

## **Exploring the hermeneutics of dialogue and discernment withing Canadian Catholic higher education**

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### **Abstract**

Concerns about the ongoing viability of Catholic institutions have given rise to questions regarding the nature of Catholic identity within our schools, colleges, and universities. Differing conceptions of Catholic institutional identity shape both the way people working within these institutions interact with this identity and the means used to nourish and shape it. Static or merely descriptive notions of institutional identity may serve to replicate traditional identities but are less able to respond to changing contexts and conditions. A more dynamic way of understanding institutional identity is needed, particularly for institutions situated in pluralistic contexts.

This article reviews key debates relating to the concepts of Catholic and institutional identity and proposes a new way of conceptualizing institutional identity that accounts for both continuity and change.

**Keywords:** Catholic identity; institutional identity; critical realism; realist social theory; Catholic higher education

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## Introduction

Throughout his pontificate, Pope Francis spoke of dialogue as a pathway to human flourishing. His writings bear testament to this. For example, the word ‘dialogue’ appears 59 times in the text of *Evangelii Gaudium*, 49 times in *Fratelli Tutti*, and a mere 25 times in *Laudato Si’*. But his was no easy, superficial form of dialogue. Rather, dialogue is a capacity born of deep discernment, self understanding, and radical acceptance of the other. Speaking to the bishops of Asia in 2014, he proclaimed:

We cannot engage in real dialogue unless we are conscious of our own identity. We can’t dialogue, we can’t start dialoguing from nothing, from zero, from a foggy sense of who we are. Nor can there be authentic dialogue unless we are capable of opening our minds and hearts, in empathy and sincere receptivity, to those with whom we speak. In other words, an attentiveness in which the Holy Spirit is our guide. A clear sense of one’s own identity and a capacity for empathy are thus the point of departure for all dialogue. If we are to speak freely, openly and fruitfully with others, we must be clear about who we are, what God has done for us, and what it is that he asks of us. And if our communication is not to be a monologue, there has to be openness of heart and mind to accepting individuals and cultures. Fearlessly, for fear is the enemy of this kind of openness. (Pope Francis, 2014)

How do Catholic institutions respond to the call to dialogue? How do we as Catholic communities become conscious of our own collective or institutional identities to foster our capacity for dialogue? And, in doing so, how do we communicate fearless openness to other identities, cultures, and worldviews? The research outlined below looks specifically at the dynamics of institutional identity within the context of Canadian, Catholic higher education institutions (CHEIs). It is offered in the hope of better equipping these and similar institutions with the capacity to respond to the diverse and varied communities they serve. While the data supporting the framework posited below was gathered within CHEIs, it is offered as a way of testing its resonance with the experiences of those working in a broad spectrum of Catholic institutions including, but not limited to, those working in Catholic schools and healthcare. In short, this research examines the dynamics of institutional identity as a baseline for fostering dialogical imaginations within a variety of Catholic institutions and communities and is meant to plant a seed for further research in this area.

Catholic higher education in English-speaking Canada is a small sector. Currently, the Association of Catholic Colleges and Universities in Canada is comprised of 18

institutions. Most of these colleges and universities are themselves small, geographically dispersed and, for the most part, focused on the liberal arts. Unlike Catholic higher education institutions (CHEIs) in the United States, for example, most of which are stand alone institutions, the majority of Catholic colleges and universities in Canada are either affiliated or federated with larger, provincial (state) universities. How does being an affiliated or federated institution impact the dynamics of institutional identity? Given that, in the Canadian context, CHEIs largely exist in relationship with larger, secular, and more powerful institutions, how do these institutions navigate the question of Catholic identity?

The following reflections are the result of a doctoral research project undertaken between 2016-2018 as part of a Doctor of Education programme at the University of Liverpool. Working as a mission officer within the Catholic postsecondary sector, I wondered whether the research related to Catholic institutional identity generated elsewhere could readily be applied to a context where Catholic entities were structurally bound to non-Catholic institutions a very explicit way. I approached three CHEIs based on their institutional structure, one federated, one affiliated, and one stand alone. At each of these institutions, I engaged in semi-structured interviews with individuals representing different roles within their workplace. These included support staff, front-line staff, junior faculty, senior faculty, and members of the administration. In total, 16 interviews were conducted.

