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Sajit U. Kabadi
University of Colorado Denver

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Cover Page Footnote

Dr. Sajit Kabadi has a doctorate in educational leadership and innovation from the University of Colorado Denver with an emphasis on social justice and equity issues in education. He focuses on issues of multicultural education, Catholic urban education, critical race theory, and first generation college students. He is also a theology teacher at Regis Jesuit High School in Colorado and serves as an adjunct professor at several higher educational institutions locally in both religious studies and education departments. He has over 27 years of experience in Jesuit education in both secondary and higher education.

The Jesuit Social Justice Dialectic within the Cristo Rey School Model

Sajit U. Kabadi, University of Colorado Denver

This article reports findings from a qualitative case study of a Cristo Rey Jesuit high school. The Jesuit social justice dialectic strives to maintain a balance between the preservation of the virtue of the Jesuit mission and the selling of the Jesuit brand. The Jesuit mission consists of Catholic evangelization through cultural immersion and social justice. The Jesuit brand consists of the accumulation of financial wealth and political influence essential to the ambitions of the Jesuit mission coming to fruition. This journal article explores this Jesuit social justice dialectic in action looking at the corporate work-study program utilized in the sustainability of the Cristo Rey school model. This innovative student work program ensures the political, economic sustainability of the Cristo Rey model (the Jesuit brand) so that it can provide accessibility to a population severely underrepresented in traditional US Jesuit education (the Jesuit mission). This article explores the complexity of this Jesuit social justice dialectic through the corporate work-study program in Cristo Rey education that include the benefits of collaboration and the challenges of parochialism.

Keywords

Cristo Rey model, Jesuit secondary education, dialectic, social justice

A dialectic is a method of investigating and discussing apparent contradictions by critically examining opposing ideas in order to uncover the truth and achieve greater understanding of the complexities involved in the concepts under study (Rappaport, 1981; Todd & Abrams, 2011). Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel believed that intellectual evolution begins with an initial thesis that is always accompanied by a contradictory antithesis challenging the original thesis. Instead of discarding either the thesis or the antithesis, Hegel proposed holding these two in tension with each other, with the goal of further wisdom and insight being gathered from both, ultimately producing a synthesis (Fox, 2005; Hegel & Friedrich, 1954).

The Society of Jesus, more commonly known as the Jesuits, endeavors to employ a similar dialectic understanding in pursuit of its mission and

the promotion of its brand. The Jesuit mission focuses on transforming the world for the purpose of Catholic evangelization utilizing cultural inclusion and social justice. The first core principle of the Jesuit mission is engaging people where they are in their lives (Barry, 1991; Fleming, 1996) and applies to all human relationships in whatever cultural context they exist. Another core principle emphasized by the Jesuits is seeking to find God—or the divine—in all things, which behooves the Jesuits to engage all aspects of human culture, developing an appreciation for all of its diversity as part of God's creation (Barry, 1991; McGucken, 1932; O'Malley, 1993; Society of Jesus, 1977; Traub, 2008). Further, the social justice component of the Jesuit mission encourages relationships with those who are marginalized in society—not on the Jesuits' own terms or from an activist perspective, but with respect for and in solidarity with those who are marginalized or underrepresented (Arrupe, 1972, 1974; Brackley, 2004; Kammer, 2004).

The Jesuit mission consists of dialectical tendencies, due to the Society's desire to see their mission come to fruition in culturally transformative ways. The dialectic is particularly evident in education, as the Jesuits leverage political and economic power within educational institutions in order to achieve their mission of serving people who are marginalized. This entails selling and promoting the Jesuit "brand," consisting of visual and verbal concepts that represent ideas and values attractive to consumers (Laczniak, 2004). Terms such as *magis*, *cura personalis*, *the graduate at graduation*, and *men and women for others* are just a few examples of concepts I consider central to the Jesuit brand. Selling the Jesuit brand requires a heavy influx of political and economic power to sustain the ambitions of the Jesuit mission. Consequently, in order to achieve the mission of serving the marginalized, the Jesuits also place themselves among the most influential in society (McDonough, 1992).

