Title
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Because I Am Called: The Meanings and Conditions under Which a Calling to Teach Emerges and Develops in Teachers Working in Catholic High Schools

By

Cristobal C Madero

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree of

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Committee in charge:

Professor Heinrich Mintrop, Chair
Professor Judith Little
Professor Ann Swidler

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Abstract

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For the last twenty years, the study of callings in different work domains has unfolded at an
increasing pace. Although the concept of calling pervades the world of teachers and education,
such pervasiveness has not translated into critical inquiry in the research field of teachers and
teaching. There is some consensus on understanding a calling as something internal and connected
to work that is ethically commendable. Although scantly studied, callings are considered an
integral part of who a teacher is. But what about those who experience the calling in ways different
than what relevant authors like Palmer (1998) or Hansen (1995) describes? What about those who
hear a call coming not from within but from without—from outside of themselves? What about
teachers who describe their calling with a very spiritual tone or even more—those who are certain
their calling comes from God?

This study uncovers the meanings that secondary teachers attach to their work, as well as explores
the circumstances in which those meanings are articulated and communicated as a calling to teach.
I draw on theoretical insights coming from organizational behavior and the sociology of religion.
I use cases of teachers who worked or work in Catholic high schools run by the Society of Jesus,
also known as the Jesuit order. The Jesuits have been running high schools for more than 450 years
worldwide. Because of their tradition in education and the familiarity / prevalence of the language
of calling within the Jesuit high school context, these organizations provide a good environment
within which to explore the question of the calling to teach. The cases I observe in this dissertation
are those of priest and lay teachers who worked in the United States, Bolivia, Chile, and Peru
across three time periods: before 1965, between 1965-1990, and between 1990-2016. In total there
are 105 in-depth interviews.

The findings reveal that the participating teachers create meaning out of their work using the
building blocks of the self, others, the work context, and the spiritual life. Although those building
blocks are not entirely illustrative of how the phenomenon of calling displays itself in the life of
teachers, they offer a partial way to look into the phenomenon of calling. Teachers with a calling
certainly participate in the different sources of meaning, but as this study shows, teachers who

have experienced a calling go far beyond these characteristics. In fact, the exercise itself of defining the calling was not an easy task.

Callings as experienced by the teachers in this study do not align either, in a strict way, with the types of callings established by the literature on callings (Bunderson & Thompson, 2009). To simply attach to the narratives of teachers the labels of classical, modern, or neoclassical callings was a fruitless exercise. For that reason, the working definition of calling with which I operate in the study, which emphasized *a sense of destiny*, *a sense of mission*, *enjoyment in the teaching work*, *longevity*, and *perseverance*, did not completely satisfy the complexity of the phenomenon of calling in the lives of the teachers studied. A much more compelling vision of callings comes from the discussion of archetypes of callings. I introduce five archetypes of callings: the listeners, the martyrs, the embedders, the builders, and the chosen ones. Each of them portrays a particular aspect of the experience of a calling to teach. The narratives of these five teachers, augmented by the 76 teachers interviewed who group themselves within these focal narratives, illuminate the power of calling and also suggest a rethinking of the role of spirituality in teachers' work.

Generally speaking, teachers from different generations and regions, despite professional status, portray a consistency that makes these variables adjectives, not substantives. As mentioned, these variables make a difference with respect to certain meanings and calling archetypes, but the general rule, based on the evidence on this study, seems to be that both meanings and callings are evenly present across the variables. It is likely that in addition to the long-time commitment of teachers interviewed, their adherence to the less self-centered attractors to teaching studied by Lortie (1975) and the existence of the solid high school institution—despite the dramatic changes experienced—can make these different types of teachers more similar than what one might expect.

A calling is experienced and communicated in a fairly unique way, and there is no meaning, typology, or archetype that can capture it entirely. The calling develops over time; it changes and surprises the person who receives it. The calling is also a significant force that strengthens the person to go totally out of themselves to serve, love, and make others the center of their lives and efforts.

The religious side of the experience is real, especially for those teaching for many years in Jesuit high schools. The schools, despite experiencing drastic changes from 1960 onwards, have kept a sense of mission around their work as private providers of education. This strategy has made these high schools into places where teachers have received support to nurture a calling that may have originated in either religious or secular contexts. The schools have proven to be key in teacher' lives, both for those who have always been in Jesuit organizations and for those who have transferred to one. The institutions seem to have been central in the teachers' process of discerning and confirming their call to teach.

Being called, for those who experience it, is not an episodic event in the life of teachers. It is a central experience to which they have to return often. It is a reminder not only of why they do what they do, but of who they are.

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A. M. D. G.

Overview and Purpose

Secondary schools may be transformed by many different means; technologies may be updated, infrastructure improved, leaders trained, or curriculum refined. In the current state of secondary education, all of these aspects are vital, and even more is necessary. Those familiar with the high school context, though, know the truth of the following statement: "When the classroom door closes, only students and their teacher stay inside, face to face."

The policymakers and the unions are not there, nor the school board or the institutional leaders, nor the parents and curriculum experts. No one else is there inside the classroom; it is the teacher who remains. Therefore, the attention given to teachers is absolutely key in the education of children and youth.

In this dissertation, I offer a perspective on how teachers experience the work that they do in the classroom explicitly as a kind of calling. The concept of 'calling' pervades the world of teachers and education. There is an entire movement, especially in the United States, around Parker Palmer, the Quaker author and educator, and his acclaimed *The Courage to Teach* (Palmer, 1998). Palmer locates the concept of calling within the teacher: "Any authentic call ultimately comes from the voice of the teacher within, the voice that invites me to honor the nature of my true self." (p.29) This calling is understood as something internal and connected to work that is ethically commendable. The calling is also suitable to teachers as human beings, and thus it cannot violate a teacher's identity and integrity on behalf of someone's expectation.

This is the way that a calling is generally understood in the realm of teachers and education; a calling is something that teachers can produce for themselves, and it provides assurance that they are doing something meaningful. Although scantly studied, callings are considered an integral part of who a teacher is. But what about those who experience the calling in ways different than Palmer describes? What about those who hear a call coming not from within but from without—from outside of themselves? What about teachers who describe their calling with a very spiritual tone or even more—those who are certain their calling comes from God?

Theories of motivation (and the explicit lack of a spiritual dimension within these theories) have likely contributed to the disregarding of the spiritual dimension of individuals within the application of these theories. Neither theories of extrinsic (Locke & Latham, 2004), nor intrinsic motivation (Deci, 1971; Deci & Ryan, 1985; Staw, 1976) have introduced spiritual dimensions to their way of approaching the work that teachers enact. In addition, the explicit distance between education and religion in society, which is part of the context of this study, means that religion and anything that resembles it is located always outside the public sphere, of which public schools are a part. This is because, among other factors, no taxpayer money is used to finance religious endeavors or institutions. As a result of these clear separations, the spiritual side of teachers may have been disregarded in the theories and also in the public discussion of the work of teachers.

It is important to talk about callings because it expands the world of research on teachers and teaching, focusing on an underexplored aspect of teachers' life and work. It also invites reflection on teachers' identities in a more complex way, considering what they seek in the work and why they do it. As the reader encounters Mr. Samuelson, Mr. Stephens, Ms. Celestial, Fr. Atkinson, and Mr. Bobson, she or he will be able to attest to our limited perspective on what a calling might be.

My purpose is to uncover the meanings that secondary teachers attach to their work, as well as explore the circumstances in which those meanings are articulated and communicated as a calling to teach. I use cases of teachers who worked or work in Catholic high schools run by the

Society of Jesus, also known as the Jesuit order. The Jesuits have been running high schools for more than 450 years worldwide. The classroom teachers in those schools were traditionally Jesuit priests, but by the end of the first half of the 20th century, school organization started to change. Given the decline in religious vocations and the expansion of new kinds of pastoral work that the Jesuit order was involved in, fewer priests were assigned to be teachers, creating the space and need for a new type of teacher, the lay teacher. Because of the Society's tradition in education and the familiarity / prevalence of the language of calling within the Jesuit high school context, these organizations provide a good environment within which to explore the question of the calling to teach. The cases I observe in this dissertation are those of priest and lay teachers, who worked or work in the United States, Bolivia, Chile, and Peru, before 1965, between 1965-1990, and between 1990-2016.

The dissertation is divided into six chapters. In Chapter 1, I review relevant literature in four areas—teachers working in Catholic schools, the meaning of work, the meaning of work expressed as a calling, and the calling to teach. Given the nature of this study, the literature is concentrated in the last two strands of research. My previous assessment about the poor status of research on callings and teaching will be confirmed here. After examining the literature, I set up the concepts and the framework for the work. In Chapter 2, I present the methodology and methods I use to answer my research questions.

In Chapter 3, I introduce the context of the study, looking at the changes and continuities in Jesuit secondary education in the United States and Latin America—with a focus on Bolivia, Chile, and Peru. I present the development of Jesuit secondary education, first by explaining its origins and defining moments until 1950 and subsequently looking into organizational changes experienced by the religious order after the Second Vatican Council (1962 – 1965). In providing the context for the dissertation, I also provide in Chapter 3 novel ways to look at how the Jesuit order experienced the effects of the period prior, during, and after the Council, from the perspective of the classroom.

In Chapter 4, I address the question of meanings that teachers attach to their work. After presenting how teachers express meaning via the idea that education is most fully articulated in terms of formation of the whole person, I introduce four specific sources from which teachers derive meaning in their work: others (i.e. their students and society), the self, the work context, and the spiritual life. I give a final reflection on how consistent those meanings are across variables of professional status, geographical setting, and the time period when teachers taught or teach.

In Chapter 5, I introduce five archetypes of callings: the listeners, the martyrs, the embedders, the builders, and the chosen ones. Each of them portrays a particular aspect of the experience of a calling to teach. The narratives of these five teachers, augmented by the 76 teachers interviewed who group themselves within these focal narratives, illuminate the power of calling and also suggest a rethinking of the role of spirituality in teachers' work.

In Chapter 6, I conclude by offering some reflections based on the summary of findings, highlighting contributions and limitations of my study, and putting forth suggestions for future research.

Chapter 1: Literature Review

Introduction

Being called—from a scientific, sacred, or secular standpoint—is a subjective experience with critical consequences for the real life of those who experience it (Yaden, McCall, & Ellens, 2015). Those in the theological arena have traditionally explained or defined the phenomenon of a calling. For hundreds of years, the gatekeepers of this study of calling were those who claimed to have experienced a sacred call themselves, i.e., priests and monks.

Before a certain historical moment, a non-sacred or secular sense of calling would have made absolutely no sense. It was not until the appearance of Martin Luther on the historical and religious scene that the experience of being called, and the subsequent reflection on that experience, became more and more detached (or at least not exclusively attached) to scholars within the Catholic church or tradition. The XVI century marked a revolution of the understanding or perception of who could receive a calling, a revolution which expanded the categories of the professions, actions or behaviors to which callings can be attached or oriented.

Three centuries later, amid another revolution, this time the industrial, Max Weber (1904, 2011) put forth an incipient but foundational sociological analysis that connected callings to this new world that was on the rise. Prior to and significantly beyond Weber, though, the scientific study of callings as a phenomenon was not considered relevant. It was not until 20 years ago that literature on callings became increasingly salient in fields such as the sociology of professions, the sociology of culture, the sociology of religion, and particularly, in the field of organizational behavior.

The progressive detachment of callings from the sacred in the period between Martin Luther, Max Weber, and today can be more easily understood or traced as a transition from an original secularization process (i.e. a process in which secularization is understood or occurs as a process of differentiation) (Berger, 2014), to a trend of secularism, an ideologically driven agenda that seeks to obscure the sacred in the public and private domains (Casanovas, 2011), all the way to today, what some might deem a post-secular age, which is characterized by the lack of any role of the transcendent in how we understand the common or personal life (Taylor, 2009).

Weber made the significant connection between callings and human work in general, and this is the association relevant for the study at hand. Human work, within the particular organization of Jesuit schools, frames the literature I discuss here. I offer a review of the literature on work, the meaning of said work, and instances in which workers express such meaning as a calling.

The decision to refer to teachers' work as opposed to the profession of teaching is intentional, as teachers' work tends to be examined within the limits of whether or not it fits the definition of an occupation, a profession, or a semi-profession (Cox, 1990; Evans, 2008; Hargreaves, 2000; Ingersoll, 2003; Lortie, 1975; Nuñez, 2007; Waller, 1932). Such debates have taken place mainly in the field of the sociology of professions, with Abbott (Abbott, 1988; Brint, 2015; Etzioni, 1969; Evetts, 2011; Freidson, 2001; Parsons, 1939; Wilensky, 1964) as its main proponents.

Such debates are helpful to evaluate in historical terms where teaching and teachers lie on a continuum from non-professional to professional—and sometimes beyond the professional (Susskind & Susskind, 2015), but these limits are not helpful in allowing us to understand what teachers actually do. The meaning of teachers' work stems from what teachers are doing in

practice, and not necessarily from where their work fits on the continuum above or whether being more or less professional changes their actual work.

In the following, I introduce three areas of the literature that relate to the conceptual framework of the study. First, I introduce the notion of the work of secondary education teachers and how that work is carried out in the context of Catholic high schools in the time period between 1950-2016. Second, I present different ways of approaching the concept of the meaning of work through the disciplines of sociology and psychology. Third, drawing from the fields of organizational behavior, sociology and theology, I present the literature on the relationship of callings, the different attempts to research it, and the calling to teach. This final category, the calling to teach, is considerably longer than the prior three, given the focus of the study.

Teachers Working in Catholic schools

The role of Catholic schools in society has not been valued only because of their function in the religious socialization process (Smith, Longest, Hill, & Christoffersen, 2014), but also as institutions that provide better achievement than public schools with fewer resources (Coleman, Hoffer, & Kilgore, 1982), create a community environment that favors learning (Bryk, Lee, & Holland, 1993), and educate the poor successfully (Ravitch, 2013).

In the last 60 years, Catholic education has experienced dramatic changes in terms of its workforce. Both in Latin America and in the United States, with the exclusion of the East Coast of the US, the teaching force in Catholic Schools historically was comprised to a large extent of religious professionals (Heft, 2011; Herbst, 1991). The decreasing number of priests and religious personnel since the 1960s is an indisputable fact that has been documented elsewhere (Convey & Youniss, 2000; Engebretson, 2014; Grace, 2002; Hunt & Kunkel, 1984), and this trend has had a direct impact on the staffing of Catholic elementary and secondary schools, resulting in the subsequent need to hire larger numbers of lay teachers.

Behind this trend looms an event that changed the Catholic Church decisively—the Second Vatican Council. [1] After the election of Angelo Giuseppe Roncalli, or Pope John XXIII, in 1958, nobody expected that three months into his appointment, he would convoke the largest meeting of the bishops of the Catholic Church that the world had ever seen (O'Malley, 2008). The Second Vatican Council affected many dimensions of the internal organization of the Church (Gaillardetz, 2006), especially its relationship with secular society. From a cultural and theological standpoint, the Church reshaped itself as a *World Church* (Faggioli, 2012), meaning a church open to the world.

These changes took place against the backdrop of secularization (Casanovas, 2011; Taylor, 2009), which has affected Catholic high schools in general. Possibly the most significant effect of this secularization has been the assessment that the Catholic school is losing its identity (Engebretson, 2014). In her ethnography of Catholic schools in England, Casson (2013) reveals that the process of building a religious identity is, for young Catholics, a process which "reflected a fragmentary view of Catholicity," i.e., "the student's views of their Catholic identity appeared varied, fluid, and fragmentary" (p.152).

As in many other religious orders, the Jesuits managed the training of teachers within their own institutions through a model called the *Ratio Studiorum* (Society of Jesus, 2005). The model included formation in letters, humanities, philosophy, and theology for 8 to 10 years, in addition

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[1] Some authors argue that the trend follows more the positions of the Catholic church on Sexual and family planning issues. Although there was discussion of such issues during the Second Vatican Council, it was a late document issued solely by Pope the VI, Humanae Vitae, that sparked the definitive changes (Hout & Greeley, 1987).

to 2 to 4 years of working as a teacher in the Society's schools in the middle of that formation process. In the course of this 10 to 14 year formation, a Jesuit priest and teacher was formed with the goal of "teaching our neighbors all the disciplines in keeping with our Institute in such a way that they are thereby aroused to a knowledge and love of our Maker and Redeemer" (Society of Jesus, 2005, p. 7). This same principle of formation through the Ratio Studiorum was used in the education process of lay people early on in the history of the Jesuits. By formation here is meant an education that involves all dimensions of the person.

Lay teachers increasingly replaced the Jesuit priests who were formed under this model with a clear calling to serve in their religious capacity and arguably in their teaching capacity as well (Jesuit Educational Association, 1959). The shift from priest teachers attending to the needs of the school to lay teachers performing the same tasks led to a change in the composition of the faculty of Jesuit high schools. As a result, the Society of Jesus embraced a commitment to collaboration with lay people (Duminuco, 1982) and the construction of a support network to introduce lay collaborators to the spirituality and mission of the Order (Grace, 2002; Grace & O'Keefe, 2007; Heft, 2011) .

Reflecting a broader concern for the role of laity in the schools of the Catholic Church overall (The Sacred Congregation for Catholic Education, 1977), the Jesuit order issued *The Characteristics of Jesuit Education* (ICAJE, 1986) as an effort to retain the identity, culture, and mission of Jesuit education. In particular, the Society emphasized the idea of serving as a single apostolic body made up of Jesuits and lay women and men. In the United States (Provincial Assistants for Secondary and Pre-secondary Education, 2015) and in Latin America (CPAL, 2010), local educational plans regarding the role of the laity have been issued to help Jesuit schools maintain their Jesuit identity with less Jesuit faculty and more lay teachers.

Wirth (2007) gives anecdotal evidence that Jesuit schools continue to thrive, which would suggest that this goal has been accomplished, but there is not enough literature to support her conclusion. With the exception of some researchers (Barmore, 2001; Durham, 2016), the transfer of the identity, culture, and mission of Jesuit education to the new generation of lay collaborators has not been sufficiently studied, neither in the United States nor in Latin America.

Meaning of Work

There are different approaches to the concept or question of meaning in human life. In the following discussion, I use the distinction proposed by Wong (2002) between situational and existential meaning. Both the more specific question of the meaning of an individual life, i.e., what makes a life worth living, and the question of the ultimate meaning in life, fit the definition of *existential meaning*. In contrast, *situational meaning* refers to more specific domains, such as relationships or work.

From the outset of this review, I am employing the term meaning in a different way distinct from how pop culture uses it, which is meaning as meaning*ful*. This study is not about the meaningfulness of teachers work, but about the different types of meaning that teachers ascribe to their work. The teacher participants in this study are teachers who are highly valued in their communities, satisfied, and veteran teachers in their schools. For them, teaching is a meaningful experience.

Existential meaning.

Both psychology and sociology have studied the way in which human beings make sense of their lives. On the psychological side, or the existential meaning, as noted by Steger (2002),

there is a common sense idea that life matters. Life matters to everyone. From there, research has shown the connection between existential meaning and several variables such as well-being and adjustment, life satisfaction, self-worth, self-empowerment, depression, and anxiety (Steger, 2002). Even in the most extreme situations, such as the experience of incomprehensible suffering, human beings can find the will to live in the persistent question of the meaning of their life (Frankl, 1984). Searching for meaning can translate into coping with adversity.

Other authors writing from the psychological perspective attribute existential meaning to a set of needs that are fulfilled by the individual e.g., needs of purpose, efficacy and control, value and justification, and self-worth. Brief & Nord (1990b) think that the meaning of all human activities, which put together constitute a life, come from the basis of *intent* and *understanding*. The purpose one brings to any given activity relates to "personal development in addition to a perception of past, present, and future events and needs" (p. 14). The understanding entails attention to the concrete aspects of that activity.

On the sociological side, recent techniques in measuring the meaning of collective action and culture through surveying and conducting content analysis of meanings in textual data are the methods that have led the field with regards to the study of meaning (Mohr, 1998). The bridging between cultural meanings and social structure was promoted first and foremost by Berger and Luckman in *The Social Construction of Reality* (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). Today, it is almost impossible to argue that meaning can be acquired in isolation from the social context.

Situational meaning.
The search for meaning also involves the space occupied by work, which is one of many situations in life (Wong, 2002). Although there are many ways of defining work, here I focus consciously on the economic definition put forth by Brief & Nord (1990a). They emphasize activities that are done, at least in part, for monetary compensation. There is by all means a moral component both in the work (Ciulla, 2000) and in the preparation for work (Sullivan, 2005, 2016). Purposes such as financial compensation and moral ideas can be related in the definition as far as the activity called work is the main activity to earn a living. Although imperfect, such a definition is broad enough to think about the work of teachers in the terms expressed in the first section on existential meanings.

Therefore, from a psychological perspective, the meaning of work can be defined as the "purposes—that is intentions and expectations—the concrete realities which operate on those purposes, and their dynamic relationships" (Brief & Nord, 1990a, p. 17). This idea work's purpose is rooted in the motives for doing such kind of work. As Shamir (1991) writes, "excluding the term 'meaning' from the vocabulary of motives, and liming this vocabulary to 'needs' 'drives' 'rewards' 'outcomes' and 'satisfactions' reflects the view of the person as an entity disconnected from society" (p.409).

The meaning of work can also be understood from a sociological perspective. Studies like that of England and Whitely (1990) show that workers of different nationalities attach different meanings to work. Within the six countries in their study of the Meaning of Work-MOW (Belgium, Japan, Israel, West Germany, and the Netherlands), all but the Belgian workers defined "getting money for doing an activity" as the first element of the meaning of work. Compared to workers from other countries, Dutch workers ranked highest that they do work to contribute to society, while those in West Germany and Israel mentioned most frequently that the first element of the meaning of work was to add value to something.

The sources of situational meaning.

The meaning of work can have many sources. Rosso, Dekas, and Wrzesniewski (2010) define four sources of situational meaning: the self, others, the work context, and the spiritual life.

The self or the self-concept of the worker is shaped by her or his own values, motivation, and beliefs, and an activity can acquire meaning by virtue of its connection to these categories of personal values, motivation, or beliefs. At one point in history, the self was understood as an immutable essence that did not experience change (Cooley, 1902). Eventually, though, the concept of the self changed and began to be defined as a reality experienced as a reflexive process in the individual (Goffman, 1959). Callings, as I show in the next section, play a role in regard to beliefs inside the self.

Coworkers, leaders, and groups to which workers belong can also be a source of meaning. The types of relationships that form in the workplace and / or the connection of family with the work one does can define the type of meaning attributed to work. The work context—the design of the job tasks, the organizational mission, or the national culture—are also ways in which the meaning of work is shaped within the workplace. Under very challenging circumstances, a sense of mission can also lead the worker to find meaning in her or his task.

Finally, the spiritual life, i.e., one's own spirituality or sense of a sacred calling (as opposed to the secular callings of belief), can also determine meaning ascribed to the work. In the following section, I examine this last source of the meaning in detail.

The Meaning of Work Expressed as a Calling

The concept of calling.

The concept of calling has its root in the Greek *Kalein* (*καλεῖν*), which means to invite or to summon. The *New Testament*, the oldest complete translation of which was written in Greek, contains extensive examples of the use of this root, which also means to name. Schuurman (Schuurman, 2004) argues that both meanings—to summon and to name—of the Greek root work together throughout the Scriptures. The Scriptures contain countless examples of the naming of a person in a way that encompasses the identity and mission given to him or her—e.g. the name Peter, meaning rock, was the name given to the future cornerstone of the church (Beekes & Beek, 2010).

This somehow more personalist conception of calling does not follow the Hebrew *Qahal* (קהל), which refers to the people whom God calls together for service (Schuurman, 2004). The biblical Greek distinguishes the personal concept *Kalein* from the preeminently community-oriented meaning of the concept of *ekklesia (Εκκλησιά)*, which the English translation of the New Testament renders as church. The church is considered the assembly of those who are called to worship and serve the Lord (Clark & Hirsch, 2000).

In Latin, calling is translated into the word *vocare*, which means also to summon. *Vocare* implies the existence of another person who calls and assumes that the action resides primarily outside the subject of the call. The English and Spanish meanings of the word *vocation* and vocación resemble closely that of the word's Latin origin. In addition, however, since the first part of the 20th century, *vocation* has taken on another meaning in those two languages: a type of education that emphasizes a technical preparation towards the labor market.

The German *Beruf* contains the most frequently used definition of calling as connected to job, work, and career. *Beruf* means nothing more than a calling to a particular occupation in which the person remains as the one being called, in passive form, as Max Weber (1904; 2011) indicates.

In *The Protestant Ethic and The Spirit of Capitalism* (1904; 2011), Weber identified Luther as the one who disentangled the humanistic idea of calling as a personal aspiration from the divine idea of a commandment from God towards a specific profession. Fundamentally, Weber sought to understand why and how peoples' desires changed in such an incredible way between the 16th and 19th centuries. His project led him to realize that the Protestant understanding of callings transformed the way in which people understood their place in the world. In a 1905 letter to Heinrich Rickert, Weber depicts the Protestant work ethic as not only the origin of the modern culture of callings—*Berufskultur*—but also of the one that endures in a human being who receives a call—*Berufsmensch* (Goldman, 1988). Luther considered everyday work, and not just religious life—e.g. priests, monks, nuns—equally sacred because he recognized such work as the response to a call. "Luther broke the Roman chains which bound vocation and extended the calling of God to include the totality of every Christian's life" (Heiges, 1984, p. 61). Therefore, in Weber's eyes, the Protestant and Catholic notion of callings differed primarily because the Protestant tradition radically infused work—organized by callings—with a moral dimension and placed religious value on it.[2] As Calhoun (1954) points out, in Luther "[t]here is no such thing as a profane or merely secular order from which God is absent, and in which God is not to be served." (p.108)

We must also note that Catholicism, the other major tradition of Christianity, has offered a similar contribution to the understanding of callings as some of the authors that I have already examined mention. Until the Second Vatican Council (1962-1965), the Catholic understanding of callings conceived of them as a call from God to religious life in a monastery or convent. After the Council, the Catholic understanding shifted in the same direction as the Protestant, assigning to every human reality the possibility of being embraced because of a calling; including the world of work.[3] Table 1.1 shows a summary of the different domains to which callings have been ascribed in different moments in history. I emphasize the major movements in Christianity of the last five hundred years.

Table 1.1 *Differing Domains of Calling in the History of the Christian Tradition*

	Early and Middle Age Catholicism (0 A.D.-1500 A.D.)	Protestantism /Calvinism (1500 A.D. today)	Protestantism /Lutheranism (1500 A.D.- today)	Modern Catholicism (1500 A.D.- 1965 A.D.)	Post Vatican II Catholicism (1965 A.D.- today)
Religious life	X	X	X	X	X
Lay life		X	X	X	X
Work life		X	X		X

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[2] Protestant traditions diverged in how to interpret callings. The clearest discrepancy perhaps comes in the rupture between Lutherans and Calvinists, which happened due to the extreme individualism that accompanied Calvinist reflections on work and vocation (Scholes, 2013). Indeed, for Luther the calling was attached to an occupation, whereas for Calvin this was attached to the individual himself. Predetermination, the idea that God already has a destiny for each person in which human freedom plays no role, is present in Calvin's theology, not in Luther's.

[3] As Hahnenberg (2010) suggests, the Second Vatican Council, a major meeting of the Catholic Church that took place in Rome between 1962 and 1965 under Pope John XXIII, challenged the idea that the language of vocation and calling was restricted to clergy and members of religious orders. He argues that a modern theology of vocation no longer served any purpose once the Catholic Church invited every Catholic to find their own call from God, which includes a call to serve their neighbor and a call to a particular kind of work.

Callings and work.

Since the outset of the 16th century, callings and work have come to be understood as two dimensions of human life with the potential of being united. This perspective held true especially in Protestant societies. Today, the language of calling attached to work has spread throughout the world (Isay, 2016), and in the last 20 years, it has become a subject of study in the social and behavioral sciences.

After distinguishing four perspectives on callings, I will summarize the literature on callings and work in three of those perspectives: the modern-social, the modern-individualistic and the neoclassical. Given that the classical perspective was treated in the previous section on the concept of calling, here I only highlight that this perspective emphasizes the divine agent, to whose call the individual responds. As Adams (2002) understands it, "[a] vocation [or calling] is a call from God, a command, or perhaps an invitation, addressed to a particular individual, to act and live in a certain way" (p.14). Post Luther, Protestant theology would propose that an individual could experience a call from God in all dimensions of human life, especially work, and after 1965, Catholic theology would acknowledge the same possibility. The model of a classical calling is a divine calling from afar that bears on a particular life choice.

Weber's sociology of religion details how the social and institutional context influences the development of an individual's calling to a particular type of work. Such a ***modern*** approach emphasizes the experience of certain external forces in the realm of the social, e.g. in the cases of scientists and politicians. In those cases, particularly when the individuals demonstrate a proven commitment over the long term, Weber notes that the service of a social cause is at the root of the calling (Weber, 1904; 2011). In this category, we can also locate positions like that of Sullivan (2016), for whom a calling is connected to a purpose that is beyond the self but appears in a societal need.

Some theories in organizational behavior propose a variation of the modern conception of calling, removing from the definition not only the transcendent force summoning, but also restricting the elements of the call (origin and consequences) exclusively to the individual. In this vein, Dobrow (2013) proposes that a ***modern-individualistic*** version of the concept of calling is characterized by elements of passion, identity, urgency, longevity, consciousness, sense of meaning, and domain-specific self-esteem.

In the latter part of the 20th century, vocational psychology has argued that a ***neoclassical*** perspective on callings implies a "transcendent summons, experienced as originating beyond the self, to approach a particular life role in a manner oriented toward demonstrating or deriving a sense of purpose or meaningfulness and that holds other-oriented values and goals as primary sources of motivation" (Dik & Duffy, 2009, p.427).

The division between classical, modern, and neoclassical was first proposed by Bunderson and Thompson (2009). Coming from the field of organizational behavior, these authors classify callings into these three categories after realizing that, despite the continued relevance of callings to work and human life as in previous ages, the present post-secular age needs a new way to conceptualize such callings. These authors do not necessarily reject the Catholic, Protestant, or Weberian concept of calling, but instead argue that these categories do not prove helpful in understanding callings in a post-secular context. Given the characteristics of secondary teachers' work, which involves a highly individualistic oriented dimension (Lortie, 1975), I included an important dimension that Bunderson and Thompson (2009) do not account for, i.e., the separation of the modern calling between social and individualistic. Teachers may experience a calling in modern terms, but that need not be forced into the category of modern social calling *a la* Weber.

In its dual dimensions of social and individualistic, the modern understanding of callings appears most frequently in studies on callings and work. On the modern-individualistic side, Wrzesniewski, McCauley, Rozin, & Schwartz, (1997)'s studies of work employ Bellah, Madsen, Sullivan, Swidler, and Tipton's (1985) tripartite distinction between work as job, career, and calling. There they document the relationship between callings and high levels of work and life satisfaction. In addition, they find that those who belong to low-level occupations often see their work more in terms of a job or a career rather than as a calling, a perspective with which radical Calvinists would strongly disagree. For them, a calling pertains to a sacred order that stabilizes the social—accept what you get as God's will; whereas, in Wrzesniewski et al. (1997) a calling entails personal satisfaction in the first place.

Something similar occurs in the case of Dobrow's (2013) studies of musicians. She understands musicians' calling as a personal life choice, something one chooses out of passion or commitment, and not because it was divinely preordained or because there was any social need to fulfill with their work. The call merely connects to a specific type of work without referencing either a transcendent caller or an orientation toward something beyond the self.

On the social side of the modern perspective, some authors have also connected the notion of callings to that of professions as a particular type of work. In addition to a shared knowledge base and a clear status in society, this conception of professions as occupations entails an orientation towards service in society (Abbott, 1981, 1988). This service component, in turn, relates to the idea of callings (Gustafson, 1982; Hirschi, 2012). The notion of callings as connected to a profession relies on some moral and perhaps religious motives and points towards a vision of the larger end and purposes that the work serves.

One of the most notable connections between callings and work comes from Bellah and his colleagues at the University of California at Berkley in *Habits of the Heart* (1985). There they find an intimate connection between work and calling. "In the strongest sense of a 'calling,' work constitutes a practical ideal of activity and character that makes a person's work morally inseparable from his or her life" (p.66). Bellah et al. (1985) question the future of American society based on its trend toward individualism as a result of its renunciation of the democratic and Christian values of its history. They argue that because work in American society has lost its characteristic of calling, Americans have come to understand work merely in terms of the dimensions of job and career. They explain the evolution of the notion of calling as follows:

> In the context of a calling, to enter a profession meant to take up a definite function in a community and to operate within the civic and civil order of that community. The profession as career was no longer oriented to any face-to-face community but to impersonal standards of excellence, operating in the context of a national occupational system. Rather than embedding one in a community, following a profession came to mean, quite literally, "to move up and away" (pp.119-120).

The authors advocate a re-appropriation of the idea of calling, "to return in a new way to the idea of work as a contribution to the good of all and not merely as a means to one's own advancement." (pp.287-288). In a way, the idea of the reconstruction of American civil religion, in which the concept of calling occupies a central role, lies halfway between the modern and the neoclassical concept of calling (Bellah, 1992), because it hinges on the importance of the community as a transcending force. Bellah, however, chooses only to acknowledge the importance of the social in terms of the needs that emerge from it, as opposed to the transcendent aspect. Nevertheless, we

can still classify his understanding of callings as modern and closely resembling Arendt's (1998) idea that in the midst of a community, any action, like work, acquires meaning because of the presence of others and not primarily due to one's own advancement.

Hagmaier and Abele (2012), who research the multidimensionality of callings, have uncovered a "transcendent guiding force" behind a calling. This force forms the foundation of a neoclassical conception of callings, i.e., one that entails the idea of someone or something from the outside, beyond the self calling the self. Among the authors that accept this understanding of callings (Baumeister, 1991; Cohen, 2014; Curlin et al., 2006; Dalton, 2001; Davidson & Caddell, 1994; Elangovan, Pinder, & McLean, 2010; Hernandez, Foley, & Beitin, 2011), some acknowledge the important role that an explicitly religious component of calling plays. This tendency to think of religion as an explanatory variable does not necessarily place these authors in the same camp as those who openly think of religious motivators as the main variables that determine work orientation (Campbell, 2003; Convey, 2014; Hartwick, 2014; Richardson, 2014; Wax, 2007). While the former highlights a more open understanding of the nature of religion, including for instance, elements of spirituality, the latter embraces a more traditional understanding of religion as a structure that includes a ritual element, doctrine, a moral code, and as a result, a classical perspective on callings.

Researching callings and work.

Most of the research on callings has employed either qualitative or quantitative methodologies, as table 1.2 shows. The majority of the research reviewed in the previous section operates within the framework of the definitions I have examined, and all consider work or occupations as the dependent variable for their studies on callings. Over the past 20 years, six main instruments have been developed to measure the construct of callings (see Table 1.3).

The first systematized effort to measure callings came in the work of Wrzesniewski et al. (1997). In this study, the authors built on Bellah et al.'s (1985) understanding of work as a job, career, or calling, and out of this, they created the Job, Career, and Calling Questionnaire (JCC), also known as the "University of Pennsylvania Work-Life Questionnaire," which serves as an instrument to measure the callings of professionals. The instrument includes 18 true-false items that ask about specific aspects of the subject's relationship to work in terms of Job, Career, and Calling. This questionnaire emphasizes the modern working definition of calling, examining the effects of calling particularly at the level of work satisfaction. It focuses less on capturing the aspect or experience of calling and more on measuring the wellbeing of the respondents in the workplace. Thirteen years after they implemented this questionnaire, Wrzesniewski et. al (2010) conceptually changed the approach to the study of the relationship between work and callings, highlighting the importance of the sacred dimensions of life in the pursuit of meaningful work.

