

**'THEY HEAR ALL ABOUT IT AROUND THE TRAPS', CATHOLIC ETHOS AND
SCHOOL CHOICE.**

**PAPER PRESENTED AT THE ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE AUSTRALIAN
ASSOCIATION FOR RESEARCH IN EDUCATION**

DECEMBER 2001

NOTRE DAME UNIVERSITY

FREMANTLE

MARGARET FREUND

UNIVERSITY OF SYDNEY &

UNIVERSITY OF NEW SOUTH WALES

INTRODUCTION

Catholic schools have a particular ethos, an element that gives them a specific identity, that is said to provide an educational environment that is distinct and unique, but which is also related to the position of Catholic schools within the wider structure of Australian schooling and influenced by its traditions and history. This distinctiveness, or ethos is described as the special character or spirit of the school (O'Donnell 1986:6), and while ethos is something so impalpable as 'the spirit of the school' or 'school climate', it has real social consequences, since it is this climate which creates difference; difference in the everyday reality of school life and also in the macro social world of markets and choice. It will be argued that the difference created by the ethos of Catholic schools provides a form of social capital and opportunities in the acquisition of positional goods (Hirsch 1976) and self goods, the purchase of education in order to fashion identity and sense of self (Foucault 1991: 142).

In this paper the issues of Catholic schools, ethos and choice will be examined in regard to a school that I have called Blessed Family Primary, a Catholic primary school in north west Sydney, the site of ethnographic research where I set out to examine the development of moral order in the first year of school. It will be argued that Catholic ethos creates a strong sense of difference, and is a strong element in the creation of school choice, and positions Blessed Family Primary within the educational marketplace.

AUSTRALIAN CATHOLICS

Australian Catholic schools are no longer the bastion of a single faith structure catering only for children of a particular religious or ethnic subculture, since the composition of the Australian Catholic Church has altered through changing patterns of migration (Dixon 1996) and social mobility (Collins 1991). An essential question exists as to whether Catholic schools are private schools with connotations of prestige and material or social advantage, or whether they are 'independent religious schools' (Anderson 1988). Anderson contends that Catholic schools in Australia occupy an ambiguous place since they still claim to be schools of 'subcultural maintenance' and ethnicity, yet at the same time they are described as community schools serving the children of a particular locality or parish some of which are in areas of socio-cultural deprivation (Anderson, 1992 218-221). Catholic schools also include those in more affluent suburbs and run and controlled by particular religious orders, and these schools maintain the traditional class bias of Australian/Irish Catholicism (McGrath 1989). They are schools that Connell (1984) and Anderson would describe as elite, as they 'help to reproduce the ruling strata of society, socializing the young in values of traditional leadership and conservative citizenship' (Anderson, 1992: 220). Yet all these different types of schools describe themselves as Catholic in terms of ethos and culture.

When Australian Catholics speak and write of Catholic identity they tend to describe an experience of Catholicism that is related to Catholic schools and the learned experience of regulation and order. Australian Catholicism had a particular identity that was essentially poor, working class and Irish (O'Farrell 1992), a church that has been described by Catholic writers as 'tribal' (McLaughlin 2000: 28), 'a ghetto' (Campion 1982: 27); a church for a subculture and a religion that was about loyalty to the group (Campion 1984:51).

'Catholics viewed the world from a vantage point that was self consciously different from the rest of the surrounding society. Whether the difference was maintained with a sense of triumph or persecution, there were clearly defined answers to the questions which established right from wrong, made salvation possible for all within the Church, and rendered the boundaries of Catholicism firm and central (Massam 1996: 53).

O'Farrell (1992) argues that for the Church the schools were an essential part of the separation from what was perceived as a hostile society, and the objective of Catholic schools was as Father P. J. Hartigan was to observe, 'to make them Catholic in spite of themselves'. Part of this separation was that from the beginning state schools were perceived as the negative 'other', since as Bishop Vaughan the second Bishop of Sydney argued in 1878, the state schools, 'contravened the first principles of Christian religion and were seed pods of future immorality, infidelity, and lawlessness, being calculated to debase the standards of human excellence, and to corrupt the political, social and individual life of future citizens' (Campion 1982: 67).

CATHOLIC ETHOS

Pre Vatican II the ethos of Catholic schools was essentially derived from the traditions and ethos of the various religious orders that ran the schools and who in most cases, worked under the control of the local bishop and diocese. Almost all of the religious orders teaching in Australian Catholic schools had been founded as teaching orders with a specific mission of education, sometimes aimed at particular social groups. The spirituality and ethos of each order varied and was contained within its own rules and traditions. These rules, traditions and rituals encompassed every part of the daily life of the school for teachers and pupils, so that teaching was an extension of the common life of the religious community (Turner 1992; McCalman 1993; Trimmingham-Jack 1997). Most often these traditions were not just religious, but included a particular culture and pedagogy and that was further reinforced through teacher training since each order was

responsible for the teacher training of its own members. Often however, levels of education and teacher training were often quite minimal, especially in the case of nuns (Traviss 2000: 142), decisions about this being made not by religious themselves, but by the bishops (McGrath 1989: 136). The training that these religious received in the traditions, ethos and the particular spirituality of each order was extensive (Turner 1992: 232).

Underscoring the ethos of all types of Australian Catholic schools right from the very beginning, and encouraged by the Bishops was the belief that Catholic ethos was not simply morality or faith. It was also associated with a strong commitment to social mobility and social advancement. Underlying the strong emphasis on moral training was a belief that combined with education this moral training it would provide opportunities for the beleaguered Irish working class, and improvement in the financial and social status of Catholics (Dixon 1996: 170). Bright students were selected from the parish schools for scholarships to the more elite colleges, and there was a constant emphasis on academic success, despite the lack of resources, and overworked and untrained teachers (Fahy 1992:17). Gradually the emphasis on academic success and social mobility that was such a force within all levels and types of Catholic schools began to produce results which is mirrored in the patterns of Catholic social class as described by O'Farrell (1992).

Now, rather than seeing themselves as part of a religious or ethnic sub group Australian Catholics see themselves as having 'socially arrived'. Using ABS statistics and 1991 census data related to income, employment, and levels of education, Dixon (1996) argues there has been a continuing movement of Australian Catholics into the middle class. Changing migration patterns have meant that the ethnic composition of the Australia church has changed as more and more migrants from Southern and Eastern Europe, the Middle East, and Asia and South America have arrived and broken the Irish/Australian hegemony with at least one-quarter of Catholics being born overseas (Dixon 1996: 62-65) and 22 percent having at least one overseas born parent. That is, at least 47 percent of Catholics were either born overseas or are second generation Australians.

