appears that some public schools have taken strong cues from their Archdiocese counterparts. The improvements that have been noted in the Boston Public Schools in the past decade as well as the rise of a cadre of highly effective charter public schools[29] in the city is in large part due to the creation of school cultures that emphasize high academic expectations and accept "no excuses"[30] for failure. This model derives very much from Catholic schooling, which, as Bryk, Lee, and Holland note, is characterized by a "curriculum of effort," the idea that students can achieve the same academic results, regardless of background, though some students will have to put in more effort than others.[31]

Unfortunately, despite the proven product that they provide to students, Catholic schools are facing considerable challenges. Just as in other states and cities, many Catholic schools in the Bay State are struggling to attract students and to fund the high quality educational options they provide for students that are currently enrolled. As a recent national report published by the Fordham Institute notes:

> Since 1990, some *300,000* students [nationally] have been displaced from their Catholic schools – twice as many as were impacted by the hurricanes [of 2005]. Most of these children live in the inner city, and their beloved schools closed not because of poor performance, but for lack of funding.

> If current trends continue, another 300,000 could lose their schools over the next two decades. Before our very eyes – and yet so gradually as to be imperceptible – the great American institution that is the urban Catholic school is disappearing.[32]

This strain on Catholic education has been predicted by leaders within the Catholic community for decades and is the result of a confluence of many factors, all of which will be discussed in greater detail below. It is important to note, as the Fordham Institute report points out, that the students most affected by the decreasing availability of a high quality Catholic school education are exactly those students who need high-quality educational options—poor and minority students living in urban centers across the country. In Massachusetts, they are students living in communities that exist under the considerable umbrella of the Archdiocese of Boston. Many of these communities are the state's large urban centers, places such as Lawrence and Boston, where the public schools struggle to provide a majority of students with an adequate education.[33]

Despite and, perhaps, because of these challenges, the Archdiocese of Boston is committed to maintaining its focus on excellence in education and its mission of providing an excellent education to the "kids who need it most."[34] In recent years, however, in the face of school closings and a desire to further improve the already high quality of education that Archdiocese schools provide, the mission has been renewed and, to an extent, refocused.

That refocused mission, which emphasizes the revitalization and reinvigoration of Catholic education,[35] includes aligning curricula with the Massachusetts's nationally renowned academic standards and better use of the norm-referenced tests that the Archdiocese has traditionally used to track student achievement.[36] At present, the Archdiocese is also focused on connecting school leaders and helping them to better employ assessment data to drive instruction.[37] With this focus on continually improving the high academic quality of its schools, the Archdiocese is also placing a renewed emphasis on the importance of faith in the curriculum and on providing distinctive educational options to students. Such options are represented in the Cristo Rey and Nativity Miguel models,[38] schools that purposefully serve students of low socio-economic status by providing a high quality academic education with very low tuitions.

Indeed, Archdiocese schools such as Cristo Rey Boston, which is part of a larger network of Cristo Rey schools both in the state of Massachusetts and nationally, afford students a kind of education that they are hard-pressed to find outside of the Catholic system. Coupling an intense and demanding academic curriculum with a work study program that allows students to spend one full day each week working for a local corporation or non-profit, Cristo Rey Boston not only prepares students for a life of professional work after college, it also enables the students it enrolls, all of whom are considered poor by federal standards, to contribute to the cost of their tuition.[39]

Such a model of high academic quality, distinctive schooling, and financial viability is reflective of the larger mission that the Archdiocese of Boston is pursuing. The Archdiocese describes it mission as one that "combines academic excellence and Catholic faith formation to ensure life-long learning and the development of responsible and compassionate citizens…A major part of our mission is finding new approaches to organize, fund and manage Catholic education across the Archdiocese. We work with school leaders to implement new and viable models for Catholic education."[40]

While it is clear that new and viable models of Catholic education are necessary, it is also clear that existing Catholic models deserve to be sustained. Many currently rely on philanthropy for that support, and Catholic schools in Boston

Table 1. Catholic Schools and Students Enrolled, Massachusetts/Boston[46]

	State of Massachusetts	Archdiocese of Boston
Number of Schools	209	124
Number of Students Enrolled	67,483	42,431

are fortunate to be surrounded by a very generous donor community. The danger, of course, in relying so heavily upon philanthropy is that philanthropists might not always be in a position to sustain their contribution levels. Absent a revision to the Anti-Aid Amendments to the Massachusetts Constitution, Catholic school students in the state have very little hope of seeing their educational choice realized with the help of state funding. In the meantime, they can only hope that politicians and the community at large come to understand that Catholic schools are a very effective educational option—in many cases more effective than the state's highly praised public system.

The Opportunities and Outcomes of Catholic Education in Massachusetts

Despite the considerable challenges of adapting to a changing church, a changing society, and a relatively unchanged[41] education policy environment in Massachusetts, many Catholic schools have persisted in providing all students, but especially poor and minority students, with access to high quality education. Successful Catholic schools have continued to do this, as the body of research on the topic points out, because of an unrelenting focus on achievement.[42]

There are 124[43] schools within the Archdiocese of Boston, and 209 Catholic schools in the state.[44] The academic success of Catholic school students is manifest in high test scores and high graduation and college attendance rates. The success of Catholic schools more generally is manifest in the low per-pupil costs on which these schools manage to operate and the great tax-payer savings these schools provide relative to the surrounding public systems. In urban centers in the state, in particular, Catholic schools manage to provide this high quality/low-cost education to the same student populations served in urban public districts; these populations are disproportionately poor, minority, and haven't had access to high-quality early childhood education programs and the family structures that promote success in school.[45]

Although the reach of the Archdiocese of Boston extends well beyond the city of Boston itself, over half of Archdiocese elementary schools are in urban settings, including Boston, Brockton, Lawrence, and Lowell. Thus, while the Archdiocese of Boston's schools are not as heavily populated by minority students as the Boston Public School district, for example, the population of students attending Archdiocese schools is substantially urban.

