

The Role of the Secondary School Chaplain in Relation to School Ethos: Six Case Studies

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ABSTRACT

There is a rapid increase in the number of chaplains working in secondary schools within the UK, and their contributions to pastoral care are well documented and evidenced. Less explored are the chaplains' contributions to school ethos and culture. Despite a chaplain's impact upon school ethos and culture showing the potential for significant impact upon school communities, this is an area which is only addressed infrequently in school chaplaincy research. This aspect of a chaplain's role needs further attention in order to fully explore and understand its impact and influence.

This research utilises a case study approach and explores chaplaincy in six different school contexts across the spectrum of educational institutions. The role of the chaplain in relation to school ethos is uncovered, by hearing of the lived experience of students, staff and chaplains.

This study identified a characteristic duality in the chaplain's work, as they simultaneously ministered to both individuals and the whole of the school community. There were identified tensions and challenges as chaplains balanced their commitments to both the person and the institution. A series of 'modes' were identified to capture new language of how the chaplain interacts with the concept of school ethos, including times when the chaplain was perceived to have taken sole responsibility for this area of school life. The study used a bespoke theoretical framework to identify complex layers of ethos at work within school communities, and to understand the chaplain's role as 'translator' between them.

This study identified five distinctive features of chaplaincy that explained why the chaplain was able to make such important contributions to the work of embedding school ethos. These included the chaplain's impartiality, relationships, peaceful presence, authority and their depth and embodiment.

This research thereby demonstrates a way to frame and understand the chaplain's under researched yet important contribution to this significant area of school life.

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ABBREVIATIONS

MAT	Multi-Academy Trust
OFSTED/Ofsted	Office for Standards in Education, Children's Services and Skills
LA	Local Authority
FE	Further Education
DfE	Department for Education
DfEE	Department for Education and Employment
DfES	Department for Education and Skills
SEND	Special Educational Needs and Disabilities
IDI	In-Depth Interview
ISI	Independent Schools Inspectorate
NGT	Nominal Group Technique
SIAMS	Statutory Inspection of Anglican and Methodist Schools

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Summary

This research explored the interaction between chaplaincy and school ethos within six secondary schools in England.

The author's personal experience of being a school chaplain, together with research in his current school, and inquiries into other chaplaincy contexts, demonstrated a potential relationship between the school chaplain and the school's ethos, which warranted exploration.

The popular understanding of a chaplain's role is that a chaplain is viewed within a pastoral context, and this aligns with much of the literature and research on chaplaincy. This is particularly evident in school chaplaincy, where the majority of research projects to date have explored the chaplain's interactions with students and staff in a pastoral frame.

Whilst much has previously been written about the chaplain's role in religious service and pastoral care, there has been limited research focussing specifically on the interplay of chaplaincy and ethos. The emphasis of this research project was therefore to ask what role the chaplain may play in relation to ethos within a collection of secondary schools.

This research explored and uncovered a significant relationship between a chaplain and their school ethos. This relationship was understood to have taken many different forms, and new language was captured to describe this. The distinctive features of the participating chaplains and chaplaincies were also identified in order to understand why they related to their respective school's ethos. A thorough approach was taken towards analysing this relationship, and particular attention was given to the tensions and challenges that schools and chaplains faced when working with ethos together.

There were a number of related areas that would have been interesting to research and report on that were, in reality, difficult to measure and capture through the focus of this specific project. For example, this research did not explore or measure the level of 'embeddedness' of school ethos outside of anecdotal comments from participants. Also, this study did not investigate ethos historically within the case study schools, instead

schools were explored ‘as they were’ using present participants who were working and learning in the schools at the time the data collection took place. This research was also unable to assess or compare the content of different schools’ ethos and values.

This project was successful in its aims and scope and provides a much needed contribution of research and knowledge into this area of chaplaincy and its contribution to education.

1.2 Outline of the Thesis

First, attention is given to defining key terminology relevant to the study. It is highlighted that there is a wide variety of different understandings of chaplaincy and ethos within the literature, so these terms are defined in order to bring clarity to the study.

Second, the theoretical context is explored to provide a foundation for the issues covered within the study.

In particular, Bourdieu’s work on ‘habitus’ is observed through a sociological lens, and held side-by-side with the concept of ethos. A fundamental question is whether the notion of habitus, and therefore, ethos, can be applied to the collective of a community as well as to the individual, and the acceptance of this understanding of institutional habitus is carried forward in this study.

In understanding the development and embedding of ethos within an organisational context, two concepts and dimensions are brought together to create a bespoke theoretical model used for the project.

Within this theoretical context, models of chaplaincy are outlined to demonstrate the breadth of understanding of this role, and the diversity in the work of chaplains in multiple contexts.

Third, cultural context is explored in order to bring to the forefront key opportunities and challenges for chaplaincy and school ethos today. Set within a wider discussion of the relationship between education and religion, Church school ethos, academisation and school improvement are identified as the three main issues in play in the current climate.

Fourth, a literature review is undertaken to examine relevant publications and research. This is completed in two strands- one focusing on the impact of a ‘distinctive Christian ethos’ and how this approach has adapted and changed over time, and one focussing on the impact of school chaplaincy in the UK.

Following the literature review, it is proposed that there are some outstanding questions arising from existing research, and it is here that relevant international literature is brought in where it can offer a contribution.

Fifth, the research methodology is detailed, allowing for a justification of the qualitative research approach to explore three central research questions;

1. In what ways does a chaplain contribute towards ethos and culture within a secondary school, and what is the impact of this contribution?
2. What challenges do chaplains experience in working with ethos and culture, and how does this aspect of their work relate to other areas of responsibility?
3. What is the distinctiveness of a chaplain’s role that equips and enables them to interact with ethos and culture, and what is the impact of this distinctiveness?

A combination of methods are utilised, including semi-structured interviews, focus groups and documentation analysis. The research is framed within phenomenology, as it exists to document and evidence the interaction between chaplains and school ethos through hearing of the lived reality of chaplains and other voices in the school community.

The data analysis process is outlined to demonstrate the thorough approach to hearing from the voices of the participants. This follows a hermeneutical phenomenological method, and both the benefits and challenges of this approach are explored.

Sixth, the data is analysed in line with the central research questions, with a focus on the language used by participants throughout data collection. The specific phrases of students, staff and chaplains are used to give greater depth and authenticity.

Seventh, the findings are discussed, and held alongside existing research identified and evaluated through the literature review, and following this, conclusions are drawn. The conclusions respond directly to the central research questions and distil the contribution this study offers to the field.

Eighth, recommendations are made towards areas for further research which would provide additional insight into this area of study.

1.3 Intended Outcomes and Challenges

Through the critical engagement with literature, the collection of empirical data, and the analysis of that data in line with the methodology, this study intended to create new knowledge, providing insight into the school chaplain's role in forming, embedding and challenging ethos and culture within secondary schools. Whilst intended to fill a gap in the knowledge of school chaplaincy generally, the study also sought to focus on the role of a chaplain in "raising questions of meaning, value and purpose within the institution (Jenkins, 2006)" (Ford, 2011, p.6). Previous research has, on the whole, not specifically addressed this area of a chaplain's work in detail.

In particular, this research intended to illuminate the purpose and the role of a chaplain in closing the gap between ethos and culture, and therefore providing the chaplain with a broader narrative for their work and ministry outside of individual pastoral support. This research intended to give a more robust underpinning to the chaplain's role in areas of whole school support, re-addressing the balance between serving the individual and serving the collective.

There were several challenges in achieving these outcomes.

Firstly, "there remains a lack of accessible public research on what chaplains are, what they do and why (if at all) their roles matter" (Ryan, 2015, p.9). Within the scope of school chaplaincy, limited research exists around chaplaincies in a number of school types across the UK. This study's emphasis on full-time educational chaplains within a variety of types and sizes of British secondary schools allowed for a more focussed, contextual study.

Secondly, "there is a problem though due to the lack of empirical evidence concerning how school ethos and leadership can affect school outcomes" (Theotokatou, 2013, p.2). This was a surprising challenge as school ethos is, by some, deemed to be the most important factor in the success of a school (Rutter et al., 1982). The difficulty in quantifying, describing and measuring such concepts as culture and ethos is explored

throughout the study, and approached through thoughtful research methodology and appropriate analysis of results.

Thirdly, describing, communicating and assessing ethos is especially difficult. Amongst the literature there is “uncertainty with language clarification” (Collie, 2017, p.38), as well as challenges empirically in enabling participants to communicate the concept accurately and authentically. This challenge was encountered in other research projects on school ethos, for example, work by Bragg and Manchester (2016), and so a range of techniques were employed to overcome this potential challenge.

2 BACKGROUND AND CONTEXT

2.1 Definitions of Terms

2.1.1 Defining Chaplaincy

Chaplaincy is described as a “particular locus of interaction between religious tradition and the contemporary world” (Caperon, 2012, p.209) and chaplains currently exist in a wide range of settings worldwide. Having evolved from a Christian foundation, chaplaincy is now increasingly associated with religions other than Christianity (Gilliat-Ray et al., 2016, p.5); although the majority of chaplains in the UK are predominantly from a Christian foundation (Ryan, 2015, pp.16, 24).

There are a range of understandings and models of chaplaincy, however,

a chaplain is an individual who provides religious and spiritual care within an organisational setting...Chaplains may be qualified religious professionals, or lay people, and while religious and pastoral care might be central to their role, the increasing complexity of many large public organisations has led to an expansion in the range of their activities. (Gilliat-Ray et al., 2016, p.5)

This definition begins to hint at the diversity of a chaplain’s role, a development further highlighted in Ryan’s (2015) research. He shows that the variation in the role and purpose of chaplains can be vast, depending on the “field, organisation, belief and specificity of the role in question” (Ryan, 2015, p.10). Ryan therefore concludes “there is very little consensus on how to define what a chaplain is” (2015, p.10). He is not alone in this perspective;

[The chaplains] also believe, however, that their role is not well understood or valued by some members of the school community and there are misconceptions about chaplaincy services held by the general public. (Rayner & Swabey, 2016, p.14)

The need and desire to define chaplaincy is to be held in tension with the sheer breadth of chaplaincy contexts. The definition provided above by Gilliat-Ray et al provides a

useful starting point, but it should not be seen as encompassing or capturing everything that a chaplain is and does. The full spectrum of a chaplain's work and role can only be experienced, as it is fundamentally dependant on the factors Ryan highlights here. Thus an attempt to *define* chaplaincy propels one into *experiencing* chaplaincy in context, which is the journey of this case study exploration into the role of the school chaplain in relation to school ethos.

2.1.2 Defining School Ethos

Attempting to define ethos leads to a number of challenges. Smith writes that “a major difficulty for those working within this field is arriving at an acceptable working definition of such a nebulous concept as ‘ethos’” (1998, p.3), alluding to the wide ranging definitions, understandings, and misunderstandings of the term in educational literature and elsewhere.

McLaughlin offers a useful starting point for attempting a definition, describing ethos as “the prevalent or characteristic tone, spirit or sentiment informing an identifiable entity involving human life and interaction” (2005, p.311), yet there is also an admission that ethos is “notoriously difficult” (McLaughlin, 2005, p.306) to relate to teaching and learning within an educational context.

York defines ethos as “a conscious attempt to realize an aspiration for how things should be” (2016) which although being a more accessible definition, remains broad.

Whilst the term ethos is applied to a range of organisations, the literature shows that schools are particularly engaged with this concept (Smith, 2003), whether for the purpose of creating a unique brand or identity distinct from other schools (York, 2016), whether for the purpose of educating young people in what is right and “acceptable” (Donnelly, 2000, p.135), or both (Bragg & Manchester, 2016). More specifically on school ethos, Alder defines this as;

The unique, pervasive atmosphere or mood of an organisation which is brought about by activities or behaviour, primarily in the realm of social interaction and to a lesser extent in matters to do with the environment, of members of the school, and recognised initially on an experiential rather than a cognitive level. (1993, p.69)

This definition helpfully understands ethos as something which is experienced, yet the idea of ethos as atmosphere or mood implies something which is fluid and subject to change.

In contrast, Torrington and Weightman offer a more static definition of ethos as;

...the expressed wishes of those who command authority within an organisation and it is the means by which individuals within the organisation are committed to what is deemed natural, proper and right. (1989, p.162)

This definition carries with it some assumptions of morality and virtues, which will be unpacked further. It also distinctively introduces the influence of power in illustrating ethos as something which is intentionally formed, moulded and communicated from individuals in authority.

Torrington and Weightman's definition is adopted throughout this research as it provides an understanding that ethos is brought about intentionally and has some relationship to power and authority. A sense of 'expressed wishes' implies something beyond, or an aspiration for the school community to follow.

In order to achieve greater clarity in this research, it is important to separate a number of related terms which are occasionally used interchangeably in place of ethos.

2.1.3 Related Definitions

Solvason explains that "terms such as climate, ethos, culture and atmosphere have also been used interchangeably, with little consideration being given to the most appropriate descriptor" (Solvason, 2005, p.86), and this is a concern also shared by Glover and Coleman (2005, p.253).

Haydon recommends;

...if there is no distinction worth making between the ideas that are marked by different words, then using more than one word risks confusion. If there are important distinctions to be made, then it is worth trying to use different terms consistently to mark the difference. (2007, p.87)

To avoid confusion, the more commonly used substitute terms in the literature on ethos, notably *climate* and *culture*, are now explored separately in order to bring greater clarity

to the study.

2.1.3.1 Climate

The literature surrounding how school communities function has a tendency to default to the term ‘climate’ (Hoy, 2017, p.343). The danger of resorting to this terminology is explained by Hoy;

...the word climate threatens to become meaningless. Because its referents are so diverse, the word sometimes obscures, rather than creates, understanding...it also suffers from a lack of clear definition.

(2017, sec.Issues, Trends and Controversies)

Traditionally, school climate is a concept primarily concerned with “determining the conditions for learning and teaching” (American Institutes for Research, 2017), and has been used frequently within American educational studies. Yet efforts to attempt to distil the exact factors which influence and determine climate are difficult as “there is not one commonly accepted ‘list’ of the essential dimensions that color and shape school climate” (Center for Social and Emotional Education, 2010, p.1).

For the purposes of this research, climate is seen as distinct from ethos, and is defined as “the measurable input and output features of the school experience” (Glover & Coleman, 2005, p.266), often used more in studies of teaching and learning within the classroom.

2.1.3.2 Culture

Hoy compares climate to culture, another commonly used term, writing “culture consists of shared values and assumptions, whereas climate is defined by shared perceptions of behavior” (Hoy, 2017). Hoy identifies culture as encompassing a number of potentially unseen beliefs, standards and values.

In stark contrast to the tangible, measurable nature of school climate, school culture takes a more conceptual perspective. Bell and Kent write of culture being “difficult to define and even harder to operationalize in research terms” (2010, p.8), yet York still writes that “it is important to distinguish between ‘culture’ and ‘ethos’” (York, 2016).

Prosser writes “the term ‘school culture’ is popular and frequently used but despite over thirty years of research it remains enigmatic and much abused” (1999, p.1). Part of the abuse of the phrase is perhaps down to the confusion of terminology, as has been previously explored, although this does not stop comments regarding ‘school culture’ appearing in documents such as Ofsted reports, with little unpacking or justification.

A more comprehensive definition of school culture is provided by Peterson and Deal which will be adopted for the purposes of this research;

[School culture is] the underground stream of norms, values, beliefs, traditions, and rituals that has built up over time as people work together, solve problems, and confront challenges. This set of informal expectations and values shapes how people think, feel and act in schools. This highly enduring web of influence binds the school together and makes it special.

(1998, p.28)

With these terms clearly defined, it is intended that this brings precision to the discussion around school ethos.

2.2 Theoretical Context

2.2.1 **Habitus**

Sociologist Pierre Bourdieu had great interest in the sociology of education (Nash, 2002, p.28). For the purpose of this study, the concept of school ethos is approached within a Bourdieuan frame and it is explored in light of his thinking on *habitus*.