As well the old religious certainties have become a thing of the past, and Australian Catholics are less concerned with religious participation and observance (Collins 1991). Although there are pockets of conservatism within the Australian church, the old rigidities have disappeared and as Paul Collins argues, more and more Australian Catholics describe them selves as 'cultural Catholics'. That is, they maintain an understanding of themselves as Catholic but are perhaps alienated from various church teachings on contraception divorce or homosexuality, and are not involved in Catholic practice. As Dixon pointed out only 18-19% of Australian Catholics take part in the parish system or could be described as regular Mass goers. However they want their children to be educated in Catholic schools just as they were, and indeed for many cultural Catholics the only Church institution they have contact with is the Catholic school. Dennis McLaughlin (1999) surveyed more than 600 students at the Australian Catholic University, most of who are future teachers in Catholic schools, and he found that amongst this particular group, more and more young Australian Catholics are what he describes as 'communal Catholics'. They have a selective approach to affiliation with Catholicism, in that they are loyal to the Catholic Church collectivity and sympathetic towards its heritage, but refuse unilaterally to acknowledge the authority of institutional church leadership. They are sceptical about issues of hypocrisy, and searching for a more 'authentic' church particularly in regard to issues of social justice.

The changing nature of Australian Catholicism raises questions about the 'Catholicity' of Catholic schools and just how 'Catholic' they are, since the old religious absolutes that were an essential part of Australian Catholic schools when they were the schools for a beleaguered ethnic and religious sub group are gone. Often all that remains of these religious certainties in Catholic schools are the names and architecture that reflect the particular religious iconography of Irish/Australian Catholicism. Statistics from the Sydney Archdiocese contend that about 15% of children at Catholic schools are not Catholic, and the numbers are growing. Of those who are, between 25-50% come from homes where there is little or no commitment to Catholic faith

(Lambert 1990: 45). Almost all teachers are lay teachers, including numbers of teachers who were former members of religious orders. Within the literature, debates vary about how to handle the move away from the religious commitment and absolutism of the past, and how schools should cater for this within a church which is itself in a state of change. Carmel Leavey argues that the role of the Catholic school is to act as a kind of 'holding place' for children of parents who make no real commitment to Catholicism but 'who are not sure that the amalgam of values that must force of circumstances dominate state schools and colonize their children's attitudes and behaviour are those they want for their children but at the same time parents are not strongly committed to strict Catholic practice and ritual' (Leavey 1994: 23). Her notion of 'holding place' carries with it an understanding that through the influence of the Catholic school those children will retain some commitment however tenuous to the Church, and while not quite seeing state schools as 'the seed pods of future immorality', as described earlier by Bishop Vaughan, it is still a view that holds state schools as 'other'.

Now, Instead of religious certainty, strict religious participation and a sense of separation from the rest of Australian society what is now seen as making Catholic schools different, and what is identified as providing them with a special character, is described in terms of ethos, although as Losito (2000) argues to come to an understanding about what is distinctive about Catholic ethos is extremely difficult. In some ways it is taken for granted, as being an essential unquestioned part of Catholicism, the questioning of which is only happening recently as Catholic schools are no longer run by various religious orders and there is questioning of the nature of Catholicism itself. Writers such as Carr, Haldane, McLaughlin and Pring (1995) contend that there is no really distinctive Catholic philosophy of education to be seen in the same way as other philosophies of education such as Pragmatism or Marxism. They argue that the most influential text, regarded by some as a Catholic philosophy of education is *Education at the Crossroads*, published in 1943, by Maritain, a French philosopher and convert to Catholicism. Maritain was strongly influenced by the writings of Thomas Aquinas, and he argued that Catholic education was made sense of by its *telos* or goal, since human beings, as Aquinas argued, are rational animals with a transcendent destiny. The ultimate goal of education is union with God (Maritain 1943). We are however, Aquinas argues, also social animals, and the values that will lead us to heaven are those that constitute 'the common good' and these are those values which are inherently social, and so, 'the possibility of realising oneself as a person depends upon one's participation in the collective life of members of one's own kind' (Carr, Haldane, McLaughlin & Pring 1995: 164). At the same time education is concerned with developing intellectual potential and theoretical knowledge and rational powers that will also lead to God.

While Vatican II has been described as a paradigm shift for the whole church from medievalism to post-modernity, particularly the image of the Church and its relationship with the rest of the world (Bryk, Lee & Holland 1993: 47-53), the Vatican document *The Catholic School* called for a new school environment where schools would act as 'the leaven of the community', and which argued that schools should be actively engaged with the community. It also pointed out that schools should be actively engaged 'to teach the message of hope, to build community, and to serve all mankind, so that above all, schools should be instruments of social justice' (Bryk Lee & Holland 1993: 53). Following Aquinas it also argued that the religiosity of schools should involve a search for meaning, and therefore the ethos of Catholic schools should involve the metaphor of a journey, a journey that involves the relationship between intellectual development, religious faith and personal growth (Redden & Ryan 1957). This journey should provide an emphasis on spirituality rather than materiality, since it is based on an understanding of human existence that sees people as inherently religious and while the ultimate destination of the journey is seen in terms of faith and growth, it is one that is fixed within the social world (O'Donnell 1998: 6). This metaphor also includes the rituals of school life, since these rituals are identified as an expression of the spiritual dimension of faith and religious ideas, displayed through ritual and religious practice. The journey of faith is identified as maintaining the traditions of specific Catholic practice and traditions (Flynn: 1993: 33-56).

This metaphor of the journey, the emphasis on community, the search for truth and concern for social needs can also be seen in the vision statement, 'Australian Catholic Schools' published by the National Commission of Catholic Education (2001). It expresses concern about discovering meaning and developing human potential, and describes the ethos of Catholic schools in terms of:

'Each human being is a unique creation made in God's image and therefore possessed of human dignity.

Catholic Education is about learning what it is to be human and that in Jesus Christ we have a model of what it means to be truly human.

Catholic education is a means of discovering a meaning in life, of developing the human potential and liberating and empowering individuals to be responsible for their lives and to contribute to the society in which they live.

Catholic Education, shaped by the continuing search for truth, serves the true and enduring needs of our society.