Furthermore, the student populations of Archdiocese schools located in urban centers are reflective of the communities in which they are located. According to Boston Public Schools, which has a large population of African American and Hispanic students (see Table 2), of the 25 percent of students living in Boston who choose not to attend the city's public schools, 47 percent are black. The majority of those students are enrolled in parochial schools both in and outside of the city of Boston.[47]

In recent years, Hispanic parents and students in the city have begun to make the same choices that many black families have traditionally made. With an increase in the number of Hispanic immigrants to Boston and the state, many Catholic schools in the Boston area are now seeing an increase in Hispanic student enrollment. Although many of these new immigrants are arriving from countries with strong Catholic traditions, the effort on the part of these mainly poor families to enroll

Table 2. Catholic and Public Schools in Massachusetts/Boston, Student Background[49]

	Archdiocese of Boston[50]	State of Massachusetts	Sacred Heart Elementary School, Roslindale	Cristo Rey Boston High School, Boston	Boston Public Schools
White	73%	68%	15%	5%	12 %
Black	9%	8%	52%	42%	35%
Hispanic	7%	15%	27%	46%	40%
Asian	6%	6%	3%	1%	8%
Other ethnicity	5%	3%	4%	5%	2%

children in tuition-driven Catholic schools also speaks to the perception that Catholic schools provide a higher quality educational product than their public school counterparts.[48]

On the whole, the perception that Catholic schools in the state's urban centers provide a high-quality education is supported by student assessment and other data. In the case of Boston, data showing the superior performance of many of the city's Catholic schools are especially compelling considering that Boston Public Schools fares very well academically in comparison to its counterparts across the country. Indeed, the district has made significant gains in student achievement in the past 10 years and has been cited as one of the top-performing urban school districts in the country.[51]

Although direct comparisons are difficult to make because Catholic schools in Massachusetts do not participate in the Massachusetts Comprehensive Assessment System (MCAS), student achievement results from norm-referenced[52] assessments that the vast majority of Catholic schools use, along with SAT results, are useful points of comparison. Chart 1 shows the performance of students in Archdiocese of Boston schools on the Stanford 10 in 2010 in comparison to students nationwide. Chart 2 shows the average SAT scores of Archdiocese students in comparison to the nation, to the state as a whole, and to Boston Public Schools. Also worthy of note is the Archdiocese of Boston's college entrance rate, which is a reported 92 percent. This compares to a reported 78 percent high school graduation rate, for example, in the Boston Public Schools.[53]

These data suggest that parents across the state are choosing to send their children to Catholic schools in large part because of the superior academic opportunities and outcomes these schools offer. Of course, academics are not the only basis on which families and students choose schools. Unlike public schools, Catholic schools are equipped and expected to offer students a specific brand of education—an education rooted in the principles Christianity and of the Catholic faith. For many parents, even those who do not identify as Catholic, the very specific brand of moral and character education that Catholic schools provide is an attractive alternative to a public system perceived as unable to or ineffective at confronting issues of character and morality. As Principal Monica Haldiman of Sacred Heart Elementary School in Roslindale describes, "we are expected to provide a value-laden education," and parents appreciate that we can easily say to students "this is right and this is wrong." To Haldiman, this type of education can be rooted in Catholicism but at the same time respect, embrace, and even speak to of any number of religions. Considered in this light, it is not surprising that 18 percent of the students enrolled in Archdiocese of Boston schools during the 2009-10 school year did not identify as Catholics.

Chart 1. Stanford 10 Scores, Archdiocese of Boston/Nation (Average All Subjects)[54]

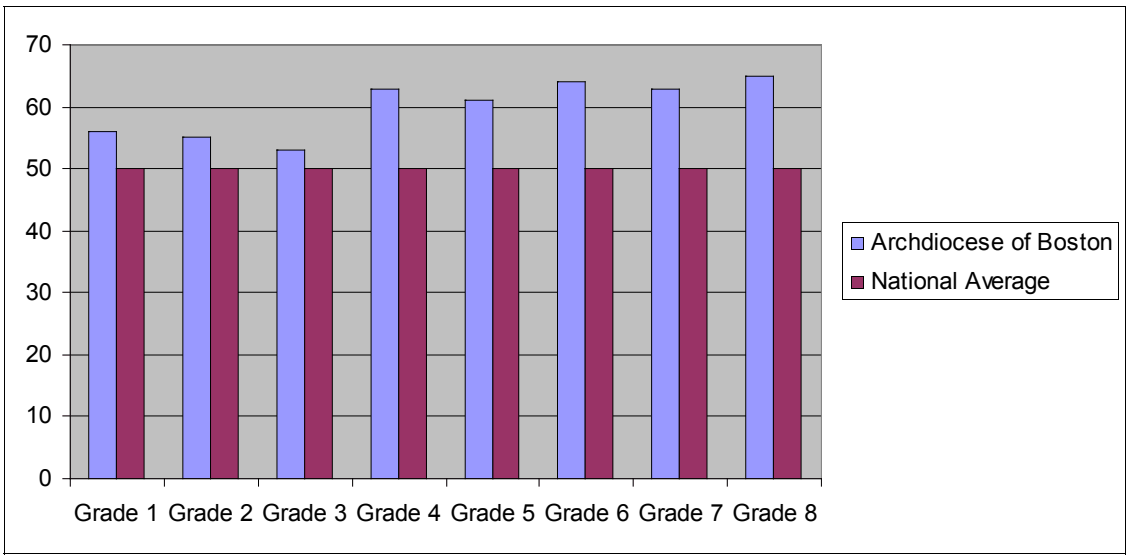
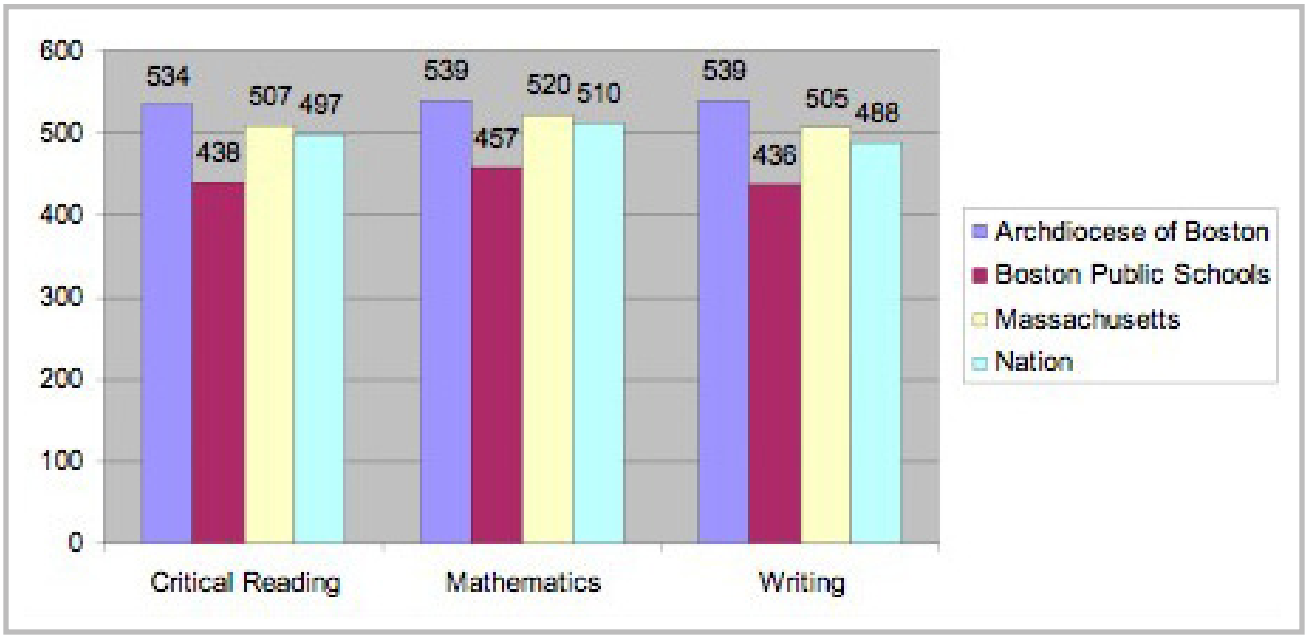


Chart 2. SAT Scores, 2010, Archdiocese of Boston, Boston Public, Massachusetts (public), the Nation[55]



It is also important to note that the culture of high academic expectations that many Catholic schools are able to create is rooted in faith. According to Father Paul O'Brien, many Catholic schools help students by placing both personal and academic achievement in a "God context." "We can say to students, God wants you to read…God wants you to be honest," notes O'Brien. This is not something that can be done within the public system and, with some students, particularly those who come from difficult family situations or violent communities, this kind of dialogue "can make a real difference."[56] It is within this dialogue that O'Brien describes that the Catholic church's longstanding mission to serve the poorest of the poor intersects with the inferior educational opportunities the poorest of the poor have traditionally had in Massachusetts and across the country.

