



## «AD CURA PERSONALIS ET CIVITATIS UTILITATEM». EXAMINING JESUIT POSTCONCILIAR RENEWAL AND EDUCATIONAL INNOVATION IN SPAIN

*«Ad cura personalis et civitatis utilitatem». Examinando la renovación posconciliar y la innovación educativa jesuita en España*

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**ABSTRACT:** This paper analyzes Jesuit pedagogy in Spain after the Second Vatican Council, encompassing recent trends and shifts by first delving into the main elements involved in the postconciliar crisis and renewal of the Society of Jesus in Spain, including the various critiques that this change received (part II). Second, this paper sheds light on the current Jesuit *Ledesma-Kolvenbach University Paradigm*, including its practical application and evaluation at the University of Deusto in Bilbao (part III). Third, this paper takes a brief look at the current reconsideration of active Jesuit pedagogy in Spain (and in Catalonia in particular), bearing in mind the contextualized convergences of educational philosophy (part IV). The concluding remarks address basic results from the analysis of these three elements.

**Keywords:** Societas Iesu; Catholic Education; Pedagogical Innovation; Spain; Active Learning.

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**Resumen:** Este artículo analiza la pedagogía jesuita en España después del Concilio Vaticano II, abarcando las tendencias y cambios recientes, profundizando primero en los principales elementos involucrados en la crisis posconciliar y la renovación de la Compañía de Jesús en España, incluidas las diversas críticas que recibió este cambio. (Parte II). En segundo lugar, este artículo arroja luz sobre el paradigma actual de la Universidad Jesuita *Ledesma-Kolvenbach*, incluida su aplicación práctica y evaluación en la Universidad de Deusto en Bilbao (parte III). En tercer lugar, este artículo analiza brevemente la reconsideración actual de la pedagogía activa jesuita en España (y en Cataluña en particular), teniendo en cuenta las convergencias contextualizadas de la filosofía educativa (parte IV). Las observaciones finales abordan los resultados básicos del análisis de estos tres elementos.

**Palabras clave:** Societas Iesu; Educación Católica; Innovación Pedagógica; España; Aprendizaje activo.

**SUMMARY:** 1. Introduction. 2. Postconciliar Crisis and Renewal. 3. Towards a New Pedagogy: Psychologizing Jesuit Education. 4. Active Learning: Ignatian Pedagogy in the Twenty-First Century. 5. Final Remarks. 6. References. 7. References from Internet.

*For Ignatian pedagogy, an Aristotelian model of virtues and moral learning is particularly suitable as an educational framework. On the one hand, it opens up language and horizon for justification of moral education in schools both for people of other religions and those who do not belong to a specific religious confession. On the other hand, Aristotelian virtue ethics is deeply rooted in the Ignatian tradition... But, living a life based on virtues means precisely... not to simply continue practicing virtues as given in families or society. It rather consists in a deeper understanding of the person, that is, of what is held as a «good life», as well as in the ability to analyze each situation from a more comprehensive ethical-moral perspective... However, any pedagogy that immerses character in virtues and that understands moral learning beyond the simple adaptation or even imitation of existing norms –that is, aims at a deeper emotional and intellectual process which enables intuition, decision and conscious exercise of ethical and moral actions– can only become effective on a pedagogical level when promoting the possibility of decoding the complex concept of virtue for a systematic initiation of new learning processes at different levels adopted to different ages (Zimmermann, 2019, pp. 669-670)<sup>3</sup>.*

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Inquiring into the Society of Jesus and its theological impulses and pedagogical innovations is intrinsically related to the globalization of Catholicism starting

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<sup>3</sup> All translations by the authors.

in the 1960s, which brought about a phase of profound transformation in terms of Catholicism's character as a world religion (Blaschke and Ramón Solans, 2007). Historically, because it is the most emblematic order in terms of Catholic missions, the Society of Jesus' identity has been inextricably linked to its exceptional mobility, which it established and has conserved through a global network of various educational institutions whose structure has yet to be surpassed to this day (Sievernich, 2005). In this regard, Jesuits have been described as a «long-distance-corporation» and, for practical reasons related to travel and geographical knowledge, their contribution to stellar navigation, cartography, astronomy, etc. has been substantial (Harris, 1998; Harris, 1999). Around 1773, when suppressed by Pope Clement XIV (a little more than 200 years after its foundation and official approval), the Jesuit order ran about seven hundred schools and universities in Europe, India, China, Japan, Canada and South America. Their collective impact on the development of universal knowledge has been extraordinary<sup>4</sup>.

International scholars unanimously agree that the Jesuits played a major role in the development of Europe's Enlightenment, particularly in the Spanish case, where eighteenth-century Bourbonic education reforms aimed to increase scholarly mobility (Navarro Brotóns, 2006). Specialists in the history of the Society of Jesus frequently point out that the Jesuits have carried out their worldwide mission by «adapting to different circumstances and cultures», creating a unique «pastoral, cultural, and intellectual style» (O'Malley, 2016, p. 108). The Jesuit missionary vocation, it seems, consisted not only of accommodation and adaptation, but even of identification with non-European cultures. There is no doubt that the Jesuit Jerónimo Nadal's (1507-1580) motto *totus mundus nostra fit habitatio* perfectly represents the novel Jesuit spirit of breaking with medieval monastic life (*stabilitas loci*), which, at the same time, introduced a characteristic type of obedience and hierarchical conscience into the Catholic church (Mostaccio, 2014, pp. 83-104)<sup>5</sup>. From contemporary perspectives, the Society of Jesus' role as a pioneer of the Catholic Church's global intercultural dialogue led to a decisive dynamic regarding its European transnational restitution starting in the early nineteenth century, especially in

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<sup>4</sup> It is important to highlight the advanced mathematics program, including subjects such as optics, acoustics, and astronomy, in the Jesuits' *Ratio Studiorum* promoted under the leadership of Father Christoph Clavius (1538-1612), which, since the late 1990s, international researchers (Antonella Romano, Marcus Hellyer, Mordechai Feingold, Agustín Udías, etc.) have associated with the Jesuits' groundbreaking contribution to the development of modern science (Gatto 2019, pp. 644-645). Nevertheless, some research points to a critical review of advanced mathematics in the *Ratio Studiorum*, for instance: Jesús L. Paradinas Fuentes (2012).

<sup>5</sup> With respect to Jesuits colonial role, alternative implication or even anticolonial impact primarily see: Bernd Hausberger (2000), Peter C. Hartmann (1994) and Sabine Anagnostou (2000).

terms of the reestablishment of Jesuit educational activities<sup>6</sup>. Furthermore, starting in the 1950s, Jesuits played an important role at the supranational level as interlocutors and promoters of peace in Europe divided by the Cold War (Lemke Duque, 2019a).