Catholic Education enables an integration of faith, life and culture' (National Catholic Education Commission 2001).

The ethos of Australian Catholic schools is therefore seen in terms of the metaphor of the journey of faith, fixed in the social world, and of developing human and intellectual potential, and Catholic ethos can therefore be seen not just in terms of spirituality, but also as a form of social capital. In their analysis of Catholic schools in the United States, Coleman and Hoffer (1987) argue that Catholic ethos is a form of social capital that makes them different from public schools, which are pluralistic and lack a central core of values. In a society where there is a break down in community and family and other social networks and where there is a stress on individualism, they argue Catholic schools, stress values and expectations that are underwritten by tradition, belief, and a sense of community. Coleman and Hoffer point to the lower drop out rates, and the better academic results of US Catholic High Schools as evidence of this greater social capital at work.

Following on from the work of Coleman and Hoffer, Australian studies of Catholic schools have also argued that Catholic ethos and pastoral care provide a form of social capital. Mok & Flynn (1998) examined Higher School Certificate results for Sydney Catholic High schools and found that students performed better than their socio-economic backgrounds would have indicated. Students and parents in the study all claimed that it was the supportive milieu and the emphasis on pastoral care as well the perceived quality of school life that was an important factor in this success. It was seen as providing a sense of belonging, security and an emphasis on achievement all in a caring environment.

Indeed, Flynn, in a longitudinal study of Catholic schools between 1972-1993 also found that parents chose Catholic schools because of this emphasis on community and pastoral care. They saw Catholic schools as providing social opportunities through an emphasis on discipline and academic achievement. Parents wanted the independent nature of Catholic schools and they way that they provided something 'other' than the state system. Like the parents in the Coleman and Hoffer study in the United States such parents saw Catholic ethos as a way of acquiring positional and self-goods for their children. However over the period of the study Flynn also noted the decline in the religious dimension of Catholic schools.

In 1997 Sydney Archdiocese commissioned a study by a market research company to find out why parents did (or did not choose) a Catholic school. It showed that parents saw education as being values related. Essentially what parents wanted was pastoral care, for the school to instill values and virtues of character development, disciplinary standards and lastly religious instruction.

As well they also chose the schools for the more tangible social aspects such as academic reputation, perceived higher standards of education and quality of teachers. Academic achievement was cited by 93% of parents surveyed as being important, and they felt that this was not available in their local public school (Canavan 1995). This was similar to the arguments of Quillian and Ryan (1994) who pointed out that it was pastoral care, the interactions between school and students that were of the utmost importance to parents, and that religion or 'catholicity' was of minor importance.

'In the 1990s a fairly concise picture of the qualities that existing 'clients' value seems to present itself. Research seems to indicate that parents and students indicate their values to be in this type of priority order: First comes the caring environment, followed by the quality of teacher-student interaction, then teacher commitment and academic excellence. Only then, in fifth place, comes the teaching of faith, followed by discipline!'(Quillian & Ryan 1994: 91).

The arguments appear to suggest that a consequence of Catholic ethos is that it provides advantages in terms of material and academic success. The metaphor of the journey, the search for meaning in truth and religion is continued in the social and academic sphere and leads to 'pay offs' in secular subjects and later academic success. In his ethnographic study of a Catholic boy's school in Adelaide that he called St Thomas, Van Eyk contends that school ethos provided a culture of learning. The emphasis on pastoral care, and the emphasis on discipline and behaviour meant that parents (many of whom were first generation Italian and Greek migrants), believed that their sons would acquire social skills that would stand them in good stead when they left school and would give them an advantage later in the job market. Parents had chosen the school because it provided an alternative to the state system, and some of the benefits of an elite school but without the high fees. Parents had a perception that better discipline in the school was evident in such things as school uniform, control over behaviour and emphasis on social skills. In Van Eyk's study Catholic ethos meant those parents were looking to buy without excessive cost, a safe haven for their sons. Pastoral care, the inculcation of social norms and values and a sense of community, described in terms of religiosity and Catholicity through the metaphor of the journey, promised improved academic success and later differential access to the labour market and it was through an understanding of this that St Thomas had secured its place.

MARKETS

Now, instead of being condemned by the clergy and bishops to eternal damnation if they failed to send their children to Catholic schools as they were in the past, or remaining as the schools of a religious and ethnic subculture Catholic schools now are part of a process of marketing and marketing techniques. The marketisation of education where education is seen as a commodity, and where the principles and practices of the market apply as described by Lindgard Knight and Porter (1993) and Apple (1989; 2001) and changing Commonwealth Government policies that espouse a rhetoric of 'choice' have had considerable impact. Further, it raises questions about the nature of Catholic schools in relation to this market. Are they private schools providing a particular form of social capital and connotations of prestige and material advantage, that is a form of social capital that is then able to be marketed or are they religious or community schools? Within the marketisation of education they are seen as private schools and as such as Chubb and Moe (1990) would claim regarding schools in the United States, they become part of a process whereby private schools are presented as the ideal. A process which Marginson(1997) argues was established in Australia after the 1973 Karmel Report and the establishment of heavy government subsidies which created a protected education industry, of which Catholic schools have become and entrenched part. To say that Catholic schools are community schools for a religious and ethnic subculture is difficult, since there is a decline in the commitment to religious faith, the ethnic composition of Australian Catholics is in a radical state of change and the numbers of non-Catholic children in Catholic schools is increasing, as well as the lack of religious

commitment among those who still describe themselves as Catholic. Instead, it has meant that Catholic schools now fit into a situation that Brown describes as 'parentocracy', where a child's education is increasingly dependent of the wealth and wishes of the parents (Brown 1990: 66). Ball et al (1995) also point to the interplay between social class cultural capital and choice within the market system, and so this obviously leads to questions about where Australian Catholic schools fit within this 'fiction of market freedom' (Bowe, Ball and Gold 1992:32).

Hurley (1997) contends that the failure of Catholic schools to really address and discuss this, and the fact that they prefer to talk about something as nebulous as 'ethos' is part of the current Catholic cultural cringe. 'We now talk about culture outcomes, environment, climate vision and ethos. Many of these terms are translated from an industry or management model and perhaps we now see Catholic education as an industry' (Hurley 1997: 6) He further argues that Catholic schools are now catering for a market with a clientele who no longer seek the cultural maintenance and religiosity of the past, but who say they want a 'religious atmosphere, something defined as 'ethos' Hurley 1997: 6). He contends that what is meant by ethos- attitudes to discipline, academic success and achievement, spirit and a sense of community and 'a certain warmth about the place' are not exclusive to Catholic schools, but are the elements of any good school. He further argues that the ethos of Catholic schools has begun to develop into something that positions them within a market and gives them an edge.