In addition to academics and the value-laden cultures many Catholic schools can offer, Catholic schools in some communities also represent an escape from the violence and bullying that can plague public schools. Public school systems in these communities are often perceived to be a mere extension of the harsh city streets, forcing many parents to seek out Catholic schools because they say to students, as journalist Patrick McCloskey describes in his recent work, "the street stops here."[57] When asked why they choose to send their children to a tuition-driven Catholic school instead of the public school down the street, Monica Haldiman says, parents invariably cite three things: 1) safety, 2) academics, and 3) a values-laden culture.

Importantly, Catholic schools provide all these things—superior academic opportunities and outcomes, school cultures infused with meaning, and a level of protection from sometimes violent communities—at a comparatively very low cost to parents and taxpayers across the state. Elementary Catholic schools in the Archdiocese of Boston educate students at a per-pupil *cost* that averages $6,000.[58] That per-pupil cost, however, does not accurately reflect the tuitions that Catholic schools charge. At the elementary level, the average *tuition* in Archdiocese of Boston schools is $4,000 per student.[59] The gap between tuition and the actual cost of education is not only reflective of the Archdiocese's mission to educate all students in need regardless of socioeconomic status; it is a contributing factor to the financial difficulties that many Archdiocese schools are currently experiencing. The gap between cost and tuition charge is one that many schools need to fill. They do so with the help of private individual donors and philanthropic organizations, among other methods.

Importantly, average per-pupil expenditures in Catholic schools compare quite favorably to the state as a whole and districts such as Boston, Lawrence, and Quincy, all of which report 2009 per-pupil expenditures to be between $11,000 and $14,000 per student.[60] Indeed, even if the cost of educating students with special educational needs is factored out of per-pupil expenditures, the per-pupil cost of general education in Boston Public Schools is $11,755, much higher than the average per pupil expenditure in Catholic schools.[61]

Engaging this kind of public/Catholic school comparison is a useful tool for understanding how much money the taxpayers of Massachusetts save each year because roughly 67,000 Massachusetts families enroll their students in Catholic schools. The Parents Alliance for Catholic Education (PACE) estimates that in 2009 Massachusetts taxpayers saved over $500 million due to children enrolled in the state's many high-quality/low-cost Catholic schools.[62]

Considering the high-quality/low-cost model that Catholic education offers, it is difficult to understand the high rates at which these schools are losing pupils and ultimately closing. The reasons for this phenomenon are as varied as they are complex; Catholic schools in urban centers have been affected by movement to the suburbs, by the dramatic decrease in the number of people choosing to enter the seminary and become nuns, by politics within the Church itself,

and by a Massachusetts policy environment that bars public assistance to sectarian schools of a family's choosing.

These and other factors have converged to create what some have referred to as the "crisis in Catholic education." According to Father William Leahy, President of Boston College, however, Catholic schools in Massachusetts are, in fact, "one step beyond crisis."[63] This crisis has grave implications: For every Catholic school that closes across the state and the nation, families and students lose access to an effective and important educational option—an option which, for many of these families, represents the only alternative to their local public school.

The State of Things—Catholic Schools in Massachusetts

The current situation in Catholic education is most evident in the declining number of students entering Catholic schools and the number of Catholic schools, especially in inner-cities, that are being forced to shutter their doors because they can no longer afford to stay open. In many cases, these schools are located in the state's urban centers, where schools typically charge tuitions that range from 50-85 percent of the actual per-pupil cost of education.[64]

Enrollment trends in Catholic schools in Massachusetts, though troubling, are part of an overall decline in enrollment in the state as a whole. According to economist Dr. Ken Ardon,

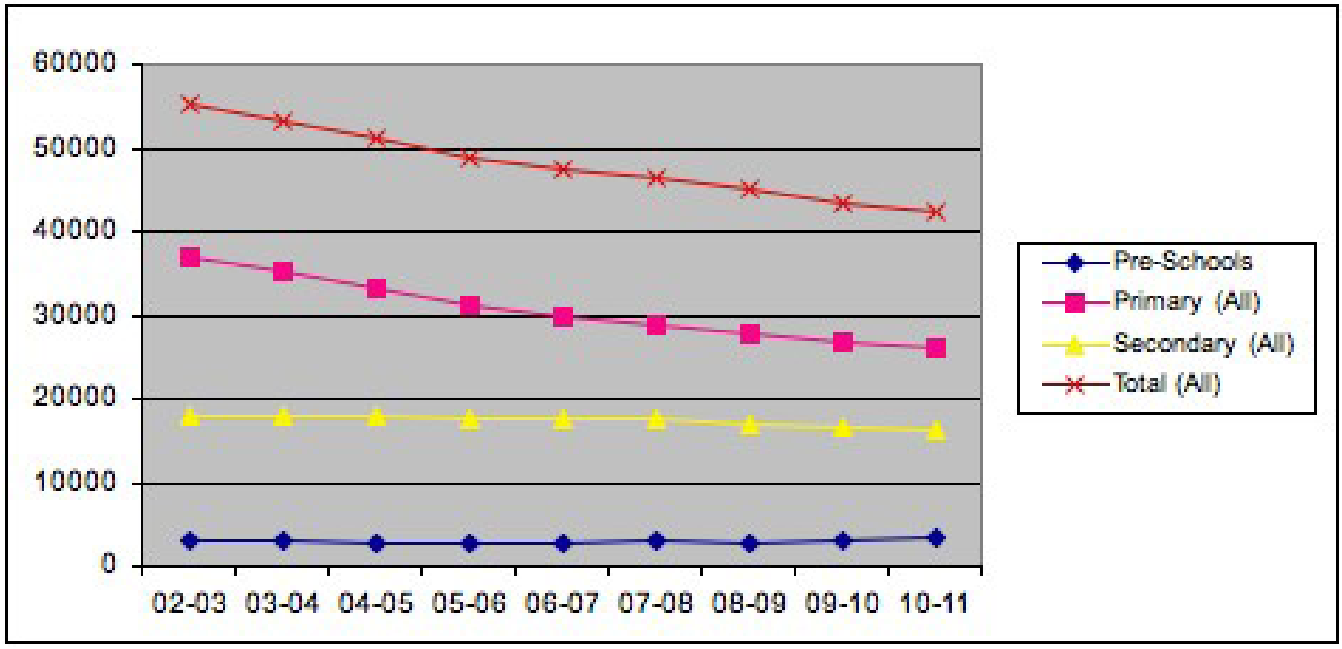
> *Enrollment in public schools in Massachusetts has fallen by 24,000 students, or 2.5 percent, over the past five years. The total number of students in Massachusetts public schools is now just 936,000. The decline started several years ago, and is likely to accelerate over the next decade. The drop in enrollment is steepest in Western Massachusetts and Cape Cod, and urban districts are losing students faster than suburban districts. Additionally, the enrollment decline is more severe in lower-income areas than in middle or upper-income areas.*[65]