Central to Bourdieu’s approach is the concept of *habitus* which has been applied to “a range of disciplines, including sociology, anthropology, education, cultural studies, philosophy and literary criticism” (Maton, 2008, p.49). Yet, Maton writes, “habitus is also one of the most misunderstood, misused and hotly contested of Bourdieu’s ideas”, and “despite its popularity, “habitus” remains anything but clear” (2008, p.49). In order to further understand ethos, an overview of the definition of habitus is required.

Atkin defines habitus as simply “the mental or cognitive structures through which people deal with the social world. Habitus can change over time through different

associations and experiences” (2000, p.258). Fundamental to the concept of habitus is an understanding of its relational nature.

Reay summarises that, “habitus are permeable and responsive to what is going on around them. Current circumstances are not just there to be acted upon, but are internalized and become yet another layer to add to those from earlier socializations” (2004, p.434). This is hugely significant for schools, as the habitus of individual students and staff are constantly responding to the school environment.

In practice, the habitus is structured largely by upbringing and education, bringing Wacquant to identify two habitus which one would possess by adulthood as;

...primary habitus, acquired in early childhood through osmosis in the familial microcosm and its extensions, and the secondary habitus, grafted later onto the latter by the specialized pedagogical labour of the school and other didactic institutions. (2016, p.68)

Yet the relationship between habitus and the context, or field, is two-way.

The habitus acquired in the family is at the basis of the structuring of school experiences...; the habitus transformed by the action of the school, itself diversified, is in turn at the basis of all subsequent experiences ... and so on, from restructuring to restructuring. Bourdieu (1972, cited in Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p.134)

With students spending a significant amount of time in secondary schools, and having a prolonged immersion in the field, the interaction between habitus and field, and how this changes over time, are of particular interest to this research.

Bourdieu identifies a flow and a tension between the two, which will be explored following an analysis of how habitus is relevant to the concept of school ethos.

2.2.2 Institutional Habitus and School Ethos

Smith writes of the etymology of both ethos and habitus as being “very close, originating from Greek and Latin respectively” (1998, p.466). However, to suggest an automatic equation of ethos and habitus would be simplistic. Atkinson writes, “unfortunately Bourdieu was never quite so elaborate on educational establishments, but there is no reason why his logic on the family – and indeed on states, regions, unions and classes – cannot be extended to them too” (2011, p.341), although some would disagree.

While there is some obvious resonance between the concept of ethos and habitus, (Caperon, 2015, p.47) (McLaughlin, 2005, p.314), this was not made explicitly clear by Bourdieu himself, and so there exists a number of perspectives on whether this is indeed a logical extension of, or a true reflection upon, his original theory.

Smith also cites the previously explored issue of inadequate definitions on terminology and the complexity of the interactions involved in this potentially parallel concept, but does not necessarily see this as a barrier.

Much recent research into school effects and school effectiveness has used the term 'ethos' but it is not adequately defined. That lack of definition may be resolved by regarding ethos as a special case of habitus/community of practice...a complex dynamic interaction of continuous construction and re-construction of individuals' and institutions' habituses- a perpetual 'construction site' (Smith, 2003, p.466).

Therefore understanding Bourdieu’s work on habitus is essential to a deeper understanding of school ethos, and therefore the chaplain’s role within this. Smith explores the significant impact of this on schools.

The perspectives offered by notions of habitus...establish school ethos as more than a background variable with some indirect effect on the learning achievement of individuals. It defines that learning achievement as participation in the ethos and in the continuous construction and re-construction of ethos. (Smith, 2003, p.468).

This aligns with the educational research which will be explored about the importance of ethos for school improvement, transformation and increased school effectiveness.

However, to understand habitus on a larger scale, in terms of the ethos of a whole school, this requires some extension of Bourdieu's thinking, which was primarily focussed on the individual. There is much discussion surrounding the concept of whether an institution, such as a school, can possess a habitus, known as '*institutional habitus*'. This discussion is critical to taking Bourdieu's work forward in relation to school ethos.

Some, including Reay, write of multiple layers of habitus;

it appears that Bourdieu is conceiving of habitus as a multi-layered concept, with more general notions of habitus at the level of society and more complex, differentiated notions at the level of the individual. (2004, p.434)

Maton, too, writes that "Habitus does a lot of work in Bourdieu's approach and can be applied at macro, meso and micro levels" (2008, p.62). However, in order to understand these levels, habitus is asked to do a lot of theoretical 'heavy lifting' as a concept based initially on the individual. When Smith reflects on Bourdieu (1990), he writes "...he is somewhat equivocal on whether habitus can be an attribute of an educational organisation" (2003, p.463), and "it is not entirely clear whether [Bourdieu] believes that habitus can also be an attribute or characteristic of an institution" (2003, p.464), so there is some scope for exploration.

However, Burke et. al. comment that when Bourdieu speaks of 'viable institutions' (Bourdieu, 1990, p.58), this can be translated from Bourdieu's native French to mean 'capable of life' or 'capable of becoming actual'. "The meaning is subtly, yet significantly, different, indicating that Bourdieu may have conceived institutions to metaphorically 'have a life of their own'" (Burke et al., 2013, p.13). This understanding of Bourdieu's theory defends the case for an institutional habitus.

For the purposes of this study, the view that organisations can have an institutional habitus, their own ethos, is adopted. This position is taken whilst also understanding there are questions and tensions with this approach. In line with the perspective of Reay et al., these questions and tensions, or 'gaps and rough edges', "do not vitiate [the

theory's] value but, rather, suggest a need...for further exercise; for putting into practice" (Reay & Miriam; Ball, 2001, sec.8.4), and it is intended to adopt this position with the view to testing this through empirical research.

2.2.3 Interaction, Symbolic Violence and Negotiation

There is much to be explored in understanding the relational nature of individuals interacting with their school environments. There may be tensions, challenges, or "struggles" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p.101) as individuals relate to the institutional habitus of the school. This is particularly evident in education as schools find themselves in positions of influence over the students who are part of them (York, 2016).

This two-way process of interaction is described by Smith as a "perpetual construction site" (2003, p.466), a visual metaphor that helpfully illustrates the ongoing building and changing of the habitus.

...young people continually construct and re-construct their individual habituses- and so do teachers and others involved in education. Young people and adults become members of schools that are also institutions that both (as organisations) mediate the impact of ecological habituses on individual's behaviour and (as institutions) continually construct and re-construct their own habituses (arguably influenced by the individual habituses of their members), which themselves provide for individuals a part of their 'past and present, individual and collective' However, the school's institutional habitus is also partly the result of institutional habituses that may not be part of the past and present of pupils and teachers. (Smith, 2003, p.465)

This may result in resistance or challenge, but Burke et al. suggest a focus needs to remain on conformity of the individual.

The constitutive practices of members may, at times, resist or challenge the institution and refuse to conform to the dispositional arrangements within it. Nevertheless, the central analytic focus must be on 'conformity', 'agreement'

and ‘cooperation’ of individuals with the shared practices of the collective as it is through these activities that the institution is maintained. (2013, pp.8–9)

The tension is recognised by Bourdieu. As McNay writes, “there has been an increasing emphasis in Bourdieu’s more recent work on moments of disalignment and tension between habitus and field, which may give rise to social change” (2001, p.146).

The term ‘symbolic violence’ is used to encompass this habitus tension.

We find that the interaction of the school organizational habitus and the habitus of the individual students represents a form of "symbolic violence" (Bourdieu & Nice, 1977); (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992) in which the school habitus asserts and maintains its dominance over the individuals who do not "instinctually" fit in this environment. These individuals are then distanced and Othered as a result. (Horvat & Antonio, 2016, p.320)

Abrahams and Ingram highlight that misaligned fields may result in a ‘*cleft habitus*’ or a ‘*habitus tug*’ (2013, p.3), and Bourdieu describes this situation as,

a habitus divided against itself, in constant negotiation with itself and its ambivalences, and therefore doomed to a kind of duplication, to a double perception of the self, to successive allegiance and multiple identities. (1999, p.511)

In summary, while some claim that Bourdieu’s concepts of habitus are reserved for the individual, not the collective, there is a strong case for institutional habitus. To take the view that a school can have an institutional habitus, leads to questions about the interaction and inevitable tensions between the individual habitus and the institutional habitus. This may be especially important where an individual’s habitus is not aligned with, or appears to be incompatible alongside the institutional habitus. How an individual’s habitus can change or adapt to align more closely with the institutional habitus, or vice versa is an interesting reflection to take from this theory, and this can only be explored practically.

2.2.4 Habitus in Theory, Habitus in Practice

Bourdieu stressed that “one cannot grasp the most profound logic of the social world unless one becomes immersed in the specificity of an empirical reality” (1993, p.271). Thus, while the concept of habitus and ethos is outlined here theoretically, it needs to move beyond the theoretical in order to be explored in real case studies to be “further developed and fine-tuned” (Burke et al., 2013, p.3), a view also shared by Reay et al. (2001).

Reay too understands that the habitus is “first and foremost a conceptual tool to be used in empirical research rather than an idea to be debated in texts”, but that it can be understood “more fluidly as both method and theory; a way of understanding the world” (2004, p.439).

It is intended that the theoretical outline of Bourdieu’s theory of habitus, and adoption of the understanding of institutional habitus and its equation with school ethos sets the foundations for a cultural context, literature review, and appropriate research methodology.

2.2.5 Layers of Ethos- A Combined Theoretical Model

Donnelly’s work on ethos is particularly helpful in forming a foundational understanding of the phenomenon in the context of a school. Donnelly describes a positivist approach towards ethos as “something which prescribes social reality” (Donnelly, 2000, p.135). In this understanding, ethos exists as something outside the community of people, perhaps something which is ‘owned’ by an organisation and imposed upon the people within. “Ethos is the *formal* expression of authorities’ aims and objectives for an organisation. In the world of education a school’s ethos wields a certain amount of power to condition people to think and act in an ‘acceptable’ manner” (2000, pp.135–136).

In this understanding, ethos could be perceived as a management tool to modify the behaviour of individuals within the organisation in order to manifest the goals and aspirations of the organisation, usually defined by those in positions of power.

The anti-positivist approach understands ethos as something more organic, “emerging from social interaction and process...it is not independent from the organisation but inherently bound up within it” (Donnelly, 2000, p.136). These two opposing understandings of ethos sit in stark contrast to one another, and they are both equally valid within the context of a school environment. Donnelly uniquely brings these two together (see Figure 1), understanding that ethos is only fully understood and realised at the intersection of these two perspectives. Donnelly therefore proposes three dimensions of ethos on a spectrum of *superficial* to *deep*.

Description of Ethos	Dimension of Ethos	Manifested in . . .	Method of research
Superficial	Aspirational Ethos	Documents/ statements from school authorities such as Churches	Document reviews; semi-structured interviews with school authorities
↓	Ethos of outward attachment	School organisational structures; physical environment of the school; behaviour of individuals	Document reviews and semi-structured interviews with school members
Deep	Ethos of inward attachment	Individuals' deep seated thoughts, feelings and perceptions	In-depth interviews and informal conversations with school members and longterm observation of organisational interaction

Figure 1 Donnelly's Dimensions of Ethos

(Donnelly, 2000, p.151)

Donnelly’s model seeks to embrace both perspectives – an aspirational aspect manifested in documents and statements from leaders, yet also a more hidden, personal aspect manifested in thoughts, feelings and perceptions.

Donnelly sees each of these dimensions as equal and valid;

Neither of the dimensions of ethos described above is more important or more significant for shaping the school than the other; each is of equal value. Each offers a different lens for viewing the operations of the school and through each lens it is possible to construct of the variations within and across schools (2000, p.152)

These dimensions not only help to demystify the concept of ethos, but seek to provide a way of showing how ethos is practically manifested within an organisation. Monahan and Renehan write that “it is vital that the school’s ethos does not remain an ethereal concept but finds expression at every level of school life” (1998, p.64).

Donnelly’s work here is particularly helpful in unpacking ethos into dimensions, and the author proposes in this study that Donnelly’s model is placed alongside the three linked concepts of ‘Vision, Values and Virtues’, as explained by Ungood-Thomas (1996).

Ungood-Thomas describes three layers of a school. First, vision is described as the “meaning which we attach to school” (1996, p.145). Second, values are described as the method of sustaining vision. “A school is, essentially, concerned with values” (Ungood-Thomas, 1996, p.148), however there are many questions to explore about where these values originate. Third, virtues are described as “those qualities necessary to achieve the ends...which are intrinsic to and implied in a very broad range of established, and at least in part co-operative, worthwhile human activities.” (Ungood-Thomas, 1996, p.150)

These three areas of vision, values and virtues make a significant contribution to an understanding of ethos and how it interacts with individuals within a school community.

Drawing together the two frameworks of Donnelly and Ungood-Thomas and placing them side-by-side (see Table 1) leads to a deeper understanding of ethos, and provides additional clarity into how ethos might be practically researched and explored within the research methodology.

Donnelly’s Dimensions		Ungood-Thomas’ Concepts
Aspirational Ethos	↔	Vision
Ethos of Outward Attachment	↔	Values
Ethos of Inward Attachment	↔	Virtues

Table 1 Proposed 'Layers' of Ethos

This author proposes that rather than seeing these as separate ‘dimensions’ or ‘concepts’, that these are viewed as ‘layers’ of ethos, designed to sit with each other to provide a fuller understanding of ethos. This bespoke framework is brought together for this study in order to explore layers of ethos within a school setting. Each layer will now be unpacked in more detail alongside further additional literature.

2.2.5.1 *Layer One: Vision / Aspirational Ethos*

Vision is not an educationally exclusive term, but when applied to an educational environment it is “at its simplest, the mental image of the kind of school you are trying to build for the future” (Holmes, 1993, p.16).

Donnelly’s identified dimension of aspirational ethos is equated with ‘vision’, as both reference a far-off distant aim for schools; a hopeful vision of what the school could be.

Holmes describes the purpose of a vision within a school. “A school’s vision gives everyone connected with the school a reason for wanting to do things well and for feeling real pride in what the school is achieving” (1993, p.16), but far from a ‘nice feeling’ or an irrelevant component to school life, Leithwood et al. (2006) identify building vision and setting direction as one of four sets of leadership qualities that comprise the common repertoire across all successful leaders.

There is evidence supporting the importance of vision to a school’s success. Day et al. cite setting values and vision as the first of eight key dimensions of successful school leadership (Day et al., 2010), and Barber et al. argue that setting the vision for a school is one of the biggest contributors to success across schools globally (2010).

Vision has been, and continues to be seen as, a crucial component of the school improvement process as schools continue to work towards their targets for development (Reynolds et al., 2002, pp.246, 250) (Ungoed-Thomas, 1996, p.146) (Ambition School Leadership, 2017). This is particularly important for schools facing challenging circumstances, where it has been found that of central importance to effective leadership was the cooperation of others with the leader’s set of values and vision (Harris & Chapman, 2002).

The identification of the leader’s role in setting vision is well evidenced. To lead change effectively, a school leader needs to be able to communicate a core vision. (Barber et al., 2010; National College, 2009), and this should ideally be a vision set by a leader’s educational values (Bell & Harrison, 1995; Campbell et al., 2003).

Haydon explores more deeply the link between vision and aspiration.

When the notion of vision is used in contexts of educational leadership it often has connotations both of the capacity to see something beyond what is

immediately present – the current status quo – and of that which is seen – a representation of the future. (2007, p.70)

It is vision which has the potential to “provide a sense of reach that inspires and motivates teachers” (Husu, 2007) as it looks beyond what is currently present. Both Donnelly’s dimension of ‘aspirational ethos’ and Ungoed-Thomas’ concept of vision align on describing a world which is not yet present; an aspirational ideal for what a school *could* or *should* become (McLaughlin, 2005, p.312).

Ungoed-Thomas champions relationships in, and communication of, vision by highlighting the personal aspect. If the personal aspect is completely removed from vision, it is in danger of becoming “anonymous in origin, at best a mirage designed to offer comfort, at worst a device intended to promote hierarchical control” (1996, p.147).