The Jesuits' efforts to elevate their brand historically have created consternation within the Catholic hierarchy, other Catholic charisms, and European colonial powers, leading to suppression of the order for a time in the late 18th century before being restored in 1814 (Bangert, 1986; Cordara, 1999; Curran, 1966; Schroth, 2007). The Jesuit brand continues to form the basis for the Jesuit social justice dialectic, which the Jesuits justify as a pragmatic effort to bridge powerful and marginalized constituents in an effort to build a more equitable, inclusive community. The attempt to bridge these groups often produces mixed results, and, as a result, the Jesuits have been maligned for their growing dependence on selling the brand in order to sustain their institutional pursuits (Byron & William, 2011).

This article explores how the Jesuit social justice dialectic operates within Jesuit secondary education in the United States. Drawing from a larger study, this article presents a case study of one Jesuit high school within the Cristo Rey network, identified with the pseudonym Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit High School (also referred to as “Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit” within the article).

The analysis utilizes a theoretical framework based on the social justice vision of the former Superior General of the Jesuits, Pedro Arrupe. The Arrupian social justice vision consists of three major aspects: (a) preserving human dignity for all human beings in all contexts; (b) dismantling unjust structures of privilege and power in society; and (c) working to counteract all forms of injustice throughout the world in a prophetic way (Arrupe, 1971, 1974, 1977; Burke, 2004; Rausch, 2010). This theoretical framework is used in this article to assess the ways in which the social justice dialectic is maintained within the Cristo Rey model and within Jesuit education in the US overall. (See Kabadi, 2014 for a more detailed discussion of the theoretical framework.)

In the sections that follow, I first present background information on Jesuit secondary education in the United States, with an emphasis on how the social justice dialectic informs and shapes Jesuit educational institutions and initiatives. I then provide background on the Cristo Rey work-study model before turning to the methodology and findings of the study.

The Jesuit Social Justice Dialectic in US Jesuit Secondary Education

The Jesuit social justice dialectic exists within the Cristo Rey school model and affects the entirety of US Jesuit secondary education. Cristo Rey Jesuit high schools are intended to embody the social justice values of the Jesuit mission by reaching out to a population that is poor, diverse, and under-represented in US Jesuit education. The Cristo Rey schools stand in contrast to the majority of US Jesuit high schools (referenced in this article as “traditional Jesuit high schools”), which cater to an elite, powerful constituency. Although traditional Jesuit high schools help support the Jesuit mission, including the Cristo Rey model, Cristo Rey Jesuit high schools were created to address concerns that the Jesuits were no longer remaining true to their mission of social justice.

Jesuit educational institutions in the US once employed only Jesuits; however, they now look primarily to the laity to take on a more active role in the Jesuit mission. This shift requires not only extensive training, but also involves paying lay educators a salary. (Previously, Jesuit educators were

primarily members of the order and did not require conventional compensation). As a result, previously fully endowed Jesuit educational institutions are now required to raise tuition to cover their operational expenses. For traditional Jesuit high schools to maintain their prestige and cultural influence, they often need to raise their tuition and expand their business infrastructure (McDonough & Bianchi, 2002). Consequently, traditional Jesuit high schools inadvertently exclude many families that no longer can afford a Jesuit education. As of 2013, the median tuition for a traditional Jesuit high school was more than \$13,000 (USD) (Bouillette, 2013). As a result, many US Jesuit high schools in the latter 20th century have begun to cater to a more affluent constituency (Meirose, 1994; Rausch, 2010; Starratt, 2004).

In an attempt to offset these demographic changes within Jesuit institutions, social justice curriculum/pedagogy was reinforced in the classrooms based on the mandate of superior general Pedro Arrupe and the Jesuit congregation (Jesuits, 1977). Offices and departments such as service, diversity, and ministry emerged within these schools, focusing on specific mission-related issues and interweaving them into school pedagogy and curriculum. Meanwhile, the institutional business practices of Jesuit high schools contributed to building infrastructure needed to promote to the Jesuit brand; for example, fundraising, advancement, communication, and public relations offices emerged, promoting specific aspects of the Jesuit brand (Kabadi, 2014; Meirose, 1994; What makes a jesuit school jesuit?, 2007).

The Jesuits recognized this trend in their high schools towards catering to a wealthier, Whiter clientele and grew concerned from a mission standpoint. The idea of Cristo Rey schools originated within the Chicago Jesuit Province office in the early 1990s. Discussions on the need to provide affordable, quality Catholic education for the predominantly Latino working class Chicago suburb of Pilsen lead to the creation of the first Cristo Rey School in 1996. (Astorga-Velasquez, 2012; Race & Brett, 2004; Thielman, 2012). Through scalability efforts, more than 20 Cristo Rey schools formed in urban areas across the United States. Cristo Rey schools are sponsored by archdioceses as well as by Catholic religious orders of all kinds, including the Jesuits ("Cristo Rey Network," 2014; Thielman, 2012). From the outset, all Cristo Rey schools have aimed to serve diverse urban students, particularly those labeled "at risk" of academic failure, and have worked toward the goal of college acceptance and persistence for all graduates of Cristo Rey high schools.