Table 1.2 *Main Studies on Callings and Work*

Author	Disciplinary Field	Ql	Qn	Mx	Theoretical contribution	Location of the study
(Dik & Duffy, 2012)	Vocational Psychology	X			X	US
(Hall & Chandler, 2005)	Organizational Behavior	X			X	US
(Berg, Grant, & Johnson, 2010)	Organizational Behavior	X			X	US
(Beadle, 2013)	Organizational Behavior	X				UK
(Hunter, Dik, & Banning, 2010)	Vocational Psychology	X				US
(Curlin et al., 2006)	Organizational Behavior	X				US
(Hernandez et al., 2011)	Career Development	X				US
(Cohen, 2014)	Vocational Psychology	X				US
(Scott, 2007)	Vocational Psychology	X				US
(Dobrow & Tosti-Kharas, 2011)	Organizational Behavior		X		X	US
(Wrzesniewski et al., 1997)	Organizational Behavior		X		X	US
(Steger, Pickering, Shin, & Dik, 2010)	Vocational Psychology		X		X	US
(Hirschi, 2011)	Vocational Psychology		X		X	Germany
(Dobrow, 2013)	Organizational Behavior		X		X	US
(Dobrow, 2006)	Organizational Behavior		X		X	US
(Hirschi & Herrmann, 2013)	Vocational Psychology		X			Germany
(Duffy, Dik, & Steger, 2011)	Vocational Psychology		X			US
(Cardador, Dane, & Pratt, 2011)	Organizational Behavior		X			US
(Dobrow & Tosti-Kharas, 2012)	Vocational Psychology		X			US
(Bhutta & Zhao, 2013)	Vocational Psychology		X			China
(Hirschi, 2012)	Vocational Psychology		X			Germany
(Neubert & Halbesleben, 2014)	Organizational Behavior		X			US
(Woitowicz & Domene, 2013)	Vocational Psychology		X			US/Canada
(Davidson & Caddell, 1994)	Organizational Behavior		X			US
(Duffy & Sedlacek, 2007)	Vocational Psychology		X			US
(Hagmaier & Abele, 2012)	Vocational Psychology		X			Germany
(Botha & Van den Berg, 2013)	Religious Studies				X	South Africa
(Bunderson & Thompson, 2009)	Psychology			X	X	US/Canada

Note. Ql=Qualitative Study; Qn: Quantitative Study; Mx: Mixed Study

Bunderson and Thompson (2009) developed a second instrument, the Neoclassical Calling Scale (NCCS), which is a six-item instrument that uses a 7-point scale (1=*very strongly disagree*;7=*very strongly agree*) and relies on the presupposition of a calling as a response to an external force. This instrument highlights the idea of destiny—e.g. I was meant to work with animals—and the understanding of passion as a mixture of internal and external factors. The scale's lack of precision, however, hinders the understanding of the form and shape of a calling. From this instrument, we can only determine whether or not respondents conceive of their calling as a response to an outside force, and while this factor is important, it alone does not suffice to classify a calling as neoclassical.

Table 1.3 *Main Instruments for Research on Callings*

Author	Name of Scale	Items
(Wrzesniewski et al., 1997)	The Job, Career, and Calling Questionnaire (JCC)	18
(Bunderson & Thompson, 2009)	The Neoclassical Calling Scale (NCCS)	6
(Dobrow & Tosti-Kharas, 2011)	The Calling Scale (CS)	12
(Dik, Eldridge, Steger, & Duffy, 2012)	Calling and Vocation Questionnaire (CVQ)	24
(Dik et al., 2012)	Brief Calling Scale (BCS)	4
(Hagmaier & Abele, 2012)	The Multidimensional Calling Measure (MCM)	9

A third contribution to the field comes in the work of Dobrow & Tosti-Kharas (2011) who created the Calling Scale (CS), a 12-item instrument that also uses a 7-point scale (1=strongly disagree; 7=strongly agree). Their scale offers two contributions to the research on callings. First, although they operate out of a modern understanding of calling, some elements of their instrument address the dimension of destiny behind the calling. This novel element allows for opportunity to open the scale to a more neoclassical understanding of callings. Second, their instrument incorporates a dynamic nature to the traditionally fixed notion of callings because it allows for callings to evolve over time. This added nuance, the result of a long longitudinal study, opens up a window into the ways in which people live a calling beyond the single moment when they experience it.

Further efforts in the field of measuring callings comes in the form of the Calling and Vocation Questionnaire (CVQ) and the Brief Calling Scale (BCS), developed by Dik et al., (2012). The CVQ is composed of 24 items that use a 4-point scale (1=*not at all true of me*; 4=*absolutely true of me*) to measure the relationship between current work and a sense of vocation and calling. The BCS consists of only four items that use a 5-point scale (1=*not at all true of me*; 5=*totally true of me*). The first of these scales operates primarily out of a working definition of calling as modern. Each of the items attempts to capture the relevance or meaningfulness of the calling for the present work of the respondent; however, the instrument lacks any items that point to the origin of the calling. Instead, it assumes that someone can experience a calling and, based on this assumption, looks for connections with the world of work. In that sense, the questionnaire not only emphasizes the modern perspective but also closes the door to any neoclassical understanding of callings. In contrast, the BCS Questionnaire presents a more open perspective. Although it does not take a neoclassical approach, it does have items that deal with the search for a calling in the workplace.

Hagmaier and Abele (2012) provide a sixth relevant work in the field with a scale that accounts for the multidimensional nature of callings. The Multidimensional Calling Measure (MCM) is a nine-item instrument that uses a 6-point scale (1=*strongly disagree*; 6=*strongly agree*). This instrument provides more items than the previous instruments with regards to a deeper understanding of callings. While it relies on a modern perspective of callings, more than any previous questionnaire, it also explores the issue through concepts that resemble neoclassical characteristics, like that of destiny or the concept of hearing a voice that calls.

I have surveyed here the six instruments in the literature that have most thoroughly attempted to measure callings in terms of their connection to work and the workplace. Whether one claims that these scales actually measure callings depends on one's conception of a calling as a subjective perception of the self, as an objective reality that can be perceived by others, or as a mixture of both. I contend that all of the scales I review here serve as good tools to measure callings as a subjective self-reported reality. For instance, item 23 from the CVQ (I am pursuing my current line of work because I believe I have been called to do so), item 8 from the CS (I feel a sense of destiny about being a musician), or item 1 from the NCCS (Working with animals feels like my calling in life) reveal how respondents think of their own work and its relationship to a sense of call.

None of the instruments nor any of the studies reviewed here possess the depth to inquire precisely about how the respondents' context impacts their calling. Similarly, none of the instruments account for objective realities that could testify to the presence of a calling in the workplace. Therefore, this review shows that a self-administered questionnaire may not serve as

the best way to research callings as such, because among other things, they involve not only the self but others and the wider community.

Here, we touch not only a methodological problem but an epistemological one, i.e., how can we truly classify an individual's experience as a calling? Interpretivists and positivists offer different responses to this controversial question (Calhoun, 1996; Lin, 1998; Lincoln, Lynham, & Guba, 2011). The current research examines the subjectivity behind statements like "I have a calling", or "my calling is coming from a divine force", or "my calling is in service, because the needy attracted me."

With this caveat, I do not mean to downplay either these instruments or the studies that employ them. I seek merely to point out their limits and the limitations of any methodology that measures calling without considering the underlying epistemological questions, which it must do if it seeks to truly measure the concept of calling in all of its complexity.

Calling to Teach

Without a spiritual catalyst or calling, could someone really teach in today's world of education with its ever-increasing demands? Although it highlights the classical dimension of callings, this question of Bigham & Smith (2008) serves as a good entry point to the scarce and poorly developed literature on callings and teachers' work (see table 1.4). The literature on callings and teachers' work, while scarce, does provide enough plausible evidence to show that the work of a teacher can be understood in the categories of classical, neoclassical, or modern (both social and individualistic) terms.

The calling is understood here as a phenomenon experienced by a teacher. It plays an important role in leading her or him both to become a teacher and to stay in the profession. However, a calling is not the only manner in which teachers become teachers. One of the most important sociological studies to understand school teachers' lives and working lives in the United States, from Lortie (1975), draws on categories through which the literature on callings to teach may be examined. I propose this exercise mainly due to the scarce and limited literature on callings, in the hopes that it might illuminate that literature along with more traditional and well-established literature on why teachers enter and stay in the profession.

Table 1.4 *Main Studies on Callings in Teachers*

Author	Disciplinary Field	T	Ql	Qn	Place of the study	Use of Neo classical concept of callings	Use of Modern concept of callings
(Drotar, 2011)	Teacher Education		X		US	X	
(Botha & Van den Berg, 2013)	Religious Studies	X			S.Africa	X	
(Casbon, Shagoury, & Smith, 2005)	Teacher Education	X			US	X	X
(Holloway, 2005)	Teacher Education	X			US	X	X
(Bullough & Hall-Kenyon, 2011, 2012)	Teacher Education		X	X	US	X	X
(Palmer, 1998)	Teacher Education	X	X		US	X	X
(Zimmer, 1994)	Teacher Education	X		X	US	X	
(Rothmann & Hamukang'andu, 2013)	Teacher Education		X		Zambia		X
(Berg et al., 2010)	Org. Behavior	X	X		US	X	X
(Serow, 1994)	Teacher Education		X	X	US	X	X

Note. T= Theoretical Study; Ql=Qualitative Study; Qn: Quantitative Study.

Using national survey data for the quantitative section of a mixed study as well as interview data—limited to teachers in primary and secondary level in the Boston Metropolitan area—for the qualitative portion, Lortie uncovers five attractors to teaching. First, teaching offers the possibility of working with people, and especially with young people. Second, teaching offers an opportunity to serve, to fulfill something that society needs, i.e., the education of the next generation. Third, being in a school context offers the opportunity to continue an activity a teacher desires, e.g., a teacher who would have liked to be baseball player can coach the baseball team at the school. Fourth, teaching offers material benefits (money, employment security, prestige). Lortie argues that teaching is a shadowed semi-profession. However, by comparing what material benefits women could attain in predominantly or historically female occupations, makes material benefits of teachers greater. Fifth, teaching offers time compatibility (e.g., long vacations, schedule adjustments).

These five reasons that Lortie puts forth as why teachers decide to work as teachers operate as a point of comparison with the logic emerging from those who articulate a calling to teach. Teachers with a calling might easily create an aura of workers who are totally selfless, service centered, and focused on the other before themselves. Many approaches invoke a pro-social orientation or ethical reasoning as explanations for why teachers choose the teach and stay in the profession (Bryk et al., 1993; Campbell, 2003; Feiman-Nemser, Tamir, & Hammerness, 2014). In fact, the capacity to serve others with joy, passion, and a sense of purpose almost certainly manifests in someone who experiences a calling to teach, but this capacity alone does not explain the depths of the concept of call. Nonetheless, Lortie shows that the reasons for becoming and staying teachers are various.

 From a classical perspective of callings, Convey (2014) reports results that evidence the importance of the call for teachers. In a study on Catholic schools in three states in the US (Georgia, Atlanta, and Wyoming), he found that 18% of the teachers indicate that they are teachers because it is "God's choice for my life." The idea of a classical calling, an explicitly religious or spiritual force behind a calling, not only resonates in the context of religious schools (Botha & Van den Berg, 2013; Convey, 2014; Peshkin, 1988a), but also in the context of public schools (Hartwick, 2012, 2014). In two studies, Hartwick (2012, 2014) shows that more than half (59.4%) of in-service teachers from public school systems in Wisconsin reportedly have a practice of praying and agreed or strongly agreed with the statement, "I have been called to teach." Even though Christian teachers represent 88.3% of the sample, and the total adult population who is Christian in Wisconsin reach only 71%, the fact that there is a significant number of teachers for whom their work is related to a call is a sign of an important phenomenon that is interwoven with teachers' experience of becoming teachers.

A broader sense of spirituality as a non-material dimension of life that allows for a connection with the transcendent without the medium of a traditional religion offers a good example of what I mean by the neoclassical understanding of callings. Bigham and Smith (2008) studied the spiritual dimension of the calling to teach within a group of pre-service teachers educated in a Christian university in the United States. They uncovered four reasons that pre-service teachers chose the profession of teaching: 1) the process or experience of the calling itself; 2) esteem for the teaching profession as a calling; 3) the use of spirituality for affirmation; and 4) the direct impact of spirituality on career choice. This does not mean that these are the only reasons participants of the study chose, but that they are the reasons they chose among those presented to them.

The literature on callings to teach tends to disregard any individualistic form of modern calling. Authors, in general, give teaching a highly service oriented or pro-social type of work status. Differently to the case of musicians in the study conducted by Dobrow (2013), there are no studies of teachers, to my knowledge, depicting a modern individualistic calling, i.e., a type of calling that is not connected to any kind of other-regard meaning. And from Lortie's (1975) study of attractors to teaching, there is evidence that teachers not only connect with the first and second of those attractors (working with young people and serving), but also to the last three which deal with a notion of convenience (continuity of passions, material benefit, and time compatibility).

The literature on callings presents some evidence in its modern-social definition. The relational nature of teaching and learning tends to see in teaching a calling that transcends the self. Palmer's (1998) *The Courage to Teach* provides an exception to this trend. Palmer uses the concept of "the teacher within" to treat the theme of callings. He states that "any authentic call ultimately comes from the voice of the teacher within, the voice that invites me to honor the nature of my true self. By the voice of the inward teacher, I do not mean conscience or superego, moral arbiter or internalized judge" (p.29). Teachers who find themselves doing work that is ethically commendable though not suitable to them are not living a calling. Furthermore, Palmer thinks that a calling that does not speak to the core of the decision to choose the teaching profession "no matter how externally valued, does violence to the self—in the precise sense that it violates my identity and integrity on behalf of some abstract norm" (p.30).

From a modern-social perspective, in his qualitative study on callings, Hansen (2001) employs almost the same division as Bellah et al. (1985) regarding work. Hansen conducted an ethnography of four middle and high school teachers for a two-and-a-half-year period in public and private schools. The selected teachers were highly regarded teachers in their school communities and their teaching careers ranged between 3-12 years. Those who consider teaching as a job bring a sense of agency and commitment to the work that, in turn, embodies the belief that they have something to contribute to the job. Those who enter and stay because of a calling cope in a better way with questions, doubts, and uncertainties, some of which come from the nature of the work and some, paradoxically, that come from the sheer fact that the person treats the work as more than a routine task.

In a study done years earlier, Hansen (1995) interprets callings as a matter of ordinary work for teachers. He believes that when one thinks about people who do something as a result of a calling, one tends, incorrectly, to think of them as people doing extraordinary things. Along with other members of the helping professions, teachers often work under extraordinary circumstances, a fact that is not always recognized. This last finding is aligned to what Gustafson (1982) in the US context and Freire (1998) in the Latin American context point out about teachers putting up with the lack of recognition of their legitimate rights—e.g. fair salaries and work regulations—because of their sense of calling. At the same time, however, the richness of paying attention to callings comes precisely from the fact that perceiving teaching in these terms, rather than merely as a job or occupation, brings teachers closer to the significance and the rewards of teaching as a human endeavor (Hansen, 2001, p. ix).

From a methodological perspective, three studies try to push the boundaries of the research on callings to the teaching profession. Bullough & Hall-Kenyon (2011) examine the relationship of having a calling to teach and the degree of hopefulness and commitment of in-service teachers in Nevada and Utah. They surveyed 205 pre-service and in service elementary education teachers using an instrument to measure degrees of calling developed previously by Serow (1994) and another trait scale based on hope and commitment. Teachers evidenced having, in general, a strong

call to teach. The quantitative study suggested a strong relationship between having a calling and hopefulness and commitment. However, another quantitative study subsequently conducted by the authors (Bullough & Hall-Kenyon, 2012), this time with 252 in service teachers between one and 31 years of teaching, found no statistical relationship between measures of teacher hopefulness and calling.

Rothmann and Hamukang'andu (2013) analyze the orientations of teachers' callings and the degree of engagement with their work and organizations. In a quantitative correlational study with 150 elementary and secondary teachers in Zambia, they found that having a calling orientation correlates with work engagement and with work role fit. Analysis using structural equation modeling showed a statistically significant correlation between having a calling orientation and beliefs in meaningfulness of teaching.

Serow (1994) conducted a mixed study on 527 pre-service teachers from six universities in the Midwest and Southern regions of the United States. All of the participants answered a survey containing a scale on callings, and a small group of 21 participated in the in-depth interviews. He found that whether or not teachers have the experience of being called does not make a statistical difference when it comes to experiencing intrinsic motivation or perceiving extrinsic rewards (p.69). The qualitative part of his work, however, suggests that those who see teaching as a calling display significantly greater enthusiasm and commitment to the idea of a teaching career, are more mindful of its potential impact on other people, are less concerned about the sacrifices that such a career might entail, and are more willing to accept the extra duties.

Conceptual Framework

The complexity of the phenomenon of calling can be better captured by integrating theoretical insights of how meaning is articulated around work (situational meaning), how several sources of meaning can be linked to the experience of a calling, and how callings are typified based on how they are discovered, lived, and defined by the individuals who experience them. Figure 1.1 below shows these relationships.

The situational meaning of work is based on psychological and sociological support that signal the self, others, work context, and spiritual life as the sources of meaning for any type work; in the case of this study, this is applied to the work of secondary education teachers in Catholic Jesuit high schools. Some accounts of the reviewed literature show that the experience of having a calling to teach would tend to be primarily associated with the spiritual life as the source of meaning (Botha & Van den Berg, 2013; Convey, 2014; Hartwick, 2012; Peshkin, 1988a). However, as figure 1.1 shows, there is also the possibility, based on the literature on the typology of callings, that the sources of the self, others, and the work context can also be connected to the experience of the calling.
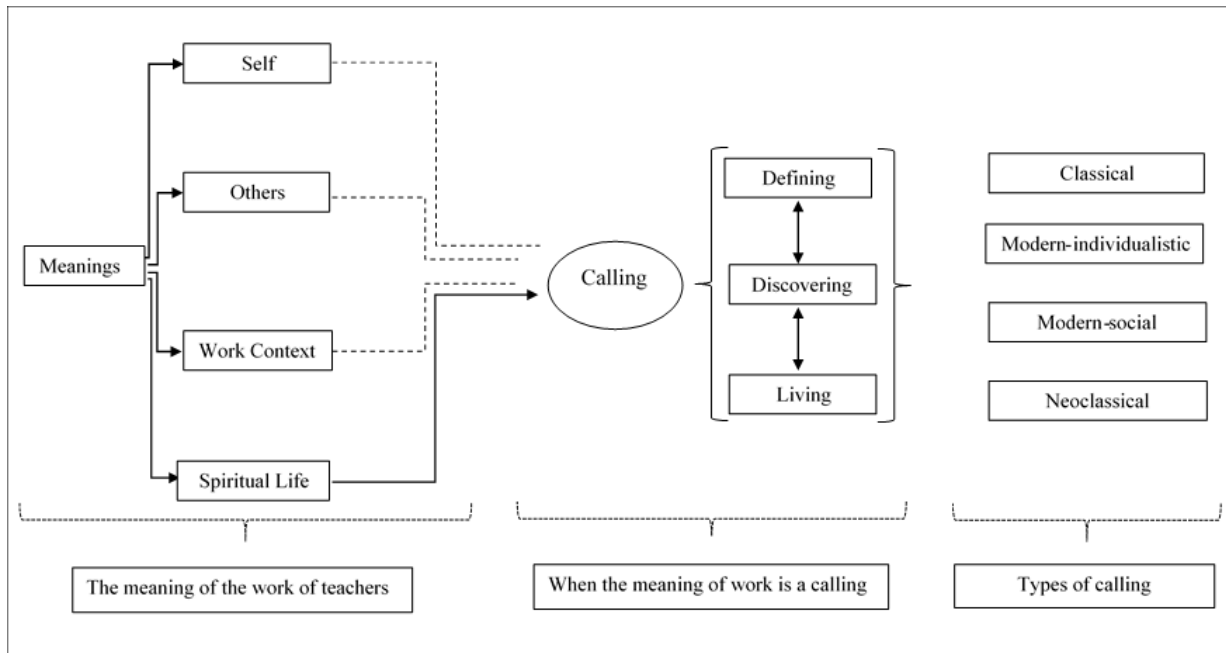
Figure 1.1 Conceptual framework.

When the calling is structured as a particular type of meaning with several possible sources of meaning at its base, the literature indicates that such a calling is defined, discovered, and lived in a particular way. A calling is a phenomenon that is experienced by an individual, and therefore the way of defining, discovering, and living the calling is dynamic. That is the purpose of the third part of the conceptual framework (see Figure 1.1); classical, modern-individualistic, modern-social, and neoclassical types of calling are one expression of making sense of different paths toward defining, discovering, and living a calling to teach. It is not the aim of this study to simply apply these different types of callings to the teachers in the study, but to use them as possible models employed by teachers to express what the experience of having a calling is and what it means for them.

Working definition of calling to teach in this study.
I use here a working definition of a *calling to teach* that incorporates elements of the classical, neoclassical, modern-social, and modern-individualistic perspectives on callings (see Table 1.5). As I demonstrated, Christian theology, both Protestant and Catholic, reflects a *classical* view of calling that emphasize a divine caller to whose call an individual responds, gaining that same person a sense of fulfillment. *Modern* approaches highlight the experience of external forces in the social or institutional environment (*modern-social*) or the exclusively individual experience (*modern-individualistic*). What exactly constitutes the summons is less explicit in the *neoclassical* view, which arose in response to an extremely individualistic culture that likewise situated calling in the private realm. In the latter part of the 20th century, vocational psychology has highlighted a *neoclassical* perspective on callings, which implies a "transcendent summons, experienced as originating beyond the self, to approach a particular life role in a manner oriented toward demonstrating or deriving a sense of purpose or meaningfulness and that holds other-oriented values and goals as primary sources of motivation" (Dik & Duffy, 2009, p. 427).

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I consider a calling to teach when someone experiences all of the following elements in relation to teaching: a sense of destiny (*I was meant to be a teacher, I don't imagine not being a teacher*), a sense of mission (*What I do is not restricted to a subject matter, because I teach students first*), enjoyment of the teaching activity itself (*I feel joyful when I teach)*, longevity (*It is for life, or it is thought today to be a life commitment*), and perseverance (*I confront challenges if they appear in the way*).

Table 1.5 *Type of Calling and Main Characteristics*

Discipline	Type of calling	Origin of the call	Individual action
Christian Theology	Classical	God / The divine	Receive/Accept
Sociology of Religion	Modern-social	Beyond the self/ non-transcendent	Search
Organizational Behavior	Modern-individualistic	In the self	Self-awareness
Vocational Psychology	Neo-classical	Beyond the self/ transcendent	Receive/Accept/ Search

How is the concept of a calling to teach different from other related concepts?

The working concept of a calling to teach used in this study differs from concepts of commitment to, motivation for, or pleasure in one's work, although they show similar features. The literature on commitment and teaching highlights commitment to the organization, which normally comprises commitment in three areas: affective, normative, and continuance (Meyer, Stanley, & Vandenberg, 2013). Meyer and Herscovitch (2001) define commitment as a "force that binds an individual to a course of action of relevance to one or more targets" (p.301). My definition of calling, in contrast, implies a sense of destiny and mission, along with a sense of identification, neither of which is found in the commitment literature. Both concepts, however, share elements of longevity associated with perseverance and the presence of feelings of regret or remorse upon leaving.

In a similar way, in the case of motivation, the concept of calling shares some characteristics with these other concepts. Motivation "refers to internal factors that impel action and to external factors that can act as inducements to action. The three aspects of action that motivation can affect are direction (choice), intensity (effort), and duration (persistence)" (Locke & Latham, 2004, p. 1).

Such motivation has been broadly divided into extrinsic motivation (rewards and incentives) and intrinsic motivation (Deci, 1971; Deci & Ryan, 1985; Staw, 1976). Locke (1999) thinks of the organizational commitment as a result of the presence of motivation. Again, despite the presence of longevity and possible identification with the profession, this motivation lacks both elements of destiny and enjoyment that might be separated from the activity itself.

Another concept that is helpful to define (in order to distinguish it from a calling) is that of flow experience: "A subjective state that people report when they are completely involved in something to the point of forgetting time, fatigue, and everything else but the activity itself" (Csikszentmihalyi, 2014). Of the three concepts, we can distinguish the concept of flow most easily from a calling. It does not imply any sense of destiny, mission, or enjoyment separate from the activity itself, especially the life commitment in the terms defined here. Its time-bound nature precludes its association with the notion of calling, though someone with a calling could experience flow at a particular time doing a particular task.

On the one hand, some teachers may be motivated, committed, and in a state of flow with their work but might not necessary feel called to it. On the other hand, some teachers could feel called to the work, but not experience it in regards to motivation within the activity itself or in total

committed to the organization. Table 1.6 summarizes the characteristics of the concepts in relationship to the defining elements of calling.

Table 1.6 *Comparison Between the Concepts of Calling, Motivation, Commitment, and Flow*

Variable	Calling	Motivation	Commitment	Flow
Sense of destiny	X			
Sense of mission	X	X		
Enjoyment in the teaching activity itself	X			X
Longevity	X	X	X	
Perseverance	X	X	X	

Conclusion

The literature on calling does not provide educational researchers with clear theories to understand how such a complex phenomenon is experienced by individuals' working and personal lives. Scholarly endeavors on the relationship between callings and work in the particular domain of secondary teaching has been even less developed, both at the level of theory and methodology, thus my decision to plan a contribution at two levels.

On the side of theory, the former discussion led me to realize that the theoretical insights on the calling to teach are to some extent less thorough than those in teachers working in Catholic school and the meaning of work literature. The literature provides simple though important concepts to frame the study on callings, combining the meaning of work and their sources (self, others, work context, and the spiritual life), the dynamic process of defining, discovering, and living a calling, and a typology of callings based on classical, modern-individualistic, modern-social, and neoclassical types.

Given the nature of the teachers who worked or have been working in Jesuit high schools, both lay and priest, and who taught or have been teaching in an extended international network in place for more the 400 years, a comparative qualitative method, not used before in this kind of study, served the purpose of shedding light on how a calling is defined, discovered, and lived, and under what conditions it develops. In comparing the different types of teachers, the unique, diverse meaning of calling was uncovered.

Chapter 2: Methodology and Methods

Introduction

As shown in the previous chapter, the study of the relationship between work and calling, especially between teaching and calling, has been significantly underdeveloped. I highlighted the epistemological limitations of quantitative approaches, i.e., that there is an assumed way in which any given individual would define a calling, while also underlining the lack of qualitative studies in the field. This qualitative study seeks to collaborate in closing that gap by addressing the questions of the meanings that secondary education teachers attach to their work and the characteristics and conditions under which such meanings are expressed as a calling.

With these questions in mind, and with the understanding that there are different meanings and variations across respondents, I conducted a multiple case study using multiple sources (Creswell, 2003; Eisenhardt, 1989): in-depth interviews, documents, and archival records. The main source of information was semi structured, in-depth interviews (N=105) with current and former teachers of varying professional status. These respondents teach (or taught) across different geographical settings and time periods. I analyzed the teachers' narratives considering the particular cases, as well as taking a cross-case perspective.

Methodology

An interpretivist paradigm (Rabinow & Sullivan, 1987) guides this study. Rather than making predictions, I am interested in understanding (Glesne, 2011) how teachers make meaning in their work, as this kind of understanding can broaden our knowledge of teachers' lives and work. I have the epistemological perspective (Crotty, 1998) that both researcher and participants in the study are "shaped by our lived experiences, and these will always come out in the knowledge we generate as researchers and in the data generated by our subjects" (Lincoln et al., 2011). From that point of view, which is also shared by Peshkin (1988b), I use a qualitative methodology understood in Creswell's terms, i.e., as "an inquiry process of understanding based on distinct methodological traditions of inquiry that explore a social or human problem." In such an inquiry, "[t]he researcher builds a complex, holistic picture, analyzes words, reports detailed views of informants, and conducts the study in a natural setting" (Creswell, 2012). Such a methodology is suited to understanding the meanings of situations, events, and experiences, as well as processes and causal explanations (Maxwell, 2012). In this case, qualitative methodology is suited to understanding the meanings of human work.

A comparative case study is also used, further reflecting the qualitative character of the study. Cases are understood here as empirical units that can be treated as research objects (Ragin & Becker, 1992). Case studies also operate as a research strategy (Eisenhardt, 1989). Specifically, I use a comparison of multiple cases or multiple-case study. Although history plays an important role in the study, I do not want to assess causality behind a comparative historical analysis, as some authors imply must happen in such kinds of studies (Mahoney, 2003; Mahoney & Rueschemeyer, 2003; Wickham-Crowley, 1991). The cases to be compared consist of teachers articulating the work that they are or were involved in, which take place across multiple temporal and geographical settings. The inquiry is about the meaning of their work, especially when it is articulated as a calling and when it changes over time and across geographical settings. I consider two types of professional status within the study: lay and priest teachers.

Methods

    Case selection.

Casing or case selection is a research operation in itself (Ragin & Becker, 1992), also known as bounding a territory for the research (Miles & Huberman, 1994). It is based on the idea that, as part of the research process, the researcher in the social sciences builds up a case of any social and human behavior and activity. I purposely selected a bounded set of high school teachers, as opposed to obtaining a sample from a universe of teachers (Small, 2009). Table 2.1 shows the criteria for the case selection.

Given the comparative character of the study, the rationale for the selection of cases is based on factors of similarity and variability among the teachers. This procedure resembles Mill's (1884) methods of agreement and difference in comparative studies. The first similarity factor is the fact that all the respondents are veteran or former teachers (male and female in the case of the lay teachers) and are primarily, but not completely, restricted to five main subjects: history, science, math, arts and religion. Similarity also manifests in the fact that all the teachers are employees or former employees of Jesuit schools that belong to networks in either North America (Jesuit Schools Network – JSN) or Latin America (Federation of Latin American Schools – FLACSI). Both are loosely knit networks in terms of the day-to-day organization, activities, and structure; however, they are quite tight-knit in terms of their identity around Catholic principles and the charism of the Society of Jesus. A third element of similarity is that all the teachers work or worked in schools whose clients (students and families) range from upper to upper middle-class. The schools may vary slightly in their class composition and demographic because of differences in scholarship and financial aid programs, but any such differences do not change the overall culture of the schools as upper / upper middle-class institutions.

The factors that offer variation to the cases are professional status (meaning the religious or lay status of the teachers), the time period in which teachers taught or teach (before 1965, between 1965 and 1990, and between 1990 and 2016), and the geographical setting of the schools where respondents taught (United States and Latin America).

Table 2.1 *Selected Factors of Similarity and Variability for Case Selection*

	Item	Condition
Factors of Similarity	Years of teaching	All teachers were either veteran or retired.
	Level	All teachers work or worked at the secondary level.
	Employer	All teachers work or worked in Jesuit high schools or at the secondary level of K-12 Jesuit schools.
	Students' social class	All teachers work in schools meant primarily for families of medium to high socioeconomic status.
Factors of Variability	Status	Teachers who are priests and teachers who are lay men or women.
	Temporality	Teachers who taught before 1965, between 1965 and 1990, and between 1990 and 2016.
	Region	Teachers who taught or teach in the United States, Bolivia, Chile, or Peru.

The religious and lay status of the teachers helped me to test the tendencies in both groups to identify their work experience and desires to teach as in line with a classical calling or more modern and neoclassical models of call.

Time period is an especially sensitive aspect of this study. The 1950s is the furthest we can go back in history to trace priests who became teachers and who are healthy enough to provide relevant information about their experiences in the profession. More importantly, since the 1950s, and especially during the period of the1960s, the western world and to some extent, the global south, exhibited an accelerated process of secularization. This happened not only in society at large but also within the Catholic church. The different notions of experiencing a call to teach might have been impacted by this process of secularization. I foresee that the understanding of having a calling was in line with the more classical model at the beginning of the period studied and increasingly modern in the present day.

The geographical location of the networks (and therefore the schools) where both priest and lay teachers taught or teach are within three regions in the United States and one in Latin America. The names of the regions correspond to the names of Jesuit provinces: East Coast (Northeast, Maryland, West Coast, and Mid-West/South), Chile, Peru, and Bolivia. The different locations exemplified three very relevant variations. One is the diversity of ways that the Jesuit order has reacted to progressive reform in the Church over the past 50 years. In the context of the broader mission of the Jesuits, different high schools have responded in different manners, reflecting in some cases the conflict between social apostolates (work oriented to indigenous people, refugees, poor workers, etc.) and the secondary education apostolate. The impact of liberation theology on Latin America led many in the Jesuit order to think about the possibility of closing the traditional or elite schools. The debate over the very mission of the Society extended into conversations about mission within the schools, especially for those who had decided to dedicate their entire lives to teaching.

A second element that exists within the geographic locations within the study is the Catholic and Protestant distinction between the two regions. A relatively inverse proportion of Catholic and Protestant populations can be found within the regions: 70% Catholic and 20% Protestant in South America, 20% Catholic and 60% Protestant in the United States (Pew Research Center, 2014, 2015). These in-group and out-group differences (bringing in the dynamic of one's participation in a Catholic institution as a social or cultural majority or minority) might affect the way in which a teacher makes meaning of her or his work.

Following the prior rationale, I selected the participants of the study as follows. For the selection of priest teachers, I contacted the global coordinator of the Jesuits for secondary education at his office in Rome, asking for the names of those Jesuits who taught or have taught for over 25 years, starting at some point between 1950 and 2016. With the names of the priest teachers (given by region), I then searched the Catalogues of the Society of Jesus (an annual document listing all the Jesuits living in a given region) between 1950 and 2016 in order to ascertain the schools, subjects, and time periods in which the priests teach or taught. From an initial list of 90, I ended up contacting 60 priests who matched the selection criteria. Of those contacted, I scheduled 51 interviews, and of the 51 scheduled interviews, I conducted 46.

In the case of the lay teachers, I searched for participants only in those schools where the 46 interviewed priest teachers taught or teach. Knowing that both networks offer several professional development alternatives for teachers, I decided to approach teachers who participated in an experience focused on the spiritual formation of educators. These teachers are generally selected by the principal for participation in such formation programs upon the

recommendation of department chairs. This selection is usually based on actual or potential leadership, commitment to the mission of the school, and good internal teaching evaluations.

Here, I confronted one of the limitations of the study: selection bias. Since the outset of the research design, I decided to interview long career teachers in Jesuit schools as part of the total set of teachers. By that initial framing, I was looking for a particular kind of teacher, i.e., one committed to and valued by his or her community. I assumed it was unlikely that someone would have a long career as a teacher in a Jesuit school without such a sense of commitment and / or feeling valued. Therefore, the problem introduced by selection bias in recruiting is real.

From the list of participating teachers in such professional development experiences, I selected a group of 100, all with more than 10 years of teaching experience, and these 100 were invited to participate in the study. Seventy-five showed interest in participating, and I scheduled with 70 from this group. In the end, 59 of these scheduled interviews were conducted, and the distribution of the cases can be seen in Table 2.2.

Table 2.2 *Distribution of Factors of Similarity and Variability in the Set of Cases*

	Item	N	%
Factors of Similarity	Years of teaching		
	10 to 20	20	19
	21 to 30	36	34.3
	31 to 40	25	23.8
	40<	24	22.9
	Level		
	Secondary	105	100
	Employer		
	Jesuit schools network	105	100
	Students' social class		
	Upper- Medium high SES	105	100
Factors of Variability	Status		
	Priest	46	43.8
	Lay	59	56.2
	Temporality		
	Pre 1965	31	29.5
	1965-1990	38	36.2
	1990-2016	36	34.3
	Region		
	Bolivia	16	15.2
	Chile	15	12.4
	Peru	20	19
	US – California and Oregon	14	13.3
	US – Maryland	11	9.5
	US – New York and New England	15	14.3
	US – New Orleans and Missouri	14	16.2

Data collection.

I used two strategies of data collection—in-depth interviewing for the development of Chapters three, four, and five, and archival research for Chapter three.

In-depth interviewing.

Qualitative interviewing in the social sciences has received various titles throughout its history, in-depth being one among many (Weiss, 1994). There are also other types of interviewing—intensive, free, unstructured—that have different aims depending on the research questions at hand and the type of inquiry most suited to answer those questions. In practice, I used a semi-structured interview strategy, and as the researcher within this strategy, I retain some control "over the direction and content to be discussed, yet participants are free to elaborate or take the interview in new but related directions" (Given, 2008).

This style of interview also allows for reflection upon the context of the respondent's responses with respect to certain topics, as well as making room for a broad understanding of the meaning of those responses for them (Seidman, 1998). Moreover, "we can see how their individual experiences interact with powerful social and organizational forces that pervade the context in which they live and work, and we can discover the interconnections among people who live and work in a shared context" (Seidman, 1998, p. 144).

I built an interview guide, following Quinn Patton (2014), which can be found in Appendix 2.1 and 2.2. The interview guide begins differently in the case of the priest teachers (2.1) than for the lay teachers, but the core of the interview remains the same for both groups. I also followed Spradley's (1979) guide with respect to developing rapport and eliciting information within the interview. Given the set of cases I am comparing in this study, it was pertinent to have in mind a particular way of interviewing elderly interviewees, i.e., oral history. Although this dissertation is not an oral history project, the style of interviewing that not only deals with the past but also engages with it (Abrams, 2010) was appealing and appropriate given the age of a subset of the population in the study. In doing interviews with elderly priests and lay persons, I used the epistemological approach of oral history, which understands "memory [as] the core of oral history, from which meaning can be extracted and preserved" (Ritchie, 2015). Memory and history allow one to access more than just an answer to a factual question, such as "how did you decide to become a teacher;" it provides a way for respondents to retrieve their own sense of self as constructed in the present (Abrams, 2010).

I conducted 105 in-depth interviews between November 2016 and June 2017, most of which were in two parts and lasted, in total, between 50-180 minutes. In the case of active teachers, they took place in the high schools outside of the class schedule. I visited 26 schools in the cities of Arequipa (Peru), Aurora, CO, Baltimore, MD, Boston, MA, Cochabamba (Bolivia), Houston, TX, La Paz (Bolivia), Lima (Peru), Los Angeles, CA, New York City NY, Saint Louis, MO, San Francisco, CA, San Jose, CA, Santiago (Chile), Scranton, PA, and Washington D.C. For the interviews with retired priests who were not currently working in schools but living in retirement communities, I visited them in their homes in the cities of Baltimore, MD, Cochabamba (Bolivia), Cornwall, NY, Grand Coteau, LA, Lima (Peru), Los Gatos, CA, Santiago (Chile), Syracuse, NY, and Weston, MA. In many of these cases, I stayed with them for at least a complete day.