Visions, [as depicted in school brochures and recited at speech days] unless they arise from personal conviction and are related to school life in all its diversity, complexity and sheer intractability, are more likely to undermine than to support the quality of education. Vision which is hopelessly distanced from actuality, and so which there is no realistic hope of successfully pursuing, is liable to breed a sense of failure, even cynicism; and vision which is relevant but ignored in practice can seem hypocritical. (Ungoed-Thomas, 1996, p.146)

Perhaps this is why Donnelly describes the aspirational dimension of ethos as being “superficial” (Donnelly, 2000, p.151), as on its own it lacks depth of meaning. Despite the pitfalls of vision, and the fine balance of allowing it to guide and inspire without becoming too impersonal and distant, Ungoed-Thomas reiterates that “authentic vision is, however, of critical importance for schools” (Ungoed-Thomas, 1996, p.146).

2.2.5.2 Layer Two: Values / Outward Attachment Ethos

Donnelly’s model places the dimension of ‘outward attachment ethos’ as midway between superficial and deep; an attempt to ground the aspirations of a school community into the structures, processes and behaviours of the people within it. It can be manifested in “organisational structures; physical environment of the school; behaviour of individuals” (Donnelly, 2000, p.151).

This is aligned with the idea of ‘values’ and their appearance into the systems and structures of a school. The term values “is used to refer to principles, fundamental convictions, ideals, standards or life stances which act as general guides to behaviour or as points of reference in decision-making” (Halstead, 1996, p.5). Writing on faith schools, McGettrick understands that “the relationship between systems and values is crucial. The two go hand-in-hand” (2005, p.108).

The Church of England publication *The Fruits of the Spirit* recognises this,

There is no such thing as neutral education. As soon as we begin to teach something to someone else, we are inevitably making value judgements about what we are teaching, how we are teaching it and why we are teaching it. Any decision we make about what or how to teach contains within it an implicit understanding of the human condition, of what is important in life, of the relationships we want to foster, and of what is worth learning, knowing or questioning. (Church of England, 2015, p.3)

This layer of values sits underneath the top layer of vision because “it is values which sustain vision” (Ungoed-Thomas, 1996, p.148), and a school needs the embedding of values, or the *outward attachment* dimension of ethos in order to sustain the vision or *aspirational ethos* (Jelfs, 2010, p.31).

Values in education became more explicit through the Education Reform Act in 1988, which recognised that education itself is not neutral, something still widely understood today (Claxton et al., 2013, p.8), and echoed by Government;

The Department for Education suggested clarity was crucial when it came to defining and embedding values to support ethos.

...the ethos of any school should include a clear vision of the values within it, and those of the community outside. Those values include respect for people and property; honesty and consideration for others; trust, fairness and politeness. (Department for Education, 1992, p.7)

Education cannot and must not be value-free...At the heart of every school's educational and pastoral policy and practice should lie a set of shared values which is promoted through the curriculum, through expectations governing the behaviour of pupils and staff and through day to day contact between them.

(Department for Education, 1992, p.37)

Yet clarity on values is difficult when schools are torn between different sources of values that sometimes are in tension with one another.

In the first instance, a school's values "must surely derive, in the first place, from those held to be important by society" (Ungoed-Thomas, 1996, p.148). This is a view also promoted by Government. Home Secretary Kenneth Clarke in 1993 stated; "schools must promulgate the values we as a society want to pass on to the next generation" (Clarke, 1993). This viewpoint was echoed by Under Secretary of State for Schools, Lord Nash, and again by Home Secretary Teresa May in 2014 (Department for Education, 2014). There is a clear desire for schools to disseminate and embed the values of British society. Guidance from November 2014 changed the responsibility of schools in this respect. Previously, schools were expected to 'respect' the 'British values' of the rule of law, respect, tolerance and individual liberty. Now, schools are required to 'actively promote' them (Department for Education, 2014). These values are determined by Governments, although their content is not distinctively or uniquely British.

Alongside national or societal values, schools are encouraged to uphold and promote local values which are inherently contextual. "Every attempt should be made to ensure that these values are endorsed by parents and the local community" (Department for Education, 1992, p.37). This is echoed by Halstead, that "in order to thrive, the school cannot uphold values which diverge significantly from those of the community it serves" (Halstead, 1996, p.7).

There may be a large overlap between these local and national values (Ungoed-Thomas, 1996, p.148), but there may exist a tension too. The negotiation between these values has the potential to create challenges in schools and between schools where values are disputed, as "schools sometimes become the battleground where groups with different value priorities vie for influence and domination" (Halstead, 1996, p.3). This makes it potentially very difficult to ensure consistency in the "principles, convictions, ideals" and "standards" to which the term values refers (Halstead, 1996, p.5) (Husu, 2007), and to achieve the clarity required by the Department for Education (1992, p.7).

Taylor understands a gap between what is intended and what is understood by individuals within school communities.

Whereas some schools have set out their values statements, these largely remain at a level of bland generality and, for the most part, have to be interpreted by individual teachers without the benefit of whole-school in-service training. Disparities of implementation can too easily occur. (1996, p.141)

In summary, the clarity of the removed and distant aspirational ethos and vision of schooling often evaporates when moving to this secondary layer of values and outward attachment ethos. This layer reveals elements of negotiation, tension, conflict and competition, as the aspirations of a school attempt to be grounded in processes, systems, and defined sets of values and priorities. Here there are competing interests from national government, local communities, and other stakeholders in the school and community.

2.2.5.3 Layer Three: Virtues / Inward Attachment Ethos

School communities are a collective of individuals, therefore individual virtue is rightly the third dimension of Donnelly's models of ethos. "As Aristotle (1955) argues, the essential cement of solidarity among group members is a shared conception of the good" (Husu, 2007), and the concept of virtues begins to get to the root of this phenomenon. Inward attachment ethos is manifested in "thoughts, feelings and perceptions" (Donnelly, 2000, p.151). This is described as the deepest level of ethos, as it reaches beyond systems, structures and organisational values to influence the habitus of individuals.

The Jubilee Centre for Character and Virtues calls for a renewed focus on an ethos centred on character education and virtues education, particularly with marginalised young people (Arthur et al., 2017). Furthered by work from the Church of England (see Figure 2), there is a distinction between different types of virtues which may be taught and nurtured within a school environment in line with inward attachment ethos.

Figure 1: Jubilee Centre for Character and Virtues definition of character

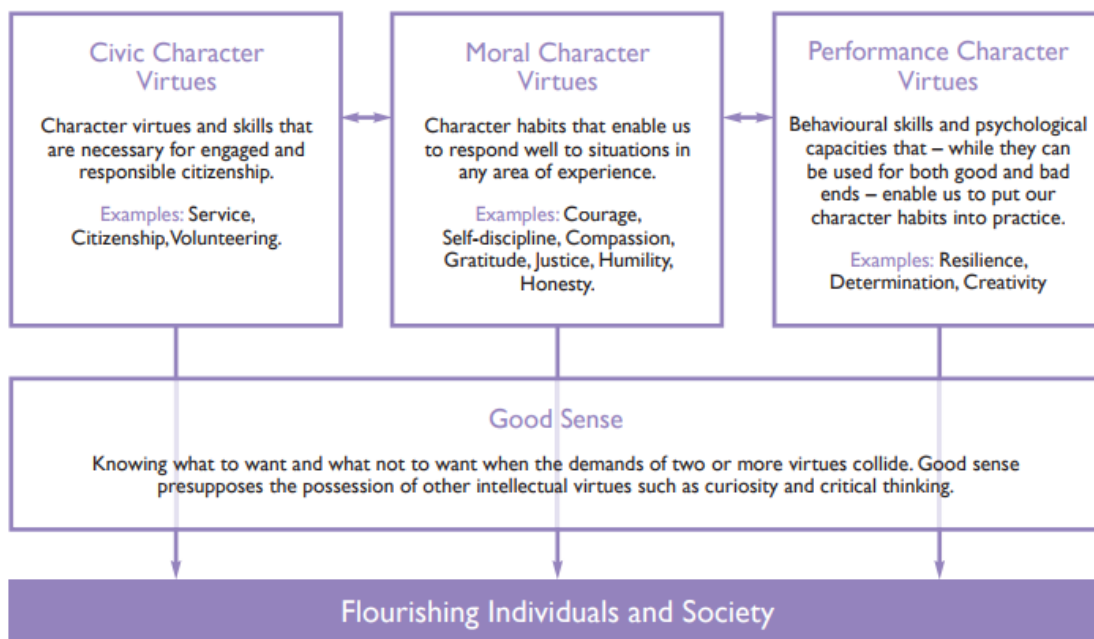


Figure 2 Jubilee Centre for Character and Virtues definitions of character
(Church of England, 2015, p.7)

Ungoed-Thomas reflects, “schools, therefore, should be concerned with the teaching of virtues for their own sake, as well as for the educational results their exercise can bring” (1996, p.153), which includes “those aspects of character which contribute to better learning outcomes for students” (Church of England, 2015, p.6) as well as virtues that are classed as ‘moral’ and ‘civic’. This can then provide the conditions for the holistic development of young people.

The inclusion of virtues and Donnelly’s ‘inward attachment ethos’ demands that ethos is not kept as a conceptual strategy, but is something that penetrates all aspects of school life and community, and is modelled by individuals.

In ‘Ethos, Habitus and Situation for Learning’, Smith understands this as an important aspect of ethos;

Ethos, then, is a resultant of at least two factors: (i) the school's mix of pupils and the values, attitudes and behaviours they bring to the school; and (ii) formal expressions of the authorities' aims and objectives expressed formally, through the curriculum and through the management and organisational processes provided by the authorities both within and beyond the school. (2003, p.468)

For Smith, the ‘perpetual construction site’ of habitus, which has already been explored, is a result of school ethos interacting with the personal, individual elements of students’ values, attitudes and behaviours.

However, there are difficulties with conducting research to explore these deeply held and personal virtues of students, and the existing research presents a mixed picture of the impact of school ethos on individuals.

Research by John and Osborn (1992) comparing the attitudes and values of students in two English high schools appeared to show that school ethos does influence the attitudes and values of students in a number of different areas. However, Graham comments that there are a range of other factors potentially influencing students in this way. “John and Osborn add a note of caution to their findings stating that the evidence to support their interpretation of results is marginal and, therefore, contestable given the influence of other contextual influences.” (2011, pp.18–19)

Donnelly’s research into ethos in two primary schools in Northern Ireland highlighted some interesting tensions. Donnelly found in the Catholic primary school that;

...there is a clearly stated expectation in the School Prospectus that the personal lives of teachers and pupils should be in harmony with the teachings of the Catholic Church to ensure that the religious ethos is upheld. (1999, p.6)

From the school’s perspective, the ethos of the school appeared to be *conditional* upon the inward attachment ethos or virtues of individuals being ‘in harmony’ with that of the schools. Yet Donnelly found

...there was no indication that the outward attachment to religious spirituality and authority in the school had diminished in recent years even though the majority of religious who had taught there had now retired. (1999, p.6)

This illustrated that while there is an interaction here between the layers of ethos, there may not be as much dependency between them as was initially assumed as “each level or dimension does not of necessity work in tandem with the other leading to contradictions and inconsistencies” (1999, p.13).

Comparing the Catholic primary school to an integrated school, Donnelly found “although the official ethos of the integrated school emphasises tolerance and respect...the ethos which the researcher observed in the interactions between school

members did not appear to be invariably characterised by tolerance.” (1999, p.10)

There was still disconnect between the personal and the corporate layers of ethos.

Donnelly summarises that “individuals were engaged in daily battles to protect their own interests and values” (1999, p.11).

It has been shown that school members attempt to conceal their true or genuine feelings about the teachings of the Catholic Church, or their ingrained beliefs about the way that the school should operate, yet it is not easy to keep strong, deeply held convictions separate and removed from every day school activity. (Donnelly, 1999, p.13).

It appears that the research surrounding school ethos and its interaction with individuals, supports the theoretical claims of ‘habitus tug’ and ‘symbolic violence’ explored earlier as individuals struggle and wrestle with the institutional habitus as it creates friction with their own.

The amalgamation proposed here of Donnelly’s three dimensions of ethos, aligned with Ungood-Thomas’ concepts of vision, values and virtues, presents a combined model useful for exploring ethos across the full spectrum of a school community, from individuals through values of systems and structures, through to the aspirational mission of institutions and those in educational leadership.

However, this model and the existing research and literature expose a gap, sometimes a gulf, between the ethos set out and intended by school leaders, and the reality of ethos as manifested in the day to day life of the school. This disparity, where “the ethos described formally in school documentation or defined by school authorities often departs considerably from the ethos which emerges from the intentions, interactions and behaviour of school members” (Donnelly, 2000, p.137) is labelled in this study as ‘the ethos gap’.

2.2.5.4 The Ethos Gap

The gap between intended ethos and actual ethos as experienced day to day is described by McLaughlin as ‘inescapable’. “The potential tension between an ‘intended’ (or ‘aspirational’) ethos and an ‘experienced’ ethos is therefore an inescapable part of ethos in an educational context.” (McLaughlin, 2005, p.312)

The presence of the ethos gap supports Donnelly's claims that "ethos is a *negotiated* process whereby individuals come to some agreement about what should and should not be prioritised" (2000, p.150).

Donnelly's reflection of the two case studies in her research is that in the long established school, the process of ethos is slow, with many staff and students having been formed and shaped over time by the organisation. In contrast, the newer school is more fluid and disposed to change (2000, p.150). Whilst Donnelly's research was limited to these two schools, this idea of the age of schools being a factor in the interactions of ethos is interesting.

Stern, speaking specifically of Church schools, rightly calls for further research to take place into the gap between the rhetoric and the lived reality of Church school ethos, a gap also identified by Badger (2000).

The crucial question of how can schools live up to their professed ethos is expressed by Stern;

It will certainly take high quality research to bring out, separately and independently, both the rhetoric and the lived reality of Church schools, and to describe the complex relationships between them. However, it is only with such research that the question can be answered, 'what must Church schools do to live up to their rhetoric?' (2013, p.238)

Although the ethos gap may be present in a large number of schools, it is fair to assume that the disparity between 'how things are' and 'how things could be' will be larger in some than in others. The chaplain's role within this tension, forms the central query of the thesis, as schools and their staff seek to "deal with the gap" and "navigate the gap" (Husu, 2007) "between what is said and what is done" (McLaughlin, 2005, p.310).

2.2.6 Models of Chaplaincy

The rapid development of school chaplaincy in so many different contexts has led to a broad range of provision that is difficult to define. In an attempt to better understand the nature and ministry of school chaplaincy, there have been many models suggested and developed to better grasp this broad and varied ministry.

Tregale expands on numerous perspectives of the chaplain's work, notably exploring the chaplain as; priest, pastor, prophet, missionary, disciple, servant and teacher. (2011).

Threlfall-Holmes, speaking of chaplaincy more generally, separates theological models from secular models of chaplaincy, defining a number of theological models to include: "the missionary; the pastor; the incarnational or sacramental; the historical-parish model; a cluster of models centring on being an agent of challenge or change, such as prophet, jester, social activist" (2011a, p.118). Ryan adds to these theological models that of 'cultist' and 'exile' (2018, p.85).

There are also a number of secular models defined which include; "the provider of pastoral care; the spiritual carer; the diversity model; the tradition/heritage model; a 'meta-model' that summarizes many of these – the specialist service provider" (Threlfall-Holmes, 2011a, p.118). Ryan adds to these secular models that of 'community mediator' (2018, p.85).

While very comprehensive, such a wide range of models, with a distinct separation of theological and secular identities, risks complicating rather than aiding understandings of chaplaincy, particularly to those outside of the role. However, it is understood that "these sets of models, and the models within, are neither mutually exclusive nor incompatible" (Threlfall-Holmes, 2011a, p.118). Ryan echoes this, "it should be noted that few if any chaplains will fall only within one model – they are necessarily interacting with one another" (2018, p.85).