The Jesuit order's globalized style is often associated with the founding spirit of the Society of Jesus, especially the intellectual and social context at the University of Paris in the mid-sixteenth century. Scholars argue that the core of this spirit consisted in what later Jesuit *Spiritual Exercises* call *cura personalis*, reflecting the humanistic ideal of creating a specific type of human being that encompasses her inner dimension, that is, her spiritual-ethical nature as a person. In order to activate this personal dimension and as a preconditioning framework (*praesupponendum*), Ignatian *Exercises* underline the continuous development of the intellectual capacity to argumentatively integrate others' perspectives and positions and, thus, to avoid any type of condemnation.

Secular philosophy, that is the Greek and Roman classics, especially the apparent omnipresence of Cicero's *De Officiis* among the Jesuits and its ideal of sacrifice for others (*bonum commune*), represented another core part of Jesuit schools. In this way, the spiritual-ethical dimension (*cura personalis*) found completion in a social-practical foundation meant to educate a citizenry useful for the community (*ad civitatis utilitatem*) (O'Malley, 1993; O'Malley, 2006). This active openness towards society and the public was expressly reflected as a constitutive element in the founding of the *Constitutiones Societatis Iesu* (1558) (Ganss, 1954, p. 319), although Jesuit education initially referred to moral and religious renovation rather than to political formation (*puerilis institutio est renovatio mundi*).

Recent research has delved into Jesuit schools' general framework and its strong Stoic tradition by examining a specific type of educational psychology focused on moral casuistry, i.e., a practical subjective probabilism whose basis in anthropological optimism (*libero arbitrio*) culminated in well-known Jesuit Molinism at the end of the sixteenth century. The educational practice of subjective probabilism that guided Jesuit schools consisted, above all, in intense promotion of the Ciceronian *disputatio* and rhetoric (Martínez Valle, 2013, pp. 581-583, 589-591). Jesuit educational psychology apparently generated not only tensions regarding the Catholic Church's main instruments of discipline, but also led to pronounced differences between Christian education, on the one hand, and the Jesuit pedagogical *idearium*, on the other (Peck and Stick, 2008).

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<sup>6</sup> See, for instance, recent *Espacio, Tiempo y Educación (ETE)* special issue's second section (vol 6, no. 2) on transnational challenges associated with Jesuit education, e.g., Italian accommodation in the eighteenth century, British adaptation during the nineteenth century and European integration in the twentieth century: Niccolò Guasti (2019), Ciaran O'Neill (2019) and Carl A. Lemke Duque (2019b).

During the second phase of European colonial expansion, the Jesuits managed to further expand to the Philippines (1859), India (1869) and Lebanon (1895), as well as to Latin America and the United States, where they established more than twenty-two new universities and schools. However, the Society did not recover its full global horizon until after the Second Vatican Council. Starting in 1966, the question of social justice, which had been progressively introduced into the Catholic world through the encyclicals *Rerum novarum* (1891) and *Quadragesimo anno* (1931), led to decisive revival of dialogue with the world concerning its plurality, i.e., as something not only necessary, but also desirable in the sense of an indispensable precondition. This focus on social justice was ultimately formalized through decree 4 of the General Congregation (GC) in 1975 as the core of Jesuits' new internationalism (*quo universalius eo divinius*), which the charismatic leader Pedro Arrupe (1907-1991) promoted upon his election as general of the Society in May 1965. Consequently, social justice represents the official basis of Jesuits' global, social and civic mission with the extension of the *Constitutiones Societatis Iesu* in 1995 (Banchoff, 2016).

All educational initiatives of the Society must look to the plurality of cultures, religions, and ideologies as well as to local socioeconomic needs... In our educational work we must sensitize our students to the value of interreligious collaboration and instill in them a basic understanding of and respect for the faith vision of those belonging to diverse local religious communities... Universities and institutions of higher learning play an increasingly important role in the formation of the whole human community, for in them our culture is shaped by debates about ethics, future directions for economics and politics, and the very meaning of human existence. Accordingly, we must see to it that the Society is present in such institutions, whether directed by itself or by others, insofar as we are able to do so. It is crucial for the Church, therefore, that dedicated Jesuits continue to engage in university work (Society of Jesus Education Documents, Complementary Norms, p. 277, § 4; 279, § 4); 289, § 1)<sup>7</sup>.

With respect to the significance of the Second Vatican Council for the Jesuits, two dimensions must be taken into account: first of all (1), the Jesuits' contribution to the modern *aggiornamento* of Catholicism in the twentieth century and, secondly (2), the effects of the various encyclicals from the Second Vatican Council on the Jesuits during the postconciliar years and beyond, which are often summed up in the word «crisis» (Bischof and Leimgruber, 2004; Sinkovits, 2007; Pollack and Sajak, 2006; Meier, 2008). With regard to Jesuit renewal, we should pay close attention not only to the encyclical on the pastoral constitution of the Church in the world from *Gaudium et spes* (1965) and the declaration on religious freedom in

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<sup>7</sup> With references in 289, § 1 to GC 34 (d. 17, no. 2.), GC 31 (d. 28, no. 24, a) and GC 34 (d. 17, no. 12).

*Dignitatis humanae* (1965) or to the issue of non-Christian religions in *Nostra aetate* (1965), but also to reception of the encyclical on questions of Catholic education, *Gravissimum educationis* (1965).

Concerning the first aspect (1) of Jesuits influence on the Second Vatican Council, the German Karl Rahner (1904-1984) and the American John Courtney Murray (1904-1976) stand out as significant *periti*, among others like the Frenchman Henri de Lubac (1896-1991)<sup>8</sup>. Rahner, in particular, demanded comprehensive updating of the Church by shaping a paradigmatic transformation of Catholicism in terms of going from an essentially European religious community to a twenty-first century world religion. This intercultural globalization of the Church determined Rahner's work long into the 1980s, especially regarding the political context of Europe and the Cold War. On the other hand, Murray's contribution referred to a whole series of key arguments on the relationship between faith and religious freedom, which had major impact on the final version of *Dignitatis humanae*. In so doing, Murray advocated for an interreligious pluralism understood above all as a right of defense against the state. Research continues to highlight this new global and socio-political horizon of postconciliar Jesuit action, as does the theology of liberation fueled by Nouvelle Theology (Gugelot, 2019). This widespread interpretation has brought about the thesis of a «strong alliance» within the Catholic Church, considered as a general phenomenon since the late 1960s, including significant contribution to democratic change in Southern and Eastern Europe in the mid-1970s until the mid-1980s. Unfortunately, these positions tend to leave aside further clarification concerning the sort of conceptual and contextual alterations to individual self-determination and political freedom responsible in this regard (Casanova, 2001).