While it is important to note that schools across the state of Massachusetts are losing enrollment due to a general decrease in the school-aged population in the state,[66] this decrease in enrollment in Catholic elementary schools especially—which make up the bulk of all Catholic schools in the Archdiocese of Boston[67]—reflects a downward trend in enrollment in Catholic schools nationwide. According to the National Catholic Education Association (NCEA), whereas in 1965 roughly 5.2 million students were enrolled in Catholic schools across the country, today that number is closer to 2 million.[68]

The national decline in student enrollment has resulted in the closures of thousands of Catholic schools. The NCEA reports that in the country's 12 major urban centers for Catholic education, which include Boston, 583 Catholic schools have closed in the past 10 years.[70] Although, according to the Catholic Schools Office, school closures in the Archdiocese of Boston have slowed in the past three years, the downward trend in overall enrollment is profound. Indeed, the overall trend tends to overshadow the relative stability in enrollment at the secondary level and even a slight increase at the pre-school level. The increase in pre-school, in particular, is reflective of the Archdiocese's renewed focus on providing services to respond to the needs of families.[71]

One of the most important questions to ask about the general enrollment problem in Catholic education, according to Father William Leahy, is "how did we get here?" The answer to this question, which was described in brief earlier in this report, is multifaceted. It hinges upon the migration of Catholics from the cities to the suburbs, a shift in Church culture after the 1960s resulting in a decline in religious vocations, and economic difficulty coupled with a demographic shift in inner-city Catholic schools.

Chart 3. Enrollment Trends in Archdiocese of Boston Schools, 2002-2011[69]



An increase in the number of white Catholics "fleeing" the city for the suburbs of Boston, for example, means that currently one-third of the Catholic population served by the Archdiocese of Boston is living where two-thirds of the Archdiocese's schools are located.[72] This is one reason why so many urban Catholic schools are under enrolled or closed. Moreover, many of the Catholics who have left the city in recent decades have moved to communities served by excellent public school systems, which has reduced (though not eliminated) the demand for Catholic education outside of the city.

Compounding the financial challenge that under enrollment presents to these urban schools is the necessary shift that has occurred in Catholic education as fewer Catholics make the decision to become priests and nuns; priests and nuns, especially prior to the 1960s, ran highly effective parish schools and did so while drawing small stipends or no salaries at all. Thus in the past 40 years, a population of lay Catholics (and non-Catholics) has been called to carry on the tradition of Catholic schooling. The shift has been dramatic: in 1920, 92 percent of the staff in Catholic schools nationwide were religious. By 1960 that number had dropped to roughly 74 percent, and in 2010 under 4 percent of staff in Catholic schools nationwide are religious.[73] Much like the priests and nuns that preceded them, many of these lay people are outstanding educators and school leaders, capable of providing students with high-quality educational opportunities. Unlike priests and nuns, however, these lay people require a salary to live on, even if that salary is often substantially less than they might draw working in a surrounding public school system.

This combination presents an enormous challenge to Catholic education in general. With a great percentage of Catholic schools located in urban centers where there is great demand for high-quality educational alternatives, Archdiocese and parish schools not only have to confront the cost of paying school faculty and staff, they also have to find ways to meet the cost of educating students who either cannot afford to pay tuition at all or cannot meet the full cost of tuition. At present, Catholic schools are very heavily reliant on philanthropy. In the Boston area alone organizations such as the Catholic Schools Foundation, the Lynch Foundation, the Campaign for Catholic Schools, among other

private philanthropists invest a great amount of financial and other resources in keeping Catholic schools viable and open. Though it seems clear that some degree of philanthropy will "always be a component" of Catholic schooling, many in the Catholic schools community fear that such an over-reliance on philanthropy could ultimately result in donor fatigue.[74]

Leaders such as Leahy admit that the extent of the current crisis reflects a failure on the part of the Church to 1) understand how changes in within the Church would affect its schools and to 2) plan to invest in education. With regard to attracting and retaining high- quality lay teachers and leaders, notes Leahy, "We didn't understand that quality costs." This failure to understand what it takes to offer a high-quality education has resulted in a perceived decline in the quality of some Catholic schools, although data do indicate that, on the whole, Catholic schools in Massachusetts and nationwide still fare better than their public counterparts.

Changes in the public education sector more broadly indicate that Leahy is right to note the extent to which quality counts in the minds of parents. The growth of the charter school movement in Massachusetts in particular has posed a new challenge for Catholic schools and educators. Although they represent a relatively small portion of the education market, charter public schools, which have concentrated in urban centers, have attracted the same poor and minority population to which urban Catholic schools cater. Boston-area charter public schools have proven track records of great academic success and therefore provide an attractive, free option to students seeking an alternative to the traditional public system.[75]

This is not to suggest that charter schools are exclusively responsible for the current enrollment problems in Catholic education, although further research is necessary on this issue. As Katie Everett, Executive Director of the Lynch Foundation points out, charter public schools in Massachusetts have seen enrollment increase while Catholic schools have seen it decline, but charter public schools state-wide account for only 15 percent of Catholic school attrition. The percentage of students who leave Catholic schools for charters is close to the percentage of students who leave districts for charters. Economist Dr. Ken Ardon estimates that, at most, only one-fifth of the overall decline in public school enrollments can be explained by an increase in charter public school enrollments.[76]

Considering, however, that charter schools are an attractive alternative for black and Hispanic students especially,[77] Catholic schools may still be well served to 1) differentiate themselves from charters by re-emphasizing the benefits of a Catholic education beyond academic excellence, and 2) look to their charter public school counterparts for opportunities to collaborate in reaching students they both aim to serve. One way to do this, suggest community leaders such as Father Leahy of Boston College and Katie Everett of the Lynch Foundation, is to lease vacant Catholic school buildings to charter schools, which receive from the state only a small per pupil grant that covers, on average only 12 percent of building and renovation costs.[78] Within the terms of the lease, the Archdiocese or parish could outline the right to use the building for after-school activities related to Catholic education.[79] A scenario such as this is already at work at the KIPP Charter School in Lynn, Massachusetts. Renting the Holy Family Church in Lynn has allowed KIPP to house its students while generating over $1 million dollars for the Holy Family Parish since 2004, enabling it to make significant renovations and improvements.[80]