Other writers also contend that Catholic schools had been seduced by the secular culture and succeeded within it (McLaughlin 2000:23), while Pring further argues that the list of virtues that are associated with 'the distinctly Christian form of life do not include enterprise and entrepreneurship' (Pring 1996: 69). He further contends that, instead of being the 'leaven of society' as advocated by Vatican documents, Catholic schools have adopted pecuniary interests and now compete to generate an upwardly mobile Catholic middle- class that is undistinguishable from the rest of society.

BLESSED FAMILY

Blessed Family Primary School is a pseudonym for a large Catholic systemic primary school of about 850 students located in the suburb of Banksia Hills in the NW suburbs of Sydney. In the part of Sydney known as 'The Hills District', Banksia Hills is part of the Garden Shire', a suburb of space, parks, trees and detached houses with large gardens and swimming pools. Although largely made up of brick veneer houses built about twenty years ago, Banksia Hills is still in the process of being developed as new housing estates and subdivisions are created and sold to accommodate 'executive homes'. Although not as expensive as suburbs closer to the city, and despite being close to the industrial areas of western Sydney, the area has a reputation as somewhere that is up and 'coming' somewhere for the aspiring middle classes. It is an area where most people are buying their own home, an area of high average household income and where ABS statistics point to it as an area in which most of the adults are either managers, administrators, professionals or owners of small businesses. While it is described by the teachers and parents at Blessed Family as middle class one teacher described the parents as 'kings of the west', saying that while she thought there was a façade of middle class success and parents had achieved status 'out west', it was a limited kind of status and she implicitly queried whether the façade of social and financial success had any basis. On another occasion she described some of the parents as 'try hards' a term which grasps the sense of social aspiration.

POSITIONAL GOODS

I want to argue that the parents at Blessed Family were making their school choice based around the acquisition of positional and self goods, since these are what Catholic schools, through Catholic ethos and pastoral care are seen to provide. Positional goods in education, provide students with relative advantage in the competition for jobs, income social standing and prestige.

In other words they are status goods, and amongst other things some parents gain social status when their child is enrolled at a particular school. Positional goods also include credentials used in the transition to labour markets, In other words they are generally recognised as providing some type of advantage and Hirsch describes it thus:

"By positional competition is meant competition that is fundamentally for a higher place within some explicit or implicit hierarchy and thereby yields gains for some only by dint of loss for others. Positional competition in the language of game theory, is a zero sum game: what winners win, losers lose.' 'Hirsch 1976: 52).

I examined the reasons parents were choosing to send their children to Blessed Family and like all Catholic schools Blessed Family has a policy of interviewing all parents before the child is enrolled. One of the most consistent reasons that parents gave for school choice was because they saw Blessed Family as a middle class school and as the Principal said, 'We're seen as the middle class school around here.' One Year 6 teacher described it somewhat differently. 'It's not like my old school, Holy Mother near Mt West- we don't get any beer garden kids here.' In other words the schools position in a middle class suburb was also one of conscious respectability, and social aspiration, of parents who were concerned with protecting their children and their future. Blessed Family was seen as 'having a good reputation', one related to social mobility and middle class success and providing some form of positional advantage. It is a school that is relatively oversubscribed and parents who choose to send their children there make a point of enrolling them early. Indeed the full enrolment itself works as a form of surrogate reassurance about quality; parents want their child in a school that others see as providing quality, and parents don't want to be left behind in the zero sum game. It also works as a form of continuity and commonality in the sense that they are choosing the same kind of school as their friends or those from the same social group.

The Principal described the school's reputation as 'one they had heard around the traps', meaning that parents relied on multiple sources for acquiring this information. Parents told of finding out about the school through talking: to neighbours, relatives, people at work, outside the Pre-school, to other parents at occasions such as soccer or ballet classes, at Tupperware parties, or noticing children from the school at the local shopping centres. As Ball argues in his study of school choice in Britain,

'Parents' general suspicions are often supported by first hand reports. The middle class respondents were more likely to refer to multiple sources of information relating to the reputations and practices of the schools they were considering, and those they had dismissed (Ball 1995: 56).

The reputation of Blessed Family is one comprising discipline codes, enforced school uniform policy and good academic background. Academic background was considered important by most families even in primary school since this was seen as a way of ensuring access to further educational opportunities and access to the right kind of secondary school. Positional advantage has to be maintained and planned for. As Marginson also argues, the choice of primary school was a strategic decision that involved the careful planning of the child's school career, and the choices that are socially and educationally specific. As he further attests 'even some institutions offering early childhood education take on a positional importance, because they are seen as superior pathways to the key institutions at later levels' (Marginson 1997: 43). This planning is important as Catholic secondary schools require a reference from the Parish Priest and the Principal of the primary school, before the child can be enrolled and the process is much easier if the child has already been to a Catholic primary school. As a way of selecting at the point of entry, private schools also ask for references. At the end of Year 6 almost all the children from Blessed Family went on to either independent Catholic schools nearby, or the large co-educational Catholic High school in the next suburb. Each year several get places at Selective State High

Schools, and some go to the several elite non-Catholic schools near Parramatta. Only a very small number go to the local comprehensive high schools and of those who do the general staff room consensus was that these children were from 'difficult backgrounds', that is, split families or children who have difficulty being accepted at private schools.

Positional competition also comprised the sense of being different to the public primary schools in the area, a view that was held by both parents and teachers alike. State schools were seen as 'other', an inadvertent choice made by parents who won't or can't make a more informed or responsible choice. Or as the Music teacher, a school identity, whose views were strongly reinforced in the staff room stated, they were the children of parents 'who had given up', a choice made by default.