Ryan gives critique to some of these models, distinguishing between the models focussing on the individual and models focussing on the whole community of the school. Ryan views the models of missionary, pastor, parish and incarnation as "all following established models of pastoral theology...their target, in each case, is individuals within the space in which chaplains work" (Ryan, 2018, p.89). In contrast, he describes the agent of challenge/change model as one which "is speaking primarily to the institution" (Ryan, 2018, p.89), and as one which "operates in quite a different theological register to other chaplaincy models" (Ryan, 2018, p.90).

Ryan critiques the depths of some of the pastoral models of chaplaincy, writing “Christians are certainly called to care for the vulnerable, but as a model for chaplaincy, simply caring for others is a rather limited vision of the role” (2018, p.88).

Instead, the model Ryan suggests which really “gets towards the crux of chaplaincy” (2018, p.91) is the incarnational model, which takes not only the basis of Christ being God incarnate, but the example of Jesus encountering humankind as a “manifestation of God’s love...through relationships” (2018, p.91). Holm explains this perspective as being a step beyond just “being with” an individual (2009, p.9).

This model is frequently used by educational chaplains themselves to describe their work and ministry (de Lange, 2011, p.16) (McBeath, 2011, p.23) (Maher, 2011, p.29) (Caperon, 2015, p.55). Outside of educational chaplaincy, nearly all chaplains in Todd, Slater and Dunlop’s research “spoke of his or her own missiology in terms of the incarnation” (Todd et al., 2014, p.30).

However, even describing chaplaincy in broad terms of incarnational ministry lacks clarity, and there are examples in research where very few school chaplains have described their work in this way (Caperon, 2012, pp.114–115).

A critique of incarnational chaplaincy from Threlfall-Homes is that “while this can be a very powerful model for those within the community of faith, it will be immediately clear that it presents a problem in communication with those outside the Church” (2012, p.121). It is interesting to note here that the model viewed by Ryan as getting towards the ‘crux’ of chaplaincy is also the model viewed as presenting a problem to those outside the church, the very people chaplaincy is designed to serve.

On balance, Ryan is persuaded that the incarnational model offers a compromise between the impact of chaplaincy on the individual, and the impact of chaplaincy beyond the individual as a successful model of chaplaincy. Coupled with a theological understanding of the incarnation and the life of Christ, the incarnational model frames chaplaincy as a work which is both theologically valid for those inside the church, yet also professionally accepted by those outside the church.

While there is much discussion and debate as to how to understand different expressions of chaplaincy, these are still loose labels and categories for a role which offers a “multi-faceted and, in many ways, immeasurable service” (Loza & Warren, 2009, p.33).

These theoretical models have been outlined in order to describe the breadth of possible chaplaincy arrangements practiced in UK schools, and to provide a theoretical foundation for the empirical research.

2.3 Cultural Context

The cultural context of school chaplaincy and school ethos are now explored. This is in order to outline recent developments in the field of school chaplaincy, and to better understand how it intersects, or in some cases, collides, with wider developments in the field of education and school improvement.

2.3.1 Education and Religion

The history of the relationship between the Church and education is extensive, with the Church creating and sustaining much of the foundation of the UK's schooling for children and young people. The UK's first school was founded in Canterbury in 597 AD. The Kings School "was part of the monastic life of Canterbury Cathedral and hence its school and Christian ministry were inextricably intertwined" (Pohlmann, 2010, p.17). Today, education and religion have a complex relationship.

While this study is situated at the intersection of the fields of education and religion, it is not the intention here to fully unpack and explore the historical relationship between the Church and education. However, the development of school chaplaincy *is* worth exploring, particularly as it is distinct in its approach and aims, amidst the backdrop of a changing relationship between faith and education.

The origins of school chaplaincy go back to the mediaeval era, "when all education institutions were in effect under the control of the Church, and all teachers were clergy" (Caperon, 2015, p.13). Caperon describes the emergence of chaplaincy as a defined role by the nineteenth century, and by the mid-century moving from just 'public' schools into new independent schools. "They [chaplains] combined the core ministerial tasks of leading worship, teaching and pastoral care" (Caperon, 2015, p.13). The Education Act

of 1944 stimulated the emergence of chaplains within state-maintained secondary schools. Therefore whilst chaplaincy has a very deep historical roots, it is also in many ways a *new* ministry within state-maintained secondary schools in the UK.

The strength of the relationship between education and religion has resulted in chaplains being commonplace in certain types of schools in the UK, Ireland, New Zealand and Australia (Pohlmann, 2010, p.44) (Norman, 2004, p.18). However, paralleled to changes in the education system, the “nature and roles of [school] chaplaincy have developed rapidly” (Hughes & Sims, 2009, p.10). School chaplains are adapting to new categories of schools, and Roberts notes the “upward trend across all schools as well as in the FE sector” to implement, use or access chaplaincy (2014, p.23), still predominantly from a Christian religious foundation (Ryan, 2015, pp.16, 24).

Parker et al. note that “internationally chaplaincy as a whole, and school based chaplaincy in particular, is morphing into new forms within emerging national uncertainties, and cultural diversity” (2017, p.52).

Within the UK this is first illustrated by a recent growth of church secondary schools and therefore chaplains to serve within them (Clines, 2016, p.288) (Archbishop’s Council Education Division, 2014), but outside of church schools there is also growth in chaplaincy that is sometime difficult to measure (Caperon, 2016a, p.316). Interestingly, the growth of chaplaincy sits alongside the decline of traditional religious groups including the Church of England (Pattison, 2016, p.13). Whilst congregations may be in decline, this is contrasted with a growth in the Church of England’s education provision.

2.3.2 Ethos in Church Schools

Church Schools sit underneath the umbrella of faith schools, the number of which has continued to rise in the UK (Hemming, 2011, pp.1061–1062). In 2017, 24.7% of school-aged children in Britain attended a faith school, of which the Church of England run and manage a large majority (Long & Bolton, 2017, p.18). Chaplains are frequently found within these school contexts.

Church schools are a hugely important part of the UK’s education system. “Between 1811 and 1860 the Church of England founded 17,000 schools through its National Society to offer education to the poor at a time when the Government was not prepared to take on the role.” (Department for Children, 2007, p.2). It is often the character or

‘ethos’ of these schools that has made them popular with parents even if they do not share the same faith (Department for Children, 2007, p.3).

While not dismissing chaplains in independent or public schools, the exploration of state-funded ‘Church Schools’ here is of particular importance for a number of reasons appropriate to the current educational and cultural context.

Firstly, because the number of church schools has increased in recent years, and thus the Church’s position as a popular and influential provider of education in the UK has been maintained. Secondly, because these schools are state-funded, this offers both opportunities and challenges that are the product of the church and state relationship; some of these tensions are already unpacked by Green (2014, p.286). Thirdly, these schools attempt to offer education that is both distinctive and inclusive, yet their position in the wider field of state-funded education presents challenges to both these aspirations. The presence of chaplains in these environments, sometimes defined by fast-paced school improvement processes, is fascinating.

One characteristic of a faith-based school is “building a special ethos of the school characterised by the nature of the relationships which arise from a particular faith tradition” (McGettrick, 2005, p.108), and this has great potential to offer excellent and distinctive education. Terry presents the goal and aspiration of Church Schools;

These schools have the possibility of being places of unavoidable encounter between the local and the national, the parochial and the Catholic, the overall educational endeavour and the unique possibilities of each child, between the general nurture of spirituality and the specifically Christian worship of God, all within the richly diverse Anglican tradition. (2013, pp.126–127)

The “distinctive ethos and character” (Department for Education and Skills, 2001, p.46) of Church Schools is generally seen as attractive and positive, and the popularity and distinctiveness of Church Schools has been promoted and welcomed by previous governments (Department for Education and Employment, 2001, p.48).

Yet the reality on the ground can fall short of the aspirations, mirroring some of what has already been discussed regarding the ‘ethos gap’.

Elbourne writes about how the notion of ‘distinctiveness’ in Church Schools is sometimes unhelpful, particularly when the phrase is used to describe elements of a

Church school that are not present in other schools. “These become ‘unique selling points’ in an educational market-place...but the identity of a Church school should be more than being simply an ‘ordinary’ school with a few add-ons” (2013, p.246)

In 2007, Street’s research on the impact of the Church of England’s *distinctively Christian ethos* revealed some surprising findings. Most notably;

None of the headteachers, however, were able to differentiate between distinctive Christian values and those held in common with local authority schools. Values were expressed in general terms such as ‘respect’, ‘caring’ and ‘being nice and working hard’. It was also recognised that these values would ‘have been taken on board by any good school’. (2007, p.142)

This is not a challenge unique to the Church of England’s schools, however. Similar critique was offered to Catholic schools in the Republic of Ireland, that they need to “articulate and give concrete shape to their vision of education” (Coll, 2015) and “be clear about the identity of their schools and why this is important” (O’Brian, 2015).

There is much discussion and research surrounding Church Schools which will be unpacked as part of this study, but the contributions of Church Schools within the remit of this study is significant, both to school ethos and school chaplaincy, and the interaction between both.

2.3.3 Ethos in Academies and Multi-Academy Trusts

The Academies Act of 2010 is described by Chadwick in ‘The Church School of the Future Review’ as “the most fundamental shift in the school system since 1944.” (Chadwick, 2012, p.12). The challenge posed to Church Schools is that “a continuing commitment must be made to preserve the distinctive character of the foundation” (Chadwick, 2012, p.12) of these schools. This significant change to the education sector has not only created a new category of school type, but has birthed a new type of organisation in the Multi-Academy Trust (MAT), or ‘sponsor’.

An increasing number of schools are now part of Multi-Academy Trusts. Sponsored academies are unique in the English school system in that they are governed by an

external sponsor whose role may well be larger than simply governance (Gibson, 2015, p.9), including retaining “the legal right to determine the vision and ethos of the Academy” (PriceWaterhouseCoopers, 2008, p.98).

The exploration of the relationship between ethos and school improvement has continued in these schools. As part of a House of Commons Education Committee, Paul Barber from the Catholic Education Service, explained;

The important characteristics of multi-academy trusts start with the important characteristics of any good school, which it starts with a well-articulated vision and ethos for the school, and that entails extremely good leadership.

(Carmichael et al., 2016, p.20)

Data comparing sponsor-led academies (failing schools adopted into a MAT) to those who remained under local authority management shows a trend towards, on average, more rapid improvement (Hannay, 2016). This led Ofsted and the Chief Inspector of Schools (2012-2016) Sir Michael Wilshaw to look closely at top performing MATs and identify key features of success.

Out of the eight factors of success identified, there are references to ‘vision’, ‘culture’, ‘ethos’ and ‘atmosphere’, including the evaluation that “leaders place a high premium on establishing a consistent set of values, routines and expectations for behaviour across all their constituent academies” (Wilshaw, 2016). However, in research from PriceWaterhouseCoopers, (2008, pp.241–244) ‘ethos and vision’ didn’t reach the top ten of favourable elements of academies.

The introduction of the MAT is a fascinating addition to the increasing diversity within the UK education system, and provides much to explore around school ethos and culture. While relatively recent, the effects of academisation and the presence of the MAT could possibly become an area of increasing interest in educational research.

2.3.4 The School Improvement Agenda

Crucial to the cultural context of school ethos and school chaplaincy is the focus on school improvement. The drive to improve standards in education has historically been linked to conversations around ethos.

British studies have shown that the formal organizational structure of the school appears to be less important in determining effectiveness (in terms of school outcomes) than the informal, unstructured world or ‘ethos’ that the school possesses (Reynolds & Reid, 1985, p.191), (Theotokatou, 2013, p.3).

Ethos has thus become a powerful concept within education where it has been understood as a significant driver in improving student and school outcomes (Allder, 1993, p.59) (Department for Education and Employment, 2001, p.17) (Murray, 2001) (Smith, 2003, p.468).

This was illustrated by the Department for Education and Skills;

At the heart of our vision for transforming secondary education is the ambition for every school to create or develop its distinct mission and ethos...Successful headteachers build the strength of their school by defining a clear sense of purpose for it and by developing its distinctive character. Schools with a positive ethos and strong sense of purpose, focused on high standards of behaviour and achievement, develop these same qualities in their pupils and staff. (2001, p.38)

Yet while ethos is equated to improvement, effectiveness, outcomes and transformation, limited research holds back a fuller understanding of its importance and potential. McLaughlin stated that ethos in the context of education is far from being fully explored, and “needs to be brought into clearer focus” (2005, p.306), concluding “a clear understanding of the educative importance of ethos is therefore important if current educational policy is to be fully understood and evaluated” (2005, p.308).

As education has moved through the “decade of school effectiveness and school improvement” in the 1990s (Reynolds, 1997, p.97), the concept of ethos has presented itself as strategically important in the continual process of school improvement across schools and wider organisations running schools.

If the chaplain’s role, emerging from the religious field, has any impact on school ethos, in the education field, the chaplain then becomes a potential instrument for school improvement. This illustrates the complex relationship between chaplaincy and education and one which is particularly relevant given the priority of school improvement in the cultural context.

2.3.5 Cultural Context and the Research Need

The increasing presence of chaplains in schools across the UK, especially in schools of no religious character, calls for more research into the interplay between the fields of religion and education, and the opportunities and challenges provided by the role of a chaplain.

Writing in 2012, Caperon writes, “Chaplaincy in Church of England schools in England is an unresearched area, and one in which there is a minimal literature” (2012, p.223), and while there has been some contributions to the field since then, the need for further research remains. Kevern and McSherry write “there can be little doubt of the need for further study of chaplaincy across a very broad front” (2016, p.47), yet also offer the challenge that “chaplaincy must demonstrate its ‘usefulness’ in the same way as any other profession” (2016, p.47).

In many ways “the growth of chaplaincy has run ahead of the development of theory” (Hill & Hill, 2005, p.52), and so purely from a chaplaincy perspective, there is a need for further empirical research into the role of school chaplaincy and the impact upon school communities. It is still considered “an under-researched field” (Rayner & Swabey, 2016, p.3) which this study seeks to address.

Coupled with this, there is a need for further insight into the area of school ethos and its relationship to the student experience of schooling (Graham, 2011, p.73).

The value of further research into the place of ethos in schools lies in its integral role...in how students experience school and the need to further our professional knowledge of that central phenomenon of day-to-day life in school in ways that might make a difference, and improve schools in ways beneficial to both students and practitioners. School ethos as experienced by young people is something we should pay more attention to, not the proclaimed ethos of schools by management on websites or other communications, but the lived experience of the young people therein. With a better understanding of ethos as experienced by students school practitioners and policy makers should be better equipped to provide an appropriate environment for the education of all the children and young people in school. (Graham, 2011, p.294)

This is also echoed by McLaughlin, who suggests that “much fuller critical attention is needed to the meaning of ethos in [classroom and school] contexts” (2005, p.322).

The research need for this study is clear. Exploration of and providing insight to the interaction of school chaplaincy with school ethos illuminates an under-researched area of education and religion which will have usefulness within both fields.

3 LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1 Literature Review Process

A literature review was undertaken to evaluate available and relevant literature on the subject and to guide the creation of a suitable research methodology to explore under-researched areas of the topic.

3.1.1 Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria

In order to complete the literature review, empirical and theoretical works were sought, and a wide range of material was included in the review, including journal articles, books, reports and papers.

No timeframe was imposed upon the educational and chaplaincy research included in the literature review. This was in order to allow for the broadest range of material in each of the contexts from which research emerged. It allowed, for example, the inclusion of research prior to, and since, the UK Government's introduction of the Academies programme in 2010. Whilst not necessarily affecting chaplaincy provision significantly, it this programme changed the types of schools available across the UK and increased the number and types of organisations involved in operating schools- including the Church.

Research and practice in school chaplaincy and school ethos is at different stages of development in a number of countries, including the UK and Ireland, Australia, and the United States.

In Australia, for example, large-scale studies of school chaplaincy provide some of the broadest insight into school chaplaincy roles due to Australia's 'National School Chaplaincy Programme'. There are obvious cultural, religious and political differences between the Australian and the UK context so findings and conclusions cannot be assumed to be generalisable or transferrable.