Archival research.

I conducted archival research (Elder, Pavalko, & Clipp, 1993) as a way of providing deeper context for the discussion about meaning and its expression as a calling in teachers. This context is largely determined by the changes in the landscape of Catholic and Jesuit education, as well as the changes in the structure of the school organizations where teachers taught or teach. Given that the goal was to provide context, I decided to limit the number of years that I reported on to those years where significant changes can be identified. To have an account of those changes, I reviewed

archival material of three kinds: Statistical Yearbook of the Catholic Church (every year between 1970 and 2015 for Latin America, and years 1970, 1975, 1980, 1985, 1990, 1995, 2000, 2005, 2010, and 2015 for the United States), Catalogues of the Society of Jesus for ten Jesuit provinces (1950, 1960, 1970, 1980, 1990, 2000, 2010, and 2017), and documents of the Society of Jesus and the two Jesuit school networks (n=100). See appendix 2.3 for a detailed explanation of the archival material.

Statistical Yearbook of the Catholic Church. To sketch some of the changes in Catholic schools in the United States and Latin America since Vatican II, I reviewed the series of statistics provided by the church (Secretaria Status Rationarium Generale Ecclesiae, 1970) and focused on three main elements: student enrollment, the number of institutions at the primary and secondary levels, and the participation of the Catholic church in the primary and secondary education system of each country as a whole. I selected the countries of Mexico, Cuba, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Honduras, Guatemala, Belize, Panama, and all the countries in South America except for Guyana, Suriname, and French Guiana. Using this information, I created a data set for every year and the countries mentioned between 1970 and 2015, the first and last years that this data was available. I complemented the data set with valuable information about the population and educational system of each country using the World Bank and UNESCO online statistics data services. I collected this information in the libraries of Boston College in Massachusetts, the University of San Francisco, and the Graduate Theological Union in Berkeley.

Catalogues of the Society of Jesus. The main material I reviewed were the catalogues of the Jesuit order. Since 1773, the religious order has created a catalogue every year, which lists each Jesuit by province, vice province, or mission. Next to each name, the catalogue shows the ministries that the priest or brother conducts and the location in which he ministers / lives. It also lists his date of birth, date of entry into the order, when he took his first religious vows, and the day of his definitive incorporation (final vows). The Jesuit order does not keep centralized information about how many Jesuits were teaching or in what school nor do they have centralized data regarding school enrollment or the number of teachers in each school. To access that information, it is necessary to go to each of the catalogues.

I created a data set out of my review of the catalogues of the provinces of Bolivia, Chile, Peru, California, Oregon, Maryland, New York, New England, New Orleans, and Missouri for the years 1950, 1960, 1970, 1980, 1990, 2000, 2010, and 2017. I consulted the catalogues in the archives of the Institute for Advanced Jesuit Studies at Boston College and in the archives of the California Jesuit Province at the University of Santa Clara.

Documents. Finally, I consulted the archives of the Jesuit Schools Network (JSN), formerly Jesuit Secondary Education Association (JSEA), in Washington, D.C. I reviewed documents regarding the change in the school structure during the particular years of decline in the number of Jesuit priests and brothers in the school.

Data analysis.

I employed narrative analysis of the data coming from the interviews, a type of analysis that refers, in broad terms, "to a family of methods for interpreting texts that have in common a storied form… The cases that form the basis for analysis can be individuals, identity groups, communities, organizations…" (Riessman, 2008). There are two types of narrative analysis—one that focuses on the analysis of the narrative structure and another that focuses on the analysis of the narrative content (Wells, 2011). These two types are referred to as structural and thematic, respectively (Riessman, 2008). Here, I use thematic analysis.

The narrative character of my interviews left flexibility with respect to how the themes would be articulated. I came to the interviews with some themes coming from my own theoretical framework that I wanted teachers to build on. This open-mind approach to the cases has been used before in studies on teachers' lives, as Elbaz-Luwisch (2007) points out. Different from the work of Nias (1989), which focuses on the lives of teachers, my analysis of the narrative included special attention to both the narrative contexts given by the historical component of the comparative case study in place (Phoenix, 2008) and to critical events mentioned by the participants (Webster & Mertova, 2007).

Single-case analysis.

I analyzed the 105 interviews using the software NVivo on an ongoing basis, as soon as transcriptions were obtained. For the coding, I used a deductive or directed process (Creswell, 2015) based on the main concepts laid out in the section on prior literature and concepts. Because of the provisional nature of the literature on callings, I combined the deductive first phase of the analysis with an inductive approach (Strauss, 1987), which included first-order codes and inductive second-order coding (Miles, Huberman, & Saldaña, 2014).

Cross-case analysis.

I followed Eisenhardt's (1989) strategy (particularly in selecting categories) expressed already in the codes and examining similarities and differences across the cases based on the elements of similarity and variability previously highlighted. Without losing focus on the cases themselves, I created case-ordered displays (Miles & Huberman, 1994) that seek to understand the conditions for the origins of the calling.

Validity Issues

Any kind of research in the social sciences, whether based on qualitative or quantitative inquiries, runs the risk of issues of validity given the subjective nature of these methods. Instead of indifference toward my possible bias as a researcher, I followed Maxell's (2012) suggestion of acting with integrity. Because I am someone with an experience of a religious calling and due to the reality that about half of my sample are male religious (priests), I regularly checked my emotions and personal history in the attempt to avoid the transference my own experiences onto the subjects of the study, findings, or discussion.

Due to my affiliation with the Society of Jesus, I had privileged access to the setting in which my study was conducted. Without having actual authority over any of the lay teachers I studied, both the ethics of research and the validity of the study required that I disclose to them that I am a religious man connected to the governing bodies of the Jesuit school network. These two factors reinforced the need for transparency and clarity in how I honored their consent of my research. In the case of the priest teachers, as I previously stated, I studied the older generation to which I could have access and new teachers as well.

Research questions

The research questions, general and specifics, are shown in table 2.3 below.

Table 2.3 *Research Questions*

General Questions	Specific Questions
1. What are the meanings teachers attached to their work in the context of Jesuit schools?	a. How do those meanings vary when comparing teachers working in different time periods? b. How do those meanings vary when comparing teachers working in different regions in the Americas? c. How do those meanings vary when comparing teachers who are priests and those who are lay men or women?
2. What are the characteristics of the meaning of teachers' work expressed as a calling within the context of Jesuit schools?	a. How do the calling characteristics vary when comparing teachers working in different time periods? b. How do the calling characteristics vary when comparing teachers working in different regions in the Americas? c. How do the calling characteristics vary when comparing teachers who are priests and those who are lay men or women?
3. What are the conditions under which a calling emerges within the context of Jesuit schools?	a. How do the conditions under which a calling emerges vary when comparing teachers working in different time periods? b. How do the conditions under which a calling emerges vary when comparing teachers working in different regions in the Americas? c. How do the conditions under which a calling emerges vary when comparing teachers who are priests and those who are lay men or women?

Chapter 3: Changes and Continuities in Jesuit Secondary Education in the United States and Latin America

Introduction

Catholic schools are complex organizations, nested within the even larger, more complex organizations of the Catholic church and the state/national education systems. Here I do not want to produce an overview of the Catholic school organization, but rather focus on one particular type of such an organization, i.e., the Jesuit high school. I will look at the origin, function, and evolution of these types of organizations in various locations to provide context for the study of how teachers from the 1950's to the present make meaning out of their work.

Jesuit high schools have experienced both change and continuity over the last 65 years. One of the most significant changes has been a loss in the centrality of the educational character of the Jesuit order, character being understood here as an essential feature of the religious order itself that goes beyond its mission or its functions. Yet even though education is no longer central to the character of the Society of Jesus, the Jesuits still administer a wide educational platform.

In the first part of this chapter, I will discuss the origin of Jesuit secondary education and certain defining moments of its history, up until 1950. I will also present a brief history of the emergence of the Jesuit order within the Catholic church, as well as the Society's organizational structure, its original educational character, and its endeavors in Latin America and the United States. In the second part of the chapter, I present the changes that followed the Second Vatican Council, focusing on the countries that help provide the context for this study (United States, Bolivia, Chile, and Peru), and I also touch on the degree to which the Second Vatican Council may have reshaped the Catholic church and affected decisions within the educational system run by the church. In the third and final part, I try to answer when, where, and why Jesuits exited the high school classroom, and I look at the subsequent effects to the organization of these high schools.

This chapter seeks to provide detailed descriptive information in an understudied subject, and in doing that, offer a context for the topic of this dissertation. As mentioned in Chapter 1, in order to understand how teachers make situational meaning—in this case, the meaning of their work—it is essential to know the role of psychology in the process as well as the role of the organization in which teachers work.

Jesuit Secondary Schools: Origin and Defining Moments until 1950

The Society of Jesus's emergence in the Catholic world.

The Society of Jesus came to life following the conversion of a young Spanish noble who received a call to follow God's will by serving a complex Church in a complex world. Iñigo de Loyola, or Ignatius (1491-1556), was trained to be a courtier,[4] but while recovering from an injury in the battle field at the age of 26, he accepted an unexpected path for his life because of a change he experienced in his soul. Following his conversion, and a series of other spiritual experiences that led him to write the *Spiritual Exercises*,[5] Ignatius decided to undergo training at the

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[4] Ignatius, at the age of seven, left the family castle in Loyola and was sent to "serve first as a page and then as a courtier in the household at Arévalo of Juan Velásquez de Cuéllar, chief treasurer of Castile" (O'Malley, 2014).

[5] After his conversion, Ignatius had several religious experiences, even mystical ones. He recorded those experiences and eventually compiled them into a book called *The Spiritual Exercises.* There he detailed not only his experiences, but an orderly path for others to do the *The Spiritual Exercises* in a retreat-type way. The book was never meant solely to be read; the exercises themselves were meant to be made by a person who desired to deepen his or her spiritual life. Every Jesuit has to do the 30-day retreat experience twice in his life.

Universities of Salamanca and Paris. It was there that he found six classmates who would later become the first Jesuits. Ignatius of Loyola, Francis Xavier, Peter Faber, and the other companions associated themselves with one another in the process of pursuing their university degrees. It was in classrooms and college dormitories where Ignatius and his companions decided to form a religious order. Distinct from other religious orders that named themselves after a founder or inspirational figure,[6] these companions decided to call themselves the Society of Jesus.

Ignatius was born a year before Queen Isabella I authorized Christopher Columbus's expedition to the Indies, which, as we know, ended up arriving at *La Hispaniola* (currently the Dominican Republic and Haiti) in 1492, and Ignatius's conversion in 1517 coincided with Martin Luther's theses that sparked the Reformation of the Christian world. Ignatius was truly a hinge between two worlds—the Renaissance and Modernity. He lived in a time increasingly disenchanted with tradition, with all the benefits and drawbacks that such a process of disenchantment entails. He incarnated the possibility for innovation and an intelligent reading of the tradition in a very troubled Catholic church, giving that church a real chance of survival (Eire, 2016).

Upon the approval from Pope Paul III in 1540, and amidst the chaos of the Reformation, the Jesuit order grew exponentially, always under a centralized administration.[7] By the time of Ignatius's death in 1556, there were 1,000 Jesuits in five continents governed under this same central structure of authority, which, with minor changes, has remained in place for almost 500 years (Ravier, 1987). The organization of the Society has allowed the order to take on a variety of apostolates.[8] Among all of these, the educational apostolate has been the largest. And this is because from the outset, the Jesuits not only ran educational institutions, but also had an educational character central to the order itself. In 1560, 20 years after the establishment of the Society, a letter was addressed to all its members by the general, Diego Laynez, in the person of his assistant: "Generally speaking, there are [in the Jesuit order] two ways of helping our neighbors: one in the colleges through the education of youth in letters, learning, and Christian life, and the second in every place to help every kind of person through sermons, confessions, and the other means that accord with our customary way of proceeding" (O'Malley, 1993).

Jesuits needed to put together a formation process for the hundreds that wanted to join the order, and parents wanted for their sons the same formation that men joining the order were receiving. It was this parental and societal eagerness for the benefits of Jesuit formation that

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[6] For example, the Franciscan order named after Saint Francis, the Augustinian order named after Saint Augustine, or the Dominican order named after Saint Dominic.

[7] From the outset, the Society of Jesus was structured as a centrally controlled organization. The Jesuit order elects a single leader called the *superior general* or *general*. The *general*, with the help of a council of assistants from different regions and apostolic domains, elects the *provincials*, who are the leaders of regional provinces. The province is the administrative and geographic unit through which the Jesuits organize their apostolates worldwide. Jesuits in each province are under the care of the provincial, who acts with autonomy to mission the members of the province. An important role of the provincial is to organize the province by assigning *superiors* to each community, the community being the house to which a Jesuit is assigned and where he lives. Even if a Jesuit is living alone because of his particular mission, he belongs to both a community and province. All of the *provincials*, plus a few Jesuits who are elected within each of the provinces, form what is called the *General Congregation*. The *General Congregation* is the highest authoritative body of the Jesuits; it holds the responsibility of electing the general of the society once the sitting general in charge passes away or resigns. A General Congregation can also be convoked by the Superior General if he wants to make decisions at a greater scale in the Society. If a *general* calls a General Congregation, the latter outranks the authority of the former.

[8] Apostolates such as missions to new lands, works of mercy with the suffering, sacramental ministry, or serving as advisors for the leadership of the Catholic church during the Council of Trent (O'Malley, 1993)

contributed to formal schooling in the West (Ramirez & Boli, 1987; Thröler, 2009). There were other formal schooling systems in existence, but it was the Society of Jesus that brought together classrooms, teachers, exams, grading systems, awards systems, and other infrastructure into a single organization in a coherent way, within a centralized but international framework. This was the beginning of the formalization of schools as they are known today. It was Jesuit formation that prompted the creation of educational institutions for non-Jesuits.

In the past, a Jesuit was always trained in the *Ratio Studiorum*, i.e., the curriculum in place for Jesuit formation between 1599 and 1957. The *Ratio Studiorum* stands alongside the *Constitutions*, the *Spiritual Exercises*, and the *Spiritual Diary* as one of the foundational documents of the Society. Unlike the first three, though, the *Ratio Studiorum* was a collaborative piece of writing in which every existing province of the Society participated. This collaborative effort lasted more than forty years, and it gave birth to a deeply foundational moment for the Society of Jesus (Pavur, 2017). This moment was marked by the benefit of many sources and experiences, such as the Jesuit order's first residential colleges in 1540, the experiences of pedagogy in Goa (1542) and Gandia (1546), the first formal school in Messina (1548), and the experiences of Ignatius of Loyola as a student in Alcala and Paris (Pavur, 2017). In the beginning, the *Ratio Studiorum* was the plan used for Jesuit formation, but in its final form, it became the curriculum for Jesuit education at large.

It is important to note that the Society did not have an educational character solely because of the training in letters and arts offered to its members preparing for the priesthood or brotherhood; the *Ratio Studiorum* also included training to become a teacher. Both of these strands of formation, training it letters and arts as well as the training to become an educator oneself, are included in the Jesuit curriculum. With the widespread education of youth in Jesuit colleges and high schools, it was necessary that there be a system in place for regularly providing teachers. The preparation of the Jesuits was thus not just a training to become a minister of the sacraments, but also to acquire the necessary content, knowledge, and pedagogical expertise to teach a particular subject.

The educational endeavors of the Society in the United States and Latin America.

Jesuits arrived in the United States from Canada, England, Italy, and other countries at different periods during the first half of the 19th century, and they arrived significantly earlier in Latin America. The Society had a presence in the territories of Bolivia, Peru, and Chile between the late 16th and early 17th centuries. The first Jesuits in this region came primarily from Spain. Missions were established in these territories that eventually became more formally organized provinces. There are distinct historical differences in the foundation of these provinces that provide the context for this study, but a common aspect that all of them share is that they were each founded around educational institutions. The Jesuits in these territories first established an educational institution, and everything else followed from there.

Table 3.1 *Year of Jesuit Provinces Establishment in Territory and Foundation, and Year of Foundation and Name of First School*

Province	Establishment in the territory	Foundation Year	First High School funded	Year	Years between school and province foundation
Bolivia	1572	1967* (1983)	Colegio San Calixto	1882	85
Chile	1607	1937* (1958)	Colegio San Ignacio	1856	81
Peru	1568	1968	Colegio de la Inmaculada	1878	90
California	1851	1909	Bellarmine College Preparatory	1851	58
Maryland	1805	1833	Georgetown Preparatory School	1789	44
New England	1805	1926	Boston College High School	1863	63
New Orleans	1836	1907	Jesuit High School	1847	60
New York	1805	1943	Fordham Preparatory School	1841	102
Oregon	1851	1932	Gonzaga Preparatory High School	1887	45

Note. The data contained in the table comes from Data chronologica origins et evolutionis regionum provinciarum 1774 -1958 (Fejer & De Cock, 1997)

* Independent vice province

As table 3.1 shows, all of the provinces (with the exception of Maryland), were founded in the 20th century. Some provinces existed as independent vice provinces [9] first, such as Bolivia in 1967 and Chile in 1937, meaning that the region behaved as a province but still had an administrative connection to a different formal province. The fewest number of years between the foundation of a school and a province in that same territory is 44 years. This is the case of the Maryland province, which was the first Jesuit province to be founded in the United States in 1833. The center of this province was Georgetown University and the attached Georgetown Preparatory School, which were erected in 1789 during the period when the Jesuit order was under suppression [10] (Hennesey, 1955; McKevitt, 2008; Wirth, 2007). The largest number of years between the foundation of a school and province is 102 years, between the foundation of Fordham Preparatory School and the New York Province. In the case of Latin America, there is a range of 81-90 years between the founding of a school and a province in Chile, Peru, and Bolivia.

The Educational Changes Brought by the Second Vatican Council

The changes experienced by the Jesuit order and its high schools in the second half of the 20th century can be better understood in light of the Second Vatican Council (Vatican II). Convoked in 1958 by Pope John XXIII, and celebrated in multiple sessions between 1962-1965, the Second Vatican Council affected many dimensions of the internal organization of the Church (Gaillardetz, 2006), especially its relationship with secular society. [11] Two major documents,

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[9] A vice province has reached greater levels of autonomy, but still, depends on a well stablished province to decide on important matters.

[10] In 1773, the Jesuit order was suppressed or dissolved by Pope Clement XIV for a period of 41 years. In 1814, Pius VII restored the order.

[11] It is important to keep in mind here Casanovas' (2011) distinction between *the secular*, *secularization*, and *secularism* in order to not get lost in an ocean of interpretations about what is commonly called "secularization." He understands *the secular* as a modern category that opposes what is religious. The term, *secularization*, however, refers to a more institutional process of differentiation by which the state and the church draw a line between their distinct domains. The declining and privatization (Berger, 2014) of the religious corresponds to this European-centered idea of secularization. *Secularism*, though, refers to a movement in western societies towards advancing the isolation of the sacred in order to block its entrance into any normative-ideological state project. Taylor (2009), unsatisfied by

Gaudium et spes and *Lumen gentium,* both central constitutions of the Council, refer to such a new relationship with the world based on openness to change without compromising the Church's great tradition (Second Vatican Council, 1964, 1965). From a cultural and theological standpoint, the Church reshaped itself as a *World Church* (Faggioli, 2012), i.e., a church open to the world. This is especially true in Latin America, where in addition to the spirit of the major documents of the Second Vatican Council, liberation theology also introduced another way of viewing the role of the Catholic church (Gutiérrez, 1988).

In what follows, I attempt to give an answer to the changes that the Second Vatican Council era brought to the Catholic education system. I answer this question at three levels—on a global scale, within the context of Latin America, and in the United States. In the Latin American context, I incorporate the three countries involved in this study—Chile, Peru, and Bolivia. In using descriptive statistics of major trends, I attempt to give a broad picture so that in the next section, I can make sense of the reality of Jesuit schools at each level.

On a global scale.
Perhaps the most critical reaction to Vatican II came from conservative Catholics. Priests and religious men and women left a renovated Catholic church in the United States and Latin America following the Council. In addition, fewer men and women entered religious life or joined the priesthood. While the total number of priests in the world remained relatively steady from 1970 (419,728) to 2015 (415,656), the number of Catholics has doubled from 653,600,000 to 1,285,000,000 in that same timespan (Secretaria Status Rationarium Generale Ecclesiae, 1970). Such a change in numbers has impacted the organization of the church, especially with respect to its major apostolate, education (Casson, 2013; Convey & Youniss, 2000; Grace, 2002; Heft, 2011; Hunt & Kunkel, 1984).

On the global level, in the years following the Second Vatican Council, student enrollment and the number of schools at the primary and secondary levels changed in an inverse direction with respect to the number of religious personnel. As table 3.2 below shows, the number of institutions of both primary and secondary education increased between 1970-2015. Within this range, overall elementary schools increased in number from 89,112 to 95,644, despite a deep valley between 1970 and 2000. Secondary schools experienced incremental growth from 25,552 schools in 1970 to 47,415 in 2015, the number of institutions here almost doubling. In terms of enrollment, both primary and secondary institutions grew incrementally (except for primary schools between 1970-1980). In total, the number of primary and secondary schools combined increased 24.8% between 1970 and 2015, and enrollment increased 90%.

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this division, puts forth the idea that we are currently living in a secular age, regardless of some expressions of religious revival (Bell, 1977; Swidler, 2010). After reflecting upon the conditions of belief, experience and search, Taylor concludes that both secular and religious people are experiencing life within an immanent frame, a secular frame, where there is no role for the transcendent in understanding life and its complexities.

Table 3.2 *Student Enrollment, Primary and Secondary Catholic Schools, and Participation of Catholic Subsystem in the Educational System in the World: 1970-2015*

Year	Catholic Schools institutions (n)		Enrollment in Catholic Schools (n)		Enrollment in the world		Participation of Catholic Schools in the education system (%)	
	Primary	Secondary	Primary	Secondary	Primary	Secondary	Primary	Secondary
1970	89,112	25,552	20,396m	7,667m	166,412m	134,714m	12.3	5.7
1975	79,424	27,542	19,584m	9,522m	438,110m	165,964m	4.5	5.7
1980	75,454	29,637	20,661m	11,015m	466,314m	210,688m	4.4	5.2
1985	78,160	30,404	22,390m	12,066m	523,944m	194,939m	4.3	6.2
1990	78,548	31,200	24,145m	12,441m	553,000m	236,121m	4.4	5.3
1995	85,043	33,349	25,246m	13,232m	538,020m	311,232m	4.7	4.3
2000	89,457	35,559	26,097m	14,027m	481,660m	365,931m	5.4	3.8
2005	91,480	39,096	28,084m	16,232m	408,377m	369,171m	6.9	4.4
2010	92,847	43,591	31,151m	17,794m	646,041m	494,225m	4.8	3.6
2015	95,644	47,415	33,290m	20,016m	551,216m	420,645m	6.0	4.8

Note. Data of the enrollment in Catholic Schools was taken from the Official Catholic Directory years 1970 – 2015. Data of the enrollment in primary and secondary education in the world comes from the UNESCO Institute of Statistics (uis.unesco.org).

As we can see from this data, the decrease in the number of priests and religious personnel after the Second Vatican Council did not affect the commitment of the Catholic church to primary and secondary education at the global level. Even when one considers the participation of Catholic education in the national educational system, the children and youth who received education by the Catholic church in the world, excluding the year 1970, remains around 5%. Each year, 1 in 20 students in the world has been educated in a Catholic primary or secondary school since 1975.

The Latin American context.

In the case of Latin America between 1970 and 2015, both the number of schools and student enrollment increased almost every year in absolute terms, following the global trend. However, the growth was not as fast as the population growth of students attending formal education in general. Therefore, the participation of Catholic primary and secondary schools in the educational system at large decreased over time. As table 3.3 shows, the lowest student enrollment for primary education was at the beginning of the timeline used in this study: 3,029,470 students in year 1970. The highest point was in the year 2000, with a total of 5,096,913 students. In terms of participation in the educational system as a whole, the percentage of student enrollment has moved across a range that reaches a high of 8% in 1975 but dips to a low of 6.7% in 1995.

Table 3.3 *Student Enrollment in Primary and Secondary Catholic Schools and Participation of Catholic Subsystem in the Educational System in Latin America* (a)

Year	Enrollment in Catholic Schools (n)		Enrollment in Latin America (n)		Participation of Catholic Schools in the Latin American Educational system (%)	
	Primary	Secondary	Primary	Secondary	Primary	Secondary
1970	3,029,470	1,210,239	42,885,736	11,066,139	7.1	10.9
1975	3,919,355	1,853,656	49,197,293	19,092,641	8.0	9.7
1980	4,124,185	2,315,924	56,799,723	36,926,318	7.3	6.3
1985	4,515,555	2,491,804	61,314,680	29,286,991	7.4	8.5
1990	4,943,304	2,597,044	65,049,425	45,866,454	7.6	5.7
1995	4,758,518	2,665,090	71,344,428	50,670,198	6.7	5.3
2000	5,096,913	2,844,852	70,184,978	57,037,766	7.3	5.0
2005	4,828,703	2,716,796	69,074,409	58,891,932	7.0	4.6
2010	4,900,738	2,893,724	67,196,718	61,104,648	7.3	4.7
2015	4,521,900	3,297,398	65,580,643	63,089,783	6.9	5.2

Note. Data of the enrollment in Catholic Schools was taken from the Official Catholic Directory years 1970 – 2015. Data of the enrollment in the US comes from the UNESCO Institute of Statistics (uis.unesco.org).
(a) For Latin American I considering the countries of Mexico, Cuba, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Honduras, Guatemala, Belize, Panama, and all the countries in South America with the exception of Guyana, Suriname, and French Guiana.

In the case of secondary education, Table 3.4 also shows how from 1970 to 2015, student enrollment has almost tripled, from 1,210,233 to 3,297,398 total students attending Catholic schools. In contrast to the participation level in primary schools, the decline in the percentage of participation in the secondary educational system is even more visible here. In 1970, close to 1 in 10 students in Latin America was enrolled in a Catholic school. In 2015, that number has decreased to 1 in 20, even though the actual numbers have gone up.

Participation of Catholic education in secondary education is higher than in primary education for every country analyzed in almost every single year. There are countries where the participation of the Catholic schools in the national education system is especially high; strikingly, this is the case for the poorest countries in the sample. In Haiti in the 1970s, for example, the level of participation of Catholic schools was between 80% and 90%. In the 1990s and early 2000s, the number decreased to 30% to 40%, but is still the highest participation rate of any country in the data set. The lowest level of participation is in Cuba where it is less than 1%. However, statistics from Cuba only appear in the Catholic Directory in 1999.

For the countries involved in this study (Bolivia, Chile, and Peru), the data in Table 3.4 introduces interesting differences. In terms of total enrollment in Catholic primary schools, Bolivia is the only country that shows a sustained increase since 1970, its largest enrollment occurring in 2015 (358,355). Chile and Peru both present ebb and flow in the 45 years between 1970-2015, and neither country had their largest enrollment in 2015. In the case of Chile, the peak occurred in 2000 (366,415), and in Peru, 1990 (238,184). With respect to secondary schools, Chile and Bolivia present a continual increase since 1970, 2015 being the year with the largest enrollment— 183,015 in Bolivia, and 192,582 in Chile. Peru again shows it largest enrollment for secondary schools in 1990 (242,761).

The participation of the primary and secondary Catholic schools in these three countries' national educational systems also differs. Except for the year 1970, the participation in Chile has always been greater at the primary level. In 1970, less than 1 in 10 Chilean students went to a primary Catholic school, between 1990 and 2015, that ratio was around 1 in 5. The participation in the secondary system has been steady at around 10% of Chilean students attending Catholic secondary schools.

Table 3.4 *Student Enrollment in Primary and Secondary Catholic Schools in Bolivia, Chile, and Peru, and Participation of Catholic Subsystem in their Educational Systems*

Year	Country	Enrollment in Catholic Schools (n)		Participation of Catholic Schools in the Latin American Educational System (%)		Difference in participation
		Primary	Secondary	Primary	Secondary	
	Bolivia	38,121	21,541	6.3	13.5	7.2
1970	Chile	132,365	61,392	7.6	10.4	2.8
	Peru	208,769	81,811	8.9	15.0	6.1
	Bolivia	87,926	56,799	11.6	22.6	11
1975	Chile	301,280	100,783	15.9	11.9	-4
	Peru	184,294	129,482	6.5	15.9	9.4
	Bolivia	111,181	73,784	13.0	*	*
1980	Chile	248,064	129,111	14.1	13.3	-0.8
	Peru	175,509	134,089	5.6	11.1	5.5
	Bolivia	85,886	57,314	*	*	*
1985	Chile	256,544	92,307	16.1	8.1	-8
	Peru	214,161	196,387	5.8	13.8	8
	Bolivia	103,147	62,726	9.4	*	*
1990	Chile	286,808	141,984	18.0	12.7	-5.3
	Peru	238,184	242,761	6.2	14.3	8.1
	Bolivia	186,609	84,535	14.5	*	*
1995	Chile b	359,229	141,735	22.3	12.8	-9.5
	Peru	209,064	215,856	5.1	11.6	6.5
	Bolivia	221,063	112,794	15.1	14.1	-1
2000	Chile	366,415	148,621	20.4	10.7	-9.7
	Peru	197,804	227,317	4.6	9.6	5
	Bolivia	181,119	112,848	12.0	10.9	-1.1
2005	Chile	343,057	165,948	19.9	10.2	-9.7
	Peru	190,890	197,079	4.7	8.0	3.3
	Bolivia	346,896	161,478	24.3	15.3	-9
2010	Chile	341,057	172,991	22.1	11.4	-10.7
	Peru	225,885	190,616	6.0	7.1	1.1
	Bolivia	358,355	183,015	26.7	15.9	-10.8
2015	Chile	322,617	192,582	21.8	12.5	-9.3
	Peru	201,815	196,165	5.7	7.3	1.6

Note. Data of the enrollment in Catholic Schools was taken from the Official Catholic Directory years 1970 – 2015. Data of the enrollment in the US comes from the UNESCO Institute of Statistics (uis.unesco.org).
b Data for Chile was taken from year 1993, not 1995.
* No data provided in a period of four years.

The case of Peru is different from that of Chile, for every year in the series, the participation of Catholic schools in the Peruvian education system shows the secondary level enrollment surpassing that of the primary level. Enrollment in Catholic primary schools has always remained below 9% in Peru with respect to participation in the education system, most years remaining closer to 5%. At the secondary level, there is 10% participation until 1995. After that period, it

decreases from 9.6% in 2000 to 7.3% in 2015. Between 1970-2015, participation at the secondary level for Catholic schools in Peru decreased by half (15% to 7.3%).

Until 1990, secondary schools in Bolivia shared more participation in the educational system than primary schools. Participation at the primary level in Bolivia skyrocketed from 6.3% in 1970 to 26.7% in 2015. By 2015, 1 in 4 primary school students were attending a Catholic school. Secondary education has remained steady between 12% and 15% every year of the series, except for 1975 (22.6%) and 2005 (10.9%).

The United States context.

In the United States since the Second Vatican Council, there has been a decrease in the total number of students at both the primary and secondary levels. Between 1970 and 2015, primary enrollment decreased by 41% and secondary by 58%, and 2015 marked the lowest enrollment for both levels. In the interim, the enrollment in the United States education system grew but with differences between primary and secondary schools. In the case of primary education, participation increased until the year 2000, when it plateaued around 23 million students. In the case of secondary schools, the increase stopped in 2005 and the enrollment, as was true for the primary school level, has remained steady since then, totaling about 24 million students.

In terms of participation of the Catholic schools in the overall educational system, this has decreased for both levels consistently in the U.S. In 1970, 3 in 20 primary students in the United States went to a Catholic school. In 2015, the lowest point in the series, only 1 in 20 attended a Catholic school. Following the same trend, secondary Catholic schools decreased their shared participation in the system, dropping from 4.9% of the enrollment in 1970 to 2.4% (the lowest) in 2015.

Table 3.5 *Participation of the Catholic School Subsystem in the US Educational System*

Year	Enrollment in Catholic Schools (n)		Enrollment in the US (n)		Participation of Catholic Schools in the US educational system (%)	
	Primary	Secondary	Primary	Secondary	Primary	Secondary
1970	3,359,000	1,008,000	22,037,000	20,593,000	15.2	4.9
1975	2,594,000	898,000	20,613,000	21,656,000	12.6	4.1
1980	2,293,000	846,000	20,681,000	22,301,000	11.1	3.8
1985	2,120,000	782,000	19,869,000	20,747,000	10.7	3.8
1990	1,983,000	606,000	22,279,000	19,276,000	8.9	3.1
1995	2,003,996	614,571	23,823,662	21,122,633	8.4	2.9
2000	2,013,084	639,954	24,973,176	22,593,562	8.1	2.8
2005	1,779,638	640,952	24,454,602	24,431,934	7.3	2.6
2010	1,507,618	611,723	24,393,002	24,192,786	6.2	2.5
2015	1,359,969	579,605	24,785,697	24,229,777	5.5	2.4

Note. Data of the enrollment in Catholic Schools was taken from the Official Catholic Directory years 1970 – 2015. Data of the enrollment in the US comes from the UNESCO Institute of Statistics (uis.unesco.org).

It is important to remember here the proportion of Catholics in the U.S. context and also the impossibility within this study of presenting the data by states or regions given the limitations of the data set.

In comparing the United States and Latin America (see table 3.6), it is worth noting that participation shows great similarity in the trends over the years. When we aggregate the data from primary and secondary schools and compare the shared participation in their respective educational

systems, both subsystems behave very similarly with the exception of the first and last years in the series. In other words, in 1970 the United States' Catholic K-12 schools shared more participation in the educational system than Latin America's Catholic K-12 schools: 10.2% and 7.9%, respectively. In 2015, the trend is reversed: Catholic schools in Latin America shared more participation in the aggregated educational systems of the region than the Catholic schools in the United States: 6.1% to 4%.

Table 3.6 *Total K-12 Student Enrollment in Catholic Education and Participation in the Educational System United States and Latin America*

Year	Region	Student Enrollment in Catholic Schools (n)	Student Enrollment in the region (n)	participation (%)	Difference between Latam and US
1970	Latin America	4,239,709	53,951,875	7.9	-2.3
	United States	4,367,000	42,630,000	10.2	
1975	Latin America	5,773,011	68,289,934	8.5	0.2
	United States	3,492,000	42,269,000	8.3	
1980	Latin America	6,440,109	93,726,041	6.9	-0.4
	United States	3,139,000	42,982,000	7.3	
1985	Latin America	7,007,359	90,601,671	7.7	0.6
	United States	2,902,000	40,616,000	7.1	
1990	Latin America	7,540,348	110,915,880	6.8	0.6
	United States	2,589,000	41,555,000	6.2	
1995	Latin America	7,423,608	122,014,627	6.1	0.3
	United States	2,618,567	44,946,295	5.8	
2000	Latin America	7,941,765	127,222,744	6.2	0.6
	United States	2,653,038	47,566,738	5.6	
2005	Latin America	7,545,499	127,966,341	5.9	0.9
	United States	2,420,590	48,886,536	5.0	
2010	Latin America	7,794,462	128,301,366	6.1	1.7
	United States	2,119,341	48,585,788	4.4	
2015	Latin America	7,819,298	128,670,426	6.1	2.1
	United States	1,939,574	49,015,474	4.0	

At the end of this section, we return to the question posed at the beginning: did the Second Vatican Council and the era in which it unfolded bring about any changes to the Catholic education system? The answer is *yes*, but this *yes* resounds differently in different regions of the world. As mentioned, the departure of many religious men and women, as well as the increasingly secularized context, shook the Church and its institutions, which is evidenced by the decrease in the number of Catholic educational institutions, student enrollment, and participation in the larger national educational systems in which the Catholic schools are subsystems.

As table 3.7 shows, the effect of the Second Vatican Council is seen at varying levels. On a global scale, the changes are at the level of participation in both primary and secondary education. In the Latin American context, the impact is also at the level of participation, but only within secondary education. In the U.S. context, the impact is at all of these levels, i.e., there was a decrease in the number of schools, lower student enrollment, and less participation in the U.S.

educational system overall. In Bolivia and Chile, there is no impact at any level, and in Peru, there is a clear impact on participation.