With respect to the second aspect (2) of the Second Vatican Council's impact on the Society of Jesus, two complementary aspects must be kept in mind: (a) a highly stagnant Neo-Scholastic spirituality in the order dating from the end of the nineteenth century, and (b) the Jesuits simultaneously reaching their highest numbers worldwide in 1965. At that time, in fact, Jesuits entered into significant internal transition with their highest ever number of 36,000 active members worldwide. Symptomatically, this transition was initiated and accompanied in the respective national contexts by a series of Jesuit teachers who received rather little attention outside the order. In the United States, Gustave Weigel (1906-1964), William F. Lynch (1908-1987) as well as Walter J. Ong (1912-2003) and, especially, Bernard J. F. Lonergan (1904-1984), stand out. The central moment of the order's postconciliar transition consisted in a comprehensive renewal of Ignatian spirituality. After overcoming resistance from within the Gregorian University in Rome, and passing through the critical stage of young Jesuits' prompt exodus starting in 1966, thus

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<sup>8</sup> For an introduction, see: Janez Perčič and Johannes Herzgsell (2016, pp. 75-106); Barry Hudock (2015).

rising the order's average age from 35 to 65 within 10 years, this process culminated in the famous maxim of *Faith and Justice* formalized in decree 4 of the General Congregations in the mid-1970s. From this perspective, any possible reconciliation with God is unconditionally linked to mankind's reconciliation, i.e., the reconciliation of all human beings with each other (Calvez, 1985). Here, the clear echo of two preliminary conciliar encyclicals, *Mater et magistra* (1961) and *Pacem in terris* (1963), and their sequel declarations *Populorum progressio* (1967) and *Redemptor hominis* (1979), seems decisive (Howell, 2012).

Only since the end of the Cold War and the sad echo of Jesuit martyrs during the 1980s, whose total number beyond those who were killed in Latin America is practically unknown to this day, has there again been notable discussion among Jesuits concerning a revitalization of the dimension of faith in intercultural and interreligious dialogue (Ignatian imagination). Under the formula a «Human, Just and Sustainable Globe», Jesuit educational institutions have been assigned a key role in this regard (Nicolás, 2011; CJHE 2012). Jesuits' contemporary challenges related to pedagogical renewal once again focus on renewing dialogue with the world (Vermander, 2019) on issues, like gender and transgender issues for instance, that began to emerge during the 1990s (Kloos, 2014; Rowniak and Ong-Flaherty, 2015). Another major challenge concerns the need to formulate a new theological and pedagogical framework regarding human responsibility towards divine creation (*imago dei*) (Leighter and Smythe, 2019).

Given the background of postconciliar renewal within the Society of Jesus, the sporadic manner, as well as the lack of differentiation and specificity, with which Spanish Jesuits continue to face the challenge of a new pedagogical orientation in the twenty-first century is striking (Fernández Nogueira, Igelmo Zaldívar and Pereda Herrero, 2017). At the same time, Jesuit education discourse contains a persistent pretext of Ignatian pedagogy that demands constant adaptation of Jesuit spirituality's traditional bases to not only theoretical changes, but also to new practical realities that arise in the Society's educational institutions (Defeo 2009, pp. 34, 43, 53, 54-80). Yet, it seems that this pretext has had a prefigurative effect that has led Jesuit discourse to unintendedly disconnect from current innovation in empirical pedagogy and the history of education.

Following previous research on Jesuit theological renewal and pedagogical innovation in Spain, particularly during the period of democratic transition (Igelmo Zaldívar and Lemke Duque, 2018), this paper aims to analyze Jesuit pedagogy in Spain after the Second Vatican Council from a broader perspective that encompasses recent trends and shifts. In order to do so, it first delves into the main lines of postconciliar renewal within the Society of Jesus in Spain, including the various criticisms of this change (part II). Secondly, this paper sheds light on the current Jesuit pedagogical paradigm, *Ledesma-Kolvenbach*, including its practical application at the Jesuit University of Deusto in Bilbao, Spain and, in addition, its exemplary



evaluation regarding the Jesuit ideal of social justice (part III). Thirdly, this paper takes a closer look at the current return to active learning in Spain (Catalonia in particular), bearing in mind the contextualized convergences of educational philosophy (part IV). Finally, the concluding remarks summarize the results of this three-part analysis.

## 2. POSTCONCILIAR CRISIS AND RENEWAL

During the postconciliar period, Spanish Jesuits reached an unprecedented level of presence in public education and research. As a result of the number of Jesuits who were young and full professors, as well as early-stage and senior researchers in public higher education in Spain at the beginning of the 1970s, the Society of Jesus created a special association for these members in 1978 called *Misión Universitaria en Instituciones No Jesuitas* (MUINSI). The extraordinary success of Jesuit university professors and researchers in the Spanish public education sector is generally seen within the broader context of significant Jesuit impact on international science. Here, Ignatian spirituality and its core impulse of *finding God in all things* is identified as the decisive element not only for Jesuit novice-level teaching and training, but also as generally characteristic of the Society's educational institutions around the world. Jesuit contribution to modern sciences, however, seems to have passed its point of culmination, and not just in Spain (Udías Villana, 2015; Udías Villanas, 2019).

In the years following the Second Vatican Council, the Society of Jesus underwent a dramatic process of decline. In fact, the total number of Jesuits worldwide decreased by 20 % between 1967-1976 after having reached its peak in 1965. This decline rose until 1981, reaching 26 % and becoming particularly substantial in Europe with active Jesuits decreasing by almost 40 % (from 16,816 in 1965 to 10,197 in 1981). France (almost 50 %), Germany (49 %), Spain (44 %) and Great Britain (42 %) were most affected by this decrease, while Italy and Eastern Europe registered a drop of novices by 34 % and 28 % respectively<sup>9</sup>. Due to this major quantitative shift, the Society of Jesus began centralization efforts in Europe (beginning in France in 1967) by fusing national provinces (Alcalá 2008, pp. 177-179).

At the end of the 1960s, during the early days of postconciliar transformations, a significant minority of Spanish Jesuits strongly resisted the Council's adaptive changes and the Catholic Church's modern *aggiornamento*. This resistance had to do in large part with possibly losing their traditionally prominent role in Spain's education and research sector. Inner-Jesuit resistance during the early postconciliar

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<sup>9</sup> For more details, see: *Anuario Pontificio Ecclesia Catolica per l'anno 1965* and data at <http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/diocese/dqsj0.html>



period must be understood in rather generational terms that ultimately ended in the famous crisis between 1969 and 1974 when a group of antimodernist Jesuits, so called *Jesuitas en fidelidad*, mainly from Spain, Argentina, France, the United States and Italy, tried to split the order and dismiss Arrupe by attacking the legitimacy of convening the 32<sup>nd</sup> General Congregation. In this instance, it is important to emphasize the participation of a group of well-situated Jesuits, mostly professors of Philosophy, Theology and Canon Law (like Jesus Solano, Eustaquio Guerrero, José Caballero, José Antonio de Aldama, Eduardo Fernández-Regatillo, Manuel Foyaca, José Ramón Bidagor, Jesus Muñoz, etc.), who directly opposed the conciliar-related progress of the 31<sup>st</sup> General Congregation (La Bella, 2008).