Positional goods of academic success and middle class values that parents often stated as reasons for choosing the school were often not stated baldly, rather in terms of 'other', and this included other Catholic schools. The Catholic school in Banksia Hills South was too close to the main road, and was right next to the M2 motorway. The suburb was older and lacked the prestige (something reflected in real estate prices) and was not so desirable as newer development closer to Blessed Family. It was also part of a parish that follows a line of Catholicism that is more 'Charismatic', with at least one Mass each weekend being a charismatic Mass. One mother who had never been to one of these Masses at Banksia Hills South said she thought that it would probably be 'like something out of the Blues Brothers movie', but this emphasis on such a particular version of Catholicism was seen by a number of parents and teachers as unsettling and outside the mainstream. Catholic schools further out in newer suburbs were seen as somewhat 'risky' since they were new and untried with uncertain and yet to be made reputations and many parents were prepared to drive quite long distances to bring their children to Blessed Family. As one mother explained:

'I don't mind the drive and when David starts Kindy I can bring them both...We knew Blessed Family was a good school...we weren't sure when Our Lady's at Smithville was going to open... Then it opened... but we weren't so sure about it. It's only small and even now they don't have all the classes so you really don't know what it will be like, you can't tell really... anyway we'd decided on Blessed Family. Mrs B.

Other parents chose to drive their children from suburbs further west where there was also a Catholic primary school, but this was close to large areas of public housing seen as having a 'mixed' social background with its positional goods therefore doubtful. One mother described the choice of Blessed Family as being part of a continuum of social mobility

'We're looking to buy a house around here...we want something bigger and we wanted somewhere nice for the girls...right now we're living out near Mt West, but I can drive them on my way to work and then pick them up from OOSH and we thought why move them a couple of times?...This way they can make friends before we move. Mrs. M.

Seeing the choice of Blessed Family as a positional good was also evident in the way that parents saw its solid academic reputation as a form of insurance. Like the middle class respondents in Michael Pusey's *Middle Australia Project* (Pusey 1998) they had a sense of unease about their children's future, concerns about the hollowing out of the middle class, and concerns about the quality of life declining. Parents at Blessed Family expressed fears that 'things are harder now', and they felt that as those in the middle they had been the losers and born the brunt of economic change. They maintained a sense of unease about their own and their children's future and therefore it was even more important to plan ahead. Mrs. Micalciff was a teacher at Blessed Family, her daughter was at the school, her son had been educated there, and her husband was a

teacher at a Catholic high school. Her parents were Ukrainian migrants who had come to Australia after World War II and her father had worked in the Newcastle steelworks. Her children's education was carefully planned and she exemplifies this concern with change and middle class aspiration:

'Mum and Dad worked really hard for us and they told us to work hard at school...so did George's (husband) parents. His Dad had a truck and worked really hard...I tell my kids to do well at school, to get some skills and get a good education...I tell them it is the one thing you can't have taken away from you. George's brother had a good job and was making lots of money. He was telling Mathew (son) that you don't have to go to university. Then he was retrenched. Look at him now- he has a lovely home, and all that, but he has no job. So how long will it all last? He's even older than George and I wonder what is going to happen...It's even harder now than it was for George and me. I wanted to get out of Newcastle and the only way my father would let me go was if I went to the Catholic Teachers College at North Sydney and lived with my married sister. That's when I met George. We have a nice home now but it hasn't been easy and I've always worked. Even when the kids were little I did casual teaching.'

Mrs. Micallef saw her own and her children's education as a form of insurance against losing everything the way her parents had during the war, and she felt that her hold on middle class success, that was exemplified in their nice home was stronger than George's brother who now faced an uncertain future. At the same time she was ambitious for her children and saw that the kind of education that her children got at Blessed Family-one that she described as 'solid and basic' as guaranteeing a place for them at State Selective high schools and a more certain future.

SELF GOODS

Catholic ethos and the choice of Blessed Family was also situated within the whole process of the purchase of education for self goods, since 'education can be used to build knowledges, confidence and relationships, to acquire tastes, sensibilities, language and patterns of behaviour.' (Marginson 1997: 46). Marginson argues that the market for self-goods shades into that of positional goods and that it can be difficult to draw a line between them. Catholic ethos, with its metaphor of the journey and search for truth and growth as well as spirituality as described in the Vatican document *The Catholic School* is also a search for the self, and can be seen as being involved in personal reshaping and the process of self-transformation (Rose 1990: 228). The purchase of these self goods involves the inculcation of values and beliefs and a moral code that is a form of technology allows students to manage their own transformation. Catholic ethos, described as the search for truth, and a search to discover 'the meaning of life' and a search that empowers individuals, and that 'enables an integration of faith, life and culture', (National Catholic Education Commission: 2001), contains within it personal re-shaping and process of self-transformation that is encompassed within a particular tradition that is familiar and safe. This applied whether parents are described as 'cultural Catholics' or 'communal Catholics', that even if they were no longer committed to Catholic practice or doctrine they still described themselves as 'Catholic'. When they make a market choice for self goods, they are making that choice within a community with particular values traditions and 'ethos' an ethos that separates Catholic schools from other private schools within the market.

Most of the families at Blessed Family described themselves as 'cultural Catholics' and, during the initial pre enrolment interview most parents tended to hedge around the whole issue of Catholicity, as though they were somewhat defensive or uncomfortable about it. They described how 'they intended to get involved *soon*' or they 'were *intending* to become active members of the parish-*soon*'. Their unease intimated that they did not want to be questioned too closely about their commitment to Catholicism and as the Principal said, 'they don't like you to ask too much about it.'

They were quite happy for their child to have five hours of religious instruction each week, and most had had the children baptised, ensuring their place within the cultural traditions of the Catholic Church, but the teachers did not expect the children to have much knowledge of Catholic faith or ritual when they started school. As one teacher, who was strongly committed to her own Catholic faith put it more cynically, 'they're as Catholic as they need to be to get the kid in here'. This view implies that many parent's level of commitment to Catholicism is as form of social capital rather than religious faith.

A sense of community, and a sense of belonging was also part of the process of buying self goods and maintaining a sense of social capital. Blessed Family primary school is part of a large complex of buildings that dominated by a large parish church, a Family Day Care Centre, a long day care centre for pre-school children, a family crisis centre and a play group. To drive into the car park near the church, yields a strong impression that the school is part of a whole network of community and pastoral care and in fact the notice near the church facing the main road describes it not as a parish but as a 'Family Centre'. This family aspect of the school and this sense of community of parents, teachers and school was evident in the way that so many of the teachers at Blessed Family had their own children in the school. Most of the teachers with primary school aged children chose to send their children to the school and while it was convenient for them as working mothers to do so, there was also a sense among the teachers that Blessed Family was good enough for their own children. There was never any time when any teachers said 'I wouldn't want my kids to come here', something that can also be seen as a guarantee of quality and commitment. It developed as sense of community in the way that teachers mixed and chatted before or after school to parents asfellow parents, organising to pick up children or birthday parties or holiday activities.