As this study is based in the UK, material from a UK context is prioritised in order to give better insight into the cultural, educational and religious contexts particular to the schools and chaplains.

Although international studies are not the sole focus of this study's literature review, their insight is used to contribute to the 'outstanding questions on school ethos and school chaplaincy' where they may provide contributions to the gaps in knowledge from research within the UK.

3.1.2 Sources of Literature

The available literature came from two pools of research. The literature surrounding school ethos emerges from the field of educational theory and research. The literature surrounding school chaplaincy emerges mainly from the religious field. Whilst there was a large body of research around chaplaincy in other settings, such as prisons and healthcare, this material was not included in order to maintain the focus on educational chaplaincy. Significant contextual differences means that findings from chaplains in other sectors cannot be assumed to be generalisable or transferrable.

Both of these fields are utilised in the course of the literature review in order to provide a full and deep picture of the issues explored through this study.

Initially, material situated at the intersection of school chaplaincy and school ethos was sought, primarily through the use of desk-based research, online search engines and university library catalogues. Following this initial phase, related documents were identified through reference lists and citations, which allowed for additional books, reports and articles to be evaluated. References and citations were followed until all suitable literature at the intersection of school ethos and school chaplaincy had been identified.

Next, material in the individual areas of school ethos, then school chaplaincy was sought to supplement the literature already identified. This was in order to provide greater depth in the two areas. These two areas of literature grounded the project and provided focus for the empirical research.

3.1.3 Presentation of the Literature

The relevant literature is now presented in two strands.

Firstly, literature giving insight into ‘distinctive Christian ethos’ in schools is presented in chronological order. This phrase originates from schools run by the Church of England, and exploring this specific area of school ethos provides a fascinating thread of research and literature that expands upon the impact of this approach.

Secondly, literature surrounding school chaplaincy is presented, in chronological order, building a discussion about the chaplain’s role in relation to school ethos in a range of settings and school types.

Areas of discussion left unresolved by the available literature are then discussed as a series of ‘outstanding questions’.

3.2 Review of the Literature on ‘Distinctive Christian’ School Ethos

The National Society in 1984 stated that “the Christian churches must provide a distinctive contribution, one that grows out of the theological reflection on the nature and practice of education” (1984, p.105). It is debateable as to whether this goal has been achieved, and how much impact this ‘distinctive contribution’ has brought about.

The challenge for the churches is clear. To be part of a state-maintained education sector is desired, in order to bring positive Christian values to the education of children across the nation, primarily as an act of service; but this sits in tension with a desire to remain separated and distant from the state in order to create a distinctive brand of Christian education and to nurture Christian children (Chadwick, 1994, p.11). Church schools continue to sit at this juncture, being part of the system whilst offering something distinctly different.

Green outlines the context that led to the formation of Church Schools, and the initial perception that Church Schools were successful due to their offer of something distinctive through a particular ethos (2015, pp.28–31). However, regarding this claim, Green argues

there has never been any substantial empirical evidence for this belief...if a connection did exist between the ethos of Church schools and their educational

outcomes, there has never been a consistent, sustained and coherent argument which would explain why this might be so. (2015, p.31)

Given the Church of England's role as a significant player in the education system, the prevalence of chaplains in their schools, the volume of literature and research available and the Church of England's reliance upon ethos as a unique feature, it was justified in focussing most of this half of the literature review on Church of England schools.

However, other research has been included, from Catholic and other Christian faith school contexts where the vision has been to promote a 'distinctive Christian ethos'.

Literature analysing the contribution and impact of a distinctive Christian ethos on education is now explored.

3.2.1 *The Way Ahead: Church of England Schools in the new Millennium* (Dearing, 2001)

The Way Ahead report, herein referred to as the Dearing report, was a significant milestone to the achievements and potential areas for future development of Church of England schools. This report came at a key time when Church of England schools were recognised by the General Synod of the Church of England as "being at the centre of the Church's mission to the nation" (Dearing, 2001, p.ix).

The context of the report includes an acknowledgment of the "balance between the service and nurture purposes of the Church school" (Dearing, 2001, p.13) and the need for this to change over time, but the report's authors make it very clear "...we see no dichotomy between the service and nurture purposes of the Church in education. Rather we see the Church serving the nation in a distinctive way as a gospel imperative" (2001, p.13).

The 'distinctiveness' of Church Schools is explored in the report in general terms, and the vision described is broad. Church schools are described as places "where a particular vision of humanity is offered" (Dearing, 2001, p.11). This report does not set out for Church Schools to aim for a moderate improvement on educational standards- the vision appears to be much wider and deeper.

There will be certain core principles and values that should unite all Church schools within the Christian mission. These will be the gospel values of loving God and one's neighbour, as well as the practical outworking of these values in how pupils are taught to conduct themselves and to relate to one another and to God's world. (2001, p.19)

In order to achieve this distinctiveness, the report reaffirms the Church's ethos statement, offered to all Church Schools, and stated here;

Recognizing its historic foundation, the school will preserve and develop its religious character in accordance with the principles of the Church at parish and diocesan level.

The school aims to serve its community by providing education of the highest quality within the context of Christian belief and practice. It encourages an understanding of the meaning and significance of faith and promotes Christian values through the experience it offers all its pupils. (Dearing, 2001, p.14)

The report recommends that "governing bodies in all Church schools should adopt the ethos statement, or one akin to it" (Dearing, 2001, p.20). There is a degree of acceptance assumed here that discourages autonomy, critique or innovation from individual schools.

Yet the report also highlights,

...the way this ethos statement is interpreted will reflect the individual circumstances of the schools, which vary greatly. But it will be the aspiration of all that Christian values and principles will... 'run through every area of school life as the writing runs through a stick of rock'. (Dearing, 2001, p.15).

On the one hand, schools could perceive this as an opportunity to have a centralised ethos statement which provides unchanging consistency across the 'brand' of Church Schools, yet also the flexibility for school leaders to interpret this according to their local, contextual needs. On the other hand, schools may perceive this as a significant challenge; an attempt to disseminate a centralised ethos whilst leaving the hard work of contextualisation and implementation to local leaders and leadership teams.

Above all, the content of this ethos is unclear. Green offers critique of this report, citing a number of reasons;

1. There is no clear definition of what a Church school ethos is, in a way that would enable Church school headteachers and others to develop it;
2. There is no coherent and sustained explanation as to why ethos is important for Church schools;
3. There are no explicit links drawn between developing a Church school ethos and developing the outcomes of Church schools;
4. There is no recourse to empirical evidence to support a possible link between ethos and outcomes. For example, there are no references to an analysis of inspection reports...(Green, 2015, pp.32–33)

Green does, however, note the increased number schools run by the Church of England following the publication of the Dearing Report, with this perhaps being the report's biggest impact and legacy (2015, p.33).

The Dearing Report discusses admissions policies of Church Schools, and it is suggested that Voluntary Controlled schools;

...should seek agreement that Christian background is among the admissions criteria. We argued that this would allow the school to benefit from the participation of children from Christian homes...and so help the development and substance of a Christian ethos. (Dearing, 2001, p.28)

This perspective is interesting, as it illustrates an understanding of school ethos whereby children from Christian homes help to support and sustain it. The implication being that without a core number of children from Christian homes, a Christian ethos would be unsustainable.

This sits in contrast to independent schools mentioned in the report, where strong school-church connections are deemed to be one of the most important factors for schools that are “more secure in their distinctive Anglican identity” (Dearing, 2001, p.31).

However, schools where the Anglican foundation has been weakened are described as schools where “the selection of pupils and staff is being made increasingly without reference to the Anglican nature of the school” (Dearing, 2001, p.31). It is unclear

whether there is implied causation here, but it does highlight the relationship between the aspirational ethos of the school as an organisation and the personally held values of individuals within it, an issue also present in Catholic Schools explored by Donnelly (1999, p.6).

The Way Ahead report was a landmark report at a crucial time in the life of the Church and the developments within the education sector. It has received much praise, but also much criticism, and a number of these related commentaries and responses are also explored.

3.2.2 Faith in Education: The role of the churches in education: a response to the Dearing Report on church schools in the third millennium (Burn, 2001)

One response to the Dearing Report took the form of a collection of essays which originally began as submissions to the initial review group. These essays include comments on ‘A Distinctively Christian Ethos’ by John Burn. Burn welcomes the recommendation to increase the capacity of Church of England schools, but questions “how distinctively Christian they will be in addressing the full development of the whole person—body, mind and spirit” (2001, p.38). Burn proposes that it is insufficient to claim a “family atmosphere” and “the welfare of every individual child” as *distinctively* Christian, as most schools would adopt these principals too (2001, p.38).

Drawing upon his own experience as headteacher, Burn outlines the connectivity of multiple areas of school life, including how the introduction of a daily act or worship and a new RE programme had “a beneficial effect on the entire ethos of the school” (2001, p.40), but also how “the surrounding ethos is another crucial factor” in raising exam results (2001, p.48). Burn’s comments show that ‘distinctive Christian ethos’ is not a straightforward task, but one which envelops multiple areas of school life.

Burn calls on Church schools to become “beacons of excellence in the way they give proper attention to the beliefs, values and truth claims of Christianity” (2001, p.43) by giving them appropriate time in Religious Education, for example, illustrating a connection between the curriculum and school ethos.

Burn recognises that “too often, the Church of England schools have been insufficiently distinctively Christian” (2001, p.50), and recognises the role of the Dearing Report in

seeking to “reverse this unhappy trend” (2001, p.50). “The challenge for the churches and for all Christians now is to regain that Christian ethos in our church schools in the very different situation of the twenty-first century” (Burn, 2001, p.50). This challenging task of creating an authentic distinctive Christian ethos is complex, and a significant amount of work remains to be done to bring clarity to this area of Church Schools.

3.2.3 The Impact of The Way Ahead on Headteachers of Anglican Secondary Schools (Street, 2007)

Street offers critique of the Dearing Report, writing “the report has failed to make an impact on the debate concerning faith schools” (2007, p.139), highlighting a lack of awareness of the report in other publications and among diocesan networks.

His research involved interviews with ten headteachers of Anglican voluntary-aided schools, and he summarises that “all the headteachers were aware of the report but all rejected the idea that it had had a formative influence on their development of policy and practice” (2007, p.141). However, the findings which emerged from the interviews with these headteachers was particularly illuminating on the concept of a distinctive Christian ethos.

Firstly, Street identifies that an important theme emerging from the interviews was the relationship between the values driving the school ethos and the values of the individual student. However, the headteachers involved in the study struggled to identify values that were ‘distinctively’ Christian, reinforcing the previous concerns by Burn (2001, p.38);

None of the headteachers, however, were able to differentiate between distinctive Christian values and those held in common with local authority schools. Values were expressed in general terms such as ‘respect’, ‘caring’ and ‘being nice and working hard’. It was also recognised that these values would ‘have been taken on board by any good school’. (Street, 2007, p.142)

Street gives critique that “what constitutes distinctiveness in an Anglican school is not addressed in the report in a systematic and structured fashion” (2007, p.143). Whilst the

content of a distinctive Christian ethos was not adequately understood by the headteachers involved in Street's research, there was an understanding of the role of values in the embedding of a school ethos into the lives of students and the wider community.

“One headteacher spoke passionately about providing a Christian environment, seeing the school as a battleground for the hearts and minds of students” (2007, p.144), which resonates with previously explored understandings of school as a ‘battleground’ of values (Halstead, 1996, p.3) and a ‘perpetual construction site’ for students’ habitus (Smith, 2003, p.466).

Street concludes “the evidence suggests that [the Dearing Report] appears to have had minimal impact upon the thinking and practice of church school headteachers” (2007, p.146). Street offers four reasons to suppose why this report has lacked the impact that it set out to achieve, one of these reasons includes a lack of explanation as to what it means to possess Christian values as a school community. This thread of discussion is picked up later by Stephen Green, who comments,

...the available evidence points to the fact that there may be a lack of clarity in the way that headteachers perceive the Christian ethos of their schools. This presents a problem for the Church of England and the headteachers of Church schools. (2015, p.70)

Street comments, “there is no consistent, co-ordinated and continuous forum for head teachers to play a formative role in considering the nature of church school leadership or the future development of church schools” (2007, p.147), although this has perhaps been addressed through the creation of the Church of England's Foundation for Educational Leadership. The foundation exists to “To develop leaders who are called, connected and committed to the Church of England's vision for education.” (Church of England Foundation for Educational Leadership, 2017, p.9), and begins to provide additional research and clarity around the content of the Church of England's vision for education.

3.2.4 Mapping the Field: The Impact of Schools with a Christian Ethos (Green and Cooling, 2009)

E. Green and Cooling contribute useful research around the impact of schools with a Christian ethos. Having established that ethos is “more than a background variable” (Smith, 2003, p.468), and having outlined the place of the Church as a popular and influential provider of education in the UK, it might be assumed that a wealth of data and evidence exists to show the impact of schools with a Christian ethos.

In terms of attainment, the evidence supported the widespread perception that pupils at maintained church schools achieve more highly and make better progress than pupils at non-denominational schools. The research suggested that prior attainment and pupil characteristics do not completely account for this. There is some ‘school effect’. (Green & Cooling, 2009, p.76)

S. Green, in his thesis exploring ethos and learning habits, critiques this, writing;

The statistical data on the academic achievement of Church schools relative to non-Church schools is inconclusive. While the data would suggest that Church schools out-perform non-Church schools, the gap is significantly narrowed when the differing socio-economic status of the pupils is factored in. (2015, p.92)

There are mixed perceptions about the size and influence of the ‘school effect’ as well as difficulties with how to quantify, define and measure this effect.

Other research broadly falls in line with the conclusion drawn by S. Green. Scottish research showed that;

when controlling for intake, overall attainment does not differ significantly between denominational and non-denominational schools, and there is no evidence to suggest that one school type or the other has better performance. (Shields & Gunson, 2017, p.4)

The director of The Institute of Public Policy Research, Russell Gunson said in 2017;

It may or may not be the case that different school types add value in other ways, but on the issue of pupil attainment, the hard evidence shows that a

religious ethos in itself doesn't make a difference.

(BBC, 2017)

Green and Cooling continue by drawing upon international research to assess the impact of Christian ethos schools on the performance of students, and draw a number of conclusions relevant to this study, including;

1) Very little research has been carried out in the last ten years into the impact of schools with a Christian ethos on the attainment, beliefs, attitudes, behaviour and spiritual development of pupils...

5) There is a lack of consensus regarding the purpose of, and contribution to be made by, Christian distinctiveness in education...

7) Although the concept of 'school effect' is a key idea in a lot of the research into the impact of schools with a Christian ethos, it is unclear what this means; very little in-depth work has been done in an attempt to account for 'school effect'. (Green & Cooling, 2009, p.78)

Thus, the research is not overwhelming in concluding that Christian ethos schools, and therefore Church schools, are significantly 'better' in terms of pupils attainment than schools without a Christian ethos, and it is interesting that this is the case internationally as well as across the UK. Green and Cooling are right to point out the significant gaps in research that need to be filled in order to answer the question of the impact of a distinctive Christian ethos more fully.

3.2.5 Christian Distinctiveness in Church of England Schools (Jelfs, 2010)

Jelfs conducted research into Christian distinctiveness in 45 Church of England schools within the same diocese, and argues that "at a more philosophical and theological level there remains much to be done to develop a more substantial theory and practice of education for Church of England schools" (2010, p.30). Beginning by noting the limited research available, Jelfs writes,

...the more coherently and thoughtfully a school can articulate an understanding of its aims and purposes, the more effective it will be at strategically engaging

with the spiritual, moral, social and cultural development of children and young people. (2010, p.31)

Jelfs' use of ethnography and case study led to findings which showed that the schools involved understood and lived out this distinctive ethos in two ways;

Firstly, there is a commitment to their Christian and Anglican foundation, which is demonstrated in strong links with the Church and a significant religious dimension in the corporate life of the school. Secondly, there is a definite intention for their shared way of life to reflect Christian beliefs and be characterised by love, care and respect for all. (2010, p.33)

While the intention and engagement with a distinctive Christian ethos showed some promise, Jelfs' research highlighted a number of areas of weakness. Findings included that "Church schools have not engaged in any sustained way with what it means to be a Church school in the contemporary context...that there are inconsistencies in the way Christian distinctiveness is understood and demonstrated" (2010, p.36), and that "schools do not have a clear understanding of how their Christian character relates to the core pedagogical practices of teaching, learning, and curriculum" (2010, p.37).