International research has not yet systematically analyzed the splits that arose among Spanish Jesuits, ironically called *descalzados*. Although they largely shared anti-modernist positions, it seems that the *descalzados* were not a strictly homogeneous or closed group either. Eustaquio Guerrero López (1883-1978), for instance, forcefully intervened in the French-Catholic debate on political laicism (Esprit group) not only in *Razón y Fe*, but also later during the early 1960s with several monographic studies. In his 1960 book on religious freedom and the Catholic State, he continued to categorically defend positions and arguments against any lay state as a more moderate version of a strictly laicist policy (Guerrero, 1960, pp. 32, 49-51, 57-87). During the postconciliar phase, in addition, other Jesuits, such as Jesus Solana (1913-1982) and José Antonio de Aldama (1930-1980), not only meticulously criticized conciliar texts and positions, but also openly promoted a return to the preconciliar origins of Marian spirituality (Solano, 1969; de Aldama, 1981). One should bear in mind, at the same time, that these secessionist Jesuits had strong connections not only to integrist Catholicism, but also to the right-wing political spectrum, e.g., to groups like Fuerza Nueva (1967-2017), the public channel of the Hermandad Nacional Alféreces Provisionales (HAP) association, to the mainly monarchist journal *Qué pasa* (1941-1981), which was published by the paramilitary right-wing terrorist group Guerrilleros de Cristo Rey (1969-1980), or to the Hermandad Sacerdotal Española (HSE) association led by the Franciscan Miguel Oltra Beltrán (1911-1982) (La Bella, 2019, pp. 90-97; González Sáez, 2014).

One of the most important platforms for anti-conciliar Jesuit criticism in Spain can be found at the journal *Verdad y Vida*, published by Franciscans in Madrid. During the 1970s *Verdad y Vida* published a series of studies discussing different aspects of conciliar changes (Leal Luque, 1970; Leal Luque, 1971; Leal Luque, 1974). This intense criticism was founded on incessant concern for the problematic opposition between *Lumen gentium* (prioritizing renewal of the Church in the World) and *Gaudium et spes* (prioritizing renewal of the World in the Church) as two strictly opposed documents with respect to how to resolve the question of the Second Vatican Council's legitimate center of gravity. Especially by the end of the 1970s, arguments arose concerning necessary modification to understandings

of the *aggiornamento*, to the point of demanding reinforcement of positions that identified *Lumen gentium* as the true core of the Second Vatican Council and, consequently, understood any conciliar change as a *mutatio* in its «philosophical-Aristotelian sense» – it is here where this extensive postconciliar debate most clearly came to express its critique against Jesuits like Rahner and others (Bustamante, 1976, pp. 466-467, 470-472).

The Jesuits' 31<sup>st</sup> General Congregation in 1965 undoubtedly represented a «Copernican *Riconversione*», especially the major restructuring process that included educational changes as, for instance, new conceptions of the student, of the teaching-learning processes, and of commitment to social justice, etc (Valero Agúndez, 2008). Researchers have underlined the importance of the Jesuits' post-conciliar transformation not only with regards to the order's internal transformations in Spain (Álvarez Bolado, 2001), but also with respect to the broader question of Catholicism's social and political renewal during democratic transition (Montero García, 2009, pp. 243-249), on the one hand, and the Jesuits' struggle against dictatorship in Chile on the other (Schnoor, 2019, pp. 177-182, 461-487). Upon closer look, three aspects of Jesuit postconciliar transformations should be recalled here:

In the first place (1), as reflected in Arrupe's 1969 special letter to all Jesuits, accelerating adaptation to the apostolic needs of the world was part of the *Ignatian charism* that guided the postconciliar transformation towards renovation based on the origins of Jesuit spirituality. In this regard, the new maxim of *Faith and Justice* was a direct consequence of the *essentialia* found in the Jesuit vocation<sup>10</sup>. It was operationalized, on the one hand, through the transformation of social structures and commitments in search of man's spiritual and material liberation and, on the other hand, in solidarity with the poor, sharing in their condition understood as characteristic of Jesuit life personally, in the community, and even institutionally.

Secondly (2), defense and imposition of renewal of the apostolic mission against extreme fringes within the Society of Jesus took place thanks to Arrupe's charism. He continued to demand thoroughgoing progress towards and renewed execution of the decrees of GC 32 against reductionist and fragmentary interpretations, for example, in his lecture *Arraigados y cimentados en la caridad* (Rome, 06.02.1981) given a few months before he fell ill.

Last but not least (3), leaving aside a comprehensive review of the Society of Jesus' internal constitution –that is, the question of how to promote apostolic freedom, personal responsibility and solidarity with the world,– GC 34 from 1995 oriented the maxim of *Faith and Justice* towards the proclamation of the Gospel and the evangelization of culture through (a) inter- and supra-provincial cooperation among Jesuits and (b) collaboration with the laity. In this regard, the Dutch general Hans Kolvenbach (1928-2016) demanded new *creative fidelity* for the Ignatian

<sup>10</sup> For a comprehensive introduction, see: Jesus Corella Marquínez (1993).

charism at a meeting of Jesuit superiors in Loyola in 2000. Referring to a «holy audacity», he declared the need to regain «certain apostolic assertiveness» (*cierta agresividad apostólica*), which, according to him, is typical of the Jesuit order, to carry out the Jesuit mission among tensions such as globalization-localization as part of the inescapable interprovincial collaboration (Valero Agúndez, 2007).

These three elements of Jesuit postconciliar transformation have been widely discussed within the Society of Jesus, especially in the face of Europe's post-1989 social and political context. Jesuits stressed a historical change, not only in legal and theological terms but, above all, in psychological ones with respect to the intangibility of what is defined in the catalogue *Censurae et praecepte hominibus Societas imposta* as substantial elements regarding the conservation of the Jesuit identity (*quae pertinent ad substantiam Instituti*). Together with the question of spirituality in general, and prayer in particular, as well as community life and religious discipline, novice formation, the apostolate, etc., emphasis was placed above all on the three central dimensions of religious conscience (chastity, obedience and poverty). There, tensions arose on the back of the so-called «dual fidelity to the grace of the order's origins and to the demands of the historical moment» (Valero Agúndez, 2012, pp. 41-45, 50, 61-128).