In terms of self goods parents also wanted to make sure that the school 'had a nice atmosphere', something that was also often described by the Principal and staff as being part of pastoral care. Parents wanted to ensure that their children would be cared for and respected and that the school had a 'nice feeling' was partly their own familiarity with Catholic schools and the values and traditions they knew that the school would promote. At the same time, parents wanted the kind of school for their children that 'would prepare them for life' and which 'would teach them values'. They wanted their children to develop a set of understandings and values and a sense of self that was familiar to them, even if they rejected the practice and ritual. In most cases this acceptance of tradition and values was taken for granted.

'I went to primary school at Holy Father at Innerwest and then I went to the nuns at Our Lady, and Joe went to the brothers. My Mum and Dad and Joe's Mum and Dad are both from Italy, but from different parts and we've sort of known each other since primary school. We got married at Holy Father and our parents still live near there but when we started to look for a house we wanted somewhere better. Even though it's become very expensive around Innerwest I still think its it's grotty. So does Joe, so we came out here.

I was always in trouble with the nuns and didn't get on well with them, but we never really thought about the public school. We just thought when the kids started school they would go to Blessed Family because we've always gone to Catholic schools. I mean, you know what they're like, you know what they're about, and well, we just thought well, that's where they would go. Let's face it - you know what you're getting' Mrs. G.

As well parents also were concerned that 'the nice atmosphere' also included concern about who their children went to school with. In passing conversation parents mentioned this more in terms of issues such as bullying, but there was a concern that they wanted their children 'to make nice friends' and they wanted some control over who their children were mixing with. Although some

parents described this in terms of social aspiration - 'nice' being middle class, mostly it was seen as a way of making sure that their children would not be playing with children who were somewhat 'doubtful' or outside their own social networks and that they would be associating with children from families with common values.

'Some kids are left on their own or you see them riding around the street late at night on their bikes and you just sort of wonder where their parents are. Some of them have so many toys and seem to have so much money and you just sort of wonder, and then you see them when they're older just wandering around the shopping centre. Its just looking for trouble. Mrs. P.'

'Making nice friends' also extended to the sense of community that parents wanted not just for their children, but also for themselves. Many of the families in the school were traditional nuclear families with Dad at work and, especially when the children were younger, with Mum at home and mothers often mentioned feeling lonely during this time. 'Making nice friends', 'getting to know people at the school', was not a process of social exclusivity, or building social networks in the way that Connell et al(1982) describes in the ruling class schools in *Making the Difference*, rather it was a way of conforming to the suburban ideal, of being part of a suburban network, the ideal that they had in mind when they moved to Banksia Hills; the 'somewhere nice for the girls' of Mrs. M. and the 'somewhere better than Innerwest' of Mrs. G. However, many mothers also experienced the darker side of the suburban ideal, a sense of loneliness and isolation something that they talked about in an indirect way after the death of one of the mothers of the Kindergarten children. Home alone with a small baby and with her husband in the Navy for extended periods, and her own family in Newcastle, Jake's mother suffered from post-natal depression, and half way through the year took an overdose of prescription drugs. Shocked by her death, many kindergarten mothers identified with her sense of feeling alone and isolated, and talked of finding the friends they had made through school as a way of breaking out of their own sense of feeling apart from everything when they were home alone with young kids.

Because there was such a network of services available in the Parish, many of the parents got to know each other before the children had started school either through the Pre-school or Long Day Care. Bringing the children to school and collecting them each afternoon was not a time for a quick 'drop off', instead a whole social situation developed around this time, especially for those parents who did not work full time. Each morning and afternoon the car park was full as parents arrived early and congregated around the school talking and socialising. They arrived well dressed and prepared to stay and talk, either to other parents or teachers and mothers told of how they looked forward to coming down to the school 'to catch up with everyone'. Helping in the classroom listening to children read or working in the school canteen or clothing pool, was a further extension of this even though the reasons they gave for wanting to be part of all this volunteering, was 'for the kids', they also did it for themselves. When the Kindergarten teachers were planning an excursion to Taronga Zoo, parents competed for the chance to help out, and there were so many volunteers that the teachers selected who would go, and selection was highly prized. The socializing and sense of community among parents was further extended when mothers from different classes would organize a 'Mum's Night Out', at least once a term. These were not occasions that were attended by a sense of duty, instead they were very convivial and friendly and where everyone went to have a really good time. Because so many of the families were traditional nuclear families, and because so many fathers commuted quite long distances to work each day, part of the sense of community that surrounded Blessed Family was one that was essentially one built up by, and maintained by mothers.

CONCLUSION

The position and role of Australian Catholic school has changed from the schools of a beleaguered and ethnic subculture to schools which now find themselves competing in a marketplace with a clientele that has a changing ethnic and class base. Where the ethos of Catholic schools was once defined by the culture and traditions of the various religious orders who ran the schools, and a strong commitment to academic success and social mobility, Catholic ethos is now described in terms of a culture of learning and a journey that is fixed within the social world. The choices made by the parents at Blessed Family Primary in terms of positional and social goods exemplifies what C. Wright Mills described as 'personal troubles that cannot be solved merely as troubles, but understood in terms of public issues' (C. Wright Mills 1959: 226). The personal troubles and uncertainty they see their children facing, of wanting to ensure positional goods and social capital for their children, meant that they made a particular choice. This personal choice was further evidenced through wanting their children to acquire particular values and understandings and to be able to fashion identity and a sense of self within a community with which they were familiar even if they rejected the practice and ritual. The ethos or school climate of Blessed Family Primary was a climate that created difference: a difference in both the everyday reality of school life, and with respect to the public issue of markets and choice.