The 'Excellence and Distinctiveness' report from the National Society highlights the importance of the ethos resonating in every area of school life. For Church Schools, "the educational process is rooted in the living faith of the school. This goes beyond the ethos of the school to affect the planning and teaching in every curriculum area" (The National Society, 2005, p.4).

Instead, having a distinctive Christian ethos meant a range of things to the schools involved in Jelfs' research, including the idea of communities of love, and the ethics of Christian values (2010, p.36), yet the lack of consistency and clarity resulted in the weaknesses described. Badger's assessment on Church School ethos some ten years prior also found this to be a weakness, including the conclusion that "for all the various values identified, there was still a limited range transmitted" (2000, p.241). Jelfs concludes that "the development of methodologies for a distinctively Christian approach to the curriculum and the development of a theory and practice of education

for Church of England schools are essential” (2010, p.37) in order to make sure that a distinctive Christian ethos permeates all elements of a school community.

Further research from Jelfs in 2013 echoed the good intention of school staff coupled with struggles for clarity.

...school leaders and staff [in Church of England schools] are committed to the Christian faith and seek to establish an ethos informed by Christian beliefs and practices, they are less able to articulate a distinctive philosophy of education particularly with respect to teaching, learning and the curriculum. (2013, p.52)

In summary, there was little evidence of the depth of thought required to provide the necessary theological or philosophy basis for a sustained educational endeavour... Thus a more explicit philosophy of education is required to underpin the educational practice of Church schools today. Without such a perspective Church schools lack a sure foundation in the face of the contemporary educational and socio-cultural context, and lay themselves open to the possibility of compromising their distinctive Christian character. (Jelfs, 2013, pp.72–73)

The Church of England’s Foundation for Educational Leadership responded to Jelfs’ research in their 2019 report titled *Christian Leadership in Schools*;

Jelfs' summary offers a very clear direction for where Church of England leadership efforts might be directed. Her study revealed a significant 'gap' in thinking about undergirding practice with a clear philosophy of education; what we might call 'worldview'. (Spencer & Lucas, 2019, p.19)

Since Jelfs’ research, the vision and values for Church Schools have been further refined and distilled into four values of *wisdom, hope, community and dignity* (Church of England, 2016, p.3), although none of these, in and of themselves, nor their combination, are distinctively or exclusively Christian.

3.2.6 Transaction and Transformation at Trinity: private sponsorship, core values and Christian ethos at England's most improved academy (Pike, 2010)

Pike's research involved a study exploring the impact of Christian ethos at Trinity Academy, which Pike claims within the title as being 'England's most improved academy'. The study involved exploring the nature of private sponsorship from the Emmanuel Schools Foundation, academisation and Christian ethos and values.

Green comments that initial discussions around this research project by Pike (2009);

...raised pertinent questions about how ethos is perceived by students, how it is embedded or not embedded in structures, pedagogy and curriculum and whether it effectively communicates the distinctive Christian educational experience intended by sponsors. (Green, 2014, p.288)

Pike begins by highlighting the concerns that have been raised about the beliefs and values of private businesses being imposed upon a school context and explains that "simply knowing that Trinity Academy has a 'private business sponsor' and a 'Christian ethos' can tell us relatively little and lead to unwarranted generalisations" (Pike, 2010, p.751).

Pike rightly recognises a potential disconnect between the way ethos is 'intended' by leaders and authority figures, and the way ethos is 'experienced and interpreted' by staff and students, earlier highlighted by the theoretical idea of an 'ethos gap'. This led Pike to use surveys and interviews to explore intention, experience and interpretation of ethos at Trinity Academy. However, Bragg et al. argue that a disproportionate amount of attention is given to the perspectives from senior leaders. "...these [perspectives] receive little scrutiny and, moreover, constitute a focus on 'intended' ethos that tells the reader nothing about how ethos is experienced" (Bragg et al., 2011, p.562).

Bragg et al. conclude that Pike's research,

...does not question whether a new build, purposeful leadership and a new start for a school in a depressed and neglected area might have achieved similar results without the religious and corporate framework brought by [the sponsor]. (2011, p.563)

This illustrates the confusion when it comes to isolating and pinpointing 'the school effect' as described previously by Green and Cooling (2009, p.76).

In terms of the school's ethos and values, there is a potential tension between the school's 'Christian ethos' which is referenced multiple times by Pike, and the school values, "which might be regarded as decidedly secular rather than overtly Christian" (Pike, 2010, p.755). Yet these are described later as "Trinity Academy's 'secular' and inclusive core values, inspired by the Christian faith and the commercial experience of its sponsor" (Pike, 2010, p.761). Pike appears to make a distinction between the Christian ethos, and secular values, but links them together through the experience of the sponsor. Pike later writes, "While Trinity's students and teachers endorse core values that are inclusive and might even be regarded as 'secular' it is important to 'read' the theological sources of school leaders' values" (2011, p.569). Perhaps this addresses the tension when values which are not exclusively Christian are used to promote an ethos which aims to be 'distinctively Christian'.

The question of staff engagement is highlighted through Pike's research, and he concludes "survey responses and findings from the case study indicate that those working and studying at Trinity Academy are able to endorse and subscribe to the core values while respectfully disagreeing about their source" (2010, p.760). This is an inclusive approach, but it brings into question whether a school can claim a 'Christian ethos' when staff and students agree to the secular values but not to the Christian source of the intended, aspirational ethos. Responding to critique, Pike comments "how parents and students 'read' their own school is perhaps the real test in a liberal democracy" (Pike, 2011, p.569).

Pike recognises that "interview and other data do not provide a 'transparent window'" (Pike, 2011, p.568), however even following critique, he continues to use evidence from organisations such as Ofsted as a validator of the school's implied success, using their judgements and evidence from inspection reports unchallenged. Pike's use of Ofsted to validate the narrative of transformation was undermined by a 2013 inspection in which Ofsted rated Trinity Academy as 'inadequate' (Ofsted, 2020). This was followed by 8 subsequent inspections and monitoring visits between 2013 and 2018; at no time during that period, or since, was the school judged to be better than 'requires improvement'. This is in stark contrast to the levels of nationally significant success implied by Pike in his 2010 research, and shows the pitfalls of relying on a single source of evidence without appropriate critique. This illustrates that any improvement or transformation was perhaps only temporary and not as significant as initially thought, at least in terms of Ofsted's judgements, which was a large part of Pike's initial definition of success.

This study and subsequent critique illustrates the importance of a carefully chosen methodology to the validity of the findings.

While Pike's intention was sound, to explore the impact and significance of ethos in a school experiencing rapid improvement, perhaps the methodology placed too much importance on the words and judgements of those in power regarding the *intended* ethos. On the other hand, less attention was paid to the lived experience of students and staff, and subsequently there was no attempt to ensure the implied successes were embedded enough for long-term success.

3.2.7 The Church School of the Future Review (Chadwick, 2012)

Chadwick's 'Church School of the Future' review, herein called the 'Chadwick Report', is intended to reflect on the opportunities and challenges for Church of England schools since the publication of the Dearing Report and in light of changes within the education system, particularly that of the Academies Act.

In the 10 years since the publication of the Dearing Report, "there has been the greatest expansion of Church school places since the National Society was formed" (Chadwick, 2012, p.11), and the recommendations made by the 2001 review of Church schools was deemed critical to seeing this growth initiated.

Chadwick's review begins with recognition of the achievements of Church schools in creating a distinctive Christian ethos. The report shows that "the Church has created a strong and distinctive 'brand' of schools and proven it can manage them successfully. The changes and challenges ahead must not dilute or compromise this brand" (2012, p.3).

The review stresses that the integrity of this brand lies in the depth of the distinctiveness which must go beyond the superficial.

Distinctiveness is about more than organisational arrangements and designation as a school of religious character. It must include a wholehearted commitment to putting faith and spiritual development at the heart of the curriculum and ensuring that a Christian ethos permeates the whole educational experience. (Chadwick, 2012, p.3)

S. Green critiques this, commenting, “despite over 10 years of reflection since the publication of the Dearing Review, the Report still does not offer a precise definition of ethos which school leaders can use” (2015, p.35)

The desire for distinctiveness was echoed by multiple participants in Chadwick’s review, with a comment on how this runs counter-culturally to the prevailing narrative of education in the UK, which is primarily economical (2012, p.16). One recommendation is therefore that Diocesan Boards of Education (DBE) are “more focused on the culture, ethos and performance of their schools than in project management” (2012, p.33) in order for the church to further embed and make known its distinctiveness through all of its schools in the years to come.

S. Green offers both praise and critique of the Chadwick report. Green points out the challenge of a lack of connection between school ethos and school outcomes.

It is my view that the Chadwick Review, like the Dearing Review before it, does not grapple with this central issue of the connection between Church schools’ ethos and outcomes. As a result, both major reports by the Church of England on Church schools in the new millennium fail to address this key aspect of Church schools. (2015, p.35)

Yet Green also recognises the strength in Chadwick’s explanation of Church Schools providing a ‘different’ kind of education.

The strength of the Chadwick Report is that it simplifies in a logical manner what could become a very confusing education landscape. It stresses the independence of schools and the plethora of providers and types of school and points to a new world of education which is very different from the one conceived in 1944. (2015, p.36)

While Church Schools may enjoy the position of sitting counter to the prevailing narrative of education in the UK, perhaps they still need to communicate in the language of school outcomes in order to continue to operate on the same playing field as secular education providers.

Green’s critique of the Chadwick Report continues with a number of important points;

...Although the [Chadwick] Report acknowledges the external forces on Church schools to secure high standards, there is no explanation as to how a strong Christian ethos can contribute to improved performance...

...Like the Dearing Review, no mention is made of learning habits and there is no use of the outcomes of inspection reports, through the SIAMS process, to inform the debate about Church school ethos...(Green, 2015, p.35)

Green therefore concludes that,

the Chadwick Report, like Dearing before it, does not make a significant contribution to the central challenge facing the leaders of Church schools; how their Church school ethos can contribute to better educational outcomes for the children of those schools (2015, pp.35–36)

3.2.8 *The Distinctiveness of Christian Learning in Church of England Schools* (Cooling, 2013)

Writing in 2013, Cooling explains that there is still uncertainty over what a ‘distinctively Christian education’ actually means, and therefore whether this is an appropriate claim that can be made of Church schools. (2013, p.167)

...although [The Dearing Report] has created much greater awareness of the need for identifiable Christian distinctiveness and has stimulated the setting up of many new Church schools, the available evidence is that, ten years on, the impact on the education that actually takes place in Church schools is not as great as was desired. (Cooling, 2013, p.169)

Despite over ten years having elapsed since the publication of The Dearing Report, there still appears to be a lack of clarity and progress surrounding the meaning and implications of what it means for schools to have a distinctive Christian ethos. While the Church of England has increased the capacity in its schools, “the evidence is that there is a long way to go in converting this brand rhetoric into reality” (Cooling, 2013, p.170). The balance between the service and nurture functions of Church of England schools is also highlighted by Cooling as a potential barrier to the understanding of Christian distinctiveness in education (2013, p.171).

Cooling calls for a deeper understanding of the phrase ‘distinctively Christian’, which can be misunderstood and misinterpreted, leading to the ‘hijacking’ of subject

disciplines, the collapsing of knowledge into theology, or the jarring addition of the Bible to otherwise secular lessons (2013, pp.170–171). As a solution, he offers an outline of an approach called ‘What If Learning’, which calls upon schools to firstly imagine and define the type of person that will be produced from a distinctively Christian education, and then to make this a reality through procedures and practices in the day-to-day teaching and learning in the school (2013, p.179). This grounding is an example of the type of strategy that is needed to ground the aspirational visions of church schools into the life of the school and the individuals who form the community of individuals. This is a practical way to implement the vision, values, virtues framework which was unpacked in the theoretical context for this study.

Cooling concludes by calling upon Church of England schools to develop “a distinctively Christian pedagogy” (2013, p.184) and to ensure this is a priority, highlighting that significant work is still to be done to build on the awareness generated from the Dearing Report.

3.2.9 The Negotiation and Articulation of Identity, Position and Ethos in Joint Church Academies (Green, 2014)

Green’s research in 2014 explored identity and ethos in joint church academies, through three case studies, using interviews as a data collection method. Green found that,

...in all three sites, participants who identified as Catholic expressed some uncertainty about how the Church of England understands its educational mission and ethos, in some cases this was expressed as outright scepticism. There was an assumption that Catholic education was somehow stronger with a more clearly understood vision. (2014, p.292)

Green notes that this view was expressed by both Catholic and Church of England participants. Where parties disagreed, the importance of working together to find a way forward was deemed important. “A participant involved in the opening of two joint church academies explained how important it had been for the sponsors to work together to drive through their vision” (2014, p.294). Having already explored that “schools sometimes become the battleground where groups with different value

priorities vie for influence and domination” (Halstead, 1996, p.3), Green’s research illustrates the outworking of this in the creation of joint church academies.

However, Green warns of the danger in this negotiation being confined to the sponsors as opposed to being a collaborative journey shared with the leadership teams, staff and the wider community. This happened when “sponsors assumed that ethos could be ‘created’ in the new school using a top down delivery model” (2014, p.296).

This was particularly applicable to “potentially divisive denominational issues such as the Eucharist, collective worship and RE” (2014, p.297). Without the appropriate theological underpinning, Green concludes that “this approach had the potential to dilute the distinctive aims of joint church school education” (2014, p.297).

This potential for the dilution of values was also highlighted as a danger by Chadwick (2012, p.3), and echoes previous concerns that schools often use values which remain at “a level of bland generality” (Taylor, 1996, p.141). Both are a threat to the goal of creating a distinctive Christian ethos.

3.2.10 The Relationship between Ethos, Learning Habits and Educational Outcomes of English Church of England Secondary Schools and Academies (Green, 2015)

Stephen Green’s research into the relationship between ethos and learning habits includes an in-depth case study which uncovers a number of findings. These include;

There was a distinct ethos at [the school]...

That the source of the ethos was complex and represented a cocktail of values held by many stakeholder within the broader school community, both Christian and non-Christian...

That the character, theology and performance of the (now) executive headteacher may have been influential in creating and moulding an ethos where these learning habits flourished. (Green, 2015, pp.171–172)

In terms of how this was manifested and embedded within the school, Green's research seeks perspective of the students themselves. This addresses some of the critique of research by Pike (2010) that not enough attention was paid to the way that ethos was actually experienced by the students (Bragg et al., 2011, p.562).

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The students involved in Green's research understood there to be "a duality of provision where one aspect is the assemblies, tutor times and RE lessons and the other aspect is the other curriculum subjects" (Green, 2015, p.171). Although the former aspect perhaps has a more overt link to demonstrating the ethos of a school, it is interesting that students perceived these to be such distinct areas of school life. Green also reports that "for many pupils there was no obvious link between the two aspects" (Green, 2015, p.171).

Green is right to reflect that,

These findings need to be understood as my interpretation of views expressed by a sample of stakeholders...often comprised members of staff who were in leadership positions at the school...My concern is the weight given to the management agenda of both performance and Christian values to the neglect of other messages which may emerge from a school with many diverse 'voices'.
(Green, 2015, p.175)

This again echoes Pike's (2010) research where concerns were raised that a disproportionate amount of time and attention were given to those in leadership or management positions, leading to research focussing on the 'intended' ethos of the school as opposed to the 'experienced' ethos of the school (Bragg et al., 2011, p.562). However, Green did report on the perceptions of students' lived experience, enabling their voices to be heard in his research, even if other limitations prevented further student involvement.