In addition to forming mutually beneficial relationships with the wider education community, many in the Catholic schools community note that it is also important to look within. Currently, the Archdiocese of Boston, with the support of some of its philanthropic partners, is implementing initiatives aimed not only at making schools within its purview more financially viable but

also at increasing and maintaining school quality and accountability. Among the initiatives recently undertaken and currently underway are:[81]

1. Implementation of a common set of standards (based on the nationally-recognized Massachusetts Curriculum Frameworks) across Archdiocese schools;
2. Standard use of the Stanford 10 norm-referenced test to track student achievement;
3. More frequent and consistent use of assessment data to drive instruction;
4. Creation of an Elementary Schools Task Force (Summer to Fall 2010) to provide "a private, comprehensive analysis of the financial status of all elementary schools in the Archdiocese of Boston" and give each school "new financial management tools to serve as a road map to long-term financial stability."[82]

Though they do not represent an exhaustive list, these initiatives are especially important in ensuring that Archdiocese schools remain an academically attractive option, especially in urban centers like Boston, where the public schools are beginning to benefit from years of intense local reform and from state level policy initiatives focused on accountability for student outcomes. The Archdiocese sees great value and efficiency in having schools and teachers work toward common goals, which is one reason why it adopted the Massachusetts Curriculum Frameworks in 2009 and may well adopt the Common Core State Standards Initiative standards at a later date. It is also keen to ensure that schools and teachers view these types of academic standards as the "floor, not the ceiling."[83]

Policies for standards and accountability are being coupled with a renewed and intense commitment to raise the quality of schools on a number of other fronts. Additional initiatives, notes Mary Myers of the Campaign for Catholic Schools, the organization charged with implementing Cardinal Seán P. O'Malley's "2010 Initiative" to strengthen Catholic schools, focus on providing teacher support and professional development, improving school facilities and access to technology, and expanding academic programming, among other things. Professional development is occurring with support from several universities and professional development organizations. One such effort comes out of Boston College, which is home to the Urban Catholic Teachers' Corps, a program that recruits promising young teachers to spend two years teaching in an inner-city Catholic school while providing them with professional development.[84] Thus, with the help of university partners and key support organizations such as the Catholic Schools Foundation, the Campaign for Catholic Schools, and the Lynch Foundation, the Archdiocese is able to focus on school improvement on a number of fronts.

Beyond its renewed emphasis on what happens inside of schools on a daily basis, the Archdiocese is also attempting to rectify enrollment and financial problems by merging small, struggling schools into larger regional academies that are governed by regional boards. In recent years, academies have been created in places such as Dorchester, Brockton, Lawrence, Quincy, and South Boston. Merging several schools into one, as this model does, creates a model of financial viability for separate schools that were struggling to stay afloat and places responsibility for the management of the larger school into the hands of a board that is charged with making autonomous decisions about matters related to budget, enrollment, and, to a lesser degree, academics. Though many in the Catholic school community note that this approach requires careful planning and investment, and a willingness on the part of the schools community to achieve a desirable result, others note that it can be a very useful model for ensuring that Catholic educational options remain open to those who need them most.[85]

Of course, for the families who rely upon Catholic schools as a high-quality educational option for their children, a much broader political problem exists: aside from the modest federal monies

and vouchers for early childhood education that many Catholic school students qualify to receive, families that desire a Catholic education receive no support from government. For families who can afford some degree of tuition, the lack of a tuition tax credit ensures that they must pay not only the cost of a Catholic school education (comparatively modest as it may be), but also taxes to support the local public school that they choose not to use. Moreover, for the thousands of families across the state who cannot afford to pay any tuition at all, the lack of access to a voucher or some other form of state support means that Catholic schools will continue to bear the financial burden of serving students and families who desire a better educational option than they believe the public system can offer. For, despite the overwhelming challenge of raising per-pupil funds for families who cannot afford to make their own contribution, Catholic schools in Massachusetts remain committed to "serving the children most in need." Simply put, notes Mary Myers of the Campaign for Catholic Education "that is the mission-driven aspect of our work."[86]

Resolving the Crisis: Recommendations for the Perpetuation of Catholic Schools in Massachusetts

Policy makers in Massachusetts have much to learn from the state's successful experience with Catholic schooling. Many leaders and educators in the public schools community have already recreated the Catholic school culture of high academic expectations in the public sector. They have done so with a great degree of success. Unfortunately, adopting a Catholic school model within public schools will not be enough to help all students who desire a Catholic school education. Moreover, those who attend Catholic schools for the many benefits they offer beyond academics are unlikely to reap those benefits in a secular public school system.

Policy makers in Massachusetts continue to ignore not only the right of families to choose the schools that their children attend, but also the excellent and cost-efficient education Catholic schools can provide to so many students who are dissatisfied with and not benefiting from the public system. Unfortunately, without the support of policy makers at the state level, Catholic schools will continue to struggle.

Of course, if survival is to be ensured, change also needs to come from within the Catholic school system itself. While the Archdiocese of Boston in particular has made admirable strides in creating educational models that are more financially viable, it must continue to consider how to maintain and even increase the quality of Catholic schools while keeping costs down and continuing to serve the disenfranchised students and families who seek Catholic schooling. Though daunting, this challenge is not insurmountable. The following are recommendations not only for policy makers but also for the Archdiocese of Boston and the Catholic schools community in Massachusetts to consider.

Repeal Massachusetts' Two Anti-Aid Amendments

The Anti-Aid, or "Know-Nothing" 1854 and 1917 Amendments to the Massachusetts Constitution are relics of a shameful time in our state's history and should be repealed. While, as the Fordham Institute points out in its recent national report, "vouchers should not be viewed as a panacea,"[87] prohibiting families from exercising their rights to choose where children attend school not only hurts families and students, it ultimately costs taxpayers more, as they are forced to support an expensive public system that doesn't work for all students. While vouchers will certainly not solve the current financial strains on Catholic schools, they could help to ameliorate the crisis in urban Catholic schooling. Absent help from generous donors, it is not tenable for Catholic schools to continue providing a high-quality education to all students without receiving some form of state

support to meet their basic educational needs. Given that taxpayers in the state of Massachusetts saved roughly $550,000,000 in 2009 due to parents making the choice to send their children to Catholic schools, it seems in the best interest of the people of Massachusetts to ensure that these schools survive and thrive.[88]

Enact Tuition Tax Credits for Families That Choose to Send Their Children to Religious and Independent Schools

Implementing tuition tax credits for families who choose private education not only circumvents problems associated with providing state funds directly to parochial schools, it is a just way to compensate families who currently opt out of the public system but continue to pay taxes to support it. Tuition tax credits, which have been implemented in other states, such as Florida, Arizona, Minnesota, Pennsylvania, and Rhode Island can allow some families who cannot afford the dual cost of private school tuition and public school taxes to put their tax credit to the cost of a Catholic school education. Even if the tax credit only offsets rather than meets the per-pupil cost of education in the school of a family's choice, it could allow more families to contribute to the cost of education, thus helping to keep quality Catholic educational options alive.