In a 1978 letter, Arrupe insisted on a *new pedagogy* capable of preventing the extremes of utopian radicalization and generalized fear as the decisive key to the Company's postconciliar renewal. That pedagogy included a new statute of poverty and intellectual apostolate, which impacted the relationship between the Community Superior and the apostolate Director, as well as directly impacted inculturation efforts with respect to social apostolate in Jesuit schools and universities, refugee services, etc. (Ibid., pp. 205-228). Indeed, Kolvenbach's creative fidelity responded to the call to project, define and implement a new pedagogical framework from the very core of the Ignatian charism. It aimed to enable the Society of Jesus' *acomodata renovatio*, which was the initial impulse of the postconciliar phase that then took on a dynamic of continuous recreation aimed at never-fully-finished progress and fueled by the creative energy of the (continuously updated and revitalized) original charism (Ibid., pp. 320-323).

Although Kolvenbach admitted that St. Ignatius would have been unfamiliar with the expression «creative fidelity», he insisted on the fact that «the apostolic tension embraced in this word does in fact define the identity of the Society's body from its beginnings to the present day» (Kolvenbach, 2007a, p. 140). To determine his vision of this «creative fidelity to the Ignatian charism» (Ibid., pp. 142-144-149), he demanded that Jesuits increasingly and actively reintegrate the work of God (*deo militare*), recalling on January 6, 2005 the jubilee of the first Jesuits, San Ignacio de Loyola (1491-1556), San Francisco Javier Azpilicueta (1506-1552) and San Pedro Fabro (1506-1546), by insisting, above all, on the *cura personalis* as the central axis of Jesuits' continuous recreation guided by «Ignatian-informed creative

fidelity» (Ibid., p. 145; Kolvenbach, 2007b, pp. 81-84.). Here, Kolvenbach referred specifically to the fact that Javier and Fabro also served as «guides» for the «social changes that [were] imposed», taking into account that the «ministries of the *cura personalis*» remained a «challenge and a necessity, despite the inevitable and growing institutionalization of education and training» (Kolvenbach 2007b, p. 84). In 2003, referring expressly to Arrupe, Kolvenbach had directly linked the Jesuit educational principle *alumnorum cura personalis* with human dignity in order to insist three years later on its key-role for Ignatian education at the university level (Kolvenbach, 2007c; Kolvenbach, 2007d). In this way, according to Kolvenbach, the new postconciliar foundation of the Society's continuous recreation through the idea of creative fidelity to the Ignatian charism recovered its historical gravitational center, i.e., *cura personalis*, indicating the path to the concrete recreation of the Jesuit pedagogical framework.

As an illustration, let's look at a demand that remains a challenge at the university level, namely the «*cura personalis*», which corresponds to the attention given to students, to how they are cared for, to their personality. For centuries this «*cura personalis*» has been the selling point of Ignatian education. The first Jesuits believed deeply in this «*cura personalis*», to the point of sometimes abandoning preaching to the multitudes in order to devote themselves to spiritual conversation from person to person. The Spiritual Exercises state that he who offers shelter for meditation (*retiro*) shall not stop preaching to a group, but must also personally accompany and encourage he who wants to embark on this experience of the relationship between the person and God (Kolvenbach, 2007d, pp. 342-343).

### 3. TOWARDS A NEW PEDAGOGY: PSYCHOLOGIZING JESUIT EDUCATION

Arrupe's vision for and demand to recreate the Jesuit pedagogical framework reached its highest point in 2008 with the so-called *Ledesma-Kolvenbach University Paradigm*. This new key paradigm for Jesuit higher education was subsequently designated as such in the scientific literature in order to gather a series of reflections that Kolvenbach gave on issues of general and higher education. It was immediately taken up by Kolvenbach's successor Adolfo Nicolás Pachón (born 1936) in his conference *Misión y Universidad. ¿Qué futuro queremos?* (2008), although, from 2010 onwards, it ceased to be explicitly addressed in his conferences. With direct reference to the Spanish theologian and co-author of the *Ratio Studiorum*, Diego de Ledesma (1519-1575), between 2001 and 2007, Kolvenbach identified and explained the four basic concepts of *utilitas*, *iustitia*, *humanitas*, and *fides* as the fundamental columns of Jesuit pedagogy's new framework (Kolvenbach, 2001/2008; 2006/2008a; 2006/2008b; 2007/2008).

However, it is worth noting that recovery of Ledesma's educational principles was not original to Kolvenbach. In fact, earlier references to Ledesma are found in the context of North American Jesuits' discourse as early as the 1990s and related to the newly translated *Monumenta Pedagogica Societatis Iesu* (MPSI, 1586). In the MPSI's first book *De Ratione et Ordine Studiorum in Collegii Romani*, Ledesma explains the four elementary concepts of (1) «Knowledge and Capacity needed for a productive career» (*utilitas*), (2) «Social and Political Responsibility» (*iustitia*), (3) «Contribution in the total development of the Human Person» (*humanitas*) and, finally, (4) «Faith in God» (*fides*) as altogether directed «ad rectam rerum publicarum gubernationem et leges, tum ad naturae ipsius rationalis ornatum et splendorem ac perfectionem, tum demum, quod maius est, ad Dei fidem et religionem docendam, defendendam et propaganda» (Gómez Rodeles, 1901, p. 345).

Kolvenbach's first stage of pedagogical reflections, between 1985 and 1994, embrace three approaches:

(1) With reference to a possible misunderstanding of priorities concerning the Jesuits' «innate nature» (*connaturalidad*) according to the Decree 4 –i.e., their «preferential option» for the poor conceived of as the «authentic apostolic nature of the educational sector»– Kolvenbach insists on the absence of any conflict because «from the perspective of promoting justice... all research must ultimately promote the dignity of the human person» (Kolvenbach, 1985/2008, pp. 34-36; 38-40).

(2) With respect to the idea of the university as an «instrument of apostolate», Kolvenbach underlines universities' self-renewal through (a) «personalized attention to each individual student... and each individual teacher» (*cura personalis*), (b) «high academic quality» and (c) «close collaboration with the hierarchical Church» concerning evangelization (Ibid., pp. 41-43; Kolvenbach, 1986/1992, p. 144; Kolvenbach, 1989/2008, pp. 64-66). The objective of higher education, according to Kolvenbach, consists of «unity and coherence» in science achieved through «'universalizing' the specialized scientific disciplines» by means of a particular kind of «interdisciplinarity» capable of «qualitative integration... that leads to a broader truth» – that is, the ultimate goal of the university is to «explain the totality of creation» oriented to the «transfiguration» of Christ as the «Humanizing Incarnation of God» that divinizes man (Kolvenbach, 1987/2008, pp. 51-53; Kolvenbach, 1989/2008, pp. 61-63; Kolvenbach, 1990/2008, pp. 92-94; Kolvenbach, 1994, pp. 149-151).