Green concludes by linking the presence of a distinctively Christian ethos to the identity of those in positions of authority, and the specific values of the school,

...there was a distinct ethos at the school which may justifiably be labelled as a Christian ethos because the ethos bearers were self-professing Christians and the

stakeholders reported that the values of the school were based on faith, hope and love. (2015, p.205)

His entire research of both the case study school and much other quantitative data concludes “there is a statistically significant positive relationship between a measure of Christian ethos and a measure of educational outcomes” (2015, p.205), providing much needed clarity into the impact of ethos upon school outcomes. This provides schools possessing a Christian ethos with evidence that their approach has value in terms of student attainment and school improvement, which is vital for schools such as Church Schools that sit within a state funded education system.

Despite this conclusion, Green reminds us that leaders of Church Schools have a significant responsibility for ethos (2015, p.207), yet they also frequently struggle to communicate its benefits, as “Church school leaders are often unable to articulate how their Christian ethos can influence learning habits and outcomes” (2015, p.71).

The issue of school leaders struggling to articulate a Christian ethos and its influence is consistent with similar findings from Street (2007, p.142), Jelfs (2010, pp.36–37), but Green’s contribution that students perceive the manifestation of ethos to be delivered differently through distinct aspects of school life is a fascinating new contribution to knowledge in the field. The way in which students perceive ethos being delivered is an important perspective that should feature more heavily in research into this subject.

3.2.11 Church of England Vision for Education: Deeply Christian, Serving the Common Good (The Church of England, 2016)

A redefined vision for education from the Church of England was launched in 2016. The report is described by the authors as

a fresh articulation of the Church of England’s vision for education as we meet the challenges and take the opportunities offered by the present situation. It is not simply for Church schools but, recognising the Church of England’s involvement in education over many centuries, seeks to promote educational

excellence everywhere, for everyone. (Church of England, 2016, p.3)

It is important to note that this is understood to be ‘a fresh articulation of the vision’ as opposed to a ‘new vision’. The vision is described initially in broad terms, but is then distilled into four elements- wisdom, hope, community and dignity which are unpacked further still (Church of England, 2016, p.3). This helps to provide the clarity and depth that was so frequently seen as lacking in the Church of England’s approach to schooling (Street, 2007; Green & Cooling, 2009; Jelfs, 2010; Cooling, 2013).

Perhaps in response to earlier questions and criticisms about how the desired ethos of Church schools interacts with individuals who may not share the same values, the vision is described as one that is

...hospitable to diversity, respects freedom of religion and belief, and encourages others to contribute from the depths of their own traditions and understandings. It invites collaboration, alliances, negotiation of differences, and the forming of new settlements in order to serve the flourishing of a healthily plural society and democracy, together with a healthily plural educational system. (Church of England, 2016, p.3)

This claim will require some validation through research into Church Schools to assess whether this is lived out in the day to day life of local schools. The language used is particularly interesting, and doesn’t just describe a distinctive ethos that is capable of withstanding some criticism, or holding off rejection from a minority of staff and students. This is a ‘distinctive ethos’, rooted in the Christian faith, that is *hospitable* to diversity, one that *encourages* others outside the Christian tradition to contribute to, and, most interestingly, one that *invites* ‘negotiation of differences’. It could be questioned whether this fresh articulation of the vision is substantial enough, and deep enough to captivate leaders and take hold in Church of England schools whilst also embracing the multicultural, pluralistic society and the wide diversity of intakes that Church schools serve.

The context of the report is important, and the authors recognise that “the Church needs to be confident about its vision for education” (Church of England, 2016, p.4), illustrating that perhaps this confidence has not been as palpable in the past.

This report on the vision of the Church of England for Education also acknowledges the various challenges that exist, and the authors highlight “we hope the Church will enter into the vision, devoting attention, time, energy, funding and leadership to realizing it in dioceses” (Church of England, 2016, p.6). Far from being realised automatically through passive structures, systems and leaders, the report calls for intentional action and implementation in order to see it fully realised, and calls for this to happen at both regional and local levels.

The content of the vision is then unpacked according to the four elements of wisdom, hope, community and dignity, which although separate concepts, are designed to be inter-connected in an ‘ecosystem’. The authors describe their confidence in the approach working in practice because it offers;

a habitable framework within which the daily business in schools of learning, teaching, leading, governing, guiding, encouraging, counselling, feeding, exercising, celebrating and inspiring can go on. But beyond that it also gives a vision that can gently yet firmly stretch and challenge everyone. (Church of England, 2016, p.8)

It is important to recognise that this report addresses much of the criticism made of the Church of England’s ‘distinctive Christian ethos’ approach to education- namely a lack of clarity and a lack of implementation. The report does not correct this criticism through the provision of a brand new vision, but instead seek to articulate the vision in a fresh way, in order that leaders grasp the vision and embed it in a local context, reinforced by layers of regional and national support.

3.2.12 Lessons in Spiritual Development: Learning from Christian Ethos Secondary Schools (Casson, 2017)

UK research on distinctive Christian ethos includes the ‘Ten Leading Schools’ research project by Casson et al. This project sought to learn from best practice taking place in Christian ethos secondary schools. Rt. Revd Stephen Conway opens the project by

highlighting

It is relatively easy for schools to list a set of values which they aspire to, but these schools [in the research project] demonstrate what can be achieved when those values go beyond any slogan or mission statement and become the daily virtues lived out in the life and character of a school, running through its core like writing through a stick of rock. (Casson et al., 2017, p.vii)

The aim of the research was to tell stories of schools using their Christian ethos to promote spiritual development, although the researchers point out “this research was designed to showcase the work of the schools...this is not a critical or evaluative project. Rather, it is an attempt to share the stories of ten enthusiastic schools” (Casson et al., 2017, p.ix).

One of these case studies is of St Joseph’s Catholic and Anglican High School, Wrexham. As an example, this particular case study focusses on the school-wide promotion of ‘Gospel values’, which in this setting are defined as justice, kindness, tolerance, compassion, forgiveness and gratitude (Casson et al., 2017, p.63). The case study offers a glimpse into the life of the school, and the concluding remarks summarise the intention of the approach;

An explicit Christian ethos does not happen by chance. One important element of the St Joseph’s story is that the explicit Christian lens, the encounters with Christ in people, cannot be taken for granted...The deliberate decisions and intentions of leadership, staff and chaplains with St Joseph’s are crucial. (Casson et al., 2017, p.68)

This particular case study highlighted the importance of *intentional* action to follow through on embedding and permeating ethos through values into the everyday life of the school, so that is accessible by every member of the school community.

The second notable case study is that of Oasis Academy, Coulsdon. Here the focus is on authentic leadership;

The principal himself was well aware of his place as a role model, as a spiritual leader for the school community...the ability to live out one's faith in work was a concept that many teachers in Christian-ethos schools share, and for the principal it was important that there was no dissonance between his life as a Christian and which he said and did in school. (Casson et al., 2017, pp.76–77)

The minimal gap between the personal life and professional life of school staff and leaders resulted in authenticity, which could be equated to a lack of symbolic violence or habitus *tug* as explored in the theoretical context of habitus. This close relationship between the school ethos and the personal identity of the headteacher is consistent with findings from S. Green's research a few years prior (2015, p.207).

This research acts as an important study to tell the stories of the ten featured schools. However, it cannot be seen as a generalisation, or as an indication of how any other schools are embedding their distinctive Christian ethos into the lived reality of the school experience. Whilst a useful contribution, its initial definition of these schools as 'leading schools' depicts these settings as schools which are worthy of being showcased rather than critiqued.

3.2.13 A Shared Language for Christian School Leaders (Green, 2020)

Eleven years on from 'Mapping the Field' (Green & Cooling, 2009), Elizabeth Green's editorial article writes about the "convergence of language" used in Christian education contexts around the world. Referring to previous claims of a lack of shared language accessible to headteachers, Green comments positively on the progress made in many schools.

There is still considerable diversity around these concepts, but notably a new, shared language is emerging in Christian education. It utilises the phrase 'distinctively Christian' to explore the mission of Christian schools and the imagination that frames the practices of teaching and learning in them. (2020, p.2)

Green highlights a greater sense of clarity, purpose and mission surrounding the notion of being ‘distinctively Christian’, noting this is important because it seeks to “set expectations that this distinctive vision should permeate teaching and learning; it was not to be just the preserve of the chaplain or the Bible teacher” (Green, 2020, p.2).

Empirical research in this author’s study will seek to uncover how this vision relates to the role of the chaplain and whether it is found to be the ‘property’ of the chaplain, or whether it is embedded and owned more widely across the school community.

Green notes that the ‘distinctively Christian’ vision has permeated teaching and learning but has also expanded to offer positive impact in a range of areas, from leadership policy (Ford & Wolfe, 2020) to operational decisions in schools (2020, p.2).

However Green also recognises there are areas where a significant amount of work is still to be completed, and that “we must not be naive about the challenges that Christian education faces globally” (Green, 2020, p.3). These global challenges are also coupled with national and local challenges that vary according to context. In particular for UK schools;

...the National Society’s vision embodies the kind of missional commitment to the nation that we think is non-negotiable for a Christian school. For others, English church schools lack critical components of Christian schooling – particularly the ability to solely employ teachers who identify as practising Christians. (Green, 2020, p.2)

The tensions between the school ethos and individual staff have already been highlighted as a potential area of conflict, and this too will be further explored in this study. Green writes of the potential for Christian education to be

...a place where we can handle difference and explore it safely. We can do this when our identity, ethos and practice are safely rooted in the person of Jesus Christ and in our relationship to Jesus as image bearers of God. (2020, p.3)

This resonates with language used by the Church of England in their fresh articulation of their vision for education (2016, p.3), where difference is encouraged and embraced.

In conclusion, Green is “encouraged by the emergence of a shared language in Christian education and of new models for leadership and pedagogy deeply rooted in theological practice” (2020, p.3), although recognises that challenges still lie ahead.

3.2.14 Summary

The literature evaluated here on the subject of a distinctive Christian ethos leaves many questions about the nature of ‘distinctive’ education offered by Church Schools, however the literature also shows progress being made to address challenges over time.

There is firstly an understanding that it is difficult to define what is meant by a ‘distinctive Christian ethos’. Headteachers in particular appear to be very open and honest in research about their lack of understanding on what it means to promote distinctive Christian values, and how this differs from values held by any good school or education provider. The literature reviewed here illustrates that, on the whole, the Church of England has been slow to respond to the need for both deeper and accessible theological and pedagogical foundations for the ‘distinctively Christian’ ethos.

These deep questions and concerns sit in contrast to the public’s improved perception of Church schools over the past few decades, a renewed confidence in the Church of their education offer, and an expansion of the Church school programme which has significantly increased capacity.

There is a need for further research into the area of school ethos, particularly within Church schools, to better understand what makes their provision distinct from other schools, and in particular, how this becomes owned and embedded into day-to-day practice in local schools. A particular focus needs to be paid on the language used to articulate this ethos, and on how students perceive this ethos to be embedded in the day to day life of their schools.

3.3 Review of the Literature on UK School Chaplaincy

A second strand of the literature review concerns the evaluation of literature and research on the work and ministry of school chaplaincy.

3.3.1 *Wasting Time in School* (McKeone, 1993)

McKeone's distinctively titled 'Wasting Time in School' is described as a 'story and a handbook' as it blends a reflective personal experience of chaplaincy with examples of projects, theoretical frameworks and contributions from some international perspectives too.

McKeone uses chaplains' own views of their role to outline key aspects of school chaplaincy, including the importance of humanity, faith, sacraments and being a 'link'. (1993, pp.27–29).

On the challenges unique to chaplaincy, McKeone writes of the struggles identified by chaplains as "lacking authority" and "conflict with authority" (1993, p.33). These challenges exist alongside the in-between nature of school chaplaincy which some described as "belonging to all and belonging to none" (1993, p.33).

McKeone writes of the importance of assemblies, acknowledging that chaplains may have differing levels of involvement in them, but that "they are a central part of school life and deserve attention, even if this is behind the scenes" (1993, p.48). The need to be involved in assemblies is part of a much wider mission for McKeone. "A chaplain needs to be aware not only of the common purpose in a school community, and indeed help to shape that purpose, but also to further its realisation by encouraging others in this task" (1993, p.75). This may pose a challenge to some chaplains today who may consider their role to be based around individual pastoral support.

Yet there is a balance to be achieved here. As McKeone writes in her personal story and handbook of chaplaincy, "A chaplain cannot work solely on a one-to-one basis, nor limit the work to addressing large groups of pupils" (1993, p.10). Both the individual and corporate functions of chaplaincy must coexist.

McKeone describes her book as a "small contribution" (1993, p.117) but it is important to recognise that for its time, it presented the breadth and depth of chaplaincy in a very

personal way, using a pool of input from staff, students and other chaplains to complement the author's own experience.

3.3.2 *The Way Ahead: Church of England Schools in the new Millennium* (Dearing, 2001)

The Way Ahead, known as the 'Dearing Report', has already been introduced as an important document in the history of Church school development, particularly with regard to the purpose of Church schools, and the nature of distinctive Christian values and character.

The report notes that "the distinctive identity of a Church school is enhanced by its relationship with a parish church...and for many secondary schools by access to a chaplaincy serving the school" (Dearing, 2001, p.19). The report also recognises the presence of chaplains in some independent schools where the chaplain's work is mentioned in relation to Christian ethos (Dearing, 2001, p.31).

A key endorsement of chaplaincy in 'The Way Ahead' lies in the following statement;

A significant number of Church secondary schools have a chaplain and we have seen how valuable this is, even though financial considerations may mean that it is likely to be for a limited number of hours a week or combined with a teaching appointment. (Dearing, 2001, p.56)

While a welcome recognition, this is the limit of the report's insight into chaplaincy in Church of England schools. Caperon raises some concerns that "more fundamentally, Dearing fails to deal in any serious way with the unique contribution chaplaincy can make to a church school's life and ethos" (Caperon, 2015, p.44).

Caperon goes further to say comments that the distinctive identity of a church school may be "enhanced by a chaplaincy" (Dearing, 2001, p.19) in fact show

...a complete failure to grasp the potential significance of the ministry of a chaplain...The fact is that one of the key elements in the ethos and identity of a

church school and its life as a Christian community – the Christian pastoral ministry of a chaplain – is simply sidelined by Dearing. (2015, pp.44–45)

The report “asserts the importance of a distinctive Christian ethos in church schools, but fails to recognize how chaplaincy might make decisive contribution” (Caperon, 2015, p.45).

3.3.3 A Study of Pupils’ Perceptions and Experiences of School Chaplaincy (Murphy, 2004)

Murphy’s research into pupils’ perceptions and experiences of school chaplaincy was the first empirical account of students’ perspectives on chaplains, and proves to be very useful in understanding chaplaincy from the viewpoint of those who interact with it most often. Whilst based in the Republic of Ireland, its significance in the field as one of the first empirical studies into chaplaincy using the voice of students themselves deems it worthy of inclusion.

For students involved in Murphy’s research, they understood the chaplain’s ministry as one of *presence*;

The pupils perceived the chaplains as a religious presence in the school, whether lay or ordained. Respondents were in agreement that they created a religious atmosphere. Of special importance seems to be the celebration of the main liturgical events in the Church calendar. (Murphy, 2004, p.202)

This was unpacked in some depth, with some students recognising a much deeper connection between God, the chaplain and the religious atmosphere within the school. “Some pupils intimated that the chaplain’s *own being* provided a living witness to God. In effect, they felt God through him” (Murphy, 2004, p.205).

The relationship with the chaplain was viewed as distinctive compared to relationships with other members of staff. “There was unanimous agreement between respondents that their everyday encounters with the chaplain were fundamentally different to those they had with other staff members in the school” (Murphy, 2004, p.208). This led to

pupils understanding the chaplain as having a priority of developing *quality* relationships focussed on holistic wellbeing (Murphy, 2004, p.211).