While it has been successful in addressing this issue, the Cristo Rey Jesuit High Schools have had little, if any, impact on the traditional Jesuit high

schools that continue to cater to a homogenous population as it relates to culture, economic wealth, geographic location, and political power. While the Jesuit social justice dialectic of mission and brand has been better balanced with the two school models in overall Jesuit education, it remains out of balance within the traditional model. The main Jesuit social justice dialectic challenge within the Cristo Rey model is economic sustainability. The corporate work-study program has proven an innovative success in the sustaining the Cristo Rey model, but also poses justice implications in terms of the relationships that some of these schools have with businesses/corporations that do not embody values of the Catholic, Jesuit mission, but are needed to sustain it, which poses challenges in maintaining the Jesuit social justice dialectic.

The Jesuit Social Justice Dialectic and the Corporate Work-study Model

From the beginning of the Cristo Rey model, the biggest challenge facing the schools was financial sustainability. In order to respond to the need for creative methods of funding, the leadership team at Cristo Rey Jesuit High School in Chicago, the first Cristo Rey school, devised a plan for a corporate work-study program in which teams of four students would work eight-hour shifts one day each week instead of attending classes on that day (Kearney, 2008; Thielman, 2012).

The second part of the plan addressed the complex issue of where and how to find corporate job placements. The group made overtures to executives of some of the most prominent corporations in Chicago, telling them about the school and their idea for how students would pay their tuition. Lastly, they requested that the businesses become corporate worksites and offer jobs to Cristo Rey students (Thielman, 2012). A number of corporations agreed to contract jobs to the Cristo Rey school, which took responsibility for preparing the students and assigning them to companies, with their salaries going back to the school to cover tuition costs. Corporations were asked to contract jobs that make a legitimate contribution to the workplace and are required to pay the students' salaries from the company's operating budget, not its philanthropic wing.

The corporate work-study program is a cornerstone for every Cristo Rey School. Each Cristo Rey school employs a director to run the corporate work-study department. This department recruits and retains corporate work-study sponsors and serves as a liaison between the work-study sites and

the school community. Staff in the work-study department oversee students at the worksites, arrange transportation, and train them in proper work etiquette and attire. Shortly after Cristo Rey implemented the work-study program, it quickly became apparent that, in addition to the income this work model provided to the school, it gave students exposure to corporate America, giving them the opportunity to shape their college readiness and career planning (Astorga-Velasquez, 2012; Kearney, 2008; Thielman, 2012). Today, the annual tuition for Cristo Rey schools ranges from \$300 to \$500 (USD); students make up the rest of the cost through their work-study assignments (Cristoreynetwork.org; Thielman, 2012). The costs for attending a Cristo Rey school stand in sharp contrast to traditional Jesuit high schools, where the median annual tuition is more than \$13,000 (USD) and rising (Bouillette, 2013).

The corporate work-study program represents the ideal of using the Jesuit brand to support the Jesuit mission. However, the dialectic balance is difficult to maintain, particularly given the investment made to the brand. The corporate work-study model contributes to the economic sustainability of the Cristo Rey model, but also exposes students to an economic world emphasizing free market competition, individualism, and the importance of material, and political wealth that can contribute to their long-term economic viability and success.

Methodology

This qualitative case study of a Cristo Rey Jesuit high school was constructed using data from more than 30 interviews with members of the Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit High School community.

Participants

A random snowball sample was chosen because of the researcher's own prominent experience in Jesuit education and the intent to have that play no role in the participant selection process. The key criteria for participants to be included in the study this study was a direct affiliation—current or past—with Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit High School. This broad inclusion criteria meant that, for example, a current or past employee, Board of Trustees member, corporate work-study sponsor, school founder, consultant, student, alumni, or parent were all eligible to participate in the study. Participants were identified only through a random identification number to maintain their anonymity.

Interviews

Each case study interview consisted of three talking points presented to each interviewee for their response. The prompts included:

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

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

Data Analysis

Data from the interviews were transcribed, coded, and categorized into convergent and divergent themes. These themes represented the data results, which were then analyzed utilizing the Arrupian Jesuit Social Justice Theoretical Framework (See Kabadi, 2014).