Table 3.7 *Changes of Second Vatican Council Era in the Catholic Education Systems Between 1970 - 2015*

Scale	Number of institutions		Student Enrollment		Participation in educational system	
	Primary	Secondary	Primary	Secondary	Primary	Secondary
Global	↑	↑	↑	↑	↓	↓
Latin America	↑	↑	↑	↑	=	↓
United States	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓	↓
Bolivia	↑	↑	↑	↑	↑	=
Chile	↑	↑	↑	↑	↑	=
Peru	=	↑	=	↑	↓	↓

Jesuits Leaving the Classroom: Where, When, and Why [12]

The fifteen years that followed the Second Vatican Council show an increasing detachment of the Jesuits from the classroom, but not from education. Fewer Jesuits were both prepared and missioned to be teachers. Although student enrollment in the Jesuit high schools of the provinces of this study had never been as high as they are currently in 2017 (see table 3.8), that does not mean that Jesuits were isolated from or unaffected by the changes experienced within the Catholic church before, during, and after Vatican II (McDonough & Bianchi, 2002).

The statistics below serve the purpose of explaining an organizational change that reshaped the educational apostolate of the Jesuit order. First, I present descriptive statistics related to the level of commitment of the different Jesuit provinces to missioning Jesuits as classroom teachers. I then present data on the composition of the faculty so as to analyze the representation of Jesuit teachers across the years by high schools, aggregated by province. Thirdly, I present some data on the student/Jesuit instructor ratio. Fourth and finally, I present a case so as to why one can say the educational character of the Jesuit order has started to disappear.

Table 3.8 *Student Enrollment in Jesuit High Schools*

	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	2010	2017
Bolivia	1,301	2,150	3,414	4,275	5,601	5,721	5,525	6,334
Chile	4,591	8,509	9,644	10,432	9,768	10,392	10,716	10,883
Peru	945	2,804	4,403	5,404	6,382	7,359	6,904	7,200
California	2,419	6,004	8,075	7,181	7,281	8,446	7,959	9,469
Maryland	2,649	8,222	4,154	3,778	4,150	4,407	5,463	5,652
New England	2,746	3,557	3,421	2,480	2,967	2,426	3,416	3,097
New Orleans	1,391	10,546	8,662	7,148	4,350	5,719	4,869	5,312
New York	4,497	8,132	6,475(a)	4,818	5,709	5,155	6,136	6,467
Oregon	1,067	7,235	4,834	5,081	3,560	3,683	3,892	4,760

Note. Data of the enrollment in Jesuit High Schools was taken from the Catalogues of the Jesuit Order.
a. The catalogues of the New York province do not show enrollment data between1965 and 1975, so I present the number here comes from the average from years 1960 and 1980.

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[12] In this section, every time I refer to countries (or states in the case of the US), I will be referring to the Jesuit provinces that carried those same names. If I use the name in the sense of a country and not a province, I will indicate so.

Table 3.9 below shows the percentage of Jesuits who were missioned to teach (partially or full time) in high schools between 1950 and 2017 for each of the provinces in the study. In 1950, Bolivia and Chile had half or more of their priests and brothers dedicated to being classroom teachers. In Peru, California, and Maryland, Jesuits missioned to be classroom teachers were between 27% and 35% that same year. All the rest of the provinces in 1950—New England, New Orleans, New York, and Oregon—each had less than one out of five Jesuits working as classroom teachers on a partial or full time basis.

Between 1960 and 1970, the decade in which Vatican II occurred, there is a distinctly large decrease in the numbers of Jesuits missioned to classroom teaching in Bolivia (27% in 1960 from 55.5% in 1950). In Chile, Peru, and Maryland, there is also a decrease, but it is less substantial: from 49.6% to 47.8% in Chile, 27.8% to 26.9% in Peru, and from 35.3% to 30% in Maryland. In contrast, California, New England, New Orleans, New York, and Oregon missioned more Jesuits to high schools than in 1950.

Table 3.9 *% of Jesuits Missioned to Secondary Education as Classroom Teachers Out of the Total Jesuits Subjected to be Missioned in the Province*

	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	2010	2017
Bolivia	55.5	27.1	28.2	7.4	12.1	6.4	0	1.3
Chile	49.6	47.8	36.5	23.7	28.5	15.7	6.3	4.1
Peru	27.8	26.9	18.9	5.8	2.8	9.2	3.1	0
California	24.3	26.3	23.6	16.6	14.9	13.9	6.6	7.7
Maryland	35.3	30	20.9	11.4	10.9	8.7	5.5	5.4
New England	15.0	15.9	30.1	23.8	21.8	4.3	5.1	0.6
New Orleans	17.6	27.7	20.2	17.3	13.6	10.8	11.4	10
New York	17.5	20.4	16.4	11.8	9.6	7.8	5.4	3.8
Oregon	15.6	31.7	23.3	9.8	4.1	4.9	8.9	9.0

Note. Data of the enrollment in Jesuit High Schools was taken from the Catalogues of the Jesuit Order.

In 1980, all the provinces (except New Orleans and New England) show a serious decrease in the number of Jesuits missioned to classroom teaching. From then on, every province but New Orleans shows a consistent decrease; there are certain years when not a single member of the province was sent to a classroom, as in the case of Bolivia in 2010 or Peru in 2017. At the same time, student enrollment (as table 3.9 shows) skyrocketed in many of the provinces. Jesuits exited the classrooms that were being filled with more and more students.

A second way to observe the actual presence of Jesuits teaching is by looking at the proportion of Jesuits teachers within the entire faculty. By considering the percentages in Table 3.10, it is possible to see that at the beginning of the series in 1950, all the U.S. provinces had more Jesuit teachers than lay teachers in the provinces' schools. In that same year in Bolivia, Chile, and Peru, more than half of the teachers were lay men or women. After 1960, the situation started to shift. Only California and New England showed more than half of the faculty of their schools to be Jesuit teachers, and only New England retained a proportion larger than half (57.5%) or close to half (44.9%) in the two following decades. By 1980, the Jesuits working as teachers in the three Latin American provinces made up less than 10% of the faculty. This marker of the decreasing presence of Jesuits in the classroom is reached by all of the U.S. provinces but California two decades later, in the year 2000.

Table 3.10 *% of Jesuit Classroom Teachers Out of the Total Teachers in the School*

	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	2010	2017
Bolivia	44.4	62.2	22.2	3.7	3.0	1.9	0.0	0.3
Chile	38.1	23.8	12.1	6.6	7.6	3.9	1.0	0.5
Peruu	48.8	34.4	26.5	5.8	3.3	4.1	0.9	0.0
California	66.7	55.7	40.6	22.9	15.6	10.1	3.5	1.9
Maryland	65.9	37.9	44.8	24.7	14.8	7.6	2.8	1.7
New England	66.9	67.3	57.5	44.9	19.8	7.5	4.1	0.3
New Orleans	73.0	22.4	17.1	11.9	9.8	4.8	3.6	2.5
New York	53.9	45.8	38.4	30.9	15.0	7.2	2.6	2.2
Oregon	83.7	40.2	41.7	10.9	5.0	3.1	3.7	1.5

A third way of observing the change in the Jesuit commitment to classroom teaching is to consider the ratio between students and Jesuit teachers within the schools. As table 3.11 shows, in 1950 all provinces were below 100 students for every Jesuit teacher in the school. This does not mean that each Jesuit taught that number of students, but only that there was one Jesuit teacher within the school for well under every 100 students. That ratio was broken in the subsequent years by all provinces in the study: 1960 in Chile (1/133) and New Orleans (1/133); 1970 in Bolivia (1/122) and Peru (1/417); 1980 in Oregon (1/159); 1990 in California (1/117); and 2000 in Maryland (1/152), New England (1/187), and New York (1/172).

A fourth way to observe the change in the commitment of the Society to classroom teaching is simple but concrete, i.e., to consider when information on a Jesuit's teaching experience stopped being recorded in official province records. Historically, one of the signature missions of the Jesuits was the educational apostolate, especially classroom teaching. To teach was not only a function of the Jesuits but an aspect that constituted the character of both an individual Jesuit and the Society as a whole. The importance of education was attested to by the simple but significant reality that in the catalogues of the Jesuit order, the name of every Jesuit was listed alongside the years of *magisterium* (or teaching) in which he had been engaged since his entrance into the order. This practice disappeared in all of the provinces included in this study, somewhere in the 1950s in the U.S. and in subsequent decades in Latin America. By 1960, no Jesuit in a U.S. province is listed with his years as a teacher printed next to his name. A decade later, this happened in Peru, and by 1980, no Jesuit in Bolivia or Chile was listed with his years of *magisterium*.

Table 3.11 *Ratio of Student / Jesuits Classroom Teachers*

	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	2010	2017
Bolivia	65	77	122	534	509	954	5,525	6,334
Chile	82	133	210	373	264	495	1,531	2,721
Peru	47	67	147	450	912	491	1,726	7,200
California	27	51	63	90	117	162	398	557
Maryland	32	76	42	71	92	152	390	565
New England	30	32	28	35	72	187	285	3,097
New Orleans	26	133	124	132	132	260	304	443
New York	38	53	53	55	97	172	409	497
Oregon	26	70	53	159	297	335	243	529

Note. Data of the enrollment in Jesuit High Schools was taken from the Catalogues of the Jesuit Order.

In the two figures below, there are excerpts from Jesuit catalogues that demonstrate the aforementioned practice. In figure 3.1, from Colegio La Inmaculada in Lima, Peru in 1950, the first name listed is the superior of the community. The second name is Fr. Antonio Alonso, who is presented along with the following information: he was the minister (or manager) of the community, the one who did the food shopping, the one in charge of the spiritual care of students, a teacher of religion to those in their first, second, and third years in high school, and, what is most important for my purposes, Fr. Alonso has been a teacher for 5 years (5 *magist.*).

Figure 3.1 Example of a page of a catalogue listing Jesuits and the years they have been assigned as classroom teachers. The caption is from the catalogue of the Peruvian Jesuit province in 1950 (formerly Toletana province).

In figure 3.2, Jesuit members of Georgetown Preparatory School from 1940 are listed. The fourth name is Fr. Gregory Kiehne, who was a teacher of physics and math. He was a confessor for students and examiner of new candidates to the Society of Jesus. But again, it is clear that Fr. Gregory has spent, by 1940, 14 years as a teacher (14 *mag.*)

In sum, the years before, during, and after the Second Vatican Council had a negative effect on the Jesuit order's commitment to classroom teaching, but a positive one on their commitment in general to K-12 schools. It is true that Jesuits were less and less a part of school faculties in almost all of the provinces. However, it is also true that Jesuits created more schools and, in many cases, increased enrollment. Fewer men entering the order, Jesuits leaving the Society, Jesuits dying, and the emergence of new apostolates all help to explain why the provincials of these provinces decided to mission fewer and fewer Jesuits to be classroom teachers, even though more schools were being founded.
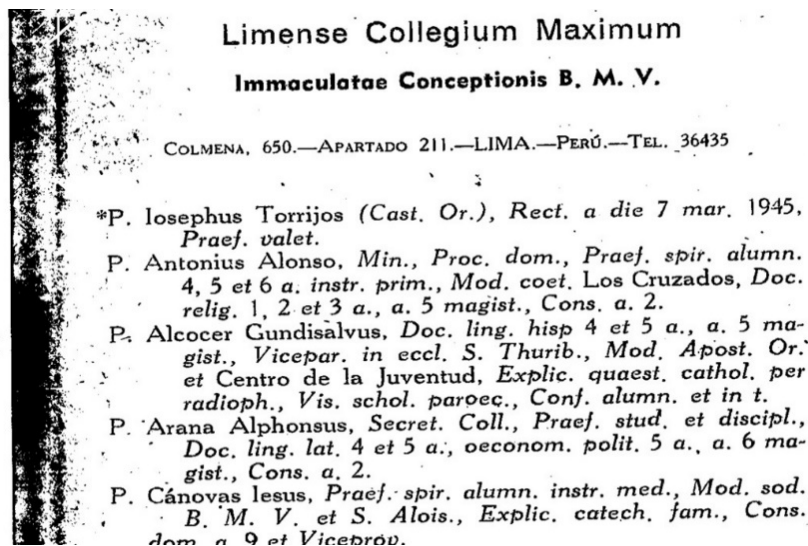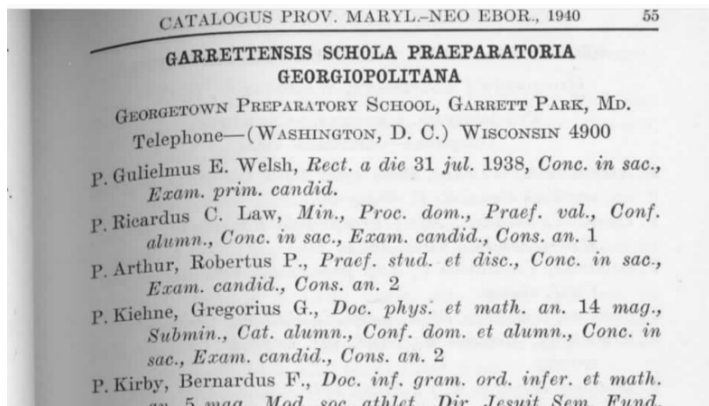
Figure 3.2 Example of a page of a catalogue listing Jesuits and the years they have been assigned as classroom teachers. The caption is from the catalogue of the Maryland Jesuit province in 1940.

It must be noted, though, how the short term (1950-1970) and the long term (1950-2017) tell different stories (as displayed in table 3.12). When it comes to student enrollment in Jesuit schools, both the short and long term show the same pattern of increase. However, when it comes to the commitment of the provinces to send Jesuit teachers to the classroom, the long terms show that commitment diminished over the years, whereas the short term shows that three provinces (California, New Orleans, and New York) kept their commitment intact, and New England even increased its commitment. Lay teachers increased in presence in all of the schools in each province, both in the short and the long term. Finally, the ratio of Jesuit teacher to student, given the 100 students per Jesuit teacher threshold mentioned above, differs depending on the term. While in the long term, all the schools aggregated by provinces show a decrease in the ratio, only the Latin American and Maryland provinces show a decrease in the short term.

Table 3.12 *Changes in Jesuit Schools in the Short and Long Term Since 1950*

	1950 – 1970				1950 – 2017			
	Stud. Enroll	Jesuit teachers	Lay teachers	Ratio Jesuit / Student	Student Enroll.	Jesuit teachers	Lay teachers	Ratio Jesuit / Student
Bolivia	↑	↓	↑	↓	↑	↓	↑	↓
Chile	↑	↓	↑	↓	↑	↓	↑	↓
Peru	↑	↓	↑	↓	↑	↓	↑	↓
California	↑	=	↑	=	↑	↓	↑	↓
Maryland	↑	↓	↑	=	↑	↓	↑	↓
New England	↑	↑	↑	=	↑	↓	↑	↓
New Orleans	↑	=	↑	↓	↑	↓	↑	↓
New York	↑	=	↑	=	↑	↓	↑	↓
Oregon	↑	↑	↑	=	↑	↓	↑	↓

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These trends might be well explained in two different ways, besides the most important about the declining in religious vocations. One is the changing pattern in the formation of the Jesuits, and the other, the emergence of new collaborators in Jesuit high schools.

Regarding the changing in formation, it is noticeable that until the years before the Second Vatican Council, the Jesuits used a set of rules called the *Summary of the Rules of the Society of Jesus* (Society of Jesus, 1929). Rule number 42, as Gustave Weigel (Weigel, 1957) points out, asks Jesuits to be as similar as they can be to the other Jesuits around them, even to the point of having the same thoughts. The curriculum of studies in the Jesuit order, the *Ratio Studiorum,* encouraged to some extent the possibility for Jesuits to be similar to one another.

This typical pattern of associating formation of the Jesuits and the order so closely involved in education, progressively disappeared from the formation of the Jesuits. The difference between the teaching requirements of state and federal governments, and the requirements of private schools like those of the Jesuits make the formation of Jesuit teachers within the order somewhat difficult, especially in those provinces (mostly in Latin America), where Jesuits did not have universities where scholastics could be credentialed for teaching. Jesuits needed to go outside the walls of Jesuit formation houses in order to become ready to be teachers.

In reviewing a series of yearbooks from a high school in Boston with a Jesuit priest who had worked in that school for many years, it was revealing to see how the pages dedicated to the faculty became more colorful over time. This was not just because color printing became more common. Black robes, black suits, and black collared shirts were gradually replaced with colored ties and suits, and even dresses. A new type of teacher was reshaping the faculty body. Fewer and fewer Jesuit priests and brothers who lived together in religious communities created an opening for lay women and men to teach in Jesuit institutions. These lay teachers had the responsibility of providing time and resources to their own families, and unlike their priest colleagues, they did not live in the school.

Lay teachers, as table 3.13 shows, became more than half of the school faculty by 1950 in Chile, Peru, and Bolivia. The same is the case for all the provinces of the United States in 1980. By 1990, all the provinces have schools with more than 80% lay faculty, and by 2010, more than 95%. Almost every teacher in a Jesuit school today is a lay woman or man.

Consequently, fewer Jesuits were trained to be teachers, and new collaborators had to arrive in order to support the commitment to create more schools and for those schools to grow. A new type of teacher began to work in Jesuits schools, and with fewer Jesuits being missioned as teachers, the Jesuit order gradually lost one of its main characteristics: to be a teaching order.

Table 3.13 *% of Lay Classroom Teachers Out of the Total Teachers in the School*

	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	2010	2017
Bolivia	55.6	37.8	77.8	96.3	97.0	98.1	100.0	99.7
Chile	61.9	76.2	87.9	93.4	92.4	96.1	99.0	99.5
Peru	51.2	65.6	73.5	94.2	96.7	95.9	99.1	100.0
California	33.3	44.3	59.4	77.1	84.4	89.9	96.5	98.1
Maryland	34.1	62.1	55.2	75.3	85.2	92.4	97.2	98.3
New England	33.1	32.7	42.5	55.1	80.2	92.5	95.9	99.7
New Orleans	27.0	77.6	82.9	88.1	90.2	95.2	96.4	97.5
New York	46.1	54.2	62.1	69.1	85.0	92.8	97.4	97.8
Oregon	16.3	59.8	58.3	89.1	95.0	96.9	96.3	98.5

Note. Data of the enrollment in Jesuit High Schools was taken from the Catalogues of the Jesuit Order.

Conclusion

In the process of setting the context for the study, a few important findings emerged. Those findings speak to the larger context of Catholic secondary education in the places where the study took place, but they also speak to the world and milieu of Jesuit education in which the study unfolded.

At a global scale, the decrease in the number of priests and religious personnel after the Second Vatican Council did not affect the commitment of the Catholic church in primary or secondary education. However, in Latin America and the United States the shrinking numbers of religious men and women did affect negatively the traditional commitment of the church. There is less shared participation of the Latin American Catholic secondary schools in the educational systems in the region. In the case of the United States, in addition to decreased participation, there was also lower enrollment in Catholic secondary schools after the Second Vatican Council, and a fewer number of Catholic secondary schools in general, which was not the case in Latin America.

In this same period, it is noticeable that fewer and fewer Jesuits became schoolteachers. This exodus from the classrooms is proof of a religious order that was losing its teaching character, an animating character that had been established and maintained for centuries. Thus, this prompted a change in the institution of the Jesuit order, Jesuit formation, and the organizational arrangements of the Jesuit high school. Such loss of character, however, did not seem to translate to a low commitment. Quite the contrary, between 1950-2016 the Society of Jesus in the United States and Latin America saw more students and more schools than never before. Less Jesuits in the classroom created the space and the need for lay teachers to enter, which they have in large numbers since the 1970, to work in Jesuit high schools.

Chapter 4: The Meaning of Work

Introduction

      This chapter uses evidence from 93 teachers from the two geographical settings (the US and Latin America), the two professional statuses (priest and lay), and the three time periods of their work (before 1965, between 1965 and 1990, and between 1990 and 2016), which makes up the body of interview data. These teachers all work in well-resourced schools where most material needs are met and where most students come from families of higher social, cultural, and economic capital. In many cases, salary is not the teachers' primary concern. These are teachers whose meanings of work are found in contexts where material resources abound. Here, I present the findings of the meanings teachers elaborate about the work they do in contexts like those previously described in Chapter 3.

      All the meanings of work I uncover here are founded on a common understanding of education as formation, and in these cases, the teachers understand and express their role as that of a formator. At the outset of this chapter, I provide an explanation of what is meant here by education as formation, and I elaborate on why it is so central to the teachers in this study. I subsequently explain each of the sources of the meaning of teachers' work, relying on the teachers' narratives and end by discussing the results with a focus on the comparisons among different types of teachers in the study.

Education as Formation

      For the teachers who participated in this study, to teach is to form whole persons, beyond just the realm of academic or intellectual formation. The basic idea here is that education of youth should encompass the totality of the human person. For these teachers, all dimensions of the human being should be reflected in the education of youth. "You always like to see the kids growing emotionally," an American math teacher and priest with over 30 years of experience comments, "you want to see them growing socially. You want to see them growing spiritually" (priest_usa_ucs). [13] Likewise, a lay Bolivian History teacher shared that the work of a teacher is "not only the part of 'education' but the whole 'formation'" (lay_bol). Teachers have often assumed that formation is distinct from education based on how the former covers more than just the intellectual development of the student and moves into the social, psychological, spiritual, sexual, and moral dimensions of the person.

      Education has often been framed within schooling. Such a process, particularly mass public schooling, has left some dimensions of the person outside of the influence of education (Freire, 1970). A few potential reasons for this development are laws regarding the separation of church and state, a focus on the preparation of a labor market of students with limited resources, and / or the embracing of philosophies of schooling that believe that the education of certain dimensions of the human being must be reserved for spaces other than the high school, such as the family or the church.

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[13] After each excerpt from the narratives, the professional status, the country, and the Jesuit province in which the teacher is or was teaching will be indicated in between parenthesis. For all those in the United States, the name of the province (ucs=United States Central and Southern province, formerly Missouri and New Orleans provinces until 2017; une=United States Northeast province, formerly New York and New England provinces until 2015; mar=Maryland province; uwe=United States West province, formerly California and Oregon provinces) followed by usa. In the case of the Latin Americans, the province name is the same as the country's name (bol=Bolivia; chi=Chile; per=Peru), so it follows the professional status.

A clear majority of the teachers studied here referred to what they do—the actual content of their work—as formation, which goes beyond simply providing information, the arena to which education has been constrained. Formation is a more comprehensive concept that embraces (or aims to embrace) all dimensions of the human person. Teachers see this distinction operating not only between two types of high school experience, for instance a public, secular context and a Catholic, religious one, but also between high school education and education in the college setting. One lay American English teacher comments, "I recognize…that what we're doing here, and I'm a small part of this, is that we're forming people… In college, it's more about information. It says, you get this, you learn that. In high school, it's more about formation…we are taking boys and forming them into men" (lay_usa_uwe). Another American teacher, a priest who teaches history, reflects that as an instructor, "You come to realize that the real solid rock bottom formation of these kids takes place in high school, at that age. Even when you get to college, you can deal with them, but they're pretty well set in their thinking" (priest_usa_une).

The idea of formation does not exclude the academic dimension. Indeed, teachers acknowledge a hierarchy amongst the aspects of formation in a Catholic school. As one American priest and Spanish teacher names it:

> "It is not a daycare center. It is a high school. So you have got the academic part of it. If it is going to be a high school, it has to have the academic part…that is primary in my estimation. Then after that, not that there is any contradiction in this…would be the other parts. Now we are a Catholic high school, yeah. So, you certainly have the religious component. We are also dealing with teenagers, so you have the problems of loneliness, the problems with being accepted" (priest_usa_ucs).

Putting aside the question of whether a college education is only about the transferal of information, the teachers in the study consider high school as a precious time and place where youth can be formed or form themselves from children into adults in all dimensions. However, to cover all dimensions of students in a time as highly sensitive as high school is not enough. The way in which those dimensions are addressed is also relevant. The formation process must be motivated by affection and love. As one of the teachers mentions, "being a high school teacher, you have to, number one, love to teach and to love the subject you're teaching. But most of all, you have to love the students you're teaching" (priest_usa_une).

Those teachers in the study who have worked in non-religious high schools in the public or private sectors mention that religious high schools provide room for a thoroughly formative journey to take place. It is in religious high schools where a teacher can teach in this holistic sense to which they refer. As one teacher reflects,

> "It's that formation side…I would lose that if I went to higher education. When I considered moving to a different school, it was a different high school. Independent, so not affiliated with a religious order. It's private but not religious…I would have gained a little bit in terms of the intellectual and the academic side of things, but I would have lost the formation side of teaching in high school" (lay_usa_uwe).

Some teachers, especially in the US context, say that the lens of education as a journey of formation journey is not just a religious / non-religious question but more a matter between the Jesuit / non-Jesuit high school contexts. Jesuit schools often provide teachers space for formation.

One teacher reflects on this vis-à-vis the overall time students spend in a Jesuit high school compared to that of a public school. "One of the realities about working in Jesuit schools is kids do tend to spend perhaps a lot more time here in school, both before school and after school, than might be the case in a number of other kinds of larger public schools and so on. I imagine when the bell rings, a good chunk of the students just disappear [in larger public schools]" (priest_usa_une).

Formation must cover all dimensions of a student's life, but is directed, in the case of these teachers, toward the humanization of the person, i.e., to make students increasingly sensitive human beings to the needs and suffering of the world. As those entrusted with Jesuit education at the highest levels of the Society's governance have declared, formation is not just about competence, but is also equally focused on conscience, commitment, and compassion (Kolvenbach, 1993).

The idea of forming people, as examined in the previous chapter, finds its grounding in Jesuit formation, as Jesuits are to be formed in arts, letters, piety, and service to others in need. This historical precedent has accompanied the reflection of what it means to be a teacher in a Jesuit school and the subsequent expectations of such Jesuit educators. As one Superior General of the Society wrote to those working in North American Jesuit high schools in the 1970s, "We should pursue and intensify the work of formation in every sphere of education…We must help prepare both young people and adults to live and labor for others and with others to build a more just world" (Arrupe, 1979).

This deeply inculcated sense of being educators who see formation as the cornerstone of what they do emerges in these teachers, not only from their own choices and personal characteristics, but also from an organization that similarly promotes the formation of human persons through schooling as one of its key missions. To form, and not just to educate, is the goal of this group of teachers. It is with that backdrop that they structure and understand the meanings of their work.

Finding meaning in others

Teachers tend to find meaning in their work when they live their lives with regard to the other. Their own sense of self is impacted by others, especially their students. For these teachers, the shortcomings of their work do not separate them from students and what happens in the classroom, which is a significant source of meaning in their work. As one American priest who teaches Spanish comments, "I loved it. Again, what saves you, and I'll tell you what keeps you, it's those kids. They are vitamin D. Do you know where vitamin D comes from? The sun. Sunlight. So, they are ... those children are... especially for old people, they're just like sunshine. They don't know it, but they are Vitamin D" (priest_usa_ucs). In similar terms, a lay Bolivian art teacher notes, "I love to work with young people because it fulfills me, it fulfills my life. Many times, even in the darkest moments, to see the kids, the youth, it has always cheered me up … always" (lay_bol). Life is fulfilling when students are around. And it is probably through this sense of fulfillment that some teachers feel at home around students, at times sharing with them their own most difficult moments. One lay American chemistry teacher disclosed,

> "About four years ago, right before finals, my mom who lived in Albuquerque with my father, passed away very suddenly from a massive heart attack. And it happened on a Saturday. I left in the middle of the night to go be with my dad. We called people on Sunday, to tell them what happened. And the funeral was the next week. My principal

called me up, and said, you know it's right before finals, 'You stay in Albuquerque.', and I said 'No. I need to come back. Just for one day, but I need to come back.' And so, I came back and taught them Monday and I left again because finals had started. But I came back on Monday and I talked to my kids about it. And I said, you know, pretty much in all the classes I started with: 'This sucks. This just sucks.' But I told them, I said, you know, 'Here's how I'm dealing with this. But someday you're going to be in my shoes. And you're going to have to take care of a parent who passed away, and a grieving parent also'" (lay_usa_ucs).

Many teachers highlight the fact that their work puts them in close contact with young people, which fills them with joy, and at the same time leaves them in a tricky position with regard to their ability to be effective formators for the students.

To work as a teacher is often to work without seeing the fruits of one's work. Teachers, generally speaking, do not see the fruits of their labor. Many respondents mentioned that they see the progress much later in the life of the students, when and if they return to the school after graduation. As one Chilean priest and history teacher reflects,

> "I think a teacher has to be a very free person in his job. You cannot teach to see a later fruit, because, especially in the formative aspect, I can follow how an alumnus is doing in the university, how he is doing in life, but if I'm looking to form a person in another deeper sense, I cannot see the fruits, in fact, not even the students themselves recognize the fruits that they have received from the formation that we gave to them..." (priest_chi).

Another priest, a Peruvian teacher of Spanish reflects along the same line:

> "Look, to be a teacher is a bit of an unappreciated task, a bit unappreciated because you do not see the fruits immediately, but at the same time it is satisfying because you meet with alumni who have made it in life and who thank you, who invite you to celebrate 40 years, 30 years after their graduation, and who are all so grateful. You cannot enter into this unappreciated routine because you expect to see the fruits immediately, but at the same time it is satisfying because you find these gestures, people who have already finished school and thank you and acknowledge the good they have received from you" (priest_per).

Besides the fact that they do not see the fruits of their labor, these teachers also find their work manageable and life-giving when they understand, as one lay Chilean history teacher illustrates, that "you are a part of the whole. You are a gear in a machine. You are one more instrument in the emotional and personal growth of the student. You are an important part, not of the institution, but of the person, the student for whom you are there" (lay_chi). This is to understand, in other words, that

> "My particular thing in our community isn't necessarily the most important thing in this kid's life. It probably isn't the most important thing in this kid's life and that's okay. That doesn't demean what I'm trying to accomplish specifically with math or the role I play with them. Math just might be the only reason we're face to face. But because we're face to face, I have the opportunity to play a different role, potentially, that's more important in the formation of the student in front of me" (lay_usa_uwe).

This is a way of taking on the work that has given these teachers satisfaction and joy. However, all of these teachers have worked between 10-55 years, and none of them said that the feeling of fulfillment had been there since their first hour in school. As one American priest theology teacher says, "When I started, somebody once told me it takes ten years to be a good teacher. And it took me about ten years. I thought the day when walking into their classroom is like walking into any other room, like walking into my bed room, in my office, when it's that comfortable, then I know I'm there as a teacher. And so that day came" (priest_usa_uwe).

The sense of self is impacted by relationships both with individuals and within communities. In what follows, I introduce how the teachers in the study construct meaning through their relationships with both students and the broader society. I make a distinction here between students who are assumed to be agents from those who are believed to be objects of their formation, and between a relationship with society in the abstract and in a face-to-face fashion.

Students as recipients and as agents

There are two basic ways in which teachers in this study understand their work vis-à-vis their students. There is a first group composed of what I call active teachers, and they work with the belief that they teach passive students. There is a second group who also consider themselves active teachers, however, they work under the assumption that their students are also active in the learning process. Different meanings arise from these two types of understandings of the teacher-student relationship.

The first group of teachers expresses the meaning of their work as being protagonists in the formation of their students. As it happens in a play, the protagonist or main character is the one in whom the dramatic tension is focused. In the case here, formation is understood through the role that the teachers play in their students' process of self-discovery. There is no evidence of selfishness on the part of the teachers who understand themselves as the protagonist, quite the contrary, actually. These teachers are still quite selfless in serving students, but they are attached to the idea that they are key in their students' growth. This mindset is expressed in their narratives as they associate their work to verbs such as model, influence, shape, create, spark, ignite, and build. Using this building analogy, one lay Peruvian art teacher exemplifies what the work has meant for her after 18 years of practice:

> "The formation of the kids is like a building, a building that is about to be built, that is in the process of being built. It is like the essence, the inner structure of the person that is being built and that is influenced by different factors. Of course, the family, but it also is in need of some role models that help to create the fabric of the person… like the beams of what a person comes to be" (lay_per).

There noticeably connotes that teachers' work occurs in relationship with someone who is incomplete, someone who lacks foundation. The role of a teacher in the formation process is therefore to be like a builder who constructs the building. It is not only that the student is incomplete, "from zero if you want to put it there, starting off at the tabula rasa" (priest_usa_ucs), but also that the one who completes him or her is the teacher. Whether teachers have this degree of influence over their students is a different question.

There are also suggestions within the interviews, to this regard, of the great responsibility that teachers have, especially given that the young people with whom they work are vulnerable in

certain respects. As a lay Peruvian drama teacher mentioned, "to have in my hands a fragile group that I always have to take care of is a tremendous responsibility that I assumed in the students' formation process. The younger the students, those in their 14s and 15s are always to me a fragile group" (lay_per).   Something that is fragile, though, can also be malleable, if it is treated with care. And if malleable, it can be shaped or modeled. For a group of teachers I interviewed, the idea of shaping and modeling is key in finding meaning in their work.

There is a strong awareness among teachers in the study of how they play a central role in formation by building, shaping, or modeling the student. Probably the strongest of these concepts or verbs in teachers who see themselves as protagonists in their students' experiences is the idea that teachers play a role in the process of creating the person. Creation, as we know, is a powerful concept in Christian theology, and within any religious worldview. These teachers also mention that the meaning of their work is, as one American priest drama teacher says, "Doing a kind of thing He [God] does. Like doing new creation, new people" (priest_usa_une). The teacher here refers to his own work as a part of God's work, and this image speaks volumes from a religious perspective. Being involved in something that resembles the creation of a person is a very empowering idea for the teachers in the study. At the same time, this idea overemphasizes the passiveness in the one being created, i.e., the students. In the section dedicated to the spiritual source of meaning, and especially in the next chapter, I present more evidence about this point, including the reality of failure for many teachers in the endeavor of creation.

Another characterization of the meaning of teachers' work is the sense of igniting something in the students or being a spark. Although this attaches more agency to the student, it is still an approach that emphasizes the active role of the teacher. One lay Chilean art teacher puts it in these terms, in reference to a student whom she encountered years after his graduation:

> "His work was in black and white and he always painted in black and white… so then he told me 'I think you know, thanks to you I discovered color'. I do not remember what strategy I used but I must have insisted a lot. I must have insisted, which is perhaps why he said, 'Thanks to you I discovered color and that opened to me a whole world'. I swear that after he came to my house and it was like (sigh), of course, as a teacher you're there and you know how important you are, so he realizes how much he can do, to take off, to take a path" (lay_chi).

This teacher found meaning in igniting something that has been central in her own life as an art teacher and began so also in the life of the student, i.e., to get out of black and white and get into a world of discovering color, in life and in art.

 There is a second group of teachers who consider their students as more active participants in their formation. They do not consider them as a tabula rasa or as material to be shaped, modeled, or built, but the meaning of the teachers' work is articulated instead as caring, affirming, influencing, sharing, and especially accompanying the students. Like a priest American teacher of English, for whom the basic meaning of his work is to watch his students grow, comments,

> "I very much enjoyed watching them grow and most of my teaching years, I would teach…a combination of sophomores and senior advanced placement and to see the kids that I taught as sophomores move into junior and senior year was just wonderful to watch. So, that is what a high school teacher thrives on, I think, the slow maturation of kids. They start as boys and, you know, become men" (priest_usa_mar).

As opposed to the teacher moving the students from one direction to another her or himself, there is a much more contemplative, as opposed to highly active, process. The teacher does the work, but the meaning is not self-centered in his or her capacity to enact something, but the meaning occurs in observing the slow maturation of the students who are shaping their own destiny.

Teachers speak frequently about influencing as something that provides meaning to their work. More specifically, there is an understanding that to influence the students' direction is not confined just to the classroom or the school, but also in their lives. A retired priest American history teacher puts it in these terms:

> "As I look back on it, it is very interesting to me because I've married a lot of these people on their weddings, baptized their children over years, and years, and years, and years, and years. It's that …I just think as a teacher, I was an important part of that development. I was the important part of it. That's you, you did that, but I conceived myself that I helped them move to different direction or better direction or helped them, I made them in one sense" (priest_usa_ucs).

Teachers who see their students primarily as agents tend to describe their work as sharing something they have with others, but not in a superior fashion. A American priest and English teacher defines his work as "sharing what I have to offer with the kids, with another generation. Trying to inspire" (priest_usa_mar). A lay Bolivian math teacher thinks likewise that "[t]his chance to share with the guys… I tell you sometimes one says this is a magic process, is a beautiful process of education, to see where they are at this point and where the guys can get and by their own means, I tell you now, to unexpected places" (lay_bol).

The teachers' disposition to share with their students what they have, or admiring their students' slow maturation, can be linked with the idea of accompaniment. To accompany someone in his or her life journey is different than to shape in the image that a teacher has selected for the student. Quite distinctly, to accompany is to assume that any given action over another person, although that action might contain a value that is mysterious or unknown for the life of that person, has value only for the one who enacts it. It is also to assume that what one gives could be, as one lay Chilean chemistry teacher notes, "A bit of sand in these kilometers of beach, but I can say with peace of mind that I have brought a bit of sand" (lay_chi). These are images that reinforce the idea of accompaniment as opposed to being a protagonist in the life of a passive student. One American teacher reflects,

> "For the vast majority of students, we are an extra in the movie of their life. Occasionally, we actually make it into a scene. But we're still extras in the scene and then there are a few though, that we actually have a line of dialogue that makes the final cut and you don't even know what those scenes are sometimes just because circumstances don't allow those conversations ever to occur, where you're given that blessing" (lay_usa_uwe).