Tuition tax credit programs in Rhode Island and Florida provide examples of what might be possible in Massachusetts. Both states give substantial tax breaks to corporations that donate funds to not-for-profit scholarship organizations, which in turn provide tuition scholarships to private schools or (in Florida) transportation scholarships to out-of-district public schools. Both programs require that families meet certain criteria to receive scholarships. In Rhode Island, families with an annual income of 250 percent or less of the federal poverty level are eligible to apply. In Florida, students must be eligible for free or reduced-priced lunch under the Federal School Lunch Program.[89] Both programs have thus far proven successful in equipping low-income families to access high quality private education, including Catholic schools. In Rhode Island, nearly one half of all families are eligible to receive tuition tax credit scholarships and as, of 2010, nearly 1,200 students have benefited from the program.[90] In Florida, where corporations can "redirect up to 75 percent of their corporate state tax liability every fiscal year to eligible organizations," upwards of 50,000 students and 895 private schools had benefited from tuition tax credits as of 2007 (83 percent of which were religious). Importantly, the low-income children that benefited in Florida were disproportionately minority and from single-parent homes.[91] These statistics suggest that the children who most need tuition tax credits to attend private schools are benefiting from the program.

Continue To Reach Out to the Catholic Community and Beyond

Reengaging Catholics outside of the inner-city with the challenges inner-city Catholic schools face is one way to ensure a flow of support to these schools. However, the Catholic schools community should also continue to look outside itself and to form relationships not only with donors but also with non-Catholic community members and even public schools. Charter public schools, in particular, present both a model and a potential partner for inner-city Catholic schools. Although they receive the full per-pupil cost of education from the state, charter public schools in Massachusetts receive only a small per-pupil grant to put toward capital costs. Many raise funds to meet capital costs through extensive fundraising campaigns that reach out not only to corporations and private donors but to the community-at-large. While Catholic schools too have become very effective fundraisers, especially in terms of private philanthropy, there is a sense within the community that they need to market themselves and their successes better. If more community members were aware of the wonderful opportunities that Catholic schools provide, it is quite likely that those community members would not only be willing to pressure

policy-makers for change but also to support Catholic schools financially and otherwise.

Moreover, Catholic schools would benefit from viewing charter public schools as potential allies in their mission to provide a high-quality education to those who need it most. To an extent, the Archdiocese of Boston is already engaged in this way, as it participates in initiatives such as the Consortium for Boston School Children and the Lynch Foundation's Leadership Academy, which addresses the needs of traditional public, charter public, independent, and Catholic schools. Most importantly, though, the Catholic schools community should be open to establishing mutually beneficial relationships with charters. The Church has buildings, many of which are vacant, which charter schools desperately need, and charter public schools have long waiting list of students. Barring any possibility of Catholic charter schools opening in Massachusetts in the near term—a possibility that many in the Church fear would take Catholicism out of Catholic education—the Archdiocese of Boston and other dioceses across the state should consider renting vacant buildings to charters at prices that they can afford and then funneling that money back to diocesan schools. Further, in places in the city where it is clear that there is not enough demand for a Catholic school, Catholic school buildings could be leased to charters under the terms of an agreement that allows the building to convert to one that is used for Catholic educational purposes at the end of the school day.

Expand Relationships with University Partners

The Archdiocese of Boston currently has strong relationships with many area colleges.[92] These relationships should be strengthened and utilized to the greatest extent possible. Catholic universities in Massachusetts and across the country have the ability to assist in the creation and implementation of strong teacher and school leader programs, to gather and interpret data to assist schools in decision-making and to reach out to students across the university who represent the future of Catholic school teachers and leaders.

Continue to Emphasize the Importance of a High-Quality Education for all Students

Catholic schools should continue to pursue their mission to educate all children to the highest possible standard, regardless of family background or ability to pay tuition. Though this poses a huge financial burden, it is the ability of Catholic schools to provide high-quality options for poor and minority students that has historically set these schools apart. A continued emphasis on standards, accountability, and professional development coupled with a willingness to "sell" these aspects of Catholic education to the public will result in increased enrollments. Parents want the best education possible for their children, and if they know Catholic schools provide it, they will choose Catholic schools.

In this vein, the creation of a school system in which schools can be more easily tracked and compared to one another via a common set of standards and testing, such as the system that the Archdiocese of Boston is currently seeking to build, will allow for a strong system of accountability to be established. Although Catholic schools in Massachusetts are by and large of high quality, those that decline in quality should not be allowed to exist, especially at the expense of more effective schools that are under enrolled. A coherent system of accountability will allow the Catholic schools community to make informed decisions regarding school performance and school closures.

Concentrate on the Provision of Distinctive Catholic School Options

An improved public school system and increased high-quality education options, especially for poor and minority students, is clearly something that the Catholic schools community desires. However, as the public system in Boston especially earns a better reputation and as high-quality charter school options are expanded for students, Catholic

schools in Boston and beyond should continue to distinguish themselves by providing the one thing the public system cannot: a Catholic education. Moreover, the Catholic schools community should continue to support innovation in Catholic schooling by fostering the growth of school networks such as Cristo Rey and Nativity Miguel. By continuing to positively differentiate themselves from the public system, such Catholic schools will remain very attractive to certain communities and students.

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Pioneer Institute is an independent, non-partisan, privately funded research organization that seeks to improve the quality of life in Massachusetts through civic discourse and intellectually rigorous, data-driven public policy solutions based on free market principles, individual liberty and responsibility, and the ideal of effective, limited and accountable government.

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Endnotes

1. Interview with Dr. Mary Grassa O'Neill, Secretary of Education and Superintendent of Schools, Archdiocese of Boston, March 8, 2011; According to the Archdiocese of Boston, in 2010-11, 18 percent of students enrolled in Archdiocese schools do not identify as Catholic.

2. Archdiocese of Boston, Catholic Schools Office, internal data

3. Data provided by the Lynch Foundation

4. Massachusetts Department of Elementary and Secondary Education, "Total Expenditure Per-Pupil, All Funds, By Function, FY '10", http://finance1.doe.mass.edu/statistics/ppx10.html. It is important to note that per-pupil costs are much higher in many Massachusetts districts. The City of Cambridge, for example, spends an average of $26,337 per-pupil (including the cost of special education). See: Massachusetts Department of Elementary and Secondary Education, School and District Profiles, http://profiles.doe.mass.edu/profiles/finance.aspx?orgcode=00490000&orgtypecode=5&.

5. Data provided by the Archdiocese of Boston Catholic Schools Office

6. Boston Public Schools at a Glance, 2009-2010, http://www.bostonpublicschools.org/files/BPS

7. Since 2005, public school enrollment in Massachusetts has declined by 0.4 percent per year. See Ken Ardon, "Enrollment Trends in Massachusetts," Pioneer Institute Policy Brief, September, 2008. November, 2009. According to the Archdiocese of Boston, internal data, enrollment in Archdiocese of Boston schools has declined by approximately 13,000 students since 2002-03.