The research questions that formed the basis of the interviews were as follows:

1. How do individuals working in Canadian Catholic colleges and universities experience the Catholic identity of their institutions?
2. How and to what extent do individuals act as agents of Catholic identity in their workplaces? What factors enable or hinder this process?

How do different institutional structures and histories impact how individuals experience the Catholic institutional identity of their workplace? These questions intentionally privileged the processes of identity generation over the outcomes, while nevertheless recognizing the ultimate importance of the outcomes. They queried whether differing institutional structures and social locations within those structures

would impact the dynamics of institutional identity generation. The data generated, as it turns out, did call into question the traditional ways in which institutional identity – and in this case, Catholic institutional identity – is generally conceived. It is to these results that we now turn.

### **What is Catholic identity? What is institutional identity?**

Pope John Paul II's promulgation of the *Apostolic Constitution on Catholic Universities (Ex Corde Ecclesiae)* in 1990, sparked a flurry of commentary and scholarship on the nature of Catholic identity within CHEIs. We can discern within this literature three major phases. In the first, scholars articulated the components or characteristics of Catholic identity, in what can be called a typological approach. For example, working from tradition, authors like Steinfelds (1995) and Hellwig (2003) created lists of criteria that need to be present for our colleges to be visibly Catholic (see figure 1). This typological approach was a necessary starting point, particularly given the fact that *Ex Corde Ecclesiae* (1990) itself adopted a criteria-based articulation of Catholic identity. However, this approach only goes so far, resulting in a rather static understanding of Catholic identity unable to account for the dynamic institutional processes that must be in place for institutions to adapt and respond to changing conditions. The second phase within the literature on Catholic identity built on the first. It asked, how do we measure Catholic identity? Some authors focused on student outcomes (Bolduc 2009; Estanek, James and Norton 2006) while others measured how Catholic identity was perceived by faculty (Ferrari and Velcoff 2006; Ferrari and Janulis 2009), students (Boylan 2015), administrators and trustees (Convey 2012). Again, this work provided some insight on Catholic identity as it was (for better or for worse) but it stopped short of analyzing the processes that undergirded it. The third phase moved a little closer to the question of how we make Catholic identity happen by exploring the practices that can foster it. Hiring for mission (Heft 2012), curriculum development (Brendan 2008; Donaldson 2008; O'Connell Killen 2015), justice education (Bergman 2011); the establishment of centres of excellence (Brigham 2011; Sloma-Williams 2011), the practice of student affairs (James and Estanek 2012), extra-curricular celebrations (De Vinne 2015) and the role of campus ministry (Gray and Sullivan 2008) have all been examined for the contribution they make to building and maintaining Catholic identity. This phase of

the research on Catholic identity began to colour within the lines of this institutional reality but still lacked one key ingredient: the exploration of how individual agents interact with the institutional structures and practices that have been put in place to ensure institutional catholicity.

**Table 1**

*Characteristics of the Catholic intellectual tradition*

<b>Steinfels (1995)</b>	<b>Hellwig (2003)</b>
1) the compatibility of faith and reason; 2) the centrality of philosophical thinking; 3) the appreciation that facts are not value-free; 4) an anti-reductionist approach; 5) the importance of symbolism and analogical reasoning; 6) the role of mysticism; 7) a concern for social justice.	1) furthering the continuity between faith and reason; 2) cherishing the wisdom of the past; 3) building community; 4) avoiding elitism; 5) a sacramental view of the world which sees God made manifest in material reality.