Findings

The central finding of the study is that there is both extensive collaboration and extensive parochialism that exist within the Jesuit social network. This collaboration is an incredible asset in spreading the values of the Jesuit mission and in selling the Jesuit brand, the key aspects of the Jesuit social justice dialectic. It is this same collaboration within this vast Jesuit social network that can manifest itself into a parochialism—an excessive narrowness of interests. Parochialism can constrain both the Jesuit mission and brand. It is a parochialism that manifests itself in structural homogeneity, in-group thinking, and insularity that can undermine the Jesuit mission of cultural inclusion and social justice. The data results/analysis support this finding looking within the Cristo Rey Jesuit model and in relationship to Jesuit secondary education.

Insiders and Outliers at Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit High School

When proceeding with the collection, organization, and coding of the case study data, it became evident that each participant could be categorized as an insider (I) or an outlier (O), based on the participant's status within the community.

Insiders. Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit high school was created due to political and financial collaborative support from a loyal group of insiders (n=25) that originated from traditional Jesuit high school education. These insiders, who had succeeded financially and politically, grew dissatisfied with the traditional Jesuit high school educational model because of their leaving the working class behind and the growing lack of diversity at these schools. They sought to address these concerns through the creation of Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit high school. The Jesuits were present with these insiders through some of their most significant life experiences including weddings, baptisms, and funerals. Some insiders participated in voluntary service to the community through Jesuit programs such as the Jesuit Volunteer Corps. Almost all of the insiders continued their postsecondary educational careers at Jesuit institutions, with many looking to pursue lifelong careers at Jesuit institutions. While this contingent was very loyal, generous and sought to be faithful to the Jesuit mission it was also a very culturally homogenous group. They were primarily White, wealthy males who were alumni of traditional Jesuit high schools, universities, or both. Many had become financially successful in their careers and the Jesuits sought financial and/or political assistance from them. Positions of leadership, influence, and power were distributed among these insiders because they were deemed loyal to the Jesuit mission, and to the Jesuit brand by Jesuit authority. These insiders conveyed a strong sense of ownership of the Jesuit mission/brand accompanied by an intense, almost tribal affiliated loyalty to protect and preserve its integrity at all costs. If one of the insiders were to be critical of the Jesuits or their mission during our interview, they did it discreetly and almost always put a positive spin on it (Kabadi, 2014).

Outliers¹. In contrast, there were some community members who endeavored, successfully and unsuccessfully, to penetrate the insiders' contingent,

1 The term "outlier" was chosen in reference to Malcolm Gladwell's book, *Outliers*, in which he uses this term to refer to something or someone situated away from or classified differently from a main or interrelated body, or a statistical observation deviating from the rest of the sample (Gladwell, 2009).

challenging commonly held notions, perspectives, and beliefs to improve the mission of Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit High School. This group was much smaller in number than the insiders (n=8). This group of “outliers” was more heterogeneous than were the insiders; the outliers group included some women, non-Catholics, non-Jesuit educated, and people of color. Unlike the insiders, these outliers were not heavily invested in the Jesuit mission apart from the call to work with the urban poor that drew the individuals to work at a Cristo Rey Jesuit school. None of them spoke with the same level of ownership of the Jesuit mission, which the insiders spoke, were not as politically connected or as familiar with the Jesuit lexicon. These outliers appeared to be less empowered and influential both at Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit high school and/or within Jesuit education in general. They shared an affiliation with the case study school because they contributed specific expertise and support, whether to the corporate work-study program, urban education theory, educational policy, or administrative leadership.

All of the outliers interviewed in this study used third-person pronouns to reference the school community, such as Participant O25 does in the excerpt below, indicating their status as part of the out-group at Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit high school. This stands in contrast to the group of insiders, who spoke in the first person.

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

The insiders and outliers in this study form the basis for the Jesuit social justice dialectic between collaboration and parochialism that exists within the Cristo Rey model, and specifically within the corporate work-study program that economically and politically sustains these schools.