There is a concept used in Jesuit education that resembles the idea of accompaniment: *cura personalis* or taking care of the whole person for whom you are responsible.[14] An American priest

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[14] The concept, which follows the relationships inside the Jesuit order between Jesuits who hold the responsibility of leading with those who are followers or subjects, is in reality a relatively new concept introduced in 1934 by Fr.

points to this Jesuit value as "what our superiors... anybody who's a superior is supposed to do, he's supposed to exercise *Cura personalis*, a care of the individual" (priest_usa_uwe). *Cura personalis* is a concept that underpins a sense of meaning experienced across interviewees, regardless of region, age, or professional status. One priest and American history teacher reflects: "We're dealing here with people and we can never forget that… we talked about that phrase, *Cura personalis* in our tradition, our way of proceeding. To me, that's absolutely essential, fundamental, beyond doubt, the rock of why we're doing this at all" (priest_usa_une).

Cura personalis animates not only the way that teachers carry on their work in a Jesuit school, but it also effects the whole concept of Jesuit formation. As the leading document on Jesuit education states,

> "Cura personalis is not limited to the relationship between teacher and student; it affects the curriculum and the entire life of the institution. All members of the educational community are concerned with one another and learn from one another. The personal relationships among students, and also among adults—lay and Jesuit, administrators, teachers, and auxiliary staff—evidence this same care. A personal concern extends also to former students, to parents and to the student within his or her family." (ICAJE, 1986)

A majority of teachers in the study who associated Cura personalis to their work activity do not make the distinction between some part of their job as accompaniment and another part that is actual teaching. It is a blended experience that is indivisible. However, there are a few teachers, like the long-time priest American drama teacher with whom I spoke who eventually became a principal (but never left the classroom), who warns that the idea of Cura personalis can also be a double-edged sword. He reflects,

> "We forget that Cura apostolica [actual teaching] is as important as cura personalis. So, this person who's really really good at clubs and activities but not a very good teacher, well we wanna take care of him or her. We wanna help, you know? We can't fire. Well, look what he's doing over here. He's not helping that mission, he's not helping the school be what it purports to be. And sometimes you have to take a deep breath and say, 'I'm sorry. Either you have to let us help you be more competent or you can't be here anymore'" (priest_usa_uwe).

Another meaning that was repeated in the interviews is that of teaching as parenting. As previously noted, most of these teachers spend more time with the students than the students spend with their parents. One lay American history teacher and sports coach reflects on why this is the case,
> "I spent more time with these students in their high school years than they spent with their own parents. Between freshman year and senior year, they were with me more than they were with their own parents because after school, we would have practices…And then, on weekends, it would be a full-day competition from…6 in the morning and I would drop

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Wladimir Ledochowski, general of the Jesuit order at that time. He inserted the concept in a letter about education to Jesuits in the United States. It is, however, Fr. Pedro Arrupe, also general of the Jesuit order, who made the concept and the practice famous in a homily in 1972, also in the United States. It reaches such level of importance that many think it has been present, as a formal concept, from the outset of the Jesuit education tradition almost 500 years ago (Geger, 2014).

them off back at school at 8 o'clock at night. So, 14 hours, they would be with just me. And so, we got really close. And in much the same way I expect as a parent, spending time with their own children would nudge them, would correct them, would encourage them. I was doing all of those things. If they would trip and scrape their knee at the tournament, right? Like the parents aren't there. Who's going to put a bandage on the kid? Who's going to pick them up and sort of brush them off? It was me" (lay_usa_uwe).

Like all the other meanings examined thus far, teaching as parenting is found as a theme among most of the teachers. However, in the case of the priest teachers, there is special emphasis on parenting. By their vow of chastity, priests do not have a family of their own, so teaching provides for them a special place to embrace parenthood. As one American priest and English teacher mentions, "I have no children; I have hundreds of children" (priest_usa_mar). Another comments that teaching is, "very much like parenting, except that they grow up and then they're constantly replaced. So, I think that's probably the most fundamental joy and term that I would use for what ties together all those years, keeping company" (priest_usa_mar). Another one says that "for me, that's sort of what it was more and more as a teacher, I saw myself as kind of a quasi-parent, I guess you might say" (priest_usa_une).

A society to serve: as an abstract idea and a face-to-face interaction

Society also functions as a source where teachers find the meaning of their work. The evidence indicates that teachers express the meaning of their work in a continuum from an abstract pole to a concrete (face-to-face) pole in the process of understanding of their role in society. While abstraction is characterized by concepts or ideas such as changing the world, building a new society, or shaping good leaders for society, the face-to-face or concrete way of expression is represented with images such as being a public servant in a private school, serving a city, working for the entire school community, and building a safe space or making a refuge in the school.

There is a small portion of teachers who consider their work significant not only for the formation of the student, as shown in the previous section, but also for the transformation of the world. As one lay American art teacher comments,

"I cannot imagine a more important job. I can't imagine being more politically powerful or…having a job that gave me the wealth to be a philanthropist in a more substantial kind of way. I had a great conference with a principal who's long gone and deceased, in talking about that, I remember very clearly, he said 'take seriously the chance that [students] have to change the world.' What is more important than that?" (lay_usa_uwe).

Many of these teachers are aware that their work is geared towards improving the conditions of the world. It is an indirect action, but it is their work, through the students, that will ideally make the world a better place. As a lay Bolivian physical education teacher says, "You can really change the world through them because they are the present, they are the ones who change, the engine…of this world, then you can…bet for a better world" (lay_bol). An American biology teacher and priest also illustrates this when he notes that, "that person [the student] would be of use to society. That person can go on and do greater things as well. That's what it's for, I always tell my students that, it's not for me" (priest_usa_ucs).

Another subset of teachers interviewed assumed, a bit more humbly, that they would not change the world. They are more cautious when they express how the big, abstract ideals of serving

the world relate to their concrete work. A lay Chilean art teacher shares what a majority of teachers in the study experienced when they discovered they wanted to be teachers. "When I was very young, or younger, I thought I would be able to change the world. Then in college I said yes, it is possible to change the world and then I said this question went nowhere because it cannot; however, to be a teacher I think is a good tool" (lay_chi). It is not despair or pessimism, but a realism that allows teachers to indeed be better teachers. One lay American history teacher reflects,

> "I know that I will never change the world. I will never make the world actually a better place. I cannot reverse climate change. I cannot solve poverty and world hunger. I cannot close the wealth gap between the rich and the poor. I cannot improve the status of women around the world. I as one person can't do that. But over 18 years, I have now taught about 3,500 students. Those 3,500 students are somewhere doing something. I hope some small part of these 3,500 kids, these adults, these 3,500 people out in the world with their own jobs, their own careers, their own families, have some small part of me in them. And by extension, any good they're doing out in the world, I take some solace that I have some small tiny infinitesimal hand in that" (lay_usa_uwe).

In considering the concrete—face-to-face—side of teachers' service to society, and specifically to the city where their high school is located, it is key to understand three pieces of historical reality that work as the backdrop of such a relationship. One is that, as alluded to in Chapter 3, Jesuit schools started their operations in many cases at a time when cities—some of them originally and some in their more modern form—were taking shape, between 100 and 250 years ago. Washington DC, Los Angeles, Santiago, and La Paz are examples of such cities in which Jesuit schools were formed as the cities themselves were developing.

The second historical development is that Jesuit high schools dedicated themselves to the education of the elite and professional classes; there is an historical awareness of how a school is serving the city or the country through these particular social classes. Jesuits in the study were especially vocal in sharing their closeness to the elite: "Did I tell you already that I received an invitation from the new Supreme Court judge for his installation? He was my student" (priest_usa_une). The school organization and the schools' physical locations remind the school community that the school serves the city. When entering a Jesuit high school, one is normally reminded of the terrain into which one is stepping. In a US school on the West Coast, it is not uncommon for banners to adorn the hallways that remind all who pass through the number of Oscars, Pulitzer Prizes and Tony awards that alumni of the school have received. In another high school in Chile, visitors are soon reminded of the names of the former presidents of the country who were alumni, and it is likewise, in La Paz, Bolivia.

The third and last historical development is that since 1975, the Society and by extension the Jesuit high schools under its responsibility, have defined their mission as the "service of faith, of which the promotion of justice is an absolute requirement" (General Congregation of the Society of Jesus, 1975). This means that the formation of elites must confront the tension inherent in forming students who will have power. It is essential, then, for students to understand that in religious and practical terms, they are meant to do justice and so use the power and leadership tools that they have or will acquire to act justly with and for those who have not had the same opportunities that they have. Jesuit high schools are not meant to be elite institutions where power is maintained and transferred from one generation to another (Cookson, Jr & Hodges Persell, 1985), but places where women and men serving others are formed (ICAJE, 1986).

In light of these three developments, teachers in this group make meaning of their work by considering first and foremost that their work is about public service in a private setting. One lay American history teacher explains, "I see this as service. This job as service, not just service to the students but actually service to society as a whole because after the students are done with us, we send them out to the world and they're going to become leaders and businessmen and lawyers and doctors and whoever" (lay_usa_uwe). This service goes beyond the formation of the students. The goal is, through the formation of "very good leaders in their professions, very good people, family men and so on" (priest_usa_une), that they might serve society. As a lay Peruvian math teacher said in a very concrete way, "they're going to get out of here to lead the society in Arequipa, they are going to be the managers and the authorities, as currently happens with many alumni. Ours is an opportunity ... This young man will go out to lead the society, so I have to prepare him to assume that leadership" (lay_per).

Contrary to the abstract, change-the-world meaning of teachers' work, in this paradigm, it is the local community that reveals itself as important; it is the city that is highlighted by many teachers as the goal of their work. One American history teacher and priest comments about the work he does, "I'm not here just for the students… I'm here for the city. I represent the school, the church, the Society [the Jesuits] to this city" (priest_usa_une). And another lay American Spanish teacher likewise reflects that "what we do here for 40 years is going to impact the city, you know, and the state as a whole" (lay_usa_uwe). There is a broad sense of responsibility for the formation of a different society, again, at the local and concrete level. One lay Bolivian theology teacher says, "I have a commitment to my country, to Bolivia, to the world, you know, I am a citizen of the world, so I cannot produce, with the forgiveness of the word, people with a mediocre profile, [they] have to be people who always look for the *magis*,[15] excellence in everything they do" (lay_bol).

The world gets better in concrete ways. A lay American English teacher shares,

"I did not become an English teacher because I love writing. I did not become an English teacher because I secretly want to bust out a novel when I retire. I became an English teacher because I think I can use these books both to get students to understand other people's conditions in the world better, and I can make my students be better men through the lessons we learned through the novels" (lay_usa_ucs).

One of the concrete ways to make society better through the formation of students, is to do as a lay Peruvian biology teacher does in his relationship with students. He has always chosen to believe them. He is famous for giving second and third chances, and he comments,

"These things have made me at some point be very criticized by some colleagues. They say, 'No, but life is not like that' and I think if life is not like that, it should be so. When we are in a job, if your boss can tell you're depressed about something, the boss should also approach you and say, 'hey what's wrong today'; 'I'm upset, my son is sick'; 'hey go back to your house, be with your son, and then we will see about the work, don't worry'. I think life should be like that and I say that to my students 'you will someday have leadership positions. Be human especially with your employees, with people who are below you. Being human is the best way to earn the respect of all people" (lay_per).

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[15] *Magis* refer to a key concept in Jesuit life and refers to reach for excellence, to aspire to search always for the best expression of yourself, to make use of the talents given to you, etc.

Finding Meaning in the Self

In the interview data, there were two identifiable emphases or expressions that stood out in how the teachers connected the self and meaning in their work: self-regard and other-regard. The other-regard pole is characterized by what is moved at the level of the self when teachers focus on those around them, which has been the content of the previous section. The self-regard pole is not to be confused with selfishness or bring about any kind of value judgment, but it is better described as a cluster of meanings where teachers highlight what they experience internally as a result of the work they do. Concepts like feeling fulfilled, helpful, appreciated, belonging to a community, receiving joy or becoming a better person make up this group.

For many teachers, to work around youth and establish relationships with them makes their life enjoyable. From these interactions and the school environment, they retrieve meaning for the work they do. Their sense of self, some say, gets balanced and invigorated. As one retired priest American physical education teacher comments, "That's what happens between years. You stay forever young by fighting off cynicism and other poor choices in life versus opting for the best. So, I see that as the gift that I have" (priest_usa_une). A lay Peruvian math teacher correlates the idea of being a role model for students to reaching greater consistency in his own life. He reflects,

> "Well I think, I don't know if I want to believe that I am a role model. I think being a teacher is something like where you have to be consistent, then I cannot talk much about it because I could not tell my students to stop smoking because I smoked until about 10 years ago here. Also, here, when I started working, you could smoke in the classes, then tell them not to do it, even if you still did it. I think that it helped me to be a teacher, to try to be more consistent with myself and at the same time to be less judgmental towards other people too" (lay_per).

Feeling deeply satisfied with the work and how it impacts the self corresponds with feeling like a better teacher. A lay American astronomy teacher reflects,

> "Now, at the end of the year, they know this and that, like you talk about black holes and relativity and stars you know. So that's very satisfying…and then, it's even more satisfying to know that in a few months, I get another group of kids. I can take them on this journey once again, but I've gotten a little better so…the journey is going to be a little different…the satisfaction actually continues to grow. It continues to get better year after year after year because I become a better teacher I think, year after year and the kids are more fulfilled, I hope…by the end of the year" (lay_usa_uwe).

Such deep satisfaction is also expressed in the form of pride in the work. As one lay Chilean English teacher says with respect to his work, "I feel proud of being a teacher, and I believe that I owe all that I possess to being a teacher: the material, the spiritual, my family, and my affective life. In that sense, I feel really proud" (lay_chi). He feels proud because of something that happens in his inner life. In more dramatic terms, a priest American theology teacher assures that, "I would not have traded my 31 years in the high school for anything. Why? It was an honor and I wouldn't have traded it for anything and it formed me. It formed me" (priest_usa_uwe).

Although the status of teachers educating elites and upper-middle class students in the societies examined here is generally low in comparison to their peers in other types of work, there is some acknowledgment among teachers that the work they do generates a sense of self-

fulfillment. This is not an easy phenomenon to describe, and the teachers know that. One American priest English teacher mentions, "I don't know exactly how to describe it, but like I keep saying, the people I know, the people I met, the people I'm very close with now and all that, they're all either my former students or they were other relatives of my former students" (priest_usa_ucs). There is a sense of connection, familiarity, and friendship with students when they grow up. Teachers derive meaning from this relational aspect of their work. Another American history teacher priest refers to the idea of fulfillment, commenting, "I think in many ways, it's filled a void for me, because the hardest thing for me in this vocation, which I do love, is not having my own children. I'd like to think anyway that I would have been a great father" (priest_usa_une).

To be important for someone else is a basic human need. In the case of the teachers I interviewed, they mention that the reality of being important for their students is a source of meaning in their work. A lay Peruvian math teacher reflects, "These kids come back after years and they hug you and say thank you. Or sometimes, things you tell the parents… after years they come back with tears in their eyes and say, 'thank you for what you did for our son'… then I say, 'this is worth it'. This is when I find meaning in my life as a teacher" (lay_per). It is important to note that in these narratives, the idea of being important for someone else refers to the students; there is no expectation of being respected by society. As a lay American chemistry teacher says, "I feel like people thank me a lot, so I don't need that martyrdom. Sometimes it bothers me when teachers kind of take it upon themselves, that look what good I am doing. Look how awesome I get" (lay_usa_ucs).

There is another group of teachers for whom the idea of fulfillment comes from a different place than student relationships. They feel fulfilled by the possibility of access to knowledge and to a continual experience of learning. As one lay American history and psychology teacher says, "I love that I'm in a profession that requires me to constantly be learning because I love learning. I love knowing things. It's perhaps why I like psychology now more than I like history and that's because history is relatively static" (lay_usa_uwe).

It is this same sense of satisfaction in learning that gets many teachers, especially priest teachers, to take advantage of their passion for learning during their sabbaticals. Because sabbaticals are not customary in high schools (as they have been at the university level), the number of high school teachers who receive them are rare. A significant number of retired priests in the study opened the conversation about their work by explaining that their thoughts about their experience as teachers came from periods of reflection—sabbaticals when they thought about what they had learned in the subjects they had taught and about pedagogical techniques. One priest and American history teacher wrote a report about his sabbatical. In it, he notes that he "was able to devote the year to reading about recent developments in the field of secondary education, especially as these might relate to some of my own particular concerns; to visit classes to get a different perspective on what is going on… the experience has been an enlightening one" (priest_usa_une).

Finding Meaning in the Work Context

The teachers interviewed seem to value working in the private, Catholic organizations run or heavily supported by the Society. There is a vivid sense that in a Jesuit school you can nurture your own talents; you can develop a career and become part of what many described as a community. As in many other Catholic schools, the idea of a community working with a mission (Bryk et al., 1993) is an important driver to work towards excellence. However, there is a sense in Jesuit schools, especially for those coming from other work experiences in public, private, and /

or other kinds of Catholic high schools, that you can develop yourself because the organizational culture favors it. A lay Chilean English teacher comments,

> "I came across an environment that I had not known. I found a school which formed me, I mean, through all things, all the experiences that I could have or all the experience I had as a teacher, I could develop myself. I found a wide freedom to execute things, and that for me was fundamental in the exercise of teaching because I could do everything, and I was not limited to certain things. When you have that freedom, one says, my God! You've got a place where they are believing in you and that somehow forms you as a person" (lay_chi).

It is not just this important sense of freedom that manifests the teachers' autonomy but also the felt reality that teachers are growing. And often teachers can grow because of the type of pedagogy Jesuit institutions put in place and the space offered to faculty and staff for their own formation. Jesuit pedagogy is perceived as forever being built, always on the way; therefore, it needs the active participation of the school community, including teachers, to make it thrive for the life of the students. In the words of a lay Chilean history teacher, "One of the things that made me fall in love with Ignatian pedagogy was that it is a pedagogy under construction. You say to yourself, I have to put together my experience with the experience of my students. That makes it a very active pedagogy, that is renewed, that never ends in its construction" (lay_chi).

There is an existing trend in different realms of work that has begun to attach certain values to work that were previously associated only with the family (Hochschild, 1997). For example, the work context of the high school may now be considered a refuge; it is characterized as a place where a teacher can find comfort in times of distress. Teachers who feel the school can be a refuge refer primarily to troubling times in their personal lives, mostly related to their family or religious life. It is a refuge, at least in their narratives, not because of the work they do or because of the environment in which they do it. It is a refuge in the sense that it considers the human side of the worker—as it should be in any kind of work—but also because the type of work enacted, with its intensity and demand, requires a community of peers. Two lay teachers, a history teacher in the United States and a Spanish teacher in Peru comment,

> "There's been times in my life [that] would have been exceptionally dark…and coming to school has been the refuge, the place where I can find hope and redemption and joy and satisfaction and fulfillment. And that helps bridge some of those troubled areas that were outside of my teaching. And part of that is the teaching…interacting with the students, but also part of that is the colleagues, the relationships that we have here are remarkable. It's a really good group of people that are very, very, very supportive of one another, so that makes it different, so this has been my refuge, often more so than the other way around" (lay_usa_ucs).

> "I appreciate the human group with which I share my work, the other teachers here. I have always found good friends, very good people who have helped me open without any fear or envy, [the] kind of 'Better not explain how it is done because I will win' I've never found that here. Here I have always found people willing to help and support you, 'You need this, and look I'm going to do this, what if we do this,' that kind of people, and now over the years I also do the same with the younger…ones coming. I also try to teach and

give them all I can. I have always felt very good with colleagues, with the teachers with whom I have shared my work" (lay_per).

The work context and community are a source of meaning for teachers because of the status provided through being part of a Jesuit high school in the societies where they reside. As a lay Bolivian chemistry teacher says, "in the city of La Paz, to work in this school where we are is practically like winning an award. You are on the top. To be invited by the Jesuits to work here has been a challenge" (lay_bol). As I mentioned, Jesuit high schools are in general venerable and important in the cities in which they were founded and in the context of the local Catholic churches. The Jesuit schools have often helped form cultural, political, and, in some cases, economic elites. Therefore, for teachers to work in a context that elevates the impact of the work provides meaning.

Finally, schools in many aspects are not the same today as they were 60 years ago. The culture has changed dramatically. Two priest teachers comment,

> "the 60's in the United States were a terrible time for…the whole social structure collapsing, everything being questioned, nothing was sacred. All kinds of troubles and then the Vietnam War, it goes on and on and on" (priest_usa_une).

> "…it was the first day of classes in the Jesuit high school. We were gathered in the main patio. I was in the second floor with the authorities. From there you talk to the kids and the teachers. So there, Fr. Martinez, the president, arrived. Nobody knew me, and he said to me, 'I will take a moment to introduce you to the students'. So, the teacher who was leading the act said, 'now our president will share some welcoming words'. And when he said that, all the students started to shout. They were reacting to this priest presence. I realized I was living in a different time… I was scared" (priest_chi).

And like the culture, so did the work context change. One veteran priest teacher in the United States comments that "nothing is the same…it has been fifty years since I walked into a classroom" (priest_usa_une). "Nothing is the same," was expressed by this teacher in a deeply somber tone, but in general, this disposition is not what I found in the majority of priest teachers. For priest teachers, the work context has changed in such a way that more and more lay teachers, women and men, have joined them, which certainly makes for a cultural challenge. Most of the priests, though, valued this incorporation of lay teachers. A priest who worked for more than 30 years as a teacher questions the difference between Jesuit and lay teachers,

> "I'm not sure there's a clear difference. I think a teacher is a teacher. A teacher who feels called is going to be a good teacher. And I think the lay colleagues, we worked together much more. I was saying to somebody back then at Jesuit High, I think the fact that there were no women on the faculty and the men were probably sixty percent Jesuits, forty percent lay teacher maybe, I don't know…the rate's exactly. But you always had the feeling it was our school. The Jesuits, it was our school. And these people would, they're teaching, and they were part of it, but we never thought of them as being part of us. Now I think, as the school changes, and also the programs that they're doing about Ignatian spirituality and so on in all the schools, it's much more our, the whole faculty, being in endeavor to do something. It's not just the Jesuits, the Jesuits running the school" (priest_usa_une).

One American priest teacher comments, "Many of the things that the lay teachers here do, the level of commitment they show, the hours they put in and so on, really shows their dedication above and beyond the call of duty to the work of formation that we have here in the school" (priest_usa_une). And another respondent reinforces the idea by emphasizing that the lay teachers are "seen as so essential that if there were no Jesuits at the school, the school would still be a Jesuit school… they feel as though they possess the…charism of the school too, and they're very dedicated, you know, despite or in addition to raising families" (priest_usa_mar).

Finding Meaning in the Spiritual Life

Many teachers in the study find meaning in their work through their spiritual life. This theme will be covered extensively in the Chapter 5 about callings. However, I will briefly sketch here two ways in which teachers express the experience of meaning through their spiritual life within their work context. The first is respondents' articulation of a spiritual force expressed in actions, and the second, an experience of a spiritual force communicated through feelings.

The spiritual force expressed in actions refers to a God who is experienced actively in the life of the teachers through pushing, motivating, or obliging them to be active and intentional through their work. One aspect of this is building the Kingdom of God, a category present in the Gospels, especially in the Gospel according to Saint Matthew. The Kingdom of God represents Jesus' mission on earth; it is the realization of the words Jesus pronounced. Some teachers make meaning of their work in embracing their role as builders of the Kingdom of God. As one lay Chilean history teacher reflects,

> "You say I contributed to the kingdom, and I can say, looking at these 30…years, I've been teaching classes and by doing so, I have contributed to the kingdom. I committed to that, so this was part of the kingdom, that I have also tried to be faithful to that commitment because I believe it, and I try to live it as part of my faith…I think it is a central element of pedagogy" (lay_chi).

Another aspect of this sense of being pushed or motivated by God is the use of a particular subject matter to connect students with the transcendent or spiritual dimension of life. A lay American science teacher explains it as follows,

> "That's what science is all about. I want kids to be able to see something happen and experience that sense of awe because that sense of awe is what takes us back to God and…all of it traces back to those roots and that ability to see God in all things, you know that's people, that's plants, that's relationships, that's everything" (lay_usa_ucs).

The second way of making meaning out of this spiritual dimension is by acknowledging God's presence in one's inner life, taking on the work as a destiny, a call, or a non-material, fulfilling experience. One teacher expresses this sense of God's presence as part of her discernment to become a teacher and to remain in the profession for over 30 years. When considering other possible paths, she reflects that teaching "is where the consolation is. That's where I am most alive, where it resonates, where it feels closest to God's desires for me. So that's why I'm sure I'm in the right thing. It feels right. And when I imagine an alternate, it does not feel right in the same way" (lay_usa_uwe).

In sum, teachers find the meaning of the work they do in four sources, which as Rosso et al. (2010) indicate is also the case with other professions. The four categories (shown in Figure 4.1) are others, the self, the spiritual life, and the work context. Here, in addition to what Rosso and his colleagues present, I split the *others* category into two sections: students and society. Regarding the students, I observed two sub-types of meanings. One emphasizes the image of an active teacher who labors over a passive student and another that highlights an active image of the teacher working with a student who is also active in her or his education.

In what follows, I present the findings on how these sources of meanings present themselves in the different subsets of teachers in the study, i.e., teachers who are lay and those who are priests, teachers from Latin America and those from the United States, and also across the groups of teachers who taught prior to 1965, between 1965 and 1990, and between 1990 and 2016.
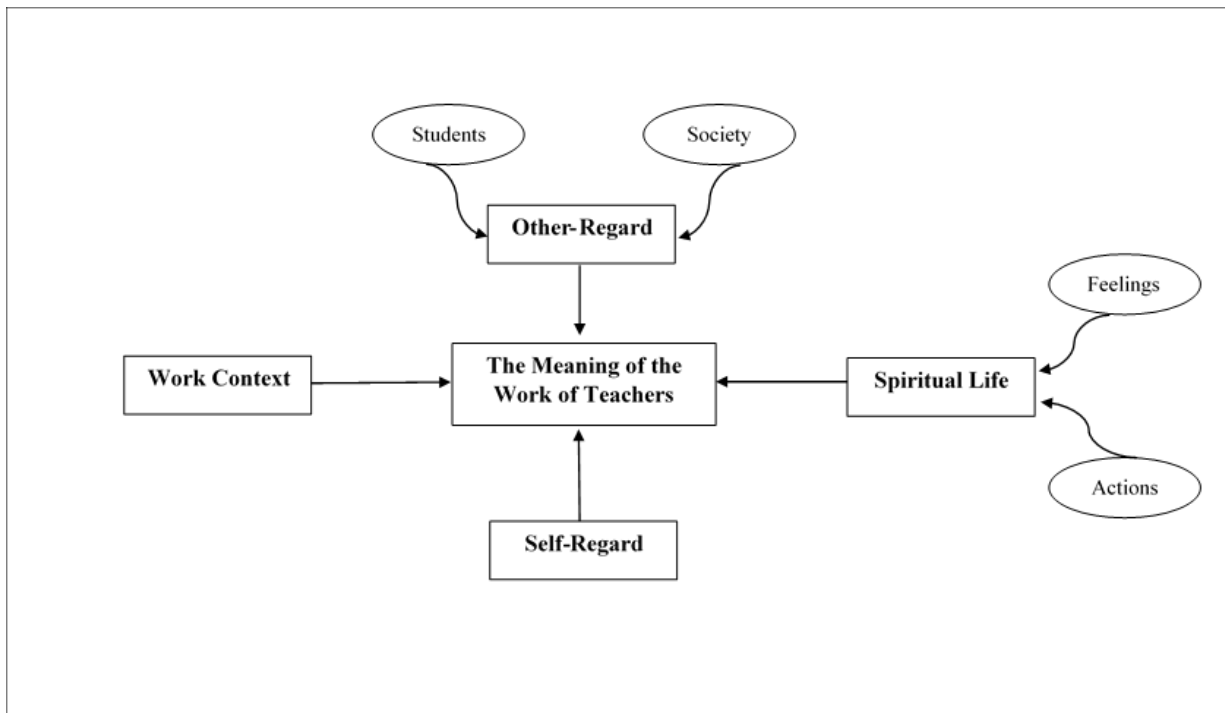

Figure 4.1 Sources where teachers find meaning of their work

The Consistent Meanings of Teachers' Work

In this section, I answer specific questions about how the meaning of teachers' work differs when evaluated through the lens of temporality, geographical location, and teachers' professional status as priests or lay women or men. While keeping the attention on the qualitative perspective of this study, I present the findings with the help of descriptive information based on the set of participant teachers (n=93). I also present certain figures, the main purpose of which is to provide a visual of the relationship among different teachers and the key interest variables in the study. Such a procedure is based on a frequency analysis of the main codes of the meaning of teachers' work, presented in percentages.

Table 4.1 shows how each of the meanings are distributed independently within the three key interest variables. This analysis allows one to see how each meaning manifests for the different types of teachers. In the case of the meanings associated with *other-regard*, the evidence indicates

that lay teachers are proportionally more represented than their priest peers in each category of this paradigm of meaning. The smallest gap between lay and priest teachers is in the consideration of themselves as active teachers who work with passive students, 58% and 42% respectively. Teachers from Latin America are more represented than teachers from the United States in those same categories of meaning, though the gap is smaller. This is the case especially for the first category of meaning in the table, regarding how these teachers view the role of their work in society (as an other-regarded and abstract category). The gap is also small across geographical setting for teachers who view themselves as active, working with passive students. With the variable of time-period, teachers who started teaching before 1965 represent the large-abstract understanding of their contribution to society more than the teachers in the other two periods (51%). Teachers from the two periods after 1965 represent equally, and almost exclusively the concrete, face-to-face contribution, as well as the two student-related meanings.

The self-regard dimension, which emphasizes the experiences of feeling fulfilled, helpful, appreciated, etc., is proportionally more present among lay than priest teachers (57% and 43% respectively). This same self-regard category is equally present as a source of meaning when comparing Latin American and American teachers (48% and 52% respectively) and fairly evenly across time periods, as well. The work context, interestingly, is a source of meaning exclusively for lay teachers in the set of respondents (100%) and, significantly, an important source for Latin American teachers (80%) as well. For those respondents across time periods, the work context as a source of meaning is distributed relatively evenly between those who started teaching between 1965-1990 (54%) and those who began between 1990- 2016 (46%).

Table 4.1 *Sources of meaning by professional status, geographical setting, and time-period*

Source of meaning	Professional status		Geographical setting		Time-period		
	Lay	Priest	Latin America	United States	Before 1965	Between 1965 and 1990	Between 1990 and 2016
Other-regard							
Society							
large-abstract	62%	38%	49%	51%	51%	25%	25%
small-face to face	73%	27%	66%	34%	6%	47%	46%
Student							
active student	71%	29%	64%	36%	16%	46%	38%
passive student	58%	42%	56%	44%	20%	39%	40%
Self-regard	57%	43%	48%	52%	27%	39%	34%
Work context	100%	0%	80%	20%	0%	54%	46%
Spiritual life							
Actions	59%	41%	46%	54%	37%	28%	34%
Feelings	47%	53%	32%	68%	53%	0%	47%

Finally, regarding the spiritual life in its expressions in actions and feelings, the data shows that lay teachers emphasized more the action aspect, while the priest teachers underscored feelings more. American teachers found their source of meaning in the spiritual life within both categories of actions and feelings more so than their Latin American peers. In regards to the spiritual life dimension expressed via actions as a source of meaning for teachers across the three time periods, we see a very interesting distribution, i.e., 53% for those who began teaching before 1965, 0% for

those between 1965-90, and 47% between 1990-2016. Here we see a strikingly even distribution between the first and last time period, with a fascinating 0% of respondents emphasizing this as a source of meaning between 1965-1990.

Table 4.2 *Professional status, geographical setting, and time-period, by sources of meaning*

Source of meaning	Professional status		Geographical setting		Time-period		
	Lay	Priest	Latin America	United States	Before 1965	Between 1965 and 1990	Between 1990 and 2016
Other-regard							
Society							
large-abstract	2%	3%	2%	3%	6%	1%	1%
small-face to face	13%	14%	13%	11%	5%	14%	15%
Student							
active student	21%	24%	21%	19%	21%	23%	20%
passive student	7%	13%	6%	8%	11%	8%	8%
Self-regard	11%	23%	12%	21%	23%	12%	12%
Work context	37%	0%	36%	15%	0%	35%	31%
Spiritual life							
Actions	9%	18%	9%	16%	26%	7%	9%
Feelings	2%	5%	2%	5%	8%	0%	3%

To grasp the intersection of meanings and the different types of teachers in the study, it is helpful to assess not only how each meaning is represented within the three interest variables (professional status, geographical setting, and time-period) but also to note how each of the aggregated types of teachers embrace the different meanings. In other words, how do priest teachers relate to each of the meanings under study here? How do teachers who started teaching after 1990 interact with these sources of meaning? And in this fashion, to assess all the possible intersections. To consider this perspective, table 4.2 offers an overview that is subsequently imaged in figures 4.2, 4.3, and 4.4.

At the onset of this study, I asked whether being a lay or priest teacher makes any difference with regard to how one finds meaning in one's work. Figure 4.2 shows that differences between the two professional statuses is visible in four categories of meaning: spiritual life (in both feelings and actions), work context, self-regard, and other-regard which understands teachers as active and students as passive. Among all of these sources of meaning, the gap between lay and priest teachers in the category of work context is especially striking. For the lay teachers participating in the study, the work context dimension makes up 37% of their meaning structure, while it does not appear at all in the meaning structure for the priest teachers in the study. Following the narratives of the priests, it is noticeable that they feel responsible for giving the workplace its shape and identity. Priest teachers seem to pride themselves on creating a meaningful work context for others, but the work context itself does not create a sense of meaning for them as teachers.
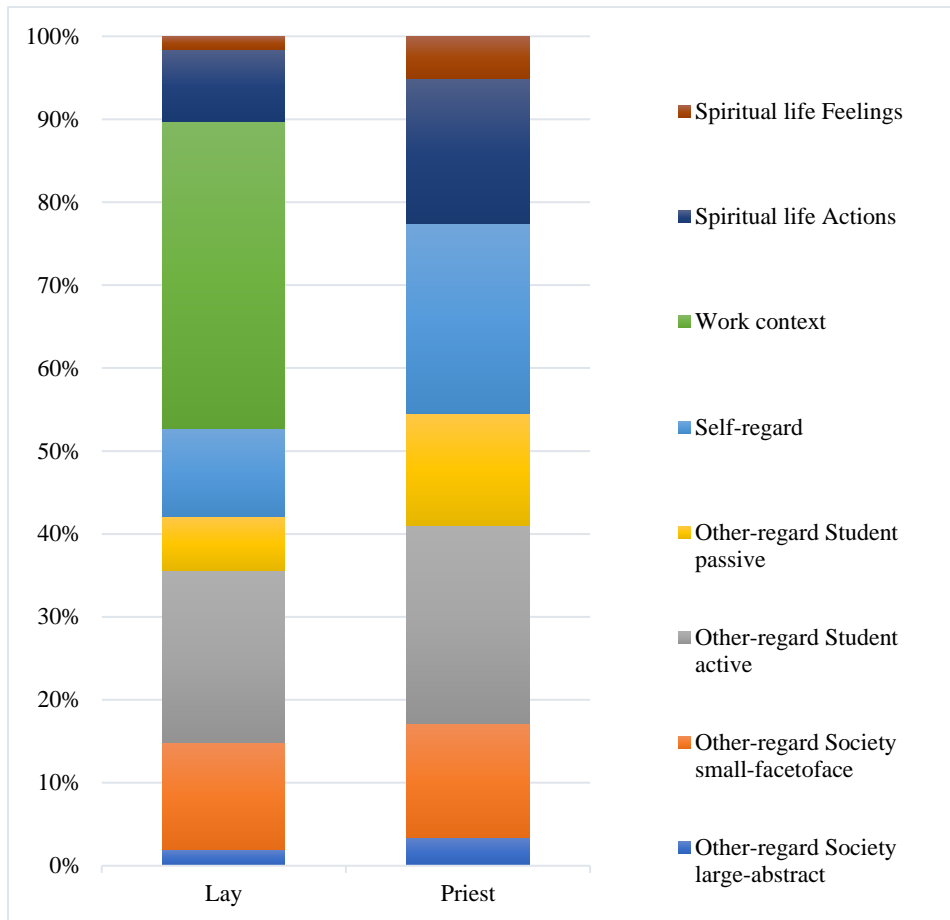
Figure 4.2 Distribution of meanings by professional status

Lay and priest teachers are very closely relatedly in terms of their structure of meaning in three out of the four dimensions of other-regardness, i.e., when students are perceived as active, society at the smaller, face-to-face level as well as society at the larger, abstract level. The nearly equal percentages in these categories between lay and priest teachers indicates, in aggregated terms, that teachers in the study (independent of professional status) tend to structure and use these sources of meaning in a remarkably similar fashion. Therefore, regarding the professional status of the person who teaches, it is reasonable to establish that when accounting for the total number of teachers, from different geographical settings and across time periods, to be lay or a priest does not constitute a substantive difference in how one makes meaning but acts as much more of a qualifier within the teaching profession.