REFERENCES

- Anderson, D. (1988) 'The Public/Private Division in Australian Schooling: Social and Educational Effects in Saha, L. J. & Keeves, J. P. (eds) *Schooling and Society in Australia: Sociological Perspectives*. Sydney: Australian University Press.
- Anderson, D.S. (1990) *Long Term Effects of Public and Private Schooling: Social and Educational Effects*. Canberra: Research School of Social Sciences. Canberra: Australian National University.
- Anderson, D. (1992) 'The interaction of public and private school systems' *Australian Journal of Education* 36 pp 213-236.
- Apple, Michael (1979) *Ideology and Curriculum*. London: Routledge and Kegan :Paul.
- Apple, Michael (1982) *Education and Power*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Apple, M. (1989) 'How equality has been redefined in the Conservative restoration in Secada, W.G. (ed) *Equality in Education*. Lewes: Falmer Press.
- Apple, Michael (2001) *Educating the "Right" Way: Markets, Standards, God and Inequality* New York: Routledge and Falmer
- Australian Bureau of Statistics 1996 *Census of Population and Housing Sydney a Social Atlas*. Sydney: Australian Bureau of Statistics.
- Ball, S.J (1993) 'Education markets, choice and social class: the market as a class strategy in the UK and the USA' *British Journal of Sociology Education* 14.
- Ball, S. J. (1994) *Education Reform: A critical and Post-Structural Approach*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Ball, S. Bowe, R & Gerwitz, S. (1995). Circuits of Schooling: a Sociological Exploration of Parental Choice of School in Social Class Contexts. *The Sociological Review* 43, 52-78.

Bourdieu, P & Passeron, J (1977) *Reproduction in Education: Society and Culture*. Beverly Hills: Sage Publication.

Bryk, A. Lee, V. & Holland, Peter B (1993) *Catholic Schools and the Common Good*. London: Harvard University Press.

Campion, E (1882) *Rockchoppers* Melbourne: Penguin Books.

Campion, E (1988) *Australian Catholics* Melbourne: Penguin Books.

Canavan, Kelvin (1994) Why Parents Choose (or Don't Choose) a Catholic School. *Catholic School Studies* 62 (3).

Chesterton, P. & Johnston, K (1998) *Access to Catholic Schooling*. Canberra: National Catholic Education Commission, Australian Catholic University.

Chubb, J. & Moe, T. (1990) *Politics, Markets and America's Schools*. Washington D.C. The Brookings Institution.

Clark, E.E. & Ramsay, W. (1989) 'Catholic Schools, Catholic Communities and Social Capital' *The Australasian Catholic Record* Vol LVVI NO 3 July. Pp 334-46.

Coleman, James (1981) 'Public and Private Schools' *Harvard Educational Review* 51.

Coleman, J S (1987) Families and Schools *Educational Researcher* August- September, pp 32-38.

Coleman, J. Hoffer, T & Kilgore, S (1982) *High School Achievement: Public, Catholic and private schools compared*. New York: Basic Books.

Collins, P. (1986) *Mixed Blessings: John Paul II and the Catholic Church of the eighties*. Melbourne; Penguin.

Collins, P (1991). *No Set Agenda: Australia's Catholic Church Faces an Uncertain Future*. Melbourne: David Lovell.

Connell, R.W. Ashenden, D. Kessler, S. & Dowsett, G.W. (1982). *Making the Difference: Schools, Families and Social Division*. Sydney: Allen & Unwin.

Connell, R. W (1993). *Schools and Social Justice*). Leichhardt, NSW Pluto Press.

Dixon, R (1996) *Catholics in Australia*. Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Services.

Fahy, P. (1992) *Faith in Catholic Classrooms*. Homebush: St Pauls Publications.

Flynn, M. (1985) *The Effectiveness of Catholic Schools*. Sydney: St Pauls.

Flynn, M (1993) *The Culture of Catholic Schools*. Homebush: Society of St Paul.

Fomin, F & Teese, R. (1981) "Public finance to private schools: the argument of the Karmel Report and later policy. *Melbourne Working Papers*. Melbourne: University of Melbourne.

Foucault, M. (1972). *The Archeology of Knowledge*. London: Tavistock

Foucault, M. (1977). *Discipline and Punish: the Birth of the Prison*. London: Allen Lane.

Foucault, M. (1980). *Power/Knowledge*. New York : Harvester Wheatsheaf.

Gale, T. & Densmore, K (2000) *Just Schooling: Explorations in the Cultural Politics of Teaching*. Buckingham, U.K: Open University Press.

Giroux, Henry (1988) *Teachers as Intellectuals* New York: Bergin and Harvey.

Gorman, M (1993) Catholic Schools: Mirror or Leaven in the 21st Century?. *Momentum* 24 February March pp 42-45,

Gremillion, J. & Castelli, J (1987) *The Emerging Parish: The Notre Dame Study of Catholic Life since Vatican II*. San Francisco: Harper and Row.

Halstead, M(ed) (Date) *Parental Choice and Education: Principles, policy and practice*. London: Kegan Page.

Hargreaves, A. (1994). *Changing Teachers, Changing Times: Teachers' Work and Culture in the Postmodern Age*. London: Cassell.

Hansen, David T (1993) From Role to Person: the Moral Layerdness of Classroom Teaching *American Educational Research Journal* Winter 30 (4) pp 651-674.

Henderson, Anne (1997) *Mary McKillop's Sisters: a life unveiled*. Sydney: Harper Collins.

Hirsch, Fred (1976). *Social Limits to Growth*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Hunt, Thomas Oldenski, Thomas Wallace, Theodore.(2000) *Catholic School Leadership: an invitation to lead*. London: Falmer Press.

Hurley, E.(1997) 'The essence of Catholic schools Today. Pastoral Reflections: " Catholic" or "Private" *Catholic School Studies* Vol 70 No 2 October.

James, A Jenks, C and Prout, B. (1990). *Constructing and Reconstructing Childhood: Contemporary Issues in the Sociological Study of Childhood*. London: Falmer Press.

Karmel, Peter (1973) *Schools in Australia: the Report of the Interim Committee for the Australian Schools Commission*. Canberra: A. G. P. S.

Kenway, J (1992) Into the Zone of the Unknown: Profiles, Markets and Social Justice.' *Curriculum Perspectives* 12 (1) pp 66-72.

Kenway, J & Bullen, E (2001) *Consuming Children: Education-Entertainment-Advertising*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Kenway, Jane Bigum, C. Fitzclarence, I. Croker, C (1993) *Marketing Education in the Postmodern Age: some Critical Issues*. Geelong: Deakin.

Lambert, T (1990) Enrolment Policies in Catholic Schools *Catholic School Studies* Oct. pp 45-56.

Lather, P. (1986) 'Research as Praxis' *Harvard Educational Review* Vol 56 No 3 August pp 257-277.

Leavey, C. (1993) *Identity and Ethos in the Catholic School: the elusive variables, Schools Looking Ahead*. Brisbane: Brisbane Catholic Education Office.