Perspectives on the Corporate Work-study Program and Culture

When describing the work-study program, study participants discussed a number of benefits students acquire through the experience:

It gives them [the students] those soft skills which they would not have learned before: how to shake someone's hand, how to answer the phone. In Mexican culture for a young person to look at an adult in the eye is considered disrespectful. When you shake someone's hand or you meet someone that is older than you, the polite thing is to revert your gaze. And, so all of a sudden this kid doesn't know how to shake hands, because they're afraid to look someone in the eye. So, we spend a lot of time on that telling them why that is important, and teaching them how to shake someone's hand. (I15)

...we give them [the students] Dale Carnegie training – a social capital...(I2)

...when we go out and recruit companies we tell them minority recruiting is a big thing for them so you're reaching out to these kids when they're [in] high school. (I19)

These quotes indicate that many of the Cristo Rey students not only work to cover their tuition, but also acquire valuable experience, enlarge their worldviews, make important social contacts, and establish mentors that can assist them further in their academic and professional careers. The corporate work-study program contributes heavily to the education of the Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit high school students. The program begins during the summer before regular classes begin, with required trainings that emphasize proper work etiquette for the corporate work-study assignment. Some of this etiquette includes communication skills, dress attire, how to shake hands, and other behaviors deemed suitable in a workplace. The program also emphasizes the importance of relationships and social networking. In this way, students are exposed to the US economic system, and the complexities of wealth, power, and influence (Kabadi, 2014).

Assumptions about Cultural Deficits as Barriers to Community

There is also a cultural component involved in the work-study training process, which has to do with perceptions from both the school and the community towards each other articulated by the following insiders. Cultural deficit perspectives in the form of “savior behavior” tendencies and low

expectations for Ignatius Cristo Rey students compromise the human dignity of the community.

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

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

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

Instead of trying to build bridges with the families and community, Ignatius Cristo Rey sought to build a strong school culture of success that

diminished outside influences perceived as deficits to success. At times, these perceived deficits included parents and aspects of the community. As a result, some parents did not feel welcome at the school and sought to stay away. One of the insiders articulated this issue in the following way:

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

This insider articulated that the school culture was based on a harsh critique of the family and that this needed to be addressed by the school. The following outlier also disagreed with this cultural deficit notion of the community:

What you bring to the table is not a disadvantage. We want to affirm that. (O8)

As O8 mentioned, there is legitimate value in who the students are and what they bring to the classroom at Ignatius Cristo Rey. Families' experiences must be incorporated into their learning experience. Only through relationships within the community—on their terms and on their turf—could genuine community engagement happen (Gonzalez, Moll, & Amanti, 2005). All of the outliers in this study sought to negate the deficit perspective driving school culture with a more balanced perspective of the benefits diverse students bring to the classroom (Banks & Banks, 2009; Nieto, 2013; Nieto & Bode, 2008).

Discussion: Applying Arrupian Social Justice

Examining the findings through the lens of Arrupian Social Justice, one can identify a number of places for improvement in Ignatius Cristo Rey's approach to community building and the corporate work-study program.

The issues of human dignity and privilege arise when these Ignatius Cristo Rey students are immersed into an economic world that is just as homogenous as the insiders overseeing the school. They are exposed to a world of privilege where they may feel they have to sacrifice their cultural identity to assimilate to the White, wealthy, male world of economic success (Kabadi, 2014; Rendon, Garcia, & Person, 2004; Rodriguez, 2001). Instead of working to help support their own families, who are often in need, students are required to work at corporate work-study jobs to cover their education costs and to contribute to the financial sustainability of the school. In their work-study jobs, students must assimilate or conform to expected behaviors and practices or else be asked to leave the school. In the work-study program, privilege and power sit squarely with the corporate work-study sites and Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit; students and their families are required to comply with their demands in order to be part of the school community.

Arrupian Jesuit social justice emphasizes the importance of the relationship in social justice work, which requires human dignity. Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit needs to be much more intentional in pursuing both of these aspects of Arrupian social justice in how they engage with the communities they seek to serve (Kabadi, 2014).

Underlying the corporate work-study model is the Cristo Rey model's dependence on selling the Jesuit brand through wealth and power. This dependency on wealth constrains the ability of the Cristo Rey model to be prophetic in terms of social justice issues. That is, it limits the school community's ability to voice critiques of structures of wealth and power in US society. The social networking relationships that occur between the work sites and the Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit students play an integral role in not only their education, but also in students' future career prospects. In turn, the program gives the participating companies the opportunity to invest in the community, enhance the diversity of their own institutions, and tout their accomplishments to the public (Kabadi, 2014). While the corporate work-study program gives students a valuable experience in how to be successful within the US economic system, it also teaches them to be less prophetic as economic wealth silences them. Exposed to economic power, students are

taught to become compliant to cultural norms, accepting the world the way it is in order to succeed rather than change it. This contradicts the countercultural Arrupian social justice curriculum they receive in the classroom.