In other words, being either a priest or a lay person does not affect how one assesses the meaning of one's work within the following sources, a.) where students are conceived of as active participants, b.) where one's role as a teacher in society plays out at a face-to-face (concrete) level, and c.) where one's role as a teacher society plays out at the larger, more abstract level. Identity as a priest or lay teacher does matter, though, when assessing meaning within the category of spiritual life (in both feelings and actions), in the work context, in the self-regard, and in the other-regard, when referred to teaching students who are passive. This posits an important question to the organizational culture of Jesuit high schools. The changes that these schools have experienced in the last 60 years (see Chapter 3) has had a clear impact on the type of teachers working within

those institutions. As they have shifted from being staffed predominantly by priests to a predominantly lay faculty and staff, a remarkable transfer has occurred in the way teachers find meaning in the other-centered dimensions of meaning structure. The narrative is quite different, though, when it comes to more self-centered or self-focused sources of meaning, such as the spiritual life, the impact of the work context, and the self-regarded sources of meaning.
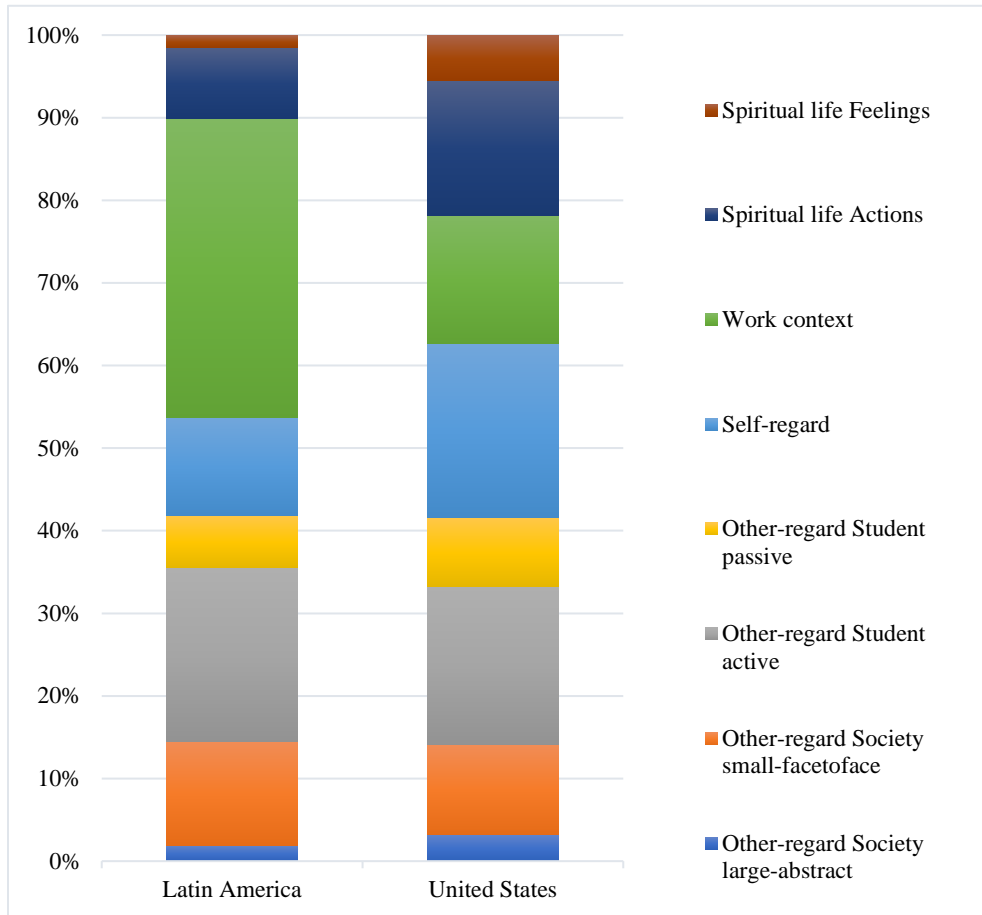

Figure 4.3 Distribution of meanings by geographical setting

When we account for the differences in meaning by geographical setting where teachers taught or teach, the shape of the meaning structure follows the same pattern as in the case of professional status. As figure 4.3 shows, the similar percentages of the meaning sources in the other-regarded dimensions (students perceived as active, students perceived as passive, society at the face-to-face level, and society at the abstract level) represent similar structures of meaning for Latin American and North American teachers.

The geographical groups differentiate themselves in the other three sources of meaning, i.e., the work context, the spiritual life in both dimensions, and self-regard. Latin American teachers take into consideration the work context more than their American peers as a source for making meaning in their work (36% and 15% respectively). For Latin American teachers, the interactions with colleagues, and experiencing the work place as a refuge, is likely aligned with a more community-oriented mindset and a way of understanding social life. For North Americans

in general, and for US teachers in this study in particular, social life tends to be understood more from the perspective of the individual than the community. Therefore, teachers in both geographical settings valuing the work context as source of meaning might plausibly be attributed to cultural difference.

American teachers tend to assume the spiritual life as a meaning source in much higher numbers than their Latin American peers. In the United States, unlike in Latin America, Catholicism is a minority religion (see Chapter 3), and in the context of being a minority, the expression of beliefs and values are expressed with much more pronouncement than in a context where those same beliefs are the default. Therefore, such a sociological difference might serve as an explanation of why American teachers double in there mention of spirituality—and in many cases, their religion—as a source of meaning for the work they do, as opposed to their Latin American peers.

When the data is isolated for geographical setting (as with the variable of professional status), one can see that the process of making meaning with relation to other-regard is strikingly similar for teachers from Latin America and from the United States. To belong to any of these contexts does matter when it comes to the other three sources of meaning. Being a teacher from Latin American or from the United States does not seem to make any difference when one looks at working for students and for society in teachers' structure of meaning. For teachers in this study, the core of the meanings, in terms of the similarity between teachers, seems to be the students-society axis.

Finally, when comparing teachers who taught before 1965, between 1965 and 1990, and between 1990 and 2016, in contrast to the two former cases of geographical setting and professional status, much more variation is seen across all sources of meaning (see figure 4.4). The two periods after 1965 show very similar structures of meaning. Those who taught or have been teaching since before 1965, are quite varied. Their structure of meaning is closer to that of their peers in the other two time periods in the other-regard student categories, both passive and active, but not when it comes to spiritual life, work context, or the other-regard (society). Those teaching before 1965, had the experience of the world, the church, the Society, and the Jesuit school where they worked changing before their eyes. For that generation, in the case of the priests, the spiritual life and self-regard dimensions were highly relevant for teachers in making meaning of the work. This subset of priests who began teaching before 1965 entered the priesthood and the classroom as teachers at time when the post-secular age was starting to settle down, but not entirely. Therefore, the transcendent dimension was much more present in the ethos of the high school and in their own spirituality. In a way, for those teaching before 1965, the meaning of the activity had to do with their spiritual life, themselves, and their students. For those teaching after 1965, students remain equally relevant as before, but it is the work context and society that turned out to be more important in the meaning structures.
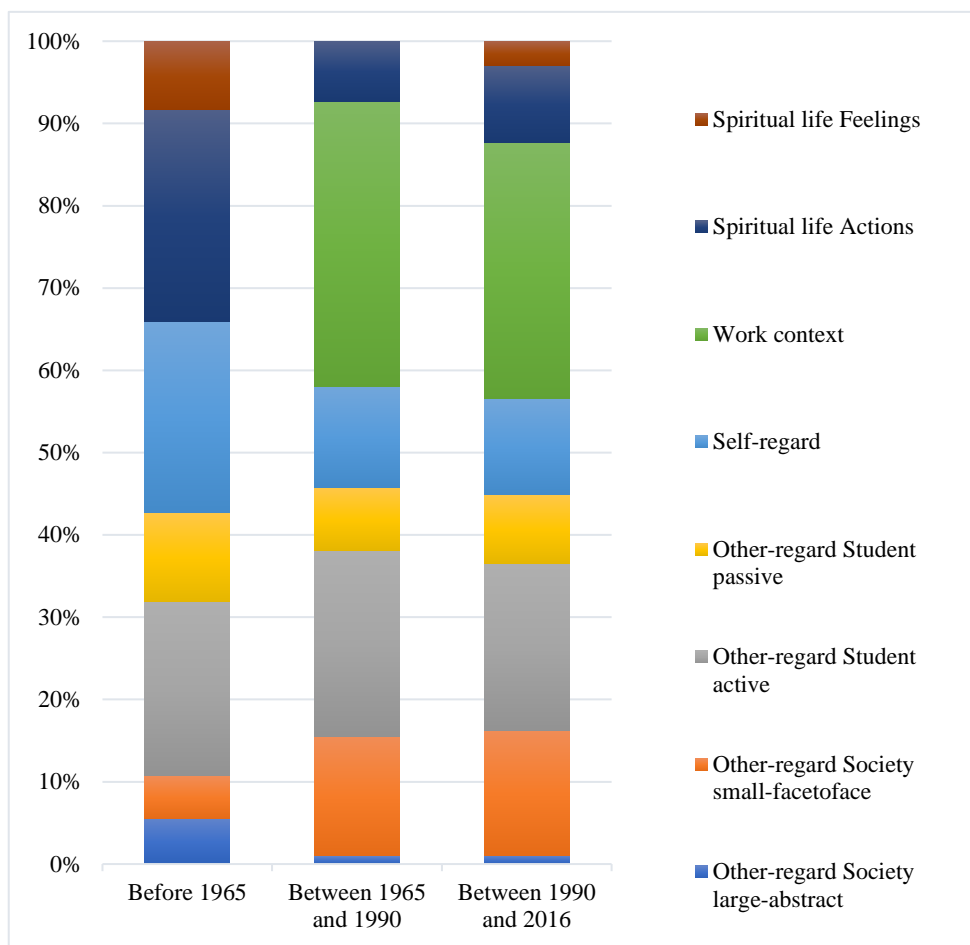
Figure 4.4 Distribution of meanings by time-period

Conclusion

Teachers make meaning of their work in several ways. The teachers interviewed for this dissertation match the categories that operate as sources of meaning developed by Rosso et al. (2010). Teachers do make meaning out their relationships with others—students, colleagues, and/or society, and they also find meaning when their work impacts their own sense of self, i.e., in filling fulfilled, helpful, or appreciated. The teachers studied also refer to the work context and their spirituality as dimensions that serve as significant bases for meaning in their work.

The intersection of those variables and the different types of teachers—assuming the limitations of the qualitative nature of the data—reveals that is not primarily professional status or geographical setting that makes a difference between teachers in the study, but the time in which they taught or have been teaching plays a much more significant role. It is not a matter of who or where, but more a matter of when they teach. In the 1960s, the world was changing, the Catholic church was changing, and so, too, were the Jesuit high schools and those who taught in these institutions. Although I have not shown the comparison with lay teachers who taught before 1965—given accessibility and time constrains—the comparison with later generations of priests shows that there is a significantly different way in which those teachers make meaning of their work.

Work context, spiritual life, and the self-regard dimensions of meaning in work are dimensions that vary across professional status, geographical setting, and time-period. Those dimensions show us how culture, temporality, and being either a priest or lay person matter at the moment of evaluating the meaning of teachers' work. Looking to students and society as sources of meaning expresses the consistency of the base categories in which teachers in the study make meaning of being a teacher, independence of culture, temporality, or professional status.

Chapter 5: When the meaning of teaching is a calling

Introduction

Many of the teachers interviewed for this study express the meaning of their work as a calling. [16] As is seen in Chapter 4, these teachers find meaning in their work context through their relationships with others, their spiritual life, and their journey of self-actualization; however, the meaning of their work experience transcends those dimensions and moves to an even deeper and more trenchant experience that they define as a calling.

At the outset of this dissertation, I put forth a working definition of the concept of *calling* that would accompany this research. I considered a *calling to teach* to be when a teacher experiences the following elements in relation to the role of teaching: a sense of destiny (*I was meant to be a teacher, I don't imagine not being a teacher*), a sense of mission (*What I do is not restricted to a subject matter because I teach students first*), an enjoyment of teaching itself (*I feel joyful when I teach*), longevity (*It is for life, or it is thought today to be a life commitment*), and perseverance (*I confront challenges if they appear in the way, I don´t quit*). In this understanding of a *calling,* we find commonality with concepts laid out in Chapter 4, specifically *flow*, *motivation*, or *commitment*. [17]

Evidence from the narratives of 76 out of 105 teachers who openly refer to their work as a calling during the interview process suggests that this working definition limits the depth and reach of the variety of ways that teachers think about what a calling is and how they may experience it; however, the boundaries of the concept were necessary for the purposes of the study. The reality is, though, that there are various ways in which teachers discover and articulate their calling to work as teachers.

In what follows, I present evidence on how teachers understand their own processes of discovering and living this call to teach. I uncover here how a calling comes to be defined, and I provide evidence for this through five cases of teachers who articulated a calling to teach. Each of these teachers represents an archetype of a particular way of discovering and living (therefore defining) what constitutes a calling. An archetype is understood here as "a very typical example of a certain person or thing" (Archetype, 2018). I labeled these archetypes as *the Listener*, *the Martyr*, *the Embedder*, *the Builder*, and *the Chosen One*. This nomenclature seeks to stress the distinctiveness between different archetypes; however, there is overlap between these classifications. Someone who is "a builder" of his or her calling could have an experience of "listening" to a calling as well. Or "a listener" may have elements of "martyrdom" regarding her or his calling.

The Archetypes

Mr. Samuelson, the listener.

In the first book of Samuel in the Hebrew Bible, the young Samuel experiences a significant call. It happens in the middle of the night, and Samuel struggles to know who it is that calls him. The first two times he hears his name, he thinks it must be Eli, the high priest with whom he lives. But the third time Samuel hears his name and approaches Eli to respond to the man's call, Eli realizes that it is the Lord who has called to Samuel. The insistence of the call makes Samuel more and more aware, but he is not able to identify the one who calls. When he finally does, thanks to

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[16] Given the translations from Spanish speaker interviewees, I will refer always to calling, callings, call, or to be called, and never to vocation. For more references about the uses see Chapter One.

[17] See Chapter 1.

the help of Eli, Samuel says to God "Speak, for Your servant is listening." (Sm.3, 10b). The Hebrew Bible is full of stories of callings that when heard and heeded, changed the course of history, not only for individuals but often for entire peoples or nations.

Mr. Samuelson, a Chemistry teacher with over 20 years of experience teaching in Catholic high schools in the Midwest, expresses a clear calling that led him to teach. He first experienced such a calling as a sophomore student in high school: "I always had that voice that kept telling me that teaching might be something that is for me." It was not until college, though, when he realized that this voice was coming from without, i.e., from a divine source, which for him, was Christ. "I would certainly say it was the voice of Christ…saying to me 'this could be something that I want you to think about…this could be something that is for you.'" In this understanding, he was not listening to himself or to his own projects and ideals, but to the voice of God.

Mr. Samuelson attended the Jesuit high school in the city in which he grew up, and his parents, who were Catholic, believed that the Jesuit school could nurture not only their son's intellect but also his faith. He recalls that in the school, "There were quite a few Jesuits that have really had a great impact on my life. There were a lot of Jesuits at my school when I was there in the 90s. So, it made a big difference in my life." Part of the Jesuit identity and mission of the high school manifested in providing students from middle and upper-class backgrounds with experiences of contact with communities without the same opportunities or access to resources. The hope of these experiences was to invite the students into the reality of the disproportionate access to economic, educational and other kinds of resources between different communities. "While at Jesuit high," Mr. Samuelson recalls "we had to do a senior service project, and…every Monday, you would spend half your day at an agency somewhere. So, some kids went work for the poor, some kids went to work in soup kitchens… I worked in a classroom for behavior disordered kids. And so, that was my first experience as someone at the teacher level. And so, the voice might have started there, it definitely started in high school." Although the voice was already there, more time and experiences had to come to pass before he really understood the depth of that voice calling him.

After high school, "I only applied at Jesuit colleges," Mr. Samuelson says. He continues, "I went to school to be a Chemical Engineer, and I knew that Chemistry was what I wanted to get into. And so, I declared right away my major." However, after taking many classes, "any science class that I could," Mr. Samuelson reflects, "something changed where I realized that there was a calling there in front of me that had the potential to be something that I could really excel in. And teaching was really the one thing that I thought that I can do until the day I died." The voice Mr. Samuelson heard while in that classroom with students experiencing behavioral challenges connected with this new experience of realization. He notes that, "the voice kept getting louder and louder to the point where I had to think to myself, 'okay, make a decision, a conscious one; am I going to be a Chemical Engineer? I'm at a fork in the road, am I going to pursue Chemical Engineering? Or am I going to pursue being a Chemistry teacher? What is it going to be?'"

The voice was there, and Mr. Samuelson knew that it was the voice of Christ because, as he says, "I don't believe in other voices, if it's a voice it's got to be God." But choosing to become a teacher would imply difficulties. He shared in the interview, "I'm not somebody who is motivated by wealth, or by money, or anything like that. So, the thought of me not making enough money teaching did not really bother me too much. What only concerned me was, Will I be able to educate my children down the road? That was really the one thing." With this fact and these questions in mind, he decided to follow the divine calling that he heard. One aspect that added to his decision was the image of all the good teachers that he had in high school who, as he recalls,

"always seemed very happy, they always feel very fulfilled, they seem to really enjoy the community that they were in." In the language of Ignatian spirituality in which Mr. Samuelson was formed, this process can be called a spiritual discernment. Put succinctly, spiritual discernment is a type of prayer that pays attention to feelings of peace or consolation in a decision making process through an evaluation of the pros and cons. This was part of Mr. Samuelson's process with respect to the voice he heard calling him towards teaching.

The voice Mr. Samuelson heard was not an abstract call to be a teacher but a calling to be a particular type of teacher. As he recalls, "I always knew that as a teacher, I wanted to be an Ignatian Educator. I was not interested in going to a public school; I knew that being back with the Jesuits is what I wanted to do." Mr. Samuelson wanted to work in a Jesuit high school. After two years working in a Catholic school run by religious sisters, he has worked for the last 18 years at a Jesuit high school. There have been years of confirmation of that initial voice he heard in his high school years, a voice that with the years "became louder and louder," and there has also been deep confirmation of what it felt like to heed that voice. "I feel like I have, once that you determine that, I feel like I have the rest of my life planned out for me. I really do. I don't, I realized that there are changes that will be in place. But Jesuit High, I want Jesuit High to be my last job. I don't intend to go anywhere else. I'd have opportunities to go to other schools, but this is home. So, it's almost like finding that home internally in your life."

Mr. Samuelson has the conviction that "When you realize what your calling is, there are no more decisions to be made, there is peace, there is a feeling of home; it's a feeling of saying 'I can really settle my roots here because I have found what I am meant to do.' And once you find what you're meant to do, it's just this overwhelming peace that you realize of what it is." Indeed, he has set roots in the Jesuit high school in which he works and in the high school community. His two children and his wife are also a part of this community, even though neither of his children attend school there, nor is his wife employed by the school. He says that "My children are up there, you know, they play up there on the weekends in my office while I'm working, they go to…events, they love it up there. My wife, we used to coach together when I coached. So, she knows people up there. So, my family is seen. It is part of our life. It's like a parish. We go to parish called Our Lady of the Angels where we live, but our real parish really is Jesuit High."

Mr. Samuelson is a valuable Chemistry and Astronomy teacher, but above all, he is valued as an educator with the ability to listen. He says about his relationship with students, "I want them to be able to see that when they have the opportunity to talk to somebody, I want them to know that my door is always open. They can always come to talk to me. I think half the school's got my cellphone number. I get phone calls from kids all the time, texts from them all the time, and that is great." This is also true about parents, "I also want parents to see my accessibility. I want parents to see that my main concern is the well-being of their child. So, if they come in and they want to talk to me about, you know, poor decisions their child is making at home, but it is not about science, that's great. I want to be a part of that conversation."

Even his way of teaching is affected by this process of truly listening to students. He says that when he started 20 years ago, "I wanted to get everything perfect in my class. The worksheets perfect, everything organized; the right test, the right quizzes, the right labs, get everything organized just the way that I want it and then use it year after year after year." But over the years, he has tuned his ear to listen more carefully to the students and the context, and now, he says, "I've realized, that was extremely naïve…because you never get to that point. Because as an Ignatian educator, you're constantly reflecting upon how I can do this better, how can I keep improving

upon this. I saw a new tool, I don't want to use this in the classroom, this other thing is out, I'm going to use this instead."

Listening seems to be an important characteristic of Mr. Samuelson's, and he is perceived as a good listener by students and the community. This characteristic has also enabled him to listen to the calling throughout his life to be a teacher, and to not leave it unanswered. Inherent in listening is not only the capacity and openness to hear, but also the ability to respond or act accordingly with what one has heard. And in discernment or receiving a call, this action is always a free decision. Mr. Samuelson never referred in his narrative to feeling coerced to go in the direction of teaching. It seems as if, in this case, the divine caller expects the person to go on with a discernment that includes not only listening to God's voice, but with an attentiveness, also, to the contextual conditions. God never asks for something, in the Christian tradition, that one is not capable to give.

Mr. Stephens, the martyr.

A martyr is someone who dies defending a cause or a belief. In the Christian tradition, a martyr is someone who witnesses faithfully her or his belief in Jesus Christ, and for that reason, is killed. Before being beheaded in the Tower of London in 1535, Thomas More's last words were "The king's good servant, but God's first." In 1980, Archbishop Oscar Romero from El Salvador, critical of the dictatorship running his country, ordered the army of his country to obey the law of God that says, "You shall not kill." The day after, he was shot and murdered while celebrating mass. Both Thomas More and Archbishop Romero knew that they were going to suffer, possibly even die, if they continued witnessing in these ways and attesting to God's authority over that of human systems of authority. Both received a call to martyrdom.

Mr. Stephens is certainly not a persecuted Christian like Thomas More or Archbishop Romero, but he experiences a call in his life that may be read and more deeply understood in light of certain elements of martyrdom, a martyrdom that is a transitional phase. As Mr. Stephens reflects on his calling to be a teacher, he says, "I think that there will be a point where sacrifice or pain, not physical pain necessarily, but there's going to be a cost that one with a calling will pay with gladness." He continues, "That's when you'll find out…'Is this really a calling of mine?'" He understands that this way of experiencing his calling to teach can be confusing or incomprehensible at first glance. He thinks that way because "if Christ was called to the cross," he says, "I don't know that externally from viewing that moment, we would look at that as a calling. I don't know that anyone could see that as a calling except for Him in that moment."

This is Mr. Stephens's calling to teach. This is how he defines his experience after more than 16 years of teaching. However, this is not why he decided to become a teacher. This way of expressing his calling comes out of a history, both personal and professional. As he says, "I would say that I didn't start teaching as a calling. I went into teaching as a job, but being immersed in it, it became a calling."

Mr. Stephens attended a public high school where he recalls, "I was good at school and what I mean by that is I could get good grades without trying particularly hard." High school was a life changing experience and period for him. He always remembers a story that a chemistry teacher told in class his sophomore year of high school, which connects to how Mr. Stephens would eventually express his calling to teach. "Mr. Smith taught me the most important thing I ever learned in high school. During one of his classes he was telling a story about a fight that he and his wife had gotten into. He said [that] his wife said, 'I don't love you right now.' And he said, 'No! Whoa! No, no, no. You don't mean that, because love doesn't work like that. You can be

angry and that passes, you can be sad and that passes. Love isn't that kind of a thing.'" Besides this teaching Mr. Stephens received, he shared, "I had a conversion experience in my senior year in high school. I did not believe in God, wasn't thinking about God, and I became a Christian." Inspired by friends, he realized that he wanted to be part of "something that radically transforms lives." Mr. Stephens became an active member of his Protestant church, helping with all kinds of youth ministry, including some teaching work.

His family was not religious. He grew up with his mother, a special education teacher, from whom he never received any pressure to become a teacher. "I don't recall feeling any kind of 'you need to do this or that or anything else.'" His father was not around, but he was a teacher, too, until he quit teaching to go into business. He reflected on something that his father told him, when he was about to start college: "The one thing I can remember him telling me was 'you got to work your whole life, so find what you love to do and do that. There'll be parts you won't like, but for the most part, you'll love what you're doing every day.'"

He went to college with the idea of pursuing an undergraduate degree in either philosophy or mathematics. He ended up majoring in both, "because most of the fathers of mathematics were philosophers." During college, though, he began to observe how some of his friends who were in engineering "hated going to class. They were bored all the time. They're just doing the work and they resented it." Mr. Stephens, instead, enjoyed his classes and his service as a youth minister in his church that he continued doing after high school. He also had a mentor, a librarian, who taught his favorite course in college, "It was called 'What do we know?' It was the first class I ever left, didn't feel like I understood anything, and I became a different student, more passionate for learning." In similar words to that of his father, that librarian told him that "if you are going to be a doctor, the best doctors love the practice of medicine. If you want to be a lawyer, then the best lawyers love the practice of the law," and he said that this, "got me thinking [that] what I am going to do somehow needs to be because I love it."

He realized that he wanted to be a math teacher during his time in college primarily for three reasons. Firstly "I love working with students." Secondly, "you can get a job teaching math specifically, pretty much anywhere in the country because there's just a great need for Math teachers." Thirdly, to be a teacher "was also a way to be available to do ministry on the weekends for working in the church. Teaching Monday to Friday, you have weekends off." The decision to become a teacher, though, was delayed by a few other directly connected decisions that still needed to be made.

Mr. Stephens, given his passion for learning, thought also about getting a Ph.D. before going to teach. At the same time, he wanted to marry Ana, a therapist who also worked in a high school. "I got married pretty young, at 22," says Mr. Stephens. He continues, "One of the conversations that came up was simply, if you're going to do this, the reality is half of all people that go in to PhD fields that are married, get divorced and were asking you to be married to this program first. It was not worth that potential cost." Happily married and having left behind the idea of a Ph.D., he became a teacher and taught Math in middle school at a public school in Arizona for ten years before moving to teach at a Jesuit high school in California, where he has been teaching the same subject matter to juniors and seniors for the last six years. As he said with a sense of awe and incredulity at the same time, "If you had told me at 18, if you had told me at 22, you're going to be a teacher and you're going to love it and you're not going to want to leave, I wouldn't have believed you."

Both the change of school and changing the grade level which he taught after those ten years in Arizona provided Mr. Stephens with a desired challenge to push himself a bit more in his

passion for learning that started in college. He says that the Jesuit school provides him a place to "read, talk, and share with a lot of teachers that are very passionate about their subjects and classes, and who also read a lot that definitely spurs me in a lot of ways." Passion and commitment for teaching has grown in Mr. Stephens over the years. He shares, "Being at this Jesuit high school, the way I describe it for people is I'm finally able to teach completely out of who I am. In the public school and understandably so, there are conversations that you must be mindful not to have or you have to be cautious of certain questions and those kinds of things. At Jesuit High, we believe that the person in front of us is more than just whatever academic class we have, and we are entrusted with being part of their entire formation process as a full human being." He has learned from colleagues how to be a good teacher, "They helped me think about ok, these are important battles. Nope, that battle is not important and it's not worth fighting about. Here are things that you need to think about." And also, he has learned how to relate to his students. As he says, "You don't need any 14-year old buddies and there's just a lot in that, like we're there to care for them, we are companions with them for a season of their journey, but we aren't their buddies. They have buddies."

Mr. Stephens was in his third year teaching and decided to start a business with his brother, "and the intention was to build it up and to leave teaching, run this business and go whatever and maybe theoretically, we could've done that, and it reached the point where it was time to make a decision and I just love teaching too much. I couldn't leave teaching. This business was not inspiring and important in the same way. It wasn't worth giving everything else up for." This was the time when Mr. Stephens recognized that for him, teaching was something else: "I went to teaching as a job, but being immersed in it, it became a calling." And from his third year teaching until he ended up at the Jesuit high school where he teachers today, it has all been a part of that process of deepening the call.

Simply having a calling, according to Mr. Stephens, "does not make you necessarily a good teacher." However, he shares, "I think that the love and/or the willingness to forsake other things because of what a calling demands, I think that has to be tied into love or you just wouldn't forsake other things. Not for a sustainably long time." A calling experienced in the archetype of martyrdom is sustained by the understanding that at the end of the day, there are costs that enacting this call will demand. In his own experience, Mr. Stephens says that his calling "is an external way of sustaining through those times when the burdens feels heavy. If it's not really a calling, if you don't have it within you, I don't know how I could follow this particular path."

The strength provided by having the calling is deeply carried in the self and helps to enter the martyrdom experience. Mr. Stephens applied such strength to other domains to which he feels called, e.g. his calling as a husband and / or parent. "I think," he says, "that it's the same with being a husband and being a parent, where there are no perfect marriages and there are no perfect kids. But you're called to be their parents, which means in even the worst things, choices they make or harrowing circumstances or whatever, you'll be present with them...I became a husband, and that was a vow until death do us part. I did not take the same vow when I became a teacher... but now I feel it like that."

Therefore, to experience a calling within this archetype of martyrdom means that Mr. Stephens is willing and also able to assume the cost of work that would demand a particular kind of energy from him. It would also ask for a willingness to live his life outside of himself, not confusing (as his high school teacher taught him) an obstacle to the expression of love with the end of love. Love within this concept of martyrdom is not an ordinary love, but a love connected to the experience of sacrifice. Like Christ exemplified in his life and death —as Mr. Stephens

brought out as an example of someone who experienced a calling—to be a martyr does not mean to accept sacrifice out of guilt, negligence, or as a way of looking good in front of others, in Mr. Stephen's case, the others being the school administration. It is neither doing a kind of work towards which you will be resentful nor suffering for the sake of suffering. It is important to note that to live the calling to teach within this archetype of martyrdom is neither to overwork nor to be careless about one's own health or the need for rest. One of the keys for Mr. Stephens is, as he says, that "I have never worked in the summer. My wife and I made some clear choices early on about that. We decided we are going to go out and recharge." To have a calling to teach under the martyr archetype, is about sacrifice, not about hardship or severity for their own sake.

Fr. Atkinson, the embedder.

From its onset, the Jesuit order was a teaching order, and education for lay people as an extension of Jesuit scholastic formation was at the core of the Society's mission. As displayed in Chapter 3, the number of Jesuit schools reached such a high volume that the formation of a Jesuit priest or brother had to include preparation to be a skilled educator in those institutions. For hundreds of years, to be a Jesuit and to be a teacher were nearly synonymous.

By the 1950s, however, that situation (at least in the Latin and North American contexts) had changed. While teaching was (and is) still the largest apostolate run by Jesuit order, it became less and less natural for Jesuits to be classroom teachers. Fr Atkinson had to sort out what his calling was, being a priest, being a teacher, or both. As Fr. Atkinson recalls, "When I was at Jesuit High, which would've been the late 1950s, there were a large number of regents, and regents were a big influence on us. There I had been told that I would make a good teacher, and at that point to be a teacher or to be a priest wasn't much of a difference." Indeed, all the priests, brothers, or regents (i.e., Jesuits scholastics preparing to become priests and who generally teach in high school or college classrooms as a part of their formation) that Fr. Atkinson knew were his teachers. Both in terms of identity and function, then, priests and teachers were equivalent in Fr. Atkinson's experience.

For Fr. Atkinson, the experience of his calling to teach was embedded into his priestly calling. And as many members of Fr. Atkinson's generation would point out, their calling was "Unspectacular, no flashes of light are being thrown out of an animal or anything like that. No, it was just something that as I went through high school, becoming a priest was something I just wanted to do. I was not alone in my class, there were five." Receiving his calling, Fr. Atkinson says, was "like yeast and dough... that leavens. It was kind of…an inside out process. And everybody's different in how they receive the impulses that come, right? I don't know that I've ever had any, again, back to Paul, being knocked to the ground. I've never had any of those experiences." It is relevant to mention here that 74% (34 out of the 46) of the Jesuits interviewed for this project are alumni of Jesuit high schools

Before the Second Vatican Council, the calling to the priesthood within one's experience of Jesuit education was a path that many took, and for many, that path was intimately attached to being a school teacher. There was, one could say, a calling inside a calling, and both were "very free decisions on my part," Fr. Atkinson said, as he reflected on the experience of entering the Society in 1960. When Vatican II was ending after its fourth and final session in 1965, Fr. Atkinson was just beginning his regency at a Jesuit high school.

Regency generally comes after two years of the novitiate and a period of studies in humanities and philosophy, and in the case of Fr. Atkinson, regency came also after receiving a Master's in English. Regency was key for him in his formation. He recalls, "I hated my first year.

I totally over prepared. My first class, I prepared enough for the following week. I guess what I should say is that the reality was different than my romanticized expectation of what it was going to be, and I think towards the end of my first year something just sort of clicked, and then when I went into my 2nd year, it was an entirely different experience." That click, Fr. Atkinson says, "I think it is a calling. I guess in the root sense of calling, it's something you feel you're called to, and I felt somehow since I was in high school. I was being called…to be a teacher, and you know to be a Priest, and…after the experience of being in a classroom with real students there…my teaching ended up being the final click." Therefore, his calling to teach in its first stage was completely embedded into his priestly calling, but then, after regency, the calling to teach itself gained autonomy. He could, in a way, isolate both callings.

Fr. Atkinson asked for permission to continue teaching during the stage of his theology studies (directly after regency) in his formation, and it is very likely that the process of differentiating these callings to teaching and the priesthood is what led him to a deeper awareness of this calling to teach. Fr. Atkinson recalls that "I did my three years of Regency at Jesuit High, went to theology at the old Woodstock College, which at that time was in Manhattan in New York City. I did my four years of theology there. There were a group of us, probably I would say five— a mixture of the Maryland Province and the New York province—who wanted to be high school teachers when we finished theology, so we had an arrangement with Jesuit High in the Bronx. It's on the Fordham campus, and we each taught there part time while we did theology, and we all taught senior electives which met every other day so that we scheduled our classes at the same time, and they gave us a car, so we would drive up from Manhattan to the Bronx. We would do our teaching and then drive back, so one of the things that we wanted to do was to incorporate on our own some reflections about teaching high school and we wanted to keep in touch with the experience."

Fr. Atkinson was aware that things in the Society, especially in regard to education, were quite different than the days when he had attended Jesuit High in the Northeastern part of the United States. It was a time in which it was no longer the norm for Jesuits to be either assigned or prepared to teach in high schools. He reflected on this, sharing that during that time most of his companions "would have preferred us to do what other people were doing, which was more socially oriented, so they would have preferred if we were going to a soup kitchen or doing that type of thing, which is what most of the theologians were doing." But at the same time, Fr. Atkinson says, "I never felt that the other theologians looked at us negatively because we weren't doing what they were doing. I never got that feeling or anything like that." So even though the project of becoming a school teacher for life was slightly against the grain in the context of Jesuit formation at the time, it was important for Fr. Atkinson to continue teaching because the call to teach and the call to priesthood continued to be simultaneously interconnected and differentiated from one another.

Both calls have come to fruition. Fr. Atkinson was ordained a priest in 1965 and he will celebrate his 50th year teaching English, Latin, and theology at the Jesuit High school at which he works. As he said to his friends who ask about his retirement, he will stay as long as he has health and the continued desire to teach. "As long as when I drive up Charles street in the morning I'm looking forward to the day, and I still have health, I want to do it." Fr. Atkinson's key for success all these years has been to keep innovating. "I take each year in a sense of a new beginning. A funny thing. I had a kid come to me once, and he said 'Father, you're not giving the same test this year' [laughs] so I said 'No, I'm not.' And he said, 'I paid my brother $20' [laughs] Now, the question of the morality of all of that did not enter into it, he wanted me to know that he was out

of $20. His brother had been my student the year before! And so, going back to the important point, when I'm tired, that way it sort of keeps me fresh and also keeps me in touch with testing in terms of where different groups are from year to year."

Part of his success is also to keep his eyes fixed on students' success. He says, "I believe something I once read in my first years teaching, that nothing succeeds like success, and one of the things that I have always tried to do is to make it feel that they [the students] are being successful. That they are achieving and achieving in terms of themselves, in terms of who they are. Not in terms of somebody else. And as much affirmation as you can give to kids in the course of a class, the better."

With the years, Fr. Atkinson recognized that when talking about his callings both being so integrated, it is helpful for him to separate the identity from the function. Regarding the former, he says, "I really don't like to dichotomize myself as teacher/priest...I just don't. I feel that I'm…being a priest while I'm teaching. The way that I deal with the students, the way I treat the students…their response to me and all like that, is sort of just one unit, you know, as I do it." Fr. Atkinson has a sense also that these two essential domains of his identity, being a priest and being a teacher, do not compete. As he reflects, "I don't feel that I'm less a priest doing that because I'm a teacher. Nor do I feel, you know, a priest more when teaching, you know?"

However, at the same time he insists "being a priest is not limited to teaching. I take a Sunday call that's north of here to a rural country parish surrounded by cornfields and everything like that." He performs activities as a priest; he works as a priest administrating the sacraments, and that is separated from the calling to be a teacher.