Lingard, B Knight, J & Porter, P (eds) (1993) *Schooling Reform in Hard Times* London: Falmer Press.

Lortie, D.C. (1975). *School-teacher: A Sociological Study*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Luttrell, J (1996) *Worth the Struggle: Sydney: Catholic Schools 1820-1995*. Sydney: Catholic Education Office.

McGrath, M.S. (c1989) *These Women? Women Religious in the History of Australia, the Sisters of Mercy Parramatta 1888-1988*. Sydney:University of New South Wales Press.

McCalman, Janet (1993) *Journeyings: the biography of a middle class generation 1920-1990*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press.

McLaughlin, D. (2000) *The Catholic School: Paradoxes and Challenges*. Strathfield: N.S.W. St Paul Publications.

McLaughlin, D (1999) *The Beliefs, Values and Practices of Student Teachers at the Australian Catholic University*. Research Report. Australian Catholic University.

McLaughlin, T (1994) Values Coherence and the School. *Cambridge Journal of Education* 24(3) pp 453-70.

McLaughlin, T. (1994b) "Politics Markets and Schools: the central issues in Bridges, D. & McLaughlin, T (eds) *Education and the Marketplace*. London: Falmer Press.

McLaughlin, T. O'Keefe, J & O'Keefe, B (eds) (1996) *The Contemporary Catholic School*. London: Falmer Press.

Maritain, J. (1943) *Education at the Crossroads*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Marginson, Simon (1997) *Educating Australia: government, economy and citizen since 1960*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Marginson, Simon (1997) *Markets in Education* Sydney: Allen and Unwin.

Massam, K. (1996) *Sacred Threads. Catholic Spirituality in Australia 1922-1962*. Kensington N.S.W.: University of New South Wales Press.

Mills, C. Wright (1959) *The Sociological Imagination*. London: Oxford University Press.

Mok, M. Flynn, M. (1998) 'Quality of Life and Student's Achievement in the HSC' *Australian Journal of Education* Vol ? No ? pp 169- 188.

National Catholic Education Commission (1996) *Access to Catholic Schooling*. Canberra: National Catholic Education Commission.

National Conference of Catholic Bishops (1972) *To Teach as Jesus Did.: a Pastoral message on Catholic Education*. Washington DC: National Conference of Catholic Bishops. November.

Nelson, Kate, Nelson, Dominica (1986) *Sweet Mothers Sweet Maids: journeys for Catholic Childhoods*. Ringwood Vic., Penguin.

Nias, J. (1999) Primary Teaching as a Culture of Care In Prosser, J. *School Culture*. London: Sage.

O'Donnell, Susan (1986) 'Catholic Schools and Catholic Philosophy: their special character' *Catholic School Studies* Vol 71 No 1 May. Pp 5-7.

O'Farrell, Patrick (1992) *The Catholic Church and Community. An Australian History*. Kensington N.S.W: University of Queensland Press.

Parramatta Diocesan School Board(1990) *Catholic Schools: a statement of understanding and vision for the Diocese of Parramatta*. January.

Perkins,T. (1979). Rethinking Stereotypes. In Barrett, M, Corrigan, P. & Wolff, J. *Ideology and Cultural Production*. London: Croom Helm.

Praetz, H. (1980) *Building a School System*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press.

Pring, R. (1996) *Markets Education and Catholic Schools in* McLaughlin, T., O'Keefe, J. & O'Keefe, B. *The Contemporary Catholic School*. London: Falmer.

:Pusey, Michael (1998) Preliminary Findings from the Middle Australia Project. In Eckersley, R.(ed) *Measuring Progress is Life Getting Better?* Collingwood Vic., C.S.I.R.O Publishing.

Quillian, J & Ryan, P. (1994) New Sociologies and New Ecclesiologies: some implications for Catholic Schools in their search for meaning. *The Australasian Catholic Record* 71 (1) pp89-96.

Rabinow, P (1984). *The Foucault Reader* London: Penguin.

Ramsey, W & Clark, E. (1991) Expectations of Our Catholic Schools *Catholic School Studies* 64 (1) pp32-6.

Redden, J. & Ryan, F (1957) *A Catholic Philosophy of Education* Milwaukee: Bruce Company.

Rose, N. (1990) *Governing the Soul* London: Routledge.

Rose, N. (1992) Governing the Enterprising Self. In Heelas, P & Morris, P. (Eds.) *The Values of the Enterprise Culture*. London: Routledge.

Rose, N. (1999). *Powers of Freedom: Reframing Political Thought*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tannock, Peter (ed) (1975) *The Organisation and Administration of Catholic Education in Australia*. Brisbane: University of Queensland Press.

Tizard, J. Moss, P and Perry, J *All Our Children: Pre-School Services in a Changing Society*. London: Temple Smith/New Society.

Tom, A.(1984) *Teaching as a Moral Craft*. New York: Macmillan.

Traviss, Sister Mary Peter (2000) Preparation of Teachers for the Catholic Schools. in Hunt, Thomas, Oldenski, T. Wallace, T. *Catholic School Leadership*. London: Falmer.

Trimingham Jack, C(1997) *Kerever Park: a History of the Experience of Teachers and Children in a Catholic Girls'Preparatory Boarding School 1944-1965*. Unpublished PhD Thesis School of Social and Policy Studies in Education University of Sydney.

Turner, Naomi (1992) *Catholics in Australia: a Social History* 3 Vols. Melbourne: Collins Dove.

Van Eyk, B. (1997) *Maintaining the Ethos: Ritual Symbol and Acculturation in Catholic Schooling. A Situational Analysis*. Unpublished PhD Thesis. Faculty of Education. The Flinders University of South Australia.

Waller, W. (1932). *The Sociology of Teaching*. New York: Wiley.

Welch, A.R (1996) *Australian Education: Reform or Crisis?* Sydney: Allen and Unwin.

Williams, K (1992) "Religious Ethos and State Schools' *Doctrine and Life*. 42 (9) pp 560-570.

Wolpe, Anne Marie (1988) '*Within School Walls: the role of Discipline, Sexuality and the Curriculum*. London: Routledge

Woods, P. and Jeffrey, B. (1996). *Teachable Moments: The Art of Teaching in Primary Schools*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Young, I. M. (1990). *Justice and the Politics of Difference*. Princeton N. J. Princeton University Press.