Turning now to the literature related to organizational or institutional identity, [i] Albert and Whetten (1985) first defined organizational identity as as the characteristics of an organization that are “central, distinctive and enduring” (p. 265). Since then, the concept has both been called a generative construct (Albert, Ashforth and Dutton 2000) and compared to the Tower of Babel (Schultz, Hatch and Larsen 2002). This definition was critiqued for its limited capacity to account for both continuity and change within institutions (cf. Gioia, Schultz and Corley 2000). An identity that is ‘central, distinctive, and enduring’ is indeed stable but how does it allow an institution to adapt to changing circumstances? To use a more Catholic lexicon, it harkens to *ressourcement* but overlooks the concurrent need for *aggiornamento* in our tradition. However, the wisdom of the Second Vatican Council is such that both concepts are necessarily interdependent. While we need to return to the sources to seek what is enduring within the tradition, we must also constantly bring the tradition up to date by engaging it with the current context. The same insight must apply to the dynamics in institutional identity formation. Albert and Whetten’s initial insight spoke clearly to the enduring aspects of institutional identity while struggling to account for the needs of institutions to engage the changing circumstances of their socio-historical contexts.

Another approach to institutional identity arose in the work of Soenen and Moingeon (2002). They created an integrated framework based on the five facets of organizational identity: 1) professed, 2) projected, 3) experienced, 4) manifested, and 5) attributed. In their view, the five facets constitute a dynamic system where “the five identity types co-exist and influence each other” (p. 26). It is the interplay between the facets of organizational identity that allow for the continuity and change missing in Albert and Whetten’s original definition. However, this definition runs into limitations as well. It allows for a detailed description of an institution’s identity but is less able to explain the processes out of which a particular identity arises. Furthermore, four of the five facets deal with the corporate level of identity but one – experienced identity – speaks of how the individual interacts with the collective identity of her or his organization. Is the individual merely a passive recipient of corporate identity or is there a place for the individual to exercise agency in its regard?

More recent organizational theory (cf. Edwards, O'Mahoney, and Vincent 2014) begins to examine the dynamics of institutional identity using a critical realist lens. Following this line of inquiry, and using Archer’s (1995, 2000, 2003, 2010, 2012) work on critical realist social theory as a backdrop, a novel way of conceptualizing the processes of identity development within CHEIs begins to emerge.

### **Towards a new model of institutional identity**

As mentioned above, in early 2016, 16 people working within three different Canadian CHEIs - one affiliated, one federated, and one stand-alone – agreed to participate in semi-structured interviews about the Catholic identity of their workplaces. A purposive sampling technique was employed where institutional contacts reached out to possible participants who represented various roles within their organizations. Given that, in some cases, only one person played a particular role, institutional anonymity was provided to respect the confidentiality of individual respondents.

The method of analysis was informed by critical grounded theory (Kempster and Parry, 2011 & 2014; Belfrage and Hauf, 2015 & 2017). Within this approach, data

collection and analysis are iterative processes. After each interview, I wrote up field notes and began to surface themes within each. Once all the interviews were completed, a full list of emerging themes were returned to the respondents for further comment and feedback. In this way, a sort of virtual dialogue between respondents was able to occur and provide further depth to the initial responses. Once the themes were tested with the respondents, they were then brought into dialogue with existing theoretical frameworks related to institutional identity formation. A critical realist social theory, as put forth by the British sociologist, Margaret Archer (1995), provided the most robust explanatory framework in answer to the fundamental question posed by grounded theorists: “What must be true for this to be the case?” From this theoretical conversation, an elaborated theory of institutional identity formation, informed by both the lived experience of respondents and existing social theory, was generated.

The respondents’ experiences revealed three key processes at work regarding the nature and development of institutional identity. First, institutional identity is experienced as a balancing act as individuals navigate the ecclesial and academic structures and cultures on a day-to-day basis. Second, the ability to exercise agency regarding the institution’s identity develops over time. The role of identity carriers is crucial to facilitating this process. Finally, there is a need to create spaces within our institutions that are in turn reflexive and dialogical so that individuals can enter more deeply into the two processes named above. It is the first finding – relating to experience of Catholic identity as a balancing act – that gives rise to a new way of conceiving Catholic institutional identity.