The insiders in this study were comfortable with this situation. They saw little contradiction between pursuing economic success and the prophetic voice needed to embody Arrupian social justice. However, the outliers did notice this potential contradiction between mission and institutional practice and sought to counter it. The excerpt below illustrates how this stance can be very challenging at times, such as when particular corporate work-study program sponsors have institutional practices that counter the values of the Jesuit mission due to their labor practices within the United States and abroad:

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

The Jesuit social justice dialectic reveals itself here between the classroom curriculum and the institutional practices at Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit. The Jesuit social justice dialectic involves critically assessing the corporate work-study sites in accordance to Arrupian social justice pedagogy in the classroom, but then trying to balance that with the fiscal sustainability of the school. At the very least, an ongoing dialogue with the various constituencies of the school regarding these issues needs to happen. However, in the instance described by participant O9, instead of listening to the outliers, the corporate work-study office decided to have faculty shadow some of the students to their work-study sites to find out for themselves the value of the work-study experience, which was viewed as condescending on the part of some of the faculty. This further alienated these outliers, causing many to leave the school (Kabadi, 2014).

Conclusion

Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit embodies the Jesuit social justice dialectic in its utilization of the Cristo Rey model to affect overall Jesuit secondary education and within its school utilizing the corporate work-study program. The corporate work-study program at Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit and other Cristo Rey schools provide the fiscal sustainability given the extensive cost of a Jesuit education and the lack of economic resources from the students' families. It is an influential and powerful social network that collaborates very well, but parochialism complicates social justice efforts that require prophetic change to the status quo. The insiders at Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit see the corporate work-study program as a way to counter notions they feel contribute to a culture of poverty (Payne, 2005). The outliers see the justice implications of such thinking that include a cultural deficit perspective of the community being served and becoming too dependent on wealthy constituents compromising the undermining the values of the Jesuit mission. Consequently like their traditional Jesuit high school counterparts, the Ignatius Cristo Rey Jesuit high school teaches the value of human dignity, but are selectively prophetic in considering issues of privilege and systemic inequality. While values of Arrupian social justice are presented to students in the classroom, they are overwhelmed at times by the values being espoused by the Corporate Work-study Office and the selling of the Jesuit brand.

The Cristo Rey school model has helped alleviate concerns about the Jesuit mission, but also has constrained the Jesuit social justice dialectic in US Jesuit secondary education, enlarging the divide between the traditional Jesuit high school and the Cristo Rey school. Today, traditional Jesuit high schools continue to cater to a wealthier, homogenous, powerful clientele while the Cristo Rey Jesuit high schools cater to a poorer, more marginalized, diverse clientele. The creation of the Cristo Rey model does not address the mission concerns at the traditional Jesuit schools. The subsequent effect is the growing segregation of the populations of these two types of Jesuit high schools counter to the Jesuit mission. It is evident that the selling of the Jesuit brand to some degree is required if the Jesuit mission is to come to fruition in a culturally transformative way, but at what cost to the constraining of the Jesuit social justice dialectic? These type of questions about mission and brand need to be asked in honest, critically reflective settings within the Jesuit religious order. Based on this case study, I recommend that such dialogues happen more often and that they are more inclusive and less parochial.

Consequently, there also a need for greater exploration of the collaboration and parochialism that exists within Jesuit secondary education. Collaboration is a wonderful attribute of Jesuit education, and is integral in spreading the Jesuit mission and promoting the Jesuit brand. In this case study, tendencies for this collaboration to turn parochial, insular, and homogenous, were apparent, as was evidence that these tendencies led to stifling diverse of insights vital to the Jesuit mission. The data in this article indicate a strong need for US Jesuit education to explore collaborations that are more intentionally inclusive of their communities to avoid the pitfalls of parochialism. Through such efforts, Jesuit education will be better able to sustain Jesuit educational excellence throughout the 21st century.

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Sajit Kabadi has a doctorate in educational leadership and innovation along with master degrees in religious education and intercultural/international communications. He has more than 25 years experience in Catholic, Jesuit secondary and higher education as a student, educator, administrator, trustee, and scholar at over half a dozen Jesuit institutions. Correspondence regarding this article can be sent to Dr. Kabadi at skabadi@gmail.com