Mr. Bobson, the builder.

The prophet Jeremiah received the following words from God himself: "Before I formed you in the womb I knew you, before you were born I set you apart; I appointed you as a prophet to the nations." (Jr.1,5). The experience of the prophet being called before birth is a particular view of how callings occur. This image of a calling that can be interpreted as destined before birth is not an image that resonates with Mr. Bobson, who, when reflecting on his calling to be a teacher, said, "I'm not completely sure about how to define my calling, but I have serious doubts that you're born with a calling. I believe a calling is built and it can be educated." Mr. Bobson sees his calling as a process of building something from very difficult beginnings, but even within this difficulty of his call, he reflected on the reality that peace and certainty have marked his 33 plus year tenure as a Chemistry teacher in Chile.

Mr. Bobson was not a good student in the eyes of his teachers or parents. "My school days weren't easy," he says. "My friends and my brothers were brilliant. Looking at it from today, I think I was a pretty normal student, but my teachers always compared me with my friends, and my parents with my brothers. I felt, many times, diminished." This situation started to change when he met two teachers—a Chemistry professor and a theology professor in the Jesuit high school he attended. Mr. Bobson says that "those two teachers began to set a path that put me in the way towards becoming a teacher myself. At the end of my junior year, I decided to study to be a teacher. I said that that was the world where I wanted to develop myself, and also where I could do the greater good." This idea of doing the greater good is analogous to the Jesuit concept of *Magis*, analyzed in Chapter 3. The basic meaning behind this concept is the understanding that someone can always be a better version of him or herself, the idea that a person can become what God dreams for him or her. Mr. Bobson was formed in a Jesuit school and understood that he could reach that greater good by being a teacher.

He remembers that in his junior year, his theology teacher gave a little notebook to each student in his class, and they had to take notes about their reflections on who they wanted to become. Mr. Bobson remembers that "I took a lot of notes about why I acted the way I did in certain circumstances. Also, I wrote down what is it that I was looking for in my life. And it was in that context where once I wrote down that I could be a school teacher… and I said to myself, 'let's follow this calling,' I mean I thought at that point it could be a calling."

Mr. Bobson believes the experience of being a boy scout helped him greatly in the discovery of his calling to teach; this was where the first steps towards teaching occurred. "Boy scouts gave me the chance to learn how to work in teams, how to teach each other things… I remember teaching my fellow scouts how to cook. I considered it exciting to learn something together."

He entered the state university to study pedagogy and there, he says, "I realized that I was capable, that I was capable of studying, and getting the good grades that I couldn't get before. More importantly, I got a sense about where I wanted to go. In the university, I freed myself." He believed in himself, his skill set, and his passion and desire to serve, and he started to build on the calling that was born in the pages of his notebook.

While still in college, Mr. Bobson worked in a Catholic, urban school in a marginalized part of the city. "At that point," he said "the experience of working in that school was excellent. I saw pedagogy as a way of looking always at new ways of challenging the students. Make them happy while doing Chemistry; motivate them by uplifting them instead of lowering them. The principal there and myself were on the same page about this." In fact, that principal gave him the autonomy necessary to create, innovate, and discover new things that he was capable of doing: "He helped me to discover new talents."

After seven years working there, the principal was asked to create a new school inside the Catholic network, and he asked Mr. Bobson to follow him. The new school was meant for middle class students. Mr. Bobson taught for 14 years there. In between these years, he continued building the calling by improving as a teacher. Although he studied a Master's in Education in Spain and wrote several Chemistry textbooks for an important publisher in those years, Mr. Bobson felt that the school had nothing else to offer him in terms of growth opportunities. In his 13th year teaching in the school, he received a call from the Jesuit high school he had attended as a student, offering him a job that included even more training and preparation. Mr. Bobson recalls, "I decided to accept the offer because it was a greater challenge. I was asked to bring my experiences but also to learn new things. They offered me professional development experiences that I could not have dreamed about. The money was about the same, but I feel more at peace with myself in continuing building myself as a teacher."

One of the things that made Mr. Bobson even prouder of being the teacher that he had become was how he came up with a logic for student evaluation. "When a physical education teacher teaches a student how to jump obstacles, he or she gives the students several attempts. At the end, the final score is the best jump, not an average of all of the jumps. Why do we act differently in Chemistry? From where did we get the idea of doing so." This mindset has its roots in Mr. Bobson own history: "I normally received bad averages, but I always had a good grade in the process." As he says, "I've been applying this way of evaluation for six years now," and the principal at the Jesuit high school where Mr. Bobson attended and now works is encouraging of that way of evaluating too.

Mr. Bobson is aware that his calling to teach has developed in a context of privilege. It has been a process over the years, following his experience in that first Jesuit intuition. He has kept

within himself a constant desire to fine tune his teaching and become a better teacher. "Here," as he says, "we have all the conditions to do excellent work. We have a leadership context where we can be creative. We have excellent economic conditions. We have all the computers, all the printers we want." There is a deep sense of responsibility behind the building of his calling, because as he says, "In this high school, I have a higher responsibility: make students who have everything that they want…understand they have a responsibility with their society. It is very challenging to me. My first steps as a teacher were in a poor school. How is it possible that sometimes, those who have everything give such a poor effort, and those who are poor, those in my first school, gave their best all the time! A big part of my calling is to challenge students in this regard."

Although he is close to retirement, Mr. Bobson avoids the topic because he simply does not imagine himself at that stage. He considers Chemistry, which he loves, "as an instrument to just transmit passion to his student." He said many times during the interview that he cries often because of the beautiful things that happen to him. "One of the biggest tear moments was five or six years ago. There was this junior student who was suffering [from] depression. He was in one of my classes and I had no idea about his illness. And I was, as usual, making them explore their passions, their dreams. And he approaches me one time and said something like 'You Mr. Bobson helped me to dream again. I was enslaved in a black hole, and you taught me how to dream again.' And that's it, that's what this profession is all about. That's my payment at this moment of my life."

That student became a Chemistry teacher. "I remember his father coming to see me after he decided to become a teacher. He said to me, "I don't know if I clap at you, or hit you! He wanted to be an engineer and now he wants this." Mr. Bobson is very aware that seeing the fruit of his work that clearly is not the norm, or at least it has not been frequent in his life as a teacher. "When you've built the teacher you're meant to be," Mr. Bobson says, "you have to be prepared to not see the fruits of your work. An architect sees the building. A lawyer sees the guy inside or outside prison. But us teachers do not, or at least it is very rare to see fruit in the short term."

After all these years of teaching, Mr. Bobson has concluded that the main component of his calling is commitment. He has been able to build his calling through following intuitions, having support and role models, pushing himself to be better, using a pedagogy that invites students to dream, and evaluating in a way that gives students confidence. He feels that he has built a calling in which he is doubtlessly committed. He explains it in this way: "Take scrambled eggs for example. There, the hen takes part. Of course! But take now scrambled eggs and bacon. The hen still takes part, but the pig is totally committed. I think I´m like that pig when it comes to my calling these days."

Ms. Celestial, the chosen one.
A king prepared a wedding feast for his son. He invited many guests; however, they did not show up. The king sent his servants to force the guests to attend, but nobody wanted to. So, he asked his servants to go into the highways, find new guests, and invite them to the wedding feast. And the King added that "many are called, but few are chosen." (Mt.22,14). Using parables with his disciples, Jesus communicates a clear message; it is one thing to be called but another to be chosen. Or it could be also that before being chosen, you are called.

Ms. Celestial experienced the calling to be a teacher as a feeling of being chosen for something. She experienced it not in a mystical way but in a very down to earth fashion of "being chosen by being conferred with certain gifts or certain skills… kind of 'here are your gifts.'" There is a concrete experience that she has been given, i.e. talents, as a symbol of being called to do a

particular type of work. Ms. Celestial has confirmed this feeling of "being chosen" in over 25 years of teaching music in public schools and two Catholic schools. For the last six years, she has been teaching at a Jesuit high school in Colorado.

Ms. Celestial said "I always knew from the time I was a little girl, I always wanted to be a teacher. I always loved school. I had a lot of good teachers I looked up to, and bad teachers that I would remember that I wanted to do things differently, but I was always going to be a teacher." And it was not only a joyful and fulfilling experience in school, and the example of good teaching, but also because she, "had such good parenting." In fact, her two parents, although not professional teachers, "ended up in education as well, just as sort of a second part of their career." Her mother was a nurse who, after their six children grew up, got a master's and became a nursing instructor. Her father worked in finance and ended up as a finance professor at the local state university. "So, my experiences of my parents," Ms. Celestial shares, "was as role models, as educators. But even before that, just even as parents in the home and the way they interacted with us, with our schooling and our activities, it was always sort of just in a teacher sort of way." Her parents were responsible to a large extent for her desire to become a teacher.

While Ms. Celestial certainly had an eagerness for teaching that began in childhood and felt her calling to teach held great importance, it is also true for her that the center of her calling was not simply to teach. As previously mentioned, she experienced being chosen to do something (as a result of certain inherent gifts or talents), and that is quite distinct from simply *wanting* to do something. She discovered, or maybe uncovered, this feeling of being chosen progressively over different moments in her life. When she was in middle school, enrolled in a public school, she noted that, "my plan was to be an English teacher. That was originally my plan. And then in high school, toward the end of high school, I had an experience that opened my eyes to the fact that my skills as a musician were beyond average. And so, I thought, 'Well, maybe I want to do music.' And so I decided then to become a music teacher instead."

She excels in music: "I'm a singer primarily, but I grew up playing piano from the age of five and clarinet, accordion. I played a few instruments." Although Ms. Celestial believes emphatically that "I'm a teacher first before I'm a musician," the truth is that this experience of discovering her talents helped her to balance her decision to become a teacher. "In four years, I had my Bachelor of Music Education degree," she recalls, "which had this certificate of kindergarten through 12th grade. As a music teacher, you're certified K-12, not just high school or elementary school. And then I went back, and I got a Master of Music Ed a couple of years later, also at State University."

Ms. Celestial's talents are certainly not restricted to her talents as a musician. While those strengths are abundant in Ms. Celestial, there is also something less tangible, maybe less evident, which is that she is someone who was given a special sensibility and eagerness for serving those in need. Reflecting on this, she said, "as I look back now, I can see examples in my childhood where I wanted to help people, where I wanted to stick up for people, where I wanted to be the friend. I would notice the kid who was shunned, the kid who needed help, the kid who needed a friend and needed support. I would notice those things and I felt a lot of empathy in those situations and wanted to be the one to help. I wanted to be the one to stick up for somebody and in a broader sense, I wanted to be the one that could help lift somebody up and help people to achieve and to become their best selves." This desire for helping has always been oriented towards teaching for Ms. Celestial. She recalls, "I never wanted to be a nurse or a doctor, not that kind of helping people."

For the last 20 years, she has been working in Catholic schools, the last six of which have been in a middle upper-class Jesuit high school. She says that the relationship with administration is different when it comes to the comparison of public urban from private Catholic schools. However, at the same time, "it's not different. Kids are kids, and they want the same things. No matter where you go," she believes.

Ms. Celestial recognized that her calling to teach responded to an experience of having received gifts—her talents as a musician, her desire to serve others, and her parents who modeled for her through their parenting the possibility or desire to be a teacher. These are the aspects that make up Ms. Celestial's real sense of being chosen. "It does feel like a call," she says, "in the form of, these were the gifts that you are given and here's a way to respond." The way to respond was to say yes to teach. "I teach life," Ms. Celestial reflects, "I do it through music."

Ms. Celestial feels called and chosen or chosen in being called; however, the specifics of what kind of teaching she was chosen for is something she discovered along the way. Her first work experience, for example, was not precisely the work to which she felt called. She comments, "My first teaching position was half elementary school and half middle school. And while I love teaching, I didn't love that placement. I did not love middle school, and I was not a good middle school teacher. So it was a blessing that that was only one year and then for the next many, many years, I was in high school and not dealing with that middle school age. So, I've been very fortunate that I've had the opportunity to teach in the areas where I'm strong. I didn't have to spend much time in the areas where I was not that strong." High school students and the high school context provided for Ms. Celestial the possibility of using her talents and thereby confirming the call that she received and followed.

In the present day, with students between the ages of 15-20, Ms. Celestial feels that the experience of the call to be a high school teacher, "is a big part of my identity," she says. "I always felt that I was a better parent because I was a teacher and had a career that I love that was very fulfilling. I always knew that I was a better teacher because I was also a mom and understood the other end of it. And so, I felt like I'm a teacher all the time. It's hard to turn it off even when I'm not at work. I felt like I'm always a teacher. I felt like I'm always wanting to ask the right questions and provide the right experiences and I just, I can't turn it off. So, it's very much a part of who I am."

Ms. Celestial has had challenging moments during her life as a teacher. She remembered receiving a rude comment from a student early in her career, "I remember in that moment just feeling like I wanted to cry or lose my temper or something. And knowing that I shouldn't care what he said, but it was so frustrating to me that he would even do that because he's supposed to be enjoying my beautifully written lesson plan [laughs] you know?" The over identification with the work has carried its own difficulties; that is why she has never associated her calling to teach with overwork. "I don't work super long hours. I don't bring a lot of work home." She has seen colleagues burn out, and as she says, "I've always been blessed that my kids have mostly been at my school where I teach. That wasn't always true, but for most of their childhood, they were where I taught. So, they were with me even if I was having long hours, they were there too. So, it wasn't like I felt like I want to get out of here, so I can get home to my family. My family was with me. So that helped with preventing the burn out."

To this point in Ms. Celestial's narrative, I have not yet referred to who she understands as *the one who calls or chooses her* as a teacher. Ms. Celestial's references to feeling blessed, to feeling chosen—all of these are references to God. For Ms. Celestial, a practicing Catholic, God is the one who says, "Here are your gifts." God has given the gifts and has chosen her.

Table 5.1 *Characteristics of the Five Archetypes of Callings*

Archetype	Characteristics
Listener	• Listeners listen to a voice, understood as the voice of the divine. • Listeners studied in Catholic schools. • Listeners' experience starts before entering College. • Listeners' listen originally in a context of high school service experiences. • Listeners' continue increasingly listening to the voice after high school. • Listeners' confirm the call during college. • Listeners rest on Catholic high schools to support their calling. • Listeners are also good listeners, generally speaking. • Listeners themselves make the decision to follow the voice.
Martyr	• Martyrs focus on costs, pains, or suffering that being a teacher entails. • Martyrs do Christian reading of the costs: Jesus suffered. • Martyrs do not pretend that others will understand. • Martyrs discover their calling while practicing teaching, not before. • Martyrs do not lose sight of the loving and lively aspect of teaching. • Martyrs have passion for learning, but more for students themselves. • Martyrs depend on the school, regardless of its Catholicity. • Martyrs take care of themselves with regards to work overload.
Embedder	• Embedders know that their calling to teach is within a greater calling. • Embedders assumed their calling to teach with freedom, not coercion. • Embedders confirmed their second calling in practicing teaching. • Embedders experience, during the first five years teaching, a process of differentiation of their callings. • Embedders experienced the differentiation at the functional level, not at the level of identity. • Embedders demonstrate strength in order to keep their second call alive. • Embedders have a special focus on innovation in their pedagogy and interactions with students.
Builder	• Builders are protagonists of their calling, by following intuitions. • Builders take chances against odds in terms of history of personal education. • Builders follow an internal passion. • Builders have a capacity for self-reflection. • Builders have experienced the building of their calling in a context of autonomy • Builders like to feel challenged. • Builders are specially prepared to not see the fruits of their work.
Chosen	• Chosen ones relate their call to receiving gifts and talents for working as teachers. • Chosen ones framed their calling in religious terms. • Chosen ones discover their calling early in life, even during childhood. • Chosen ones have deep experiences of having parents or teachers model teaching. • Chosen ones experience a call to be teachers, not to be a teachers of a particular subject matter. • Chosen ones reflect a passion for service. • Chosen ones take care of themselves; they do not overwork.

The archetypes presented here are, again, representations of five ways of discovering and living a calling to teach. Table 5.1 above summarizes the main features of each of the archetypes for the specific participants in the study.

Variations Within the Archetypes

An archetype resembles Jung's idea of universal patterns or images that can be retrieved from the collective unconscious and orders our ways of orienting ourselves in the world (Jung & Hull, 1975). An archetype is, in that sense, a comprehensive term that serves an analytical purpose

in this study, i.e., to facilitate our understanding of how teachers discover, live, and define their calling to teach. To that end, I assigned to each of the 76 participating teachers who mentioned a call to teach during the interview process the archetype label that most represented the way they lived, discovered, and made sense of their calling. Thus, 18 teachers were labeled as *listeners*, 8 as *martyrs*, 20 as *embedders*, 21 as *builders*, and 9 as *chosen ones*. Within each of the archetypes, the cases show variation in key variables reviewed in this section; I provide a range within each of those characteristics that compose each archetype.

The listeners.

Listeners like Mr. Samuelson hold at their core the experience of having heard and listened to the call to teach. They understand this call as an experience of listening to a voice beyond the self. Although listeners heard and heeded this call at different stages of their life, they all felt the confirmation of the call while working as teachers, in some cases, already many years into it. The call varies in three salient dimensions: the nature of the call, the time when the call was heard or experienced, and the orientation to the calling, or in other words, to what specifically the call is oriented.

In all of the cases, the hearers of the call experience it as originating beyond the self; however, the understanding of the origin of the call varies from participant to participant, ranging from those who are unsure of a divine or sacred origin on one end, to those in the vast majority (e.g., Mr. Samuelson) who are absolutely convinced that call comes from God. Mr. Kensington, a lay American history teacher, reflected on his calling as "something that you hear but it's coming from I don't know where. It's coming from a source that's greater than you. So, to me, I feel like my calling was something that I heard in my heart that I hope, I imagine was, you know, divinity…calling to me to do something" (lay_usa_une). Some respondents also included the students as part of the origin of their calling, or at least acknowledged students' role in the process of how the call is revealed. Fr. Roberts mentioned that the voice is that of "these little kids. They are the ones who are not the initiation of the call, but certainly they tell you what the call is going to be, because vocation is a voice which … doesn't go silent" (priest_usa_ucs).

The time when the call is heard also varies from case to case within the *listeners* archetype. Like Mr. Samuelson, half of the listeners heard the calling before teaching, and half after they were already in the profession. In the first group, high school is mentioned as the period in which the calling was heard, and often college was the time of confirmation of the call. In the second group, the call is heard and confirmed throughout the early years of teaching (within the first ten). A member of the first group, Mr. Cohen, a lay American science teacher with over 30 years of experience in the classroom, remembers "When I was a sophomore here at Jesuit high, I had the opportunity that summer to have a summer job working at a boy scout camp about 80 miles south of here. And the job involved 8 weeks of teaching scouts swimming, canoeing, rowing and life-saving skills. And I thought it was gonna be a great opportunity; I've gone to camp. I thought it was a lot of fun. And I kept doing it, I went back after junior year, I went back after senior year." In the other extreme is Ms. Damon who recalls hearing the call not in the first school where she taught but in her subsequent teaching experience in the Jesuit high school. "To be honest," she said, "I really think that it is when I have started here in [this high school] …I said to others that I had a calling [before], but it has been here where I heard a call" (lay_bol).

Generally, the call or voice that *listeners* hear orients them toward a specific domain in their work (the students, the school itself, the subject matter of the course). For some *listeners*, the focus of the call is in the students and always has been, as is true in Mr. Samuelson's experience.

For others, though, the orientation shifts, at some points towards learning, at other times, the subject matter, or at certain points, it manifests as service to a particular institution. An example of this last case is Mr. Matthews who says, "I was not interested in going to a public school, or you know, I knew that…being back with the Jesuits is what I wanted to do" (lay_usa_ucs). A lay American drama teacher mentions that for him the call has been always directed to the subject matter first; "Certainly I was called to do theater, I know that. I find God in doing creative work, in doing theater. I find God very much in the creative process. I also find God in the creative process of writing" (lay_usa_uwe). Eventually, though, all *listeners* end up articulating that the call comes with and for the students.

The professional status of the *listeners* is evenly distributed. In the set of 18 teachers who make up the *listeners* archetype, half are lay and half priests. It is likewise in the case of geographical setting where they taught or teach—half in the United States and half in Latin America. In addition to the previous two variables, *listeners* are also balanced with regards to the three time periods. The experience of listening can be understood, also, within the context of having experience with *discernment*, a concept and practice with which those teaching in Jesuit high schools would be quite familiar. As seen in Chapters 3 and 4, the work context is a dimension in high regard by long career teachers who have chosen a Jesuit institution, and who have stayed in it for many years. Discernment is an extended practice, and it is at the core of teacher induction programs. Therefore, the balanced distribution of *listeners* through the different professional statuses, regions, and time might be explained by this connection between listening and discerning.

The martyrs.
Martyrs are the smallest archetype in terms of respondents who understood and articulated their call in that manner (n=8). Martyrs are a very small group that discover and live the call to teach in terms of the sacrifice that being a teacher involves; these costs and pains are paid with gladness. There is no remorse in the martyrs; they generally discover their call while teaching, not before. They also have a religious understanding of the calling. Martyrs are teachers who realize the difficulties of their job, and they take precautions to prevent burnout. Teachers who are martyrs vary in how much they acknowledge the tradeoff of their decision to follow the call.

Mr. Stephens, as we learned in the previous section, wanted at some point in his life to increase his earnings. Working in a Catholic school meant earning a smaller salary than what he could make at a public school. The business he planned with his brother was a good opportunity and it was working, but at some point, he had to step down from it. It was a cost to leave the business, but one that he gladly paid. Other teachers acknowledge a more hypothetical cost that is based in paths that they could have taken but didn't. These teachers are martyrs because teaching itself brings some pain, but not necessarily an actual alternative cost. Mr. Perez, a lay Peruvian biology teacher shares, "Sometimes I wondered 'would I not like to go to another place where they pay more than as a biologist I would ever have?', or 'Do I not want to come to work at the mine…where I'm going to receive 4 times what I'm earning today?' You look at your pockets, you look at the bills, you look at the debts, but then you say this will help me, but would I feel good? I mean, would I feel good doing something that means doing something just for money" (lay_per). Martyrs are martyrs based on real and abstract opportunity costs.

Most of the Martyrs articulate the experience of having a calling to teach as oriented toward students, as Mr. Stephens does. None of them mention the subject matter. One did mention that the ideal of having a principle of service is at the center of his calling. As a lay Peruvian art teacher shares, "For me it is something as they say here, something like the Jesuits…is to serve for

something. To be more is to have a calling, to have a desire, to have something innate to you that is what leads you to help others" (lay_per).

Martyrs are concentrated in the younger generation of teachers in the study; three quarters of them started teaching between 1990 and 2016. It might be the case that the participant teachers in the younger generations, in contrast to older generations, had in front of them more alternatives—real ones or just the idea of them—that make more salient the cost of being school teachers.

The embedders.

Embedders is a distinct archetype in this study due to the aspect of professional status, i.e. the fact that there are priest teachers and lay teachers. By the very definition of the archetype, embedders like Fr. Atkinson are those who have their calling to teach nested inside a bigger call, in this case, the priestly calling. All but three teachers in this archetype are priest teachers. In the case of the few lay teachers, the call to teach is nested in a calling to serve the common good. The callings exist one inside the other, but both are chosen with freedom. There is no coercion. All the embedders experience both callings as deeply integrated at the level of their identity, but the calls are then clearly separated at the level of function. Within the embedders, there is also variation in when the decision of becoming a teacher is made and variation with regards to the focus of the calling.

There are embedders who experienced the call to teach within their greater call, far before working as school teachers. Most of those cases are like Fr. Atkinson, who studied in a Jesuit high school. The impact of being taught and accompanied during his school years by teachers who were priests often sparked the idea in the embedders to become priests who also teach. But there are embedders who knew that teaching could be a possibility but did not necessarily assume it as a calling. This group of teachers became conscious of the call not before but after years of teaching.

In the extreme of the continuum between these two groups, there are those like Fr. Matus, who shares, "It seemed natural to me that I'd want to be a Jesuit as I look back on that, given my father's experience, given Jesuits I knew, given three or four of the scholastics' development when I was a student, but particularly this one, that I wanted to be like that. And part of wanting to be like that was being a Jesuit, but also being a teacher. So for me, I think they were parallel. Being a Jesuit, being a teacher, the calling seemed to be parallel" (priest_usa_uwe). Additionally, Fr. Nicholson shared, "…one of the reasons I became a teacher was that almost anything you read, and you could see in front of you in the classroom said that Jesuits are teachers. I mean, I knew of others who weren't like that. I don't think that Francis Xavier spent very much time in the classroom. But most Jesuits who have lived, taught" (jesuit_usa_mar).

In the other extreme are those like Fr. Abrahams, who discovered his calling to teach during his years of priestly formation, specifically during the stage called regency. He shared, "I was one of maybe eight or nine scholastics teaching at Georgetown prep. So, there was a lot of competition among us…you had the sense of either you got the knack very quickly that you could manage a classroom of boys, that you could be comfortable running activities, that you were confident that they were learning and you were getting good feedback from them, then you sort of knew you had fallen into what you should be doing…And that wasn't universally the case…a number of Jesuits at that time were not meant to be teachers, and I think that was one of the points of regency—to discover whether or not you should continue teaching" (priest_usa_mar).

The other source of variation in the embedders archetype comes from the focus of their calling, that is, in a continuum from an institutional service to forming the student in particular.

Embedders are generally inclined to understand their calling inside their calling, with a clear orientation towards students. There are some, though, for whom to serve the institution comes first. This is not surprising, given that most of the embedders are priests, who, besides having a responsibility for the teaching work, symbolically have an institutional responsibility for the Jesuit high schools. Jesuits, in collaboration with lay teachers in many cases today, but specially before 1990, own, run, and hold the identity of the high schools. Therefore, for some embedders, to have a calling to teach is oriented at the end of the day to the institution before it is oriented towards learning itself or to a given subject matter.

In addition to this reality of the orientation of the calling and given the decreasing number of Jesuits assigned to work in secondary education (see Chapter 3), Fr. Anderson, a biology teacher in the U.S. for 35 plus years, shared, that "Now the emphasis is on passing on our Ignatian identity to our colleagues because soon there'll be nobody, maybe one for a while and then what? So, my real focus is on that…we're here to pass on the spirit …the spirit of the exercises that comes into education to our colleagues…that's where our job is now, to work with them so that they understand that and hopefully pick that up and continue."

The builders.

Builders like Mr. Bobson are the archetype that seems to possess more agency with respect to their calling to teach. The other archetypes freely decided to follow a calling to teach; however, *builders* articulate a process of actively and intuitively building what they express as a calling to teach. Mr. Bobson, like all *builders*, are protagonists of their own calling. *Builders* assume the call to teach as a challenge, and they vary in three main aspects: their feelings toward teaching prior to when the calling was built, the orientation towards subject matter and towards students, and the starting point of the building process.

Before teaching was a calling, there are *builders* who experienced frustration and desires to leave when they first confronted a classroom, mostly due to students' reception. Others did not trust their own training and skills to pursue teaching, even though they had a good relationship with students at the onset. Again, most of the *builders* share Mr. Bobson's feeling, but there are some builders who vary from him, such as Mr. Andreas and Fr. Pavez. Mr. Andreas shared, "I was going to go somewhere else, who knows. In fact, I remember about two or three weeks after I started working here. I was sitting in class, watching my students take a test and I was absolutely miserable. I've made the biggest mistake of my life thinking that I could be a teacher, you know, so I was at a really low point, right in the beginning. It was just way too much for me" (lay_usa_uwe). The sense of not feeling ready is also expressed by Fr. Pavez, who commented that "at the beginning I didn't know anything! I had to adapt, learn over the way using a lot of common sense, but I feel close to the students, and that is what they value the most. In that context, I think I shaped my calling step by step" (priest_per). Mr. Andreas, Fr. Pavez, and Mr. Bobson have each been teaching for more than 30 years. They consider themselves builders of their calling. However, their starting points in regard to their feelings and experiences in the classroom were very different.

The continuum between passion for the subject matter and how centered the calling is in the students is also varied. Indeed, there are teachers who valued the subject matter to such a high degree that the purpose of forming the students seemed to get lost. Mr. Bobson has a clear passion for Chemistry, but for him, the subject matter never took a central position. Mrs. Smith, also a *builder*, reflects that when beginning as a teacher almost 20 years ago, "the first and most important issue was the Math. I'm not gonna lie to you, at first it was the Math. I'm a Math teacher there.

And then…things happen with kids…and I said to myself, 'No, it's not all about the Math.' So, at first it was the Math then, yeah it's a combination of serving the students and the Math."

Mr. Bobson situates the first inspirational moment of his call to become a teacher when he was a high school student. It was from that moment that he recognized starting to build his calling. Others recognized this moment of beginning the building process much later in life. *Builders* like Mr. Gonzalez shared that, for him, "to be a teacher was never in my projects growing up. There was some admiration for my teachers, and for teachers in general, but it's not something I personally dreamed on when I was a kid" (lay_chi). Fr. Munoz, a Chilean priest says that he never thought about teaching, and that unlike most Jesuit priests of his generation in 1950, "I never thought about teaching when I joined the Society of Jesus. My motivation was different" (priest_chi). It wasn't until the experience of regency, teaching for the first time, and after six years of Jesuit training in the seminary, when Fr. Munoz said he started to have this sense of building and modeling a call to teach. The process of building the call has a different timeline within the life of each of the *builders*. For example, Mr. Bobson experienced at the onset some positive tendency towards teaching that others did not have, for example Mr. Gonzalez and Fr. Munoz, *builders* for whom this initial tendency was absent.

The chosen ones.

The *chosen ones* are close to the martyrs in the sense of being a very small archetype. They have a unanimous sense that having received certain gifts or talents is a sign of having been chosen to pursue teaching, and this, for them, is the experience of being called. In the same way that Ms. Celestial articulates her call, all of the *chosen ones* have a heavily religious conception of the call, i.e., that they have been chosen by God and given certain gifts from God in order to teach. *Chosen ones* vary in three main dimensions. One of these dimensions is the object of the call, another is the reality that although there is a limit within the archetype, the call is generally heard within the first five years of teaching; although, there are some *chosen ones* who experience the call earlier than others. Lastly, they experience some sense of a struggle against the call, normally at the time when the call is first perceived.

Ms. Celestial is very clear in regards to whom her call is oriented, i.e., her students. There is a continuum similar to those in the other archetypes—from the students pole to the service pole. Teachers like Fr. Powell, for example, experience being called in being chosen to serve. As he shares, "I think I presented myself as somebody available for service 'Into your hands, Oh Lord, I commend my spirit tell me what to do'" (priest_usa_une). He has been given gifts, and he puts them forth for service in a very broad sense.

The time when they experience the calling to teach also varies within the archetype. Most of the *chosen ones* experienced it during their high school years and felt a confirmation of it during college or in their first years teaching. Others simply experience the call while teaching. Fr. Lewis comments, "That's what I wanted to do and, you know, when I was in high school…I had a teacher; he's very good, and you look at the person teaching, and you got very enamored by the way he taught, and he was such a great teacher, you learn so much from him. You said, you know, 'What if I were like this guy doing…just like him…in a high school? Well, that would be fun, that would be nice'" (priest_usa_ucs).

Chosen ones navigate their call in varied ways, but there is some sense of struggle within each of their experiences. Ms. Celestial experienced this struggle with regards to what type of teacher she wanted to be as well as which musical instrument to pursue in teaching. Some *chosen ones* experience more challenging circumstances. For example, Ms. Olivera from Bolivia shared,

"I felt an inclination towards teaching, but it turns out that at my young age of 16 years, I refused. I was against that calling and I said no, I will not be a teacher. I will not be a teacher because I found a series of circumstances that I was going to live…and I did not want it. For me it was very complicated" (lay_bol). In other words, the downside of teaching causes some to reject the call.

The archetypes presented here are, again, are representations of five ways of discovering and living a calling to teach. Table 5.1 below summarizes the main features of each of the archetypes for the specific participants in the study.

Table 5.2 *Similarities and Variations Within the Five Archetypes*

Archetype	Common features	Variations
Listeners	Experience of listening	Nature of the call: sacred and secular
	Incremental	Timing of the call: from high school to working years
	Beyond the self	
	Confirmed during working years	Orientation of the call: the whole spectrum of students, learning, subject matter, and institutional service
Martyrs	Experience of accepting suffering with gladness	Assessing the tradeoff of teaching
	Discover it during working years	Orientation of the call: from students to service
	Exclusively religious understanding Prevent burnout	Concentrated in younger generations
Embedders	Experience of the calling to teach inside a broader calling	The callings are separated at the level of functions
	Callings are blended at the level of identity	Timing of the call: from the experience of the first call, to the moment of differentiation of the callings
	Concentrated in priest teachers.	Focus of the call: focus on the wellbeing of the institution
Builders	Experience of building	Feelings when teaching was not a calling
	Agency over the calling	Orientation of the call: subject matter and students
	Call assumed as a challenge	Starting point of the building process
Chosen ones	Experience of acknowledging gifts received	Timing of the call
		Object of the call: call to what
	Emphasis on the religious nature of the call	Ways a battling with the fact of feeling chosen at a first moment

Chapter 6: Conclusions and Implications

Introduction

"I became a teacher because for me it was crystal clear I had a calling to do it. I'm a teacher because I'm called." This was the answer one teacher gave while explaining the reasons why she became a teacher, and especially explaining why she has stayed for so long as a teacher at the secondary level. In this particular case, she was a lay American teacher of English, but after hundreds of encounters with teachers in Jesuit high schools in North and Latin America, and hundreds of hours of interviews, I can attest that her answer was repeated in different shapes and sizes in so many teachers across professional status (lay / priest), geographical settings (Latin America / North American) and time period (before 1965 / between 1965-1990 / between 1990-2016). Even before this research project came about, I had witnessed a significant number of teachers whom I met as a student, colleague, and researcher at different stages of my life employ the concept of calling to refer to the meaning of what they do and why they do it.

The question of what kind of meanings teachers attach to their work, and how some articulate that meaning as a calling, became for me a puzzle that I wanted to solve. It was a research problem that emerged from my experiences of contact with teachers, the subsequent confirmation within particular intuitions in a pilot study, and in light of the reality that questions about calling have been under developed in the field of teachers and teaching. Indeed, when focusing on the intersection of teachers and work, education researchers and researchers in other social sciences seem to have overlooked the phenomenon of calling.

The reality of having scarce literature and few developed theories on callings—as shown in Chapter 1—posited a challenge to my quest. This challenge eventually led me to design a multi-case comparative study with the aim of shedding light on callings to teach at the secondary level (see Chapter 2). I circumscribed the study to teachers who worked or work in a particular type of school, i.e. Jesuit high schools. These Catholic schools, run by the Society of Jesus, have a long tradition, over 450 years, of education, and they were originally staffed predominantly by priest faculty who have experienced a religious call to the priesthood. However, many of these clergy were progressively replaced by lay teachers, especially in the second half of the 20th century. To access the stories of retired or veteran teachers who had or have been a part of these school communities, working as priests or lay teachers, across North and Latin America, before 1965, between 1965 and 1990, and after 1990, gave me a rich range from which to ask and answer questions about the meaning of work, the characteristics of calling in those who express calling as part of their meaning structure, and the conditions under which such a calling is developed.

As mentioned in Chapter 1, the epistemological shortcomings of quantitative studies on callings (and work in general), based primarily on surveyed methods, (Bunderson & Thompson, 2009, 2009; Dik & Duffy, 2009; Dik et al., 2012; Dobrow & Tosti-Kharas, 2012; Duffy & Dik, 2013; Duffy & Sedlacek, 2007; Hernandez et al., 2011), made me choose a qualitative approach. Such a method has its own limitations (details of which I explain later), but this method has served me to immerse myself in the exploration of the deep and underexplored phenomenon of calling, in this case, calling in the life of veteran and retired secondary teachers in a religious context.

Semi-structured interviews, numbering 105 in total, allowed me to retrieve answers for my research questions from the teachers' narratives. Analysis of the content of those narratives served to cover at least a portion of the epistemological gaps that other methods, specifically surveying, do not cover at all. Meaning and callings are experienced in real life, and as displayed in Chapter 1, this phenomenon is especially linked to work life in culturally Christian societies. Callings and

meanings are not abstractions when it comes to teaching. Both have to do with teachers' real-life concerns, frustrations, and joys. Callings have been researched in such a way that do not honor the real importance they play in teachers' life and work (with some exceptions, as previously outlined) (Hansen, 1994, 1995, 2001; Serow, 1994). Callings are lived experiences, better captured through an immersion into teachers' narratives and their articulations of these lived experience than by Likert scale responses to closed, fixed questions.

Using this design, I found relevant evidence in three areas, i.e., changes experienced by the Jesuit high school in terms of the faculty composition (especially in the years in which my study was focused), different meanings teachers attach to their work, and various paths toward discovering, defining, and living a calling to teach.