8. See: Charles Glenn, *Myth of the Common School*, University of Massachusetts Press, Amherst, 1988.

9. White, John J., "Puritan City Catholicism: Catholic Education in Boston," in Thomas C. Hunt and Timothy Walch (Eds.), *Urban Catholic Education: Tales of Twelve American Cities, Alliance for Catholic Education*, Notre Dame, 2010 (pp. 92-93).

10. Ibid, p. 93.

11. Chapman, Cornelius, "The Know-Nothing Amendments: Barriers to School Choice in Massachusetts," Pioneer Institute for Public Policy, No. 46, April 2009.

12. Ibid

13. Ibid

14. White, John J., "Puritan City Catholicism: Catholic Education in Boston," pp. 101-102.

15. Several interviewees for this work noted that one of the current challenges faced by the Archdiocese of Boston is that the "system of schools" mentality still very much exists within Catholic education in Massachusetts. Parishes have, for many years, funded and ensured the quality of their own schools and many value their autonomy. Interviews with Mary Myers, Campaign for Catholic Schools February 9, 2011, and interview with Monica Haldiman, Sacred Heart School, February 14, 2011.

16. O'Connor, Thomas H., *Boston Catholics: A History of the Church and its People*, Northeastern University Press, Boston, 1988.

17. White, John J., "Puritan City Catholicism: Catholic Education in Boston," p. 112.

18. Quoted in O'Connor, Thomas H., *Boston Catholics: A History of the Church and its People*, p. 253.

19. Ibid, pp. 297-293

20. In "Puritan City Catholicism," John White cites Archbishop Cushing as mindful that the expansion of Catholic schools in the Archdiocese would be unsustainable: "He once stated that he

needed to raise $30,000 a day in order to pay for the building that he had been financing--$11 million a year" (p. 113).

21. See: J. Anthony Lukas, *Common Ground: A Turbulent Decade in the Lives of Three American Families*, Vintage Books, New York, 1986.

22. O'Connor, Thomas H., *Boston Catholics: A History of the Church and its People*, p. 291

23. Ibid

24. Archdiocese of Boston, Catholic Schools Office, internal data

25. See demographic data cited in section below, "The Opportunities and Outcomes of Catholic Education."

26. See: Thomas Hoffer, Andrew M. Greeley & James S. Coleman, "Achievement Growth in Public and Catholic Schools," Sociology of Education 58(2), April, 1985, pp. 74-97. The authors find that Catholic school outcomes for minority students are higher than those produced in public schools because Catholic schools "place more students in academic programs, require more semesters of academic coursework, and assign more homework."

27. See: Anthony Bryk, Valerie Lee, & Peter Holland, *Catholic Schools and the Common Good*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1993.

28. Diane Ravitch, in her work *The Death and Life of the Great American School System* (p. 127) describes another set of research she commissioned as Assistant Secretary for Education under President Reagan: "I asked my staff to gather information comparing the performance of Hispanic and African American students in Catholic and public schools. I learned that minority kids who attended Catholic schools were more likely to take advanced courses than their peers in public schools, more likely to go to college, and more likely to continue on to graduate school. They Catholic schools could not afford multiple tracks, so they expected all students to do the same coursework. I became interested in seeing whether there was any public policy that could sustain these schools."

29. Competition from many of these highly effective charter schools is often cited as one reason for Catholic school closings in Boston and beyond (see Ravitch, *The Death and Life of the Great American School System*, p. 221). This claim will be discussed in further detail later in this report.

30. Many of Boston's high performing charter schools subscribe to a model that has come to be called "No Excuses."

31. See Bryk, Lee, and Holland, Catholic Schools and the Common Good

32. Hamilton, Scott (Ed.) *Who Will Save America's Urban Catholic Schools?* Thomas B. Fordham Institute, 2010.

33. For example, in Lawrence in 2010 only 20 percent of grade 8 students scored proficient or above on MCAS; in Boston 34 percent of grade 8 students scored proficient or above on MCAS. See: Massachusetts Department of Elementary and Secondary Education, School and District Profiles, http://profiles.doe.mass.edu/.

34. Interview with Mary Myers, Campaign for Catholic Schools, February 9, 2011.

35. Interview with Dr. Mary Grassa O'Neill, March 8, 2011

36. Interview with Dr. William McKersie, Archdiocese of Boston, Catholic Schools Office, January 14, 2011.

37. Interview with Dr. Mary Grassa O'Neill, March 8, 2011

38. The Nativity Miguel model includes an extended school day and year and students do not pay tuition. See: http://www.nativitymiguelschools.org/

39. See Cristo Rey Boston, http://cristoreyboston.org/ also see Hamilton, Scott (Ed.) *Who Will Save America's Urban Catholic Schools?*

40. Archdiocese of Boston, Catholic Schools Office, Mission Statement, catholicschoolsboston.org

41. Although education policies affecting Massachusetts public schools have changed substantially in the late-twentieth and early twenty-first-century, independent schools are not directly impacted by these reforms, especially those pertaining to federal and state categorical funding, assessment-based accountability, and (though to a lesser extent) public school choice. Whereas voucher initiatives in places like Wisconsin, Florida, and Washington, D.C. have been enacted and, in the cases of Florida and D.C., repealed, the use of public funds to support independent schools (excepting federal Title monies that may be directed to support students within independent schools) is not an idea that has gained political traction in Massachusetts.

42. Bryk, Lee, and Holland, Catholic Schools and the Common Good; Diane Ravitch, *The Death and Life of a Great American School System*.

43. Archdiocese of Boston, Catholic Schools Office, internal data

44. Parents Alliance for Catholic Education, http://paceorg.net/images/graphics/pace%20chart%20v4.pdf

45. See, for example: Nan Marie Astone, Sarah S. McClanahan, "Family Structure, Parental Practices, and High School Completion," American Sociological Review, 56 (June), 309-320, 1991.

46. State-level data retrieved from: Parent's Alliance for Catholic Education, http://paceorg.net/images/graphics/pace%20chart%20v4.pdf; Archdiocese specific data provided by the Catholic Schools Office of the Archdiocese of Boston.

47. Boston Public Schools at a Glance, 2009-2010, http://www.bostonpublicschools.org/files/BPS

48. Hoffer, Greeley, & Coleman, "Achievement Growth in Catholic and Public Schools," Bryk, Lee, and Holland, *Catholic Schools and the Common Good*.

49. Cristo Rey Boston data represent student population of 2009/10. All other data provided reflect the backgrounds of students enrolled in 2010/11. Boston public and state student background information retrieved from http://profiles.doe.mass.edu/profiles/student.aspx. Sacred Heart Elementary and Cristo Rey Boston data are based on unpublished school reports. Archdiocese data provided by the Archdiocese of Boston, Catholic Schools Office.