When asked how they experience the Catholic identity of their workplaces, respondents clearly named the fact that they were walking the tightrope between the dual, or even multiple identities, that their institutions represent. They are negotiating the cultures and structures of both the academy and the church. Sometimes this negotiation is celebrated and other times it is presented as a challenge. The nexus of this negotiation can shift. Sometimes, it represents itself as a conflict within the institution, with different members of the community representing different priorities and conceptualizations of what it means to be Catholic. At other times, the negotiation happens in the institution’s relationships with other entities, be it the church or the

secular university with which they are affiliated or federated. There was evidence that the same negotiation happened regardless of the institution's structure as a stand-alone, federated, or affiliated institution. While those working in the stand-alone institution do not have to navigate the structural tensions that might exist with an affiliated or federated partner, they were still navigating the internalized cultural differences between academic and ecclesial culture. In short, as one respondent put it, they are constantly asking the question: "Are we too Catholic, or are we not Catholic enough?" (Kent [ii], administrator, 19 years of experience).

The experience of the balancing act, however, is more than a statement of fact. It is the core reality through which institutional identity is created, adapted, and transformed in each interaction and circumstance. Institutional identity is called upon to help individuals negotiate how they ought to behave to be true both to themselves and to the institution in which they serve. Framing institutional identity as a dynamic, constantly negotiated, process goes far beyond Albert and Whetten's (1985) early definition of organizational identity as the characteristics of an organization that are "central, distinctive and enduring" (p. 265). Bringing the accounts of experienced institutional identity into dialogue with Archer's social theory allows us to create a deeper understanding of how these processes actually work.

In the mid-1990s, Margaret Archer mapped out how the philosophical frameworks of critical realism could be applied to social reality. For her, the insights of critical realism provided a way forward through one of the central conundrums of social theory, the questions of whether social structures or individual agency take precedence within human social interactions. Critical realism put forward the possibility of a both/and approach to the question and Archer's work focused on the dynamic interplay between the two. Given that my own research was focused on how individuals experience and impact the institutional identity of their workplaces, Archer's framework became an important analytical interlocutor.

Put simply, Archer (1995) seeks to unpack the "vexatious fact of society" (p. 1). She contends that society is made up of individuals who each shape society but for whom society does not conform to any of their individual wishes. Society and the individuals that compose it are seen to be two different orders of reality, referring to the wider framework espoused by realists: depth ontology. Indeed, for critical realists, the social

world is a stratified reality where each layer has its own causal or *emergent* properties that impact other layers of reality. As Edwards, O'Mahoney and Vincent (2014) explain, "entities have emergent properties which are dependent upon, but irreducible to, their 'lower level' components. For example, 'wetness' is a property that water has that would not exist if either oxygen or hydrogen were removed, even though neither oxygen nor hydrogen feels wet themselves" (p. 7). What is true for the natural world, according to critical realists, is true for the social world as well.

For critical realists, the problem in social theory emerges when society (structure) is conflated with the individuals of whom it is composed (agency). Downwards conflation over-emphasizes the role of society in determining the actions of individuals, depriving the latter of their capacity to shape society. Meanwhile, upwards conflation reifies individual perceptions/desires with that of the whole, denying the real impact of social structures/cultures (in the form of enablements or constraints) on people's ability to effect change. Finally, a third unsatisfactory option is also outlined by Archer (1995): central conflation or *elision*. In this scenario, structure and agency are seen as inseparable, as two sides of the same coin, thereby negating the stratified nature of social reality put forth by realist social theorists.