(3) Kolvenbach underlines the centrality of values for the «realization of the integral man», noting that Jesuit teaching's main purpose consists in the creation of «multiplying agents» as the «yeast in the transformation of attitudes, humanizing the social climate», and expressly identified as «leaders of the third millennium» (Kolvenbach, 1985/2008, p. 38; Kolvenbach, 1989/2008, pp. 58-60; Kolvenbach, 1990/2008, p. 90). According to Kolvenbach, this «integral realization of the human person» ought to be directly nourished by the Christian personalism of Max

Scheler (1874-1928) and Jacques Maritain (1882-1973), outlining a phenomenology of values in terms of how they are perceived by the intellect, how they impact the emotions and how they are put into practical action (Kolvenbach, 1987/2008, p. 51; Kolvenbach, 1989/2008, p. 63; Kolvenbach, 1994/2008, p. 151).

In the first stage of Kolvenbach's pedagogical reflections, he repeatedly referred (with direct quotes starting in 1987) to Cardinal John Henry Newman's (1801-1890) concept of the university<sup>11</sup>. References to the English cardinal culminated in 2001 when, for the first time, Kolvenbach explicitly mentioned Ledesma, who represented, from then on, the core of the second stage of his pedagogical reflections between 2001 and 2007, in which he developed the following two main lines of arguments:

(A) With express reference to the *Institute of Jesuit Sources* (IJS; since 2014 *Institute for Advanced Jesuit Studies*, IAJS) at Boston College, which since 1986 has been under the direction of John W. Padberg (born 1926), Kolvenbach refers to the four Ledesmanian principles (*utilitas, iustitia, humanitas, fides*). He classifies them under the slogan of the Ignatian «founding charism» and sees them as the central axes for Jesuit educational institutions, quoting directly from the original sources of the 1586 MPSI (Kolvenbach 2007/2008, 259-260). In addition, he proposes these four educational principles as a «modern transposition» between the «purposes of the university» and the «Christian and Ignatian inspiration», (Kolvenbach, 2001/2008, pp. 195-197) explaining three dimensions that include critique of Newman: (a) with reference to the scope of «Academy and Society», Kolvenbach demands educational pragmatism capable of reconnecting «academic life and human society», rejecting the Newmanian idea of science in the sense of an end as such; (b) with reference to the scope of «Academy and Globalization», he demands globalized solidarity related to intercultural and interreligious dialogue (Ibid., 199-202), rejecting the Newmanian idea of the universality of knowledge in order to give priority to issues like the crisis of democracy, neo-colonialism, violence of human rights, etc.; (c) with reference to the scope of «Academy and the Market», Kolvenbach exhorts education to pursue what he calls «total truth» in the face of limitations imposed by the «economic factor» identified as the «danger of elitism». This part is accompanied by the first and only associative reference to Newman (Ibid., pp. 203-204). In addition, Kolvenbach details necessary collaboration with the laity, as well as inter-university cooperation as a traditional element of Jesuit teaching, emphasizing a type of university open «to the people and the current times» (Ibid., pp. 204-208).

Secondly (B), Kolvenbach expressly insists on «harmony between the educational scope of Diego de Ledesma and the programs of a modern university according to Ignatian pedagogy», repeating the practical and social, as well as humanistic

<sup>11</sup> See for introductory manner: Sheldon Rothblatt (1997).

and religious character of the four Ledesmanian principles in order to proclaim a «new dialogue between faith and science» – the main task of the university consists of this dialogue to be «re-activated perpetually» (Kolvenbach, 2006/2008a, pp. 240-241 and 246-247; Kolvenbach, 2006/2008b, p. 250).

Since 2010, the *Ledesma-Kolvenbach University Paradigm* has been operationalized within the Spanish Jesuit context through further definition of twelve so-called university values. According to Ledesmanian principles, these values are defined as follows: (with respect to *utilitas*) (1) Knowledge Orientation, (2) Innovation and Creativity, (3) Global Vision; (with respect to *iustitia*) (4) Equality, (5) Culture for Justice, (6) Social Commitment; (with respect to *humanitas*) (7) Personal Development; (8) Human Dignity, (9) Ethical Responsibility; (with respect to *fides*) (10) Search for Meaning, (11) Interreligious Dialogue, and (12) Christian Faith. With this operational framework, the *Ledesma-Kolvenbach University Paradigm* has been turned into a determinable model as far as its practical implementation, i.e., it is quantitatively measurable from a psychological point of view on the institutional, curricular, extra-curricular and research levels. The key dimension of this psychological remodel, however, consists in a prioritization of the institutional level. Based on neurolinguistic management arguments, this approach has been labeled «Ignatian leadership» for its «promotion of the values of Faith and Justice» and has been concretized in a canon of practical moral behavior based on neo-Aristotelian psychology (Villa Sánchez and Lemke Duque, 2016, pp. 5-9).

Operationalization of the *Ledesma-Kolvenbach University Paradigm* in Spain should be seen in light of a persistent «psychology before Psychology», that is, in light of the enormous historical weight of the Aristotelian tradition within the context and at the various levels of Jesuit education therein. The continued presence of this premodern psychology contributed to significant resistance against creating psychology as a new discipline and separating it from traditional metaphysics throughout the nineteenth century from Jesuits like Joseph Fröbes (1866-1947), Michael Maher (1860-1918) and others (Alfieri, 2019, pp. 794-796). Delayed implementation of empirical psychology in Jesuit educational institutions seems to have additionally fragmented pedagogy therein since its development as a modern discipline was directly linked to psychology's manifold empirical transformations during the nineteenth century. This fragmentation becomes notable in light of modern pedagogy's deficits related to critical, self-reflective capacities brought on by externalizing the philosophy of education and its substantial historical dimensions. In this regard, it is important to stress that this decay goes beyond the mere absence of a hermeneutical process and also refers to a basic deficit in terms of the theory of science (Olechowski, 2010).

The *Ledesma-Kolvenbach University Paradigm* and its operationalization in Spain represent paradigmatically the formal emptying out of Jesuit pedagogical ideals by means of statistical reduction according to the paradigm's psychological



re-modulation. A striking example, in this regard, can be found in a recent survey of teaching and research staff at the University of Deusto that attempted to determine the degree to which values are implemented therein according to Ledesma's second principle *iustitia* (Vivanco, 2018). This survey has been conducted without any scientific discussion of the exact meaning and associative context that the socio-empirical data retrieved through this survey reflect, i.e., it lacks explanations regarding the state of research, the methodology applied, its hermeneutic horizon and theoretical framework.