The Changes in the Jesuit High Schools

Catholic high schools are organizations nested within the larger institution of the Catholic church. The changes within the church in the time period covered within the study are of major proportion, as shown in Chapter 3. Specifically, changes brought about by the Second Vatican Council and the simultaneous acceleration of secularization created the atmosphere for changes in these high school institutions run by the church (Grace, 2002; Grace & O'Keefe, 2007; Heft, 2011; You & Conley, 2015). Changes occurred in different directions in the geographical settings where the teachers interview in the study taught or are teaching. In Latin America, there has been consistent representation of the Catholic church in the world of secondary education since 1970. Conversely, in the United States, the decreasing of the provision of secondary education has been steady since that same year. All in all, when in high school, 1 out of 10 students are educated by the Catholic church in Bolivia, Brazil, and Chile, and that is only true for 3 out of 100 students in the United States.

With the backdrop of the Catholic secondary education provision decreasing or remaining steady, the Jesuit high schools posit a difference, i.e., all of them experienced an increase in both the number of schools and in student enrollment. Never have Jesuit schools in the four analyzed countries had as high enrollment as they did in 2017.

The phenomenon of incremental increase occurred at the same time that the presence of Jesuits in the high school dramatically decreased. Bolivia was a slight exception, for the especially rapid decrease of Jesuits working within the Society's educational institutions, but Peru, Chile, and the United States show a very similar trend in the loss of Jesuits in the faculty. This is a result not only of fewer men entering the order, but also of larger paths taken by the Society of Jesus to work in other kinds of apostolates, some of which were in education but not at the secondary level. Fewer Jesuit priests teaching affected not only the person-to-person relationship between students and Jesuits but also between lay faculty and Jesuits.

These changes opened the gate for another major change in regard to the professional status of teachers. Jesuit priests formed the faculty of these schools for nearly 450 years, but more recently, they are being replaced by lay teachers. Jesuits, therefore, did not abandon the apostolate of secondary education, but there was a significant exodus of Jesuits from the classroom. They stopped filling the teaching positions; however, they stayed committed to managing, inspiring, and transferring the mobilizing model of education as formation from one generation to the next. It is possible those efforts by the Society to transmit the Ignatian model and Spirit of education are reason why the meaning that teachers ascribed to their work in these Jesuit high schools varied so little across geographical setting, time period, or professional status. Indeed, regardless of the type of teachers, they defined the actual substance of their work as formation, evidenced in Chapter 4.

To have such a consistent primary vision of their work, i.e., as that of formation, seems not simply to be due to the personal characteristics of teachers and their own particular choices, but rather to an organization that has the mission of formative education at its core.

Experiencing the Phenomenon of the Calling

At the outset of this dissertation, I questioned the research on callings—its relationship to work in general and to teaching in particular. This was especially present at the beginning given the absence of deeper reflections within the field that have honored the complexity of the phenomenon of callings. I purposefully did not want to offer another study on callings where I simply retrieve from teachers their position on whether they agree or disagree with statements such as "I have a calling to teach," or "My calling comes from a divine force." To ask for those statements is, in itself, not a bad thing to do. Actually, as shown in Chapter 1, it responds to a particular type of inquiry from which the field has likely benefited. However, based on the obscurity of the phenomenon of callings in its current stage of study, I concluded that a better understanding of the subjectivity behind those statements would provide a more robust understanding, and therefore better possibilities, for using the concept in research on teachers and teaching. I thought this might be particularly true in the areas of teacher identity, the meaning of work, and the studies of calling itself, beyond the field of education.

The findings show that, according to the conceptual framework established in Chapter 1, the way in which teachers refer to their calling (those who have experienced it), touches the language of meanings and the typologies of calling. However, the fact that callings of the teachers in this study relate to those categories does not mean that we can retrieve wholly the definition of callings from them. That is why teachers with a calling, as studied here, are grouped around archetypes of callings to teach, which provides, in my opinion, a much better way of understanding what callings are. I highlight each of these findings in what follows.

Meanings.

Through the study of meanings in teaching, and the inquiry into callings as one way in which teachers making meaning of their work, this study gives key insights into why teachers enter and stay in this type of work, especially for those interested in understanding more deeply who teachers are and what they strive for. Teachers in the study showed a fairly similar pattern of making meaning in their work using the four sources of situational meaning discussed by Rosso and his colleagues (2010). These authors studied how others, the self, the work context, and the spiritual life become essential domains where meaning is created. It was evident from the firsts interviews I conducted, and subsequently confirmed in the analysis of the narratives, that the teaching and learning process is so dependent on the relationship between teachers and students. As a result, a clear distinction emerged in the *others* category, which I separated into two dimensions—students and society. Further, I found that teachers tend to subdivide the student dimension by distinguishing between seeing or perceiving students as *agents* or more as *passive recipients* in their education. Another clear distinction in the teachers' narratives occurs within dimension of meaning involving relationship with society, between categories that I call abstract, or out-of-touch and another view of relationship with society in which needs are experienced as concrete, face-to-face with an other.

In asking where teachers find the most meaning in their work, *others* arise as the most salient dimension of meaning. With regards to students, there is a group of teachers who understand themselves as actively laboring with passive students. Most of the teachers operate out

of a notion of formation as opposed to the concept of education focused just on the transfer of information, and within this notion of formation, the teachers understand themselves as the protagonists or main character. For the teachers who perceive students as passive, the formation of the student is articulated through the role that teachers play in this process. It is not necessarily an act of self-praise or even selfishness, though; these teachers believe that they have a responsibility. They understand their way of proceeding as a service. This mindset is expressed in their narratives through the association of their work with verbs such as to *model*, *influence*, *shape*, *create*, *spark*, *ignite*, and *build*.

The group of teachers who consider their students active participants in their own formation, on the other hand, are teachers who find the meaning in their work through accompanying their students. Instead of focusing on the *shaping*, *modeling*, or *creating* of a student who is passive, these teachers find meaning in *caring*, *affirming*, and *influencing*. Teachers who see their students primarily as agents tend to describe their work as sharing something they have with others, but never in a superior fashion.

Teachers express the meaning of their work, when connected to society, in a continuum from an abstract to concrete (face-to-face) pole, understanding and articulating their role in society differently at each pole. While abstraction is characterized by concepts or ideas such as *changing the world*, *building a new society*, or *shaping good leaders for society*, the face-to-face or concrete way of expression is represented with images such as *being a public servant in a private school*, *serving a city*, *working for the entire school community*, and *building a safe space in the school* or *making it a refuge*.

There are teachers for whom, in addition to *or* as opposed to the other-regarded source of meaning, find meaning in their work via their understanding and experience of the self within their work. This self-regarded category is made up of a cluster of meanings where teachers highlight what they experience internally as a result of the work they do, and this includes concepts such as feeling *fulfilled*, *helpful*, *appreciated*, or *joyful,* or as if one *belongs to a community* or *is becoming a better person*.

Teachers value the work context of Jesuit high schools and find meaning in it. In fact, second to the other-regarded categories of meaning, work context is the next primary realm out of which teachers create their meaning structures. This is evidenced by the frequency with which this category appears in the teachers' narratives.

There is a vivid sense that in a Jesuit school, teachers can nurture their own talents. Teachers in the study have experienced the development of their career and, at the same time, felt that they have become a part of a larger community. As in many other Catholic schools, the idea of a community working with a mission (Bryk et al., 1993) is an important driver to work for excellence. However, there is a sense in Jesuit schools, especially for those coming from work experiences in other public or private high schools, that teachers can develop personally and professionally because the organizational culture favors it. The work context and community are a source of meaning for teachers' work because of the atmosphere often provided through being part of a Jesuit high school in the societies in which they live and teach.

Finally, spiritual life is another source of meaning that the teachers interviewed expressed in their reflections. Spiritual life was further divided into the dimensions of actions and feelings to better understand how teachers related their entire work or parts of their work to this source of meaning. The spiritual force expressed in actions refers to a God that is experienced actively in the life of the teacher though things like *pushing*, *motivating*, or *obliging* him or her to be active and intentional through his or her work. The second way of making meaning out of this spiritual

dimension is by acknowledging God's presence in their inner life, taking on the work as a *destiny*, a *call*, a *non-material, fulfilling experience*. These aspects make up the dimension of feelings within the spiritual life.

Thus, the participating teachers create meaning of their work using the building blocks that Rosso et al. (2010) offer. Teachers in the study are not, generally speaking, different to other workers who have given the base for those authors' studies. Nurses, physicians, or journalists use these sources as well. Although those building blocks of the self, others, work context, and the spiritual life are not entirely illustrative of how the phenomenon of calling displays itself in the life of teachers, they offer a partial way to look into the phenomenon of calling.

Callings.

Teachers with a calling certainly participate in the different sources of meaning, but as this study shows, teachers who have experienced a calling go far beyond these characteristics. In fact, the exercise itself of defining the calling was not an easy task. The work of Rosso et al. (2010) as previously mentioned, have provided concepts and framework for understanding meaning. But at the same time, it may perpetuate an incorrect assumption of callings as a phenomenon strictly linked to the spiritual life. Callings have a spiritual and even religious dimension, as shown in this study; however, they are more than that. In that same vein, authors have shown that joy, passion, and sense of purpose are relevant variables behind the reasons why teachers enter and stay the profession (Bryk et al., 1993; Campbell, 2003; Feiman-Nemser et al., 2014). To assume that those elements are just exchangeable with calling, would diminish the meaning of calling in the way it is expressed in this study.

Callings as experienced by the teachers in this study do not align either, in a strict way, with the types of callings established by the literature on callings (Bunderson & Thompson, 2009). To simply attach to the narratives of teachers the labels of classical, modern, or neoclassical callings was a fruitless exercise. For that reason, the working definition of calling provided at the outset of the study, which emphasized *a sense of destiny*, *a sense of mission*, *enjoyment in the teaching work*, *longevity*, and *perseverance* (see Chapter 1), did not completely satisfy the complexity of the phenomenon of calling in the lives of the teachers studied.

This is why the organization of teachers' callings under the archetypes represents not only an analytical strategy for making the concept clearer, but mostly a necessity given the lack of a strict match between the experience of calling with the other elements of the conceptual framework. Teachers in the study refer to their calling by framing it within experiences of *listening*, *martyrdom*, *feeling the call to teach as embedded within a bigger calling*, *building*, and *feeling chosen*. In fact, the *listeners*, the *martyrs*, the *embedders*, the *builders*, and the *chosen ones*, are, I claimed, archetypes of callings, and teachers discover, live, and define their calling to teach in different ways. To have a calling to teach is evidenced by the teachers in this study as a dynamic experience where the degrees of agency, the involvement of the self, and the meaning-making process varies from teacher to teacher. That is why the archetypes provide such a helpful lens to expand the knowledge of the calling.

The intersections between the five archetypes, the types of callings, and the sources of meaning, presented bellow in table 6.1, display an effort to understand callings under the elements of the conceptual framework. At the same time, this is a step I take to depict how the complexity of the phenomenon cannot be captured entirely by any of these dimensions. It can be seen how the *listeners*, as well as the *embedders* and the *builders*, use elements from the callings that literature catalogues as classical, neoclassical, and modern in its social form—as opposed to the

individualistic notion. *Listeners* and *embedders* alike are archetypes in which a divine caller can be part of the experience of calling, but both are also archetypes into which more secular experiences could fit. Indeed, there are *listeners* who experience the calling as a voice from beyond the self, and others for whom the idea of service to a social need configures the call. *Embedders* also fit this modern social type of calling.

Builders are the only archetype in which the classical notion of calling is not present. A *builder* starts with a great sense of agency, building the calling by first assuming that deep inside the self, there is a feeling, desire, or passion in line what the developments of Dobrow (2013). There are *builders* who build starting from the social needs attached to the modern social type of calling. *Martyrs* and *chosen ones* have their callings clearly attached to a divine caller, therefore match (at least in that aspect) with the classical concept of calling.

The connection of the archetypes with the meanings, as the same table 6.1 shows, can also broaden the perspective on what the calling to teach refers to in the life of teachers. Those who find meaning for their work in their spiritual life, to mention just one example, are those teachers who experience the calling in the form of all the archetypes, with the exception of the *builders* archetype. However, the spiritual life as a source of meaning functions differently from teacher to teacher and does not necessarily or uniformly match each of the four archetypes—*listeners*, *martyrs*, *embedders*, and *chosen ones*.

Table 6.1 *Similarities and Variations Within Archetypes, Type of Calling, and Source of Meaning*

Archetype	Characteristics	Type of calling based on the literature	Source of meaning
Listeners	• Experience of listening • Incremental • Beyond the self • Confirmed during working years • Nature of the call: sacred and secular • Timing of the call: from high school to working years • Orientation of the call: the whole spectrum of students, learning, subject matter, and institutional service	Classical Neoclassical Modern social	Spiritual life Self-regard Other-regard Work context
Martyrs	• Experience of accepting suffering with gladness • Discover it during working years • Exclusively religious understanding • Prevent burnout Assessing the tradeoff of teaching • Orientation of the call: from students to service • Concentrated in younger generations	Classical	Spiritual life Other-regard
Embedders	• The callings are separated at the level of functions • Timing of the call: from the experience of the first call, to the moment of differentiation of the callings • Focus of the call: focus on the wellbeing of the institution	Classical Modern social	Spiritual life Other-regard Work context
Builders	• Experience of building • Agency over the calling • Call assumed as a challenge • Feelings when teaching was not a calling • Orientation of the call: subject matter and students • Starting point of the building process	Modern social Modern individualistic	Self-regard Other-regard
Chosen ones	• Experience of acknowledge received gifts • Emphasis on the religious nature of the call • Timing of the call • Object of the call: call to what • Ways a battling with the fact of feeling chosen at a first moment	Classical	Spiritual life Self-regard

Meanings and callings across time, settings, and professional statuses.

To make the study of the calling to teach more thorough, this study aimed also to trace whether different types of teachers in terms of professional statuses, geographical settings, and time-period experience the call to teach in different ways. Teachers attach several meanings to their work and also have different ways in which they experience their calling to do that work. That is why to look, as a first step, at the distribution of the meanings or their structure of meanings in each of the key variables of professional statuses, geographical settings, and time periods was a way of stepping back to look at the bigger picture.

When assessing the meaning of their work (as seen in Chapter 4), being either a priest or a lay person did not matter for the sources of meaning that regarded students as active, the source of

society at a face-to-face level, or the category of society at an abstract level. It did matter, though, when assessing for the other variables of spiritual life (in both feelings and actions), work context, self-regard, and other-regard that sees students as passive.

The geographical setting variable shows that teachers, when it comes to making meaning within the other-regard dimension, being from Latin America or the United States did not make a difference. To belong to either of these geographical contexts did not play a role when it came to the other three sources of meaning. Finally, when comparing teachers who taught before 1965, between 1965 and 1990, and between 1990 and 2016, in contrast to the two former cases of geographical setting and professional status, there is more variation across all sources of meaning. However, the two periods after 1965 show a similar structure of meanings, with the exception of those related to the spiritual life and with the other-regarded (both passive and active) student category. Considering those teachers who taught or have been teaching since before 1965, their structure of meaning is closer to that of their peers in the other two time periods with regards to students, both passive and active, as a source of meaning.

For many teachers interviewed for this study, the meaning of their work is expressed in terms of having a calling to teach. It is not the case that these teachers do not find meaning of their work in their relationships with others, their work context, their spiritual life, or their own self. As a matter of fact, they do find meaning in those dimensions, as Chapter 4 clearly shows. However, the meaning of their work experience transcends those dimensions to an experience they define as a calling, and based on teachers' narratives, I grouped this experience of calling into five archetypes.

The professional status of the *listeners* is evenly distributed across the variables. In the set of teachers who make up the *listeners*, half of them are lay and half are priests. Likewise, in the case of geographical setting where they taught or teach, half reside the United States and half in Latin America. In addition to the previous two variables, the *listeners* are also balanced with regards to the three time periods. The experience of listening can be translated into an experience that, for those teaching in Jesuit high schools, is known as discernment. As displayed in Chapters 3 and 4, the work context variable in the Jesuit high school is a dimension in high regard by teachers who have chosen a Jesuit institution and who have stayed in it for many years. Discernment is an extended practice, and it is something they learn at the core of their teacher induction programs. Therefore, the balanced distribution of the listeners through the different professional statuses, regions, and time might well be explained by this connection between listening and discerning.

Martyrs are concentrated in the younger generation of teachers in the study—three-quarters started teaching between 1990 and 2016. It might be the case that participant teachers of younger generations, as opposed to older generations, had more alternatives—whether real or simply the perception of alternatives—that made more salient the cost of being school teachers. *Embedders* is a special group in terms of the professional status of those who integrate it; all but three teachers in this archetype are priests.

Generally speaking, teachers from different generations and regions, despite professional status, portray a consistency that makes these variables adjectives, not substantives. As mentioned, these variables make a difference in regard to certain meanings and calling archetypes, but the general rule, based on the evidence on this study, seems to be that both meanings and callings are evenly present across the variables. It is likely that in addition to the long-time commitment of teachers interviewed, their adherence to the less self-centered attractors to teaching studied by Lortie (1975) and the existence of the solid high school institution—even though the dramatic

changes experimented—can make these different types of teachers more similar than what one might expect.

Being Called

The teachers in the study who mentioned having experienced a call to teach are each unique. I conceived the analytical exercises of Chapters 4 and 5, condensed in the prior 3 sections, as ways to provide some order to what is relevant and what is not when we study the intersection of teaching and callings. It is important to know how a calling is connected to patterns of meanings and typologies of calling previously studied in other fields. More importantly, the systematization of the common patterns helps to make arguments like the one I propose here, i.e., that callings to teach are worthy of being researched and considered in the field of teachers and teaching so that we may operate with a broader conception of what being a teacher means and what the work means for them.

But at the end of the day, a calling is experienced and communicated in a fairly unique way, and there is no meaning, typology, or archetype that can capture it entirely. The calling develops over time; it changes and surprises the person who receives it. The calling provides a sense of self—often communicated to me in tears during the interviews. While often causing emotion in teachers, it is also a significant force that strengthens the person to go totally out of themselves to serve, love, and make others the center of their lives and efforts.

The religious side of the experience is real, extremely real in the case of those teaching for many years in Jesuit high schools. The schools, although experimenting drastic changes in the decades from 1960 onwards, have kept a sense of mission around their work as private providers of education. This strategy has made these high schools into places where teachers have received support to nurture a calling that may have originated in either religious or secular contexts. The schools have proven to be key in teacher' lives—for those who have always been in Jesuit organizations and for those who have transferred to one. The institutions seem to have central in the teachers' process of discerning and confirming their call to teach.

Being called, for those who experience it, is not an episodic event in the life of teachers. It is a central experience to which they have to return often. It is a reminder not only of why they do what they do, but of who they are. At the very beginning of this study, I mentioned that in the Christian tradition, one definition of calling is to be summoned. This means to be given a mission, normally attached to a name, e.g., Peter was given the name Peter (Petrus, meaning stone), and then was asked to be the cornerstone of the church by God. Likewise, for the vast majority of teachers in this study, to be called is not only to be asked to do some type of work, i.e., to teach, but it is an affirmation of who they are.

Contributions to Research

There has been an increasing demand for understanding how teachers make sense of their work, what makes them feel satisfied in it, and what makes them effective in the mission that they pursue on behalf of society. This demand exists as a counter force that, organized or not, places itself against the highly influential perspective that comes from the economics of the field of education (Chubb & Moe, 1990; Hanushek, 1997; Hanushek & Rivkin, 2010) and the study of teachers responding to extrinsic motivations (Locke & Latham, 2004). The research world has evidenced that teachers are moved by a different kind of motivation (Deci, 1971; Deci & Ryan, 1985; Staw, 1976), find purpose in a special type of commitment (Meyer & Herscovitch, 2001;

Meyer et al., 2013), and feel satisfied by things other than economic rewards (Yousef, 2016; Collie, Shapka, Perry, and Martin, 2015; Vaillant and Rossel, 2012; Vaillant, 2011; Weiss, 1999).

This study, in the same line of the aforementioned research, contributes to expanding our knowledge of teachers and teaching—who are they, how they make meaning of their work, and what importance a calling to teach might have in their life. It does this especially in the area of those teaching in a Catholic context. It provides a contribution at the theoretical, empirical, and methodological levels, which as shown in Chapter 1, lack depth in a fairly new field in which the identity of teachers is becoming to be integrated.

From a theoretical standpoint, Palmer (1998) provides an angle to look at and value teachers' callings as a voice of the inward teacher connected to his or her identity and integrity. Although his focus is on working with practitioners, Palmer is the first in helping researchers conceptualize what a calling is and how it is recognized. This study benefited from his work, but also pushes the conceptualization of a calling to teach and calling in general by providing the concepts that arise from the archetypes. More than fixed definitions, thinking through the five archetypes of the *listeners*, the *embedders*, the *martyrs*, the *builders*, and the *chosen ones*, gives language to talk about calling in a broader fashion. To understand calling not just as the voice within, in Palmer's definition, but also as a voice that is heard and heeded, an experience of being chosen, or the action of building, among others.

From an empirical point of view, I showed how Hansen (1995), in his study of highly regarded teachers in their school context, provides evidence on how those with a calling to teach are ordinary people, even though the context tends to impose an extraordinary character. This is a relevant finding that has helped to understand, from research-based evidence, how the calling indeed appears in the life of teachers. This study benefited from Hansen's work, but it also moves the empirical evidence forward. The combination of the building blocks of the meaning sources (self, others, work context, and spiritual life), the types of callings (classical, modern-social, modern-individualistic, and neoclassical), and the archetypes together provide a richer way of thinking empirically about the phenomenon of calling, how it is defined for those who experience it, and how it is discovered.

Considering the way, methodologically, that callings have been studied in relationship to teaching and to work in general, this study takes the field a step further. We observed in Chapter 1 how studies on callings are almost entirely quantitative, based mostly on surveys. The methodology design has included, in the quantitative side, surveys to 205 pre-service teachers Bullough and Hall-Kenyon (2011), another 150 elementary and secondary teachers (Rothmann and Hamukang'andu, 2013), and yet another 527 pre-service teachers (Serow, 1994). On the qualitative side, the body of research includes 21 in-depth interviews (Serow, 1994) and 4 in-depth case studies (Hansen, 1994). This study offers, to my understanding, the first large qualitative study in the field in terms of the number of in-depth interviews conducted. More importantly, the narrative character of the material gives me access to the phenomenon of calling in such a way that both the depth of the experience and the historicity of said experience arise in ways that other methodologies do not allow for.

As previously noted, the onset of the scientific study of callings has only come about in the last 20 years. The most important studies have looked at different occupations and professions that, while important, are not as influential in society as the profession of teaching. That is the case of the study in zookeepers (Bunderson & Thompson, 2009), musicians (Dobrow, 2013), janitors (Wrzesniewski et al., 1997), or circus workers (Beadle, 2013). This study on the calling to teach

enriches the concept of calling, and the way of approaching it in ways that can enlighten the path of others researching calling in other fields outside of teachers and teaching.

This study opens the gate to historically hidden dimensions in the life and work of teachers, i.e., the spiritual and religious aspects. The evidence attests that a classical understanding of callings is not only relevant from a historical perspective for teachers, but also from a psychological and sociological interest in the contemporary experience of teachers and teaching at the secondary level. From holistic spiritual forms to more fixed forms of the divine in traditional monotheistic religions, faith and spiritual comprehension have reclaimed a place. Even in the Catholic context where this study took place, the reflection on the religious dimension of calling may lead to a deeper reflection. Here I have shown how in the Jesuit high schools, although a majority experience the call in a religious cradle, callings are not always strictly classical or attached to the divine caller. The secular culture plays a role. Some of the teachers who are called experience their calling as secular, and that has to be included in the agendas on those studying teachers in Catholic contexts. Here I provided—especially with the analysis of the intersections of callings, meanings, and type of callings—a path towards researching callings both in religious and secular schools.

Limitations and Future Research

I conducted this study in Catholic schools run by the Society of Jesus. That has given me a depth and access to those organizations, but it also configures a limitation. Not all the teachers were Catholic, but all of them have had a long career in Catholic high schools. The results of this qualitative study were never meant to be generalized, not even to teachers in the network of Jesuit schools. Nevertheless, it is relevant to know that the context of the results is the result of research in a Catholic context, by a Catholic researcher. These limitations open the possibility to test in other non-religious environments or other religiously affiliated schools, whether teachers understand the meaning of their work as a calling or experience this under the categories developed here.

Another limitation is that the teachers in the study were purposely selected based on their long commitment to the institution, as well as for their value for those running the school. These teachers were some of the most valued teachers in the school. It would be relevant to conduct a study of these characteristics in teachers who had been teaching in the school for a shorter period of time.

This study has benefited from the generosity and availability of secondary education teachers, to whom I had privileged access. As mentioned in the validity section in Chapter 2, I am a Jesuit priest, and as such, I had special access to the Jesuit high schools I visited and the perspectives and biases that could accompany being a member of the Catholic clergy. Teachers were absolutely free in their choice to participate in the study, but it is important to note that in a majority of schools, especially in Latin America, the presence of a priest implies a sense of horizontal power.

Those researching callings in different fields know that the theories, theoretical insights, and conceptual definitions are still a work in progress. This is an invitation from the point of view of future research in this area, but at the same time, posits a real limitation to the study. It has made it difficult in the sense of entering territories that few others have entered. Thus, the path was not always clear, and therefore, not always easy. This study helps to clarify what it means for a teacher to experience a calling, and in that sense, lights one more candle to illuminate the path.

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Appendix A: Interview protocols

Protocol 1: Priest teachers.

Thank you so much once more for accepting this invitation to be interviewed. As we talked on the phone and through emails weeks ago, the goal of this interview is to know about your work as a teacher, and how being a teacher has played a role in your life. I will be asking you several questions around these issues. Please feel free to skip any questions with which you may feel uncomfortable.

General questions about their Jesuit life

1. Can you share with me how you decided to become a Jesuit priest?

   a. *If he doesn´t mention the calling*: Were there any expectations in your family, friends, or other circles for you to become a priest?
   b. *If he mentions the calling*:
      i. Can you tell me more about that experience of having a calling?
      ii. How were you sure that that calling was for you?
      iii. What were some of the feelings you experienced around that calling?

2. Did you have other options in mind before deciding to become a Jesuit?

   a. *If Yes*: Which ones?

Questions about life as a teacher

3. I know you have been a teacher for many years now. Can you tell me something about how you decided to become a teacher?

4. Sometimes, in religious life we say that we owe, after God, our vocation to specific persons or situations. Reflecting upon your teacher identity, are there any persons to whom you owe being a teacher?

5. Maybe related to the last question, did you have any role models in your life as a teacher? How is/are that/those person/people?

6. In your life as a teacher I guess there have been joyful as well as difficult moments. Can you tell me about a particular joyful time or moment? Maybe a short story of that memory?

7. What does it mean to you to be a teacher?

8. What have been the challenges you have experienced in your career?

   a. *If he mentions difficult moments*: Did you question continuing teaching in those moments? What specifically was put under question about being a teacher?

Questions about the calling to teach

9. How would you define a calling or a vocation? Can you provide a good image of it?

10. In that sense, would you say you have had a calling to teach all this years?

11. How does it feel to have a calling to teach? What did you experience? Is it different than what you experienced the last time you teach?

12. Given your calling to the priesthood, in what sense has becoming a teacher had similar notes for you? In what sense was it not similar?

13. When you reflect upon your calling to the teaching profession, what is it specifically the calling referred to?

    a. *If the students*: What kind of students?
    b. *If the subject matter*: What is it in the subject matter that attracted you?
    c. *If something else in his or her own personal life (value, principle, etc.):* Why do you think you received such a calling?

14. Who are the people that have helped you to keep your calling to teach alive?

    a. *If students*: How have they helped you?
    b. *If colleagues*: How have they helped you?
    c. *If school leaders*: How have they helped you?

15. In what way have the schools where you have worked helped you to keep your calling alive?

16. How has your calling to teach been useful for your teaching practice?

17. Have there been episodes when you thought about forgetting the "original call" to teach?

    a. *If Yes*: How did it feel when you put the calling outside of your work?

18. You taught in the 1960s, a time in which Jesuit schools where decidedly committed to incorporate lay teachers in the schools. How, in your experience, did this calling language change in that context?

19. How was the experience of having to share the teaching workforce with lay teachers since the 1960s?

a. *If he mentions change*: What was it that changed?
b. *If he mentions no change*: What was it that specifically remained the same in your experience?

Questions about callings in general

20. What are other callings in your life?
    a. *If there are*: How did you come to realize that/those other callings?

21. Any other thing you would like to mention on this topic?

Thank you very much!

Protocol 2: Lay teachers.

Thank you so much once more for accepting this invitation to be interviewed for this project. As I said in the emails weeks ago, the goal of this interview is to know about your work as a teacher and particularly about your origins in this profession. I will be asking you several questions around these issues. Please feel free to skip any question with which you feel uncomfortable.

General questions about life as a teacher

1. For how long have you been a teacher?

2. For how long have you taught in this school?

3. Can you share with me how you decided to become a teacher? Was it a precise moment, or more like a process?

4. Did you have other options in mind before deciding to become a teacher?

5. To whom or what do you owe being a teacher?

6. Maybe related to the last question, did you have any role models in your life as a teacher?
   a. *If yes*: How is/are that/those person/people?

7. In your life as a teacher I assume there have been joyful as well as difficult moments. Can you tell me about a particular joyful time or moment? Maybe a short story of that memory?

8. What does it mean for you to be a teacher?

9. What have been the challenges you have experienced in your career?

   a. *If he/she mentions difficult moments*: Did you question continuing teaching in those moments? What specifically was put under question about being a teacher?

Questions about the calling to teach

10. Let's talk about callings in life. What are the things to which you feel called to in your life?
    a. **If he/she mentions a calling to teach**: How did you experience that call? Do you experience that calling today in the same way? → go to Q11.
    b. *If he/she doesn't mention teach as a calling*: What is teaching for you if not a calling? What would best express what brought you to teach? If I were to ask a group of your students, those with whom you are closest, would they say you have a vocation to be a teacher?→ go to Q13.

11. To what specifically is that calling oriented to?

    a. *If the students*: What kind of students?
    b. *If the subject matter*: What is the subject matter that attracted you?
    c. *If something else in his or her own personal life (value, principle, etc.):* Why do you think you received such a calling?

12. Does having a calling make you a better teacher?
    a. *If yes*: How does it make you a better teacher?
    b. *If no*: In what ways is having a calling useful for you?

13. Who are the people that have helped you to keep your [calling] [profession] alive?

    a. *If students*: How have they helped you?
    b. *If colleagues*: How have they helped you?
    c. *If school leaders*: How have they helped you?
    d. *If people outside the school context*: How have they helped you?

14. In what way have the schools where you have worked helped you to keep your [calling] [profession] alive?

15. Have there been episodes when you thought about forgetting your [original call] [profession] to teach?
    a. *If yes*: How does it feel when you imagine yourself outside this world of teaching?

Questions about callings in general

16. Are there other callings in your life?
    a. *If there are*: How did you come to realize that/those other callings?

17. Any other thing you would like to mention regarding this topic?

Thank you so much!

Appendix B: Archival material.

Country, Region or Jesuit province	Document (Original Name)	Date
Bolivia	Catalogus Provinciae Argentinensis	1950
Bolivia	Catalogus Provinciae Tarraconensis	1961
Bolivia	Catalogus Viceprovinciae Bolivianae	1970
Bolivia	Catalogus Viceprovinciae Bolivianae	1980
Bolivia	Catalogus Provinciae Bolivianae	1990
Bolivia	Catalogus Provinciae Bolivianae	2000
Bolivia	Catalogus Provinciae Bolivianae	2010
Bolivia	Catalogus Provinciae Bolivianae	2016
Chile	Catalogus Viceprovinciae Chilensis	1950
Chile	Catalogus Provinciae Chilensis	1961
Chile	Catalogus Provinciae Chilensis	1970
Chile	Catalogus Provinciae Chilensis	1980
Chile	Catalogus Provinciae Chilensis	1990
Chile	Catalogus Provinciae Chilensis	2000
Chile	Catalogus Provinciae Chilensis	2010
Chile	Catalogus Provinciae Chilensis	2016
Peru	Catalogus Provinciae Toletanae	1949
Peru	Catalogus Viceprovinciae Peruvianae	1960
Peru	Catalogus Provinciae Peruvianae	1970
Peru	Catalogus Provinciae Peruvianae	1980
Peru	Catalogus Provinciae Peruvianae	1990
Peru	Catalogus Provinciae Peruvianae	2000
Peru	Catalogus Provinciae Peruvianae	2010
Peru	Catalogus Provinciae Peruvianae	2016
California	Catalogus Provinciae Californiae	1949
California	Catalogus Provinciae Californiae	1959
California	Catalogus Provinciae Californiae	1970
California	Catalogus Provinciae Californiae	1980
California	Catalogus Provinciae Californiae	1990
California	Catalogus Provinciarum Statum Foederatorum Americae	2000
California	Catalogus Provinciarum Statum Foederatorum Americae	2010
California	Catalogus Provinciarum Statum Foederatorum Americae	2016
Oregon	Catalogus Provinciae Oregoniensis	1949
Oregon	Catalogus Provinciae Oregoniensis	1959
Oregon	Catalogus Provinciae Oregoniensis	1970
Oregon	Catalogus Provinciae Oregoniensis	1980
Oregon	Catalogus Provinciae Oregoniensis	1990
Oregon	Catalogus Provinciarum Statum Foederatorum Americae	2000
Oregon	Catalogus Provinciarum Statum Foederatorum Americae	2010
Oregon	Catalogus Provinciarum Statum Foederatorum Americae	2016
Maryland	Catalogus Provinciae Marylandiae	1950

Maryland	Catalogus Provinciae Marylandiae	1960
Maryland	Catalogus Provinciae Marylandiae	1970
Maryland	Catalogus Provinciae Marylandiae	1980
Maryland	Catalogus Provinciae Marylandiae	1990
Maryland	Catalogus Provinciarum Statum Foederatorum Americae	2000
Maryland	Catalogus Provinciarum Statum Foederatorum Americae	2010
Maryland	Catalogus Provinciarum Statum Foederatorum Americae	2016
New York	Catalogus Provinciae Neo Eboracensis	1950
New York	Catalogus Provinciae Neo Eboracensis	1960
New York	Catalogus Provinciae Neo Eboracensis	1970
New York	Catalogus Provinciae Neo Eboracensis	1980
New York	Catalogus Provinciae Neo Eboracensis	1990
New York	Catalogus Provinciarum Statum Foederatorum Americae	2000
New York	Catalogus Provinciarum Statum Foederatorum Americae	2010
New York	Catalogus Provinciarum Statum Foederatorum Americae	2016
New England	Catalogus Provinciae Novae Angliae	1950
New England	Catalogus Provinciae Novae Angliae	1960
New England	Catalogus Provinciae Novae Angliae	1970
New England	Catalogus Provinciae Novae Angliae	1980
New England	Catalogus Provinciae Novae Angliae	1990
New England	Catalogus Provinciarum Statum Foederatorum Americae	2000
New England	Catalogus Provinciarum Statum Foederatorum Americae	2010
New England	Catalogus Provinciarum Statum Foederatorum Americae	2016
New Orleans	Catalogus Provinciae Neo Aurelianensis	1950
New Orleans	Catalogus Provinciae Neo Aurelianensis	1960
New Orleans	Catalogus Provinciae Neo Aurelianensis	1970
New Orleans	Catalogus Provinciae Neo Aurelianensis	1980
New Orleans	Catalogus Provinciae Neo Aurelianensis	1990
New Orleans	Catalogus Provinciarum Statum Foederatorum Americae	2000
New Orleans	Catalogus Provinciarum Statum Foederatorum Americae	2010
New Orleans	Catalogus Provinciarum Statum Foederatorum Americae	2016
Missouri	Catalogus Provinciae Missourianae	1950
Missouri	Catalogus Provinciae Missourianae	1960
Missouri	Catalogus Provinciae Missourianae	1970
Missouri	Catalogus Provinciae Missourianae	1980
Missouri	Catalogus Provinciae Missourianae	1990
Missouri	Catalogus Provinciarum Statum Foederatorum Americae	2000
Missouri	Catalogus Provinciarum Statum Foederatorum Americae	2010
Missouri	Catalogus Provinciarum Statum Foederatorum Americae	2016
JEA	Proceedings of the Fourth Principals' Institute	1959
JEA	Report to the International Network on Jesuit Secondary Education: Jesuit High Schools in North America	1982
JSEA	Notes from History on the Experience of Collaboration in the Symposium on Collaboration in the Ministry of Teaching	1988

JEA	On the Christian Formation of Jesuit High School Students: A Report from the Schools	1966
JSEA	The Colloquium on the Minsitry of Teaching	1979
JSEA	Agenda of Board Meetings on the topic of Colleagueship	1977
JSEA	Consultation on "Goal 2" of the Jesuit Conference (Agenda and Background Material)	1980
JSEA	Jesuit Secondary Education Association an Historical Overview	2005
JSN	Our Way of Proceeding: Standards & Benchmarks for Jesuit Schools in the 21st Century	2015