To deal with the 'vexatious fact' of society and avoid the conflation of structure and agency – in its downwards, upwards or central modalities - Archer (1995) proposes that analytical dualism is necessary to understand the *interplay* between structure and agency. Here, the key word is 'interplay'. Social structures (and cultures) are analytically separated from the agents upon which they have an impact and vice versa. While our human experience of agency within society (should we think of such matters) is very much integrated, understanding the mutual impact of structure and agency requires that these two domains be viewed separately. Doing so allows us to identify their distinct emergent properties or causal impacts. For Archer, analytical dualism is possible because structure and agency each possess "autonomous emergent properties which are thus capable of independent variation and therefore of being out of phase with one another in time" (p. 66). As such, structures have emergent properties or causal impacts on other layers of social reality. These are known as structural emergent properties (SEPs). Likewise, cultures have emergent properties which impact other layers of social reality that are referred to as cultural emergent

properties (CEPs). Finally, people have their own emergent properties known as personal emergent (or people's emergent) properties (PEPs) [iii]. In realist social theory, then, SEPs, CEPs and PEPs are analysed separately to enable an examination of the interplay between the different levels of reality. One final distinction is important here: structures pertain to material conditions that shape society (e.g., distribution of resources) while cultures relate to ideas that shape society (e.g., beliefs that may justify the unequal distribution of resources).

The morphogenetic sequence is put forward by Archer (1995) in order to conceptualize the interplay between structure and agency. As mentioned above, SEPs/CEPs/PEPs can exercise their causal powers independently and at different points in time. The temporal dimension is key. "Structures (as emergent properties) are not only irreducible to people, they pre-exist them, and people are not puppets of structures because they have their own emergent properties which mean they either reproduce or transform social structure, rather than creating it" (p. 71).

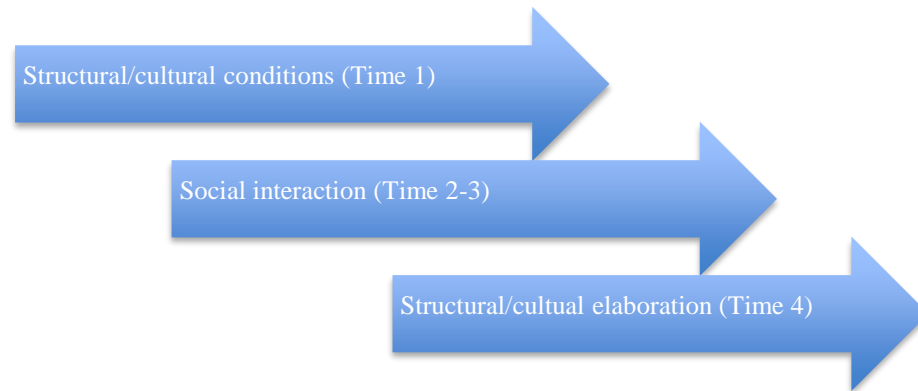
Morphogenesis, following Walter Buckley's definition, refers to "those processes which tend to elaborate or change a system's given form, structure or state" (Buckley 1967, p. 58; in Archer 1995, p. 75). Archer adopts what she calls the:

...unlovely term 'morphogenesis', to capture both the possibility of radical and unpredictable re-shaping (...), and the fact that the genesis of this re-shaping lies in the interplay between structure and agency – a process which can only be examined because of their temporal separability and an outcome which can only be explained by means of analytical dualism (p. 75).

This being the case, the morphogenetic sequence must examine the structures/cultures that pre-exist a certain social interaction (conditions), the interaction itself, and the resulting structural elaboration (Figure 2). Of course, if morphogenesis is possible then so is morphostasis, the case where agents choose to reproduce the pre-existing structures or cultures rather than elaborate upon them.