At the same time, psychological operationalization and subsequent statistical evaluations do not actually represent a new approach to push Jesuit pedagogical innovation forward. Indeed, the first and most substantial impulses came in fact from the North American Jesuit educational space, which has made groundbreaking efforts in the elaboration of the *Ledesma-Kolvenbach University Paradigm*. There, the definition of Ignatian pedagogy focuses on seven university values, as follows: Leadership, Academic Life, Campus Culture, Global Service, Local Service, Public Presence, Institutional Integrity (CJHE, 2012)<sup>12</sup>. Implementation of this guiding framework of Ignatian values has been examined, for example, through qualitative inquiry initiated by a Jesuit Ed.D. program for Educational Leadership in Social Justice. This particular study went beyond typical examination of graduates' self-perceptions to include the perspectives of the graduates' supervisors in the field. The findings therefrom indicate that the program was transformational, i.e., it resulted in a call to action to challenge the status quo. Although this study embraces a survey-guided discussion regarding the meaning and associative context of Ignatian-informed social justice (primarily meaning the education of action-oriented professionals who provide a preferential option for the poor), final conclusions highlight «that to assess programs in leadership for social justice, a clear definition of social justice must first be articulated» – indeed, broad scientific debate concerning social justice as a key concept in modern pedagogy was initiated more than a decade before in non-Jesuit contexts (Marshall and Oliva, 2006).

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<sup>12</sup> These seven values are explained as: Leadership and mission seeking Jesuit identity; Academic life seeking excellence in research and teaching, which reflects the mission; Catholic Jesuit Campus Culture, which offers an alternative to the «culture of superficiality»; Service to the poor seeking justice; Service to the local church that sponsors ecumenical dialogues in a way that enables the church and the community to learn from one another; Jesuit presence in the public so that Jesuits are known for their vibrant hospitality; Institutional Integrity as concerns fairness, equity and the well-being of employees.

#### 4. ACTIVE LEARNING: IGNATIAN PEDAGOGY IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

In the wake of pedagogical renewal movements during the second half of the twentieth century, the relationship between active learning and educational innovation has been consolidated in the pedagogical imaginary. In this context, one can highlight the «Oedipus School» giving way to the «Narcissus School», i.e., a narcissistic conception of education that is based on «the individualistic cult of the principle of performance and the absence of an authentic sense of the symbolic value of the institution» (Recalcati, 2016, p. 38). Under this paradigm, in recent decades, educational discourse has turned toward improving education through active methods in which teachers try to integrate students into learning processes in the most direct way possible. Furthermore, during the 1990s, growing research on learning processes provided «irrefutable data illustrating that students in lecture settings simply did not learn much as their teacher hoped» (Beichner, 2014, p. 12). In the case of educational institutions affiliated with the Society of Jesus, the notion of *civitas utilitatem* itself reemerged with renewed meaning linked to the idea of innovation in the field of education. This is also the case of Ignatian pedagogy newly consolidated in different regions in Spain.

In order to shed light on the process of educational innovation in Spain following a renewed *civitas utilitatem* paradigm, two main issues are important: (A) The legal context between 1970 and 2019 and (B) the attempt to recreate Ignatian pedagogy, specifically in Catalonia and the Basque Country.

Firstly, it is crucial to underline continuities in Spanish educational policy, particularly «what we call school system architecture;» the basic structure of different levels of schools and the higher education system «remained practically intact until the promulgation of the 1970 act» (Puelles Benítez, 2016, p. 16). Historians and sociologists of education alike point to mandatory and free schooling, specifically for those between the ages of six and thirteen, as one of the main achievements of Spanish political transition. Yet, it is true that «attention devoted to the administrative organization of educational centers was marginal» (Viñao Frago, 1992, p. 56). Nevertheless, the Spanish Constitution of 1978 (article 27.1) includes a fundamental right to and freedom of education, which was unprecedented in Spanish constitutional history. Article 27.4 of the Constitution recognizes the power of public authorities to guarantee these rights. Furthermore, article 27.9 guarantees a system of public assistance to educational institutions that meet the requirements established by law, which paved the way for the configuration of mixed-status schools, i.e., private schools that receive public funding (*colegios concertados*). In 1985, the Organic Law regulating the Right to Education (so-called LODE for its initials in Spanish) classified teaching centers into three categories: public, private and mixed (*concertado*). Although private, the latter is eligible for significant public funds. These mixed educational centers are thus able to autonomously carry out their admission

processes, as well as offer instruction, activities and internal management that especially emphasize the staff's freedom of conscience and denominational status. The LODE was consolidated with the 1990 approval of the Organic Law of General Planning of the Educational System (so-called LOGSE for its initials in Spanish).

Almost every Jesuit educational institution in Spain is established as a mixed-status center. In this sense, the Jesuits followed the same path as the majority of Catholic congregations in Spain, which, since the 1970s, started to struggle to survive as purely private initiatives. To a certain extent, Jesuits' mixed-status educational system is characterized by its continuity, taking into account the fact that Jesuits «had maintained their educational centers with support from agreements signed with municipalities until the mid-nineteenth century» (Faubell, 2000, p. 161). In this regard, and as a sort of historical re-conversion, Jesuit mixed-status institutions seem to have emerged on the basis of pragmatic reasons – first, the acceptance of mixed-gender education and, second, the non-imposition of any specific confessional practice. At the same time, re-converting Jesuit education implied losing the enrollment of elites since admission processes were forced to follow the same criteria as public schools.

From a historical perspective, with more than 30 years having passed since the legal establishment of mixed-status schools, the Society of Jesus' loss of standing in terms of economic, social, political, and intellectual leadership and influence is significant. Equally relevant and visible are the difficulties they have had in shaping pedagogical guidelines and values that give continuity to the Ignatian tradition and, at the same time, adapt their practices to the twenty-first century educational context. Promising insights emerge when focusing on the concrete application of new Ignatian pedagogy in Jesuit educational centers in Catalonia. Detailed analysis of the Catalan model reveals that students' attention is mainly captured through recreational meaning-practice rather than through theory proliferation concepts and memorization techniques. This educational model promotes «the development of multiple intelligences, placing play and games in a prominent place in the teaching and learning process» (Aragay, 2015, p. 53). The concept of the student is structured as follows: «The student is at the center of the teaching and learning process. He has an active and leading role and works individually and cooperatively with his peers» (Ibid., p. 41). This variation to the Society of Jesus' pedagogical tradition is explicitly justified in newsletters published as part of the *Horitzó 2020* project: «If teachers were once firefighters putting out fires, now they must be models that expand [students'] horizons» (Aragay, 2016, p. 49). This pedagogical innovation has recently been extended beyond Catalonia to other Jesuit centers in Spain. Here, initiatives in the Basque Country, Cantabria and Navarra are of note. The Basque Jesuitak Donostia association presents a new educational model «to drive change and become twenty-first century educators». As this association points out, it aims to educate «people from 2 to 18 years old

who are curious, creative and enterprising with the skills and resources for development in an era of exponential change» (Jesuitak Donostia, 2020). The Kostka College of Santander conceptualizes this new educational model as a student-based pedagogy. Its primary commitment is found in a «constructivist approach attending to children in the teaching-learning process through the project's methodology» (Jesuitas Santander, 2020).