50. The Archdiocese of Boston extends well beyond the City of Boston itself, serving 144 communities in the eastern part of the state. In this sense, the diverse array of parishioners that the Archdiocese serves is more reflective of the population of the state as a whole than of the City of Boston. http://www.bostoncatholic.org/About-The-Archdiocese/Default.aspx?id=118

51. Mona Mourshed, Chinezi Chijioke, Michael Barber, "How the World's Most Improved School Systems Keep Getting Better," Mckinsey and Company, 2010.

52. Catholic schools across the country (and many other independent schools) measure student achievement using norm referenced examinations such as the Terra Nova, and Stanford examinations. Though different from criterion-referenced examinations such as the MCAS, on which individual test items are aligned to a pre-determined criterion (usually a curriculum standard), these norm-referenced examinations are based upon a survey of the most common grade level curricular content nationwide, and measure individual student achievement in relationship to the group of test-takers as a whole, therefore allowing individuals and schools to understand how they fare in

relationship to others who are learning and teaching the same curricular content. Arguably, the norm-referenced tests employed in the private school sector contain more challenging content than their criterion-reference counterparts (although MCAS is known to be a particularly rigorous criterion-referenced examination). This is because the federally mandated criterion-referenced tests that most states employ are viewed as tests of minimum competency—tests that ensure students have a set of basic skills. Norm-referenced test, on the other hand, can be based on a greater depth of curricular content, some of which addresses basic skills and some of which goes beyond basic.

53. Archdiocese data provided by the Archdiocese of Boston Catholic Schools Office; For BPS data see Northeaster University Bureau of Labor Market Studies Report cited in Boston Public Schools at a Glance, 2009-2010 for Boston Public Schools Data: http://www.bostonpublicschools.org/files/BPS%20at%20a%20Glance%2010-0225.pdf

54. Internal data provided by Catholic Schools Office of the Archdiocese of Boston

55. Archdiocese data provided by Catholic Schools Office of the Archdiocese of Boston; Boston, state, and national data can be found at, Boston Public Schools at a Glance, 2009-2010 http://www.bostonpublicschools.org/files/BPS%20at%20a%20Glance%2010-0225.pdf

56. Interview with Fr. Paul, O'Brien, January 31, 2011.

57. Patrick McCloskey, *The Street Stops Here: A Year at a Catholic High School*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 2008.

58. Data provided by the Archdiocese of Boston, Catholic Schools Office

59. Data provided by the Archdiocese of Boston, Catholic Schools Office

60. Massachusetts Department of Elementary and Secondary Education, School and District Profiles, 2009.

61. Boston Public Schools at a Glance, 2009-2010, http://www.bostonpublicschools.org/files/BPS

62. See Parental Alliance for Catholic Education (PACE), http://paceorg.net/index.php

63. Interview with William Leahy, February 1, 2011.

64. These numbers provided by the Catholic Schools Office of the Archdiocese of Boston

65. See Ken Ardon, "Enrollment Trends in Massachusetts"

66. Ibid.

67. According to Archdiocese of Boston's Catholic Schools Office, 66 percent of schools in the Archdiocese of Boston are elementary schools.

68. See: National Catholic Education Association, Catholic School Data, Highlights from The Annual Report on Schools, Enrollment, and Staffing, http://www.ncea.org/news/annualdatareport.asp#enrollment

69. Data provided by the Catholic Schools Office, Archdiocese of Boston

70. McDonald, Dale & Schulz, Margaret, National Catholic Schools Report, 2009-2010: The Annual Report on Schools, Enrollment, and Staffing, The National Catholic Education Association

71. Interview with Dr. Mary Grassa O'Neill, March 8, 2011.

72. Interview with Fr. William Leahy

73. National Catholic Education Association, Catholic School Data, Highlights from The Annual Report on Schools, Enrollment, and Staffing, http://www.ncea.org/news/annualdatareport.asp#enrollment

74. Interview with Mary Myers, the Campaign for Catholic Schools, February 9, 2011. Interview with Fr. William Leahy, Boston College, February 1, 2011.

75. Despite accounting for less than 3 percent of the state public school population, four of the 10 best-performing schools on the 2010 MCAS 10th grade math test were charter schools, as were 3 of the top 10 schools in 10th grade English language arts. See: Boston.com, 2010 MCAS results, http://www.boston.com/news/local/breaking_news/2010/09/the_globe_has_c.html

76. See Ken Ardon, "Enrollment Trends in Massachusetts," p. 4.

77. According to the Massachusetts Department of Elementary and Secondary Education Charter School Fact Sheet 2010, charter schools in Massachusetts are roughly 50 percent black and Hispanic. Because students in the Archdiocese of Boston's schools are 73percent white, it stands to reason that charter schools are not major reason for overall declines in enrollment within the Archdiocese; charters and Archdiocese schools are drawing from different populations of students. This said, because urban Catholic schools do cater to concentrated populations of black and Hispanic students, it may be important for these schools to remain attractive to those populations, who might otherwise view charters as a viable option. www.doe.mass.edu/charter/factsheet.xls.

78. See: Cara Stillings Candal, "Debunking the Myths about Charter Public Schools," Pioneer Institute Policy Brief, 2010.

79. Interview with Fr. William Leahy, February 1, 2011.

80. Interview with Katie Everett, February 14, 2011; statistics provided by Katie Everett of the Lynch Foundation

81. Interview with William McKersie, Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Boston, Catholic Schools Office

82. Summary Description on Elementary Schools Task Force provided by Catholic Schools Office, Archdiocese of Boston.

83. Interview with Dr. William McKersie, Catholic Schools Office, Archdiocese of Boston, March 8, 2011.

84. Interview with Patricia Weisz O'Neill, Roche Center for Catholic Education, Boston College, February 9, 2011.

85. Interviews with Fr. Paul O'Brien, (Jan 31, 2011), William McKersie (January 14, 2011), and Katie Everett (February 14, 2011).

86. Interview with Mary Myers, February 9, 2011.

87. Hamilton, Scott (Ed.) *Who Will Save America's Urban Catholic Schools?* Thomas B. Fordham Institute, 2010.

88. See Parental Alliance for Catholic Education (PACE), http://paceorg.net/index.php

89. Matthew P. Steinberg, "Education Tax Credits: A Review of the Rhode Island Program and an Assessment of Possibilities in Massachusetts," Pioneer Institute White Paper, No. 69, October, 2010, William Howell and Mindy Spencer, "School Choice Without Vouchers: Expanding Education Options Through Tax Benefits," A Pioneer Institute White Paper, No. 41, October 2007.

90. Matthew P. Steinberg, "Education Tax Credits: A Review of the Rhode Island Program and an Assessment of Possibilities in Massachusetts."

91. William Howell and Mindy Spencer, "School Choice Without Vouchers: Expanding Education Options Through Tax Benefits."

92. Among the Archdiocese university partners are Boston College, Regis College, Emmanuel College, and Stonehill College; this does not represent an exhaustive list.

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