## Figure 1

### *The morphogenetic sequence*

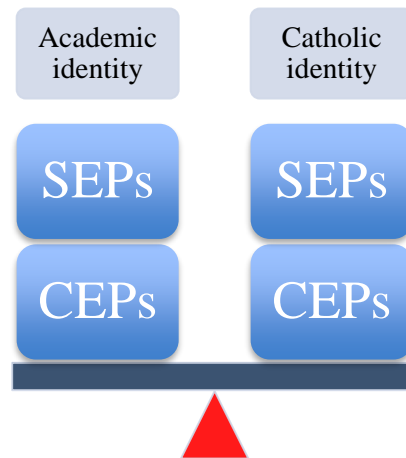


Note: adapted from Archer (1995, p. 76)

We are now coming near to our own topic at hand, the balancing act experienced by those working in Catholic higher education institutions (CHEIs). To understand this balancing act, we need to analytically separate the exercise of agency from the structures and cultures that provide the conditions surrounding such agential activity. In a simple morphogenetic sequence, we can analyse a particular social interaction by reviewing the structural and/or cultural conditions (SEPs and CEPs) that precede it, the interaction itself and the resulting elaboration (or reproduction) of those structural and/or cultural conditions. The model proposed here delineates two very well elaborated and distinct sets of structures (SEPs) and cultures (CEPs) that serve to shape the social interactions within Catholic colleges and universities – those of the church and the academy. These two sets of SEPs and CEPs interact in various ways and can either be conflicting or complementary. Situated at the intersection of these very real, causal structures and cultures, people working within CHEIs must then continually assess which forces are impacting them at any given time. They must also judge how to best interact with these forces in order to serve their particular interests as institutions which seek to maintain credible links with both the Catholic Church and the academy. Figure 3 below illustrates this balancing act, with the red triangle representing the social location of those working within CHEIs.

**Figure 2**

*The balancing act of CHEIs*



Archer’s (1995) model accounts for the possible interactions between various structures (and cultures) in society. For the purposes of illustration, I focus here on the interaction between social structures. The relationship between structural emergent properties (SEPs) can be either necessary or contingent, compatible or incompatible, giving rise to four scenarios or 'situational logics' (Figure 4). When two SEPs are necessarily related and compatible with each other, the conditions are ripe for the *protection* of the current status quo. When these same SEPs are incompatible, the need for *compromise* arises since their relationship remains necessary for each to persist. When two SEPs are only contingently related, the complementary scenario gives rise to *opportunism*. If these are incompatible, the *elimination* of one or the other SEP from the specific social interaction becomes possible. The same logic can also be applied to cultural emergent properties or CEPs.

**Table 2**

*Archer’s (1995) situational logics*

	<b>Complementarities/ Compatibilities</b>	<b>Incompatibilities</b>
<b>Necessary relationship</b>	Protection	Compromise
<b>Contingent relationship</b>	Opportunism	Elimination

In the case of Catholic higher education institutions (CHEIs) in Canada, their relationships with the structures/cultures of both the church and the academy are necessary rather than contingent. They cannot continue to exist as CHEIs if they do not maintain their necessary relationships with both the Catholic Church and the academy. Should they fail in this endeavour, they either lose their status as Catholic institutions or as full-fledged colleges/universities. The balancing act evident within CHEIs is a result of the institutional commitment to avoid either of these two outcomes. Therefore, in the eyes of those working within CHEIs, both the relationship with the church’s SEPs/CEPs and the academy’s SEPs/CEPs are necessary. The possibility of these necessary relationships being either compatible or incompatible, however, persists (Figure 5). Compatible relationships lead to reinforced behaviours while incompatible ones give rise to the need to negotiate, the ‘balancing act’.

**Table 3**

*Situational logics arising within CHEIs (the ‘balancing act’)*

	<b>Compatible relationship</b>	<b>Incompatible relationship</b>
<b>Academic &amp; Ecclesial Structures (SEPs)</b>	Reinforced behaviours	Negotiated behaviours
<b>Academic &amp; Ecclesial Cultures (CEPs)</b>	Reinforced behaviours	Negotiated behaviours

We can therefore imagine four scenarios in which CHEIs find themselves when relating to their two primary sets of structural/cultural conditions. As mentioned above, when academic and ecclesial structures or cultures are compatible, the resulting behaviours are reinforced. When these same structures and cultures are incompatible, the relationship must be negotiated and the balancing act ensues. For example, both the cultures of the academy and the Catholic intellectual tradition value academic rigour. Given the framework above, then, the impetus toward academic rigour within CHEIs ought to be reinforced. Indeed, this reinforcement is evident in the data I collected – 9 of the 16 interviewees mention the importance of academic excellence and the delivery of quality education. Conversely, where the two sets of structures/cultures are incompatible then we would expect tension or conflict to arise.