In view of the main guidelines that underlie new Jesuit pedagogical practice, education is not theorized as a tool for the construction of society's pillars or even the reconstruction of the political subject. Rather, education is constrained to its efficiency in the formation of adaptable, permeable and solicitous subjects in a system characterized by constant change. A World Bank report entitled *Learning for All* explores this pedagogical drift. The report begins by emphasizing that the current era is one of «extraordinary change», immediately stressing the need to expand and improve upon education as the primary «key to adapting to change and confronting these challenges» (World Bank, 2011, p. v). As a consolidated idea in the contemporary social imaginary, this paradigm of change is not a means to an end or an end in itself, but rather a permanent state through which all things and beings are related.

An increasing number of mixed-status schools affiliated with the Society of Jesus in Spain have converged on an educational model in line with educational guidelines that supranational organizations, such as UNESCO, the OECD or the World Bank, have set out in the last forty years. At the same time, an obvious distance has emerged between the central notions associated with Ignatian pedagogical reforms and some of the postulates set forth in an important postconciliar 1977 text for Catholic schools:

The validity of the educational results of a Catholic school, however, cannot be measured by immediate efficiency. In the field of Christian education, not only is the freedom-factor of teacher and pupil relationship with each other to be considered, but also the factor of grace. Freedom and grace come to fruition in the spiritual order which defines any merely temporal assessment. When grace infuses human liberty, it makes freedom fully free and raises it to its highest perfection in the freedom of the Spirit. It is when the Catholic school adds its weight, consciously and overtly, to the liberating power of grace, that it becomes the Christian leaven in the world (The Sacred Congregation for Catholic Education, 1977).

There is a detectable discursive transition in how the Society of Jesus' educational branch in Spain started to conceptualize the student. In this sense, the 1960s witnessed a mutation and even rupture that has given way, starting in the 1980s, to a new idea of the student anchored in another type of theoretical reference where «questions of meaning and significance become secondary, sometimes even suspicious» (Pinar, 2019, p. 245). Among these new theoretical references, the concept of education as a constant process of innovation that aims to adapt the subject

to an ever-changing context is important. This idea alone entails leaving aside the notion of education as a tool that ultimately prepares young people for life and their being embraced by the power of grace. While education is restricted to the individual process through which a series of programmed experiences are made available to the student, most of them are sensory-based. This educational model, as Lonergan stressed, hardly shapes the conscience of the individuals immersed in the teaching-learning process. Lonergan's starting point for conceptualizing educational experience consists of the idea that these experiences cannot just be «sensory experiences with which we are familiar, but also experiences of intelligence and understanding, of discernment and judgment, and experiences of deliberating and deciding» (Gaetz, 2015, p. 13).

Bauman has pointed out that, «Education (including the university education) faces now the deepest and most radical crisis in its rich-in-crises history: a crisis affecting not just this or that of its inherited or acquired customs, but every *raison d'être*» (Baumann, 2011, p. 10). In this difficult context, Catholic educational institutions tend to offer hasty responses to social demands, technological challenges and the economic imperatives associated with the global market. To this end, Jesuit institutions have taken on new methodology and distanced themselves from fundamental elements in the Ignatian pedagogical tradition. In this regard, as Tröhler has noted, it seems that the Catholic tradition still takes on the challenge of developing a modern approach to education to the extent that «talking about education in the modern way... is to impose Protestant world interpretations and a Protestant way of making sense of the world» (Tröhler, 2019, p. 24). The current educational scenario thus entails reflecting on the fact that, «while such methods are obviously efficient short term, it can undermine a unifying sense of meaning, purpose, and polis in Jesuit schools» (Gustafson, 2015, p. 60).

## 5. FINAL REMARKS

The Society of Jesus is still the most emblematic Catholic order in the field of education and, consequently its historic tradition as a long-distance-corporation remains not only a valid systematic qualification for its internal structure, but also a valuable part of its fundamental character. In the case of Spain, Jesuit educational institutions have played a prominent historical role both in the theological schools of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and in the Bourbon educational reforms that brought on Enlightenment in eighteenth-century Spain. From a more contemporary perspective, for the Society of Jesus, the nineteenth and twentieth centuries constitute a period of tension between the defense of its longstanding pedagogical tradition and adaptation to new methods and conceptualizations of the student. As a result, the twenty-first century has largely been a difficult time for

Ignatian pedagogy, whose present challenge may well be to resignify foundational ideas within its centuries-old educational ministry, as is the case of the two Jesuit core terms, namely the *cura personalis* and *civitatis utilitatem*.

This paper has drawn special attention to the postconciliar period after 1965. It is important to highlight that this period coincided with the highest ever number of Jesuits in Spain working in public and private education. It also coincided with the beginning the Spanish order's most significant vocational crisis in its history, as well as with an internal theological division that resulted in the consolidation of anti-modernist resistance groups (*descalzados*) that maintained strong ties with reactionary and conservative political trends in Spain during late Francoism and early democratic transition. For his part, Arrupe was perfectly aware of the drift in these Jesuit sectors and, in his 1978 letter, demanded a new pedagogy capable of preventing both utopian radicalization and generalized fear.

Thus, the 2008 *Ledesma-Kolvenbach University Paradigm* has been one of the most important attempts to rebuild the Jesuit pedagogical framework of the twenty-first century. As highlighted, Kolvenbach identified and explained the four elementary concepts of *utilitas*, *iustitia*, *humanitas* and *fides* as core elements for a new Jesuit pedagogy. But, as this paper's analysis explains, operationalization of the *Ledesma-Kolvenbach University Paradigm* in Spain neither aimed at nor contributed to extracting or transforming the Aristotelian tradition that remains practically omnipresent in Jesuit education.

Nevertheless, and primarily during the last decade, one can find attempts in Jesuit primary and secondary schools that seek new anchors in order to adjust Jesuit pedagogy to contemporary educational demands. In this regard, Catalan Jesuits in particular have inserted fundamental notions of active learning into the Ignatian pedagogical framework. This educational model promotes development of multiple intelligences, the leading-role of the learner, cooperation among students and colleagues in the learning process, and the use of games for teaching and learning. This pedagogical model seeks to push back sensorily programmed educational experiences in order to promote the individual's awareness of being immersed in a complex teaching-learning process.

Against this backdrop, a striking ambiguity remains: While the Society of Jesus significantly contributed to twentieth-century Catholic *aggiornamento*, the post-conciliar period has also witnessed Jesuits' growing inability to transform these impulses into renewed pedagogical theory and practice apart from merely copying innovative active learning paradigms found in non-Catholic contemporary pedagogy programs. The Spanish Jesuit educational institutions explicitly studied in this paper are no exception in this regard. Jesuits' inability to bring about substantial pedagogical renewal ought to be seen in light of the general internal crisis that the Society of Jesus has experienced since the Second Vatican Council, which includes significant decline in efforts to initiate, boost and maintain a dynamic dialogue with the world.

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