## **Conclusion: Living on a tight rope**

What are the implications of this proposed model of understanding institutional identity within CHEIs? How might we use this insight to foster the conditions necessary for those working within our institutions to participate in the co-creation of vibrant Catholic identities that are both true to the tradition and able to respond to the needs of our world today? Perhaps one of the respondents within this research project said it best. Margaret was relatively new to her organization, but she had nevertheless been quickly initiated into the experience of walking on the tight rope of her institution's identity. When asked what it is like for her to work at a CHEI, she immediately responded by naming the two sets of forces that shape her experience:

... we should make the distinction that [our institution] is based on Catholic tradition, it's also a liberal arts [institution], so we live that duality and that sometimes presents itself with real celebrations and, as you might imagine, also some challenges at points. For me personally, I was drawn to that. I'm a woman of strong spiritual faith and so I welcomed that possibility of functioning as what I would call a whole person in my professional role and that has indeed proved itself to be true. So, I embrace the celebrations, and the tensions too, because they're important conversations of how much does the catholicity, the whole Christian heritage, inform what we offer and where is it that we are also more open and more pluralistic in our plans. So, as you can probably think, it's fodder for many good conversations. And, really, I think it's a discerning process. (Margaret, front-line staff)

Margaret not only names the dual nature of her institution's identity but also points to two key strategies used to negotiate this duality: dialogue and discernment. These interpretive and participatory processes highlight the continual co-creation of identity that is part and parcel of working within a CHEI. Since these institutions seek to live at the intersection between the structures and cultures of both the church and the academy, they are constantly discussing and discerning how to tread the line of these two accountabilities. Providing ample space for this intentional dialogue and discernment, and engaging with the hermeneutics of Catholic identity that exist within our institutions, are key strategies for moving forward. How can this be done in

practical terms? 1) Leaders can normalize the balancing act as a central element of identity development rather than a tension to be resolved at all costs. 2) Individuals can be equipped to negotiate these processes. Initial orientation and ongoing formation programs are essential and ought to include an introduction to the often tacit dynamics of identity formation at work within our organizations. 3) Institutional processes like strategic planning and the development of Catholic identity statements can to be used as spaces for the type of collective discernment necessary for the ongoing development of Catholic identity and mission.

In *Fratelli Tutti*, Pope Francis elaborated on upon his earlier insights regarding the fundamental connection between identity and encounter. Speaking of the dynamic relationship between the local and the universal, he wrote that “there can be no dialogue with “others” without a sense of our own identity” (FT, 143). However, this research would suggest that the reverse is also true. There can be no real sense of identity without the dialogue and encounter with the other, both within our institutions and in relation to external structures and cultures. The intentional fostering of Catholic identity demands that we recognize the dynamic processes already at play within our institutions and the ways the structures and cultures of our institutions shape these processes. As leaders we can create spaces of dialogue and discernment to help those working on the frontlines effectively negotiate the balancing act they experience on a daily basis. Grounded in their collective identities, individuals working in Catholic institutions will be able to fully engage in the type of dialogue called for by Pope Francis and which our complex and plural world desperately needs.

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## Endnotes

<sup>i</sup> While the literature on Catholic identity largely refers to the concept of ‘institutional identity’, the literature arising from the domain of organizational theory uses the term ‘organizational identity’. Please note that I see the two terms as interchangeable and will retain the term as used by the authors in question.

<sup>ii</sup> Pseudonyms have been used to ensure the anonymity of the respondents.

<sup>iii</sup> Archer (1995) refers to PEPs as ‘people’s emergent properties’ while Archer (2003) defines these as ‘personal emergent properties’. I will retain her latter use of the term.