The findings of Murphy's important study show the chaplain as having a unique contribution to personal development, based on a foundation of quality, holistic relationships that enable people to 'feel God'. Murphy suggests,

...ultimately the findings indicate that the chaplain may be a pivotal force in the personal development of pupils. Implicit in many of the accounts was that the chaplain appeared to fill a void or a vacuum that is filled by no other. (2004, p.211)

The inclusion of students in Murphy's research provides an important perspective on the work of the chaplain.

3.3.4 *The Bloxham Report (The Bloxham Project, 2011)*

The Bloxham Report was a two-year research project which set out to explore school chaplaincy within all sectors of Church Schools. At that time of writing, it was perceived that "school chaplaincy appears to be both unrecognised by the wider Church, unsupported and unexplored: almost a 'hidden ministry'" (2011, p.2).

In terms of the available literature at the time the report was produced, "the literature review confirmed that school chaplaincy in Church of England schools in England had so far been largely undescribed and had so far remained completely unresearched from the empirical standpoint" (2011, p.8). The Bloxham Report was therefore one of the original research projects exploring school chaplaincy on a large scale.

The project asked "what are the characteristics and needs of this vital, hidden ministry to the young and to the extended communities of their schools?" (2011, p.2) and utilised a national questionnaire, interviews and focus groups to gather data from chaplains, headteachers and students.

An initial conclusion from this research was "the wide diversity of contexts, people, and job framework contained within the field of school chaplaincy" (2011, p.9). The research uncovered a wide spectrum of chaplains, of all ages and traditions, working in

a range of school types. Despite this widespread variation, the data analysis does reveal a 'common core' of school chaplaincy, in which "school chaplains place the pastoral dimension of their vocation as its heart" (2011, p.10).

With "a strong degree of convergence in the responses" (2011, p.13), chaplains rated, in order of importance, the different aspects of their role:

1. Pastoral: caring for the whole community
 2. Spiritual: leading the spiritual life of the community
 3. Liturgical: leading prayer and worship
 4. Missional: commending the Christian faith and supporting other faiths
 5. Prophetic: 'speaking truth to power'
 6. Pedagogic: teaching about the Faith, and catechesis
- (2011, p.13)

Whilst chaplains identified the pastoral aspect of their work as central, the role of chaplain encompassed a number of responsibilities, including liturgical leadership, and an embodying of the Christian faith (2011, p.10).

Student perceptions of chaplaincy showed a "remarkably clear" understanding of the role of the chaplain, which supports the methodological approach adopted by Murphy (2004).

The ability of students to 'read' chaplaincy seems clear; their grasp of a chaplain's functional role and of the essence of the vocation is compelling. It is in itself a powerful argument for the significance and impact of school chaplaincy (2011, p.19)

Of particular importance to this study is the perception highlighted by the Bloxham Report that "...a chaplain's public role as leader of faith and spirituality in the school is central to the school's ethos: without the chaplain as figurehead, ethos is diminished" (2011, p.18). The use of the term 'figurehead' is interesting, and perhaps presents some

tension with the significant role of the headteacher, as found in the literature on distinctive Christian ethos.

The Bloxham Report concludes by recommending further research; “two aspects in particular of the impact of school chaplaincy could be explored with profit: first, how closely interconnected are school ethos and the effective practice of school chaplaincy; or, how does chaplaincy impact on ethos?” (2011, p.25). These questions are precisely what this author’s study seeks to address.

As a first step into empirical research into Church of England school chaplaincy, the Bloxham Report brings forward significant findings about the breadth of school chaplaincy, but also the common threads that run through such varied roles. Whilst some findings are unsurprising, for example, the importance chaplains place upon the pastoral support offered through their role, other findings were more unexpected. This included the perceptions of students, who appeared to see chaplaincy with great clarity. Their perception of the chaplain as being central to the school’s ethos is, as the report concludes, worth exploring further, and this study aims to explore that particular aspect of school chaplaincy further.

3.3.5 ‘A Presence in Pilgrimage’: Contemporary Chaplaincy in Catholic Secondary Schools in England and Wales (Glackin, 2011)

Glackin, like Murphy (2004) and the Bloxham Report (2011) also uses student perspectives on chaplaincy to convey the reality of the role. A number of the stories collected from students point to a chaplain’s interaction with the corporate identity of the school. When asked about the job that the chaplain performed, students answered “He just holds the school together”, and “I think he personifies our whole ethos...ours is love one another and he’s probably the one that can do that best” (Glackin, 2011, p.43). This evidence highlighted the more communal nature of a chaplain’s role, which focuses on “creating a sense of community within the school” (Murphy, 2004, p.209), and Murphy’s interview data from schools in the Republic of Ireland consistently communicates the reality of this.

Glackin’s research into Catholic chaplaincy involved both teaching staff, students and chaplains, comparing and contrasting understandings of chaplaincy between them.

Interestingly, both staff and students generally understood Mass, feasts and religious occasions as “the least important aspect of the chaplain’s job” (Glackin, 2011, p.42). In contrast “the most important function...was for the chaplain to be welcoming and available to staff and pupils as a friend and advisor” (Glackin, 2011, p.42). Glackin suggests this shift may have happened as understandings of contemporary school chaplaincy are adapting to the involvement of lay chaplains as well as priests (Glackin, 2011, p.43), some of whom may not be able to lead traditional expressions of corporate or collective worship.

The research uncovers the relationships between a chaplain, their authority, and the Church and the school. In particular, staff identified

...suitability for the chaplain’s job is associated with formational training and a recognisable sacramental/hierarchical status which gives the individual the authority to fully inhabit the role. This highlights the natural authority that is accorded to priests by virtue of their vocation and training and the sense of status that accompanies this. (Glackin, 2011, p.44)

Interestingly, a quotation from a head teacher describes their preference for a priest as chaplain despite the fact that their previous experience with priests “wasn’t a good experience” (Glackin, 2011, p.45). Glackin reflects “the authority and status associated with priesthood is accorded even when the lived experience of having a priest as chaplain has been negative” (Glackin, 2011, p.45). However elsewhere responses show students and staff presenting quite the opposite perspective. “Sixty-nine per cent of teachers were either indifferent or disagreed with the assertion that ‘Ideally a chaplain should be a priest’.” (Glackin, 2011, p.48)

Conversely, for students, although they recognised the chaplain’s role as having authority, there was an element of priests being seen as inherently linked to the Church rather than being an individual. “The priest is not seen as an individual but is viewed solely as an embodiment of the authority of the Church” (Glackin, 2011, p.45), and at times students viewed this as a barrier to forming and developing relationships with the chaplain.

Following this statement is a discussion around the dress of the chaplain and also the delicate balance between the perceptions of the chaplain as teacher, where chaplains held teaching commitments alongside their other responsibilities. These may initially seem to be areas of granular detail, however Glackin found both to have an impact upon

the chaplain's ability to be approachable and develop deeper relationships with students. "Pupils feel unable to 'be themselves', to relax, to be informal in the company of a priest and because of this an essential component of the dynamic between pupil and chaplain is lost" (Glackin, 2011, p.47).

Bringing together the motivation of chaplains, and the shifting of role focus from acts of worship to pastoral care, Glackin concludes that reflections from chaplains themselves show

...the most significant feature of contemporary school chaplaincy is what I term 'relationalability'; that is, the ability to easefully connect, to be relevant to, to relate to people. This factor, I argue, as opposed to sacramental celebration, is now its defining element. (Glackin, 2011, p.42)

3.3.6 The Nature and Ministry of School Chaplains in Church of England Secondary Schools (Caperon, 2012)

Caperon's thesis and research into school chaplaincy stressed the 'strategic significance' of the 'vital' ministry of school chaplaincy within Church of England schools. Caperon noted that his work was "the first-ever empirical research carried out into school chaplaincy" (2012, p.1), and thus it is an important starting point for further empirical research into chaplaincy. His work subsequently developed into the book 'A Vital Ministry' which is also referenced in this study, however, to prevent duplication, Caperon's original research from 2012 is the main focus in this literature review.

Although restricted to Church of England schools, Caperon's research sample included a diverse mix of schools, pupils, staff, buildings and provision. This was reflected in his 2015 book where he reflects that the research "revealed the school chaplain as having a complex and multi-functional, multi-faceted role" (2015, p.52).

Caperon contrasts the 'striking' diversity of these contexts with the consistency that all schools had a role titled "school chaplain", and he describes all chaplaincy roles as being recognisable from an inherited model of school chaplaincy originating in the independent sector (Caperon, 2012, pp.101–102).

Literature around theoretical understandings of chaplaincy, as already explored, typically promote an *incarnational* understanding of chaplaincy as the prevailing model. However, Caperon concludes that there is a need for greater theological clarity about the idea of ‘incarnational ministry’. This emerges from some interviews in his research (2012, p.114), with only three of the school chaplains referring to incarnational ministry (2012, p.115). It is interesting to note the disparity here, between theory, practice and understanding.

One perspective, or ‘core awareness’ of chaplaincy highlighted in Caperon’s research is the representative nature of the chaplain’s role.

...the chaplain is a representative Christian, one seeking to embody the gospel though a way of living and being....A visible, representative figure of the Christian faith, embodying its values, the chaplain supports and even enables the faith of others in the community. (2012, pp.116–117)

Expanding on this understanding of ‘being there’, Caperon notes

...this theology appears as yet intellectually undeveloped, inchoate, and struggles to find articulation; but it has the potential – given further reflection and elaboration - to be an awareness that animates and provides clear motivation for the roles which school chaplains carry out. (2012, p.117)

There is much still to be explored and understood with regard to how chaplains navigate their work when the role is not necessarily defined by a list of tasks, but by an approach such as ‘being there’.

Thus, “in functional terms, the pastoral and liturgical aspects of the role emerge most strongly; but above and beyond function is the notion of being present” (2012, p.118). This was reflected by other members of the school community when Caperon found that “almost half of the free writing responses (43%) did not offer a functional understanding of their role but focused instead on who a school chaplain is rather than what he or she does” (2012, p.132).

One aspect of tension that Caperon's research detects is that of the chaplain's relationship with authority and structure within the school environment. This is consistent with the work of McKeone who wrote of chaplains identifying key struggles as that of "lacking authority" and "conflict with authority" (1993, p.33).

Caperon found that "responding chaplains did not appear to enjoy high status within the management structures of their schools; only very few (6%) were members of the school management or leadership team." (2012, p.121). While there are examples highlighted by Caperon of schools where the chaplain was given a higher 'position' within the school's structure, this appears to be the exception rather than the rule.

The results from chaplains show that "only just over half (52.6%)" (Caperon, 2012, p.130) perceived themselves as having a "special relationship of trust with the head" (2012, p.130), something usually commonplace within a traditional model of school chaplaincy. Another conclusion is that "there was support from just over half the respondents (57.3%) for the view that a chaplain influences the way the school runs" (2012, p.130). These insightful statistics illustrate perhaps a more complex picture of the chaplain's relationship to power and authority in Church of England schools and academies than in the inherited model of school chaplaincy from the independent sector.

Caperon's research raises an important question about the authority of the chaplain with regards to embedding ethos. Bell and Kent's case study investigation into student perception of school culture revealed that students seemed to reject the idea that the headteacher was the only individual in the school who had an effect upon the culture.

Interview responses suggest that while students do not discount the role of the headteacher, they perceive a richer and more complex collaboration of 'different people and voices', who influence the culture of a school. Some of those voices belong to teachers or school leaders, and some will belong to students. (2010, p.25)

Bell and Kent's findings present a much wider responsibility for ethos that exists outside of the sole responsibility of the headteacher. As one example, Woodard Schools give the chaplain a prominent position in the school structure, emphasising a close and strong relationship to the head teacher and senior teams (Harvey, 2004, p.7). This is similar to the approach taken within Catholic schools, where the chaplains "function as

extensions of the principal, [and] animate the communal life of the school” (Bryk et al., 1996, pp.140–141).

The National Society in 2001 made it explicitly clear that the chaplain should *not* be the person responsible for the ethos of the school.

Ensuring that the character of the school is sustained and developed is the overall responsibility of the head. It should not be delegated to the chaplain or the head of religious education. It should not be left to those members of the governing body who are ordained or are nominees of the Church. The head and other members of the management team must be active in this area. Their personal example will set the tone for the whole school and will demonstrate to pupils and to other members of the staff that the character of the school is a matter to be taken seriously. (2001, p.13)

Whilst this statement may try to describe this issue as very clear cut, Caperon’s research concluded that students’ understanding was along similar lines to that of the findings in Bell and Kent’s research;

While most students will inevitably see the head as the leader of the educational life of the school, the one who sets the overall boundaries and creates the rules and procedures, it is arguably the chaplain who leads the school’s spiritual life, and who expresses the school’s Christian identity and vision through worship and pastoral care, and through embodying, representing and upholding the values of the school’s foundation. (Caperon, 2015, p.74)

Caperon’s finding were, interestingly, in the context of chaplains not having anywhere near the ‘status’ of leadership and management. If the chaplain is to have a meaningful interaction with school ethos, there needs to be a positive relationship between the chaplain and the headteacher. Yet there is a lack of consensus as to how the chaplain’s role should relate to the headteacher, and further insight is required into this particular area of the chaplain’s work in relation to school ethos.

In line with other projects, student insight into chaplaincy in Caperon’s research was highly accurate and illuminating. “Students significantly echoed the notions of presence

and of embodiment – demonstrating a sophisticated insight into the ontological nature of chaplaincy ministry” (2012, p.184). Caperon gives an example of one student who said of the chaplain, “It’s not what he does, it’s his ‘-ness’, who he is, his essence...[they are a]...scaled-down version of Jesus, a sort of mini-Jesus” (2012, p.184). Whilst some may read this as clumsy or awkward language, it tells of the importance of the incarnational ministry of presence (often unpacked in theory) in the language of a child who encounters chaplaincy.

However, alongside this personal ministry with a focus on individuals, students also recognised a communal, collective element of the chaplain’s role.

Students’ understanding of the significance of worship and its potential underlined the chaplains’ own focus on their role as liturgical leaders, creating a space for students to experience the reality of prayer and worship, and making real the possibility of life-shaping reflection and even encounter with the divine. (2012, p.184)

Caperon writes that the chaplain “is seen not only as a counsellor to individuals, but also one who has to grasp and express the feelings of the whole community” (2012, p.219). This tension between the two extremes of a chaplain’s role is important yet under explored in other literature. A priest-chaplain in Caperon’s research reflected “if [the ministry of presence] is true in personal encounter – in personal relationship with others – it is just as true institutionally” (Caperon, 2015, p.55). This balance between personal and collective, between pastoral and liturgical appear to be worth exploring in more detail.

In line with other research, Caperon stresses the importance of school chaplaincy and encourages further research to better understand its significance.

The particular sphere of Christian ministry in schools – school chaplaincy - has, I have argued, a huge strategic significance for the Church, and indeed for the future of Christian culture. It is because of the significance of this ministry that it is important that further research is undertaken to illuminate more significance

for the Church. (2012, p.189).

3.3.7 *The Public Face of God- Chaplaincy in Anglican Secondary Schools and Academies in England and Wales (Archbishop’s Council Education Division, 2014)*

In introducing the ‘Public Face of God’ report, Revd. Ainsworth, General Secretary of the National Society remarks, “Perhaps surprisingly, for a ministry which is well established, it is striking how little there is in terms of research about its extent, nature, practice and impact” (Archbishop’s Council Education Division, 2014, p.1).

This is the context in which the Archbishop of Canterbury requested a research study particularly focussed on chaplaincies in Church of England maintained schools and academies, because this is “the fastest growing type of provision and one which is developing in ways which are often different to that in the historic independent sector” (Archbishop’s Council Education Division, 2014, p.1).

The report was not intended to be exhaustive, and with only one third (2014, p.6) of schools contacted actually contributing to the research, it is cautious about extrapolating findings across all church maintained secondary schools and academies. Yet this research is insightful as it is the first study that gives attention to the chaplain’s involvement in school ethos.

The data collected showed that over 85% of chaplains reported to be involved in ‘promoting ethos’ explicitly. This is illustrated in the graph below (see Figure 3) and shown as the sixth most common task typically performed by chaplains involved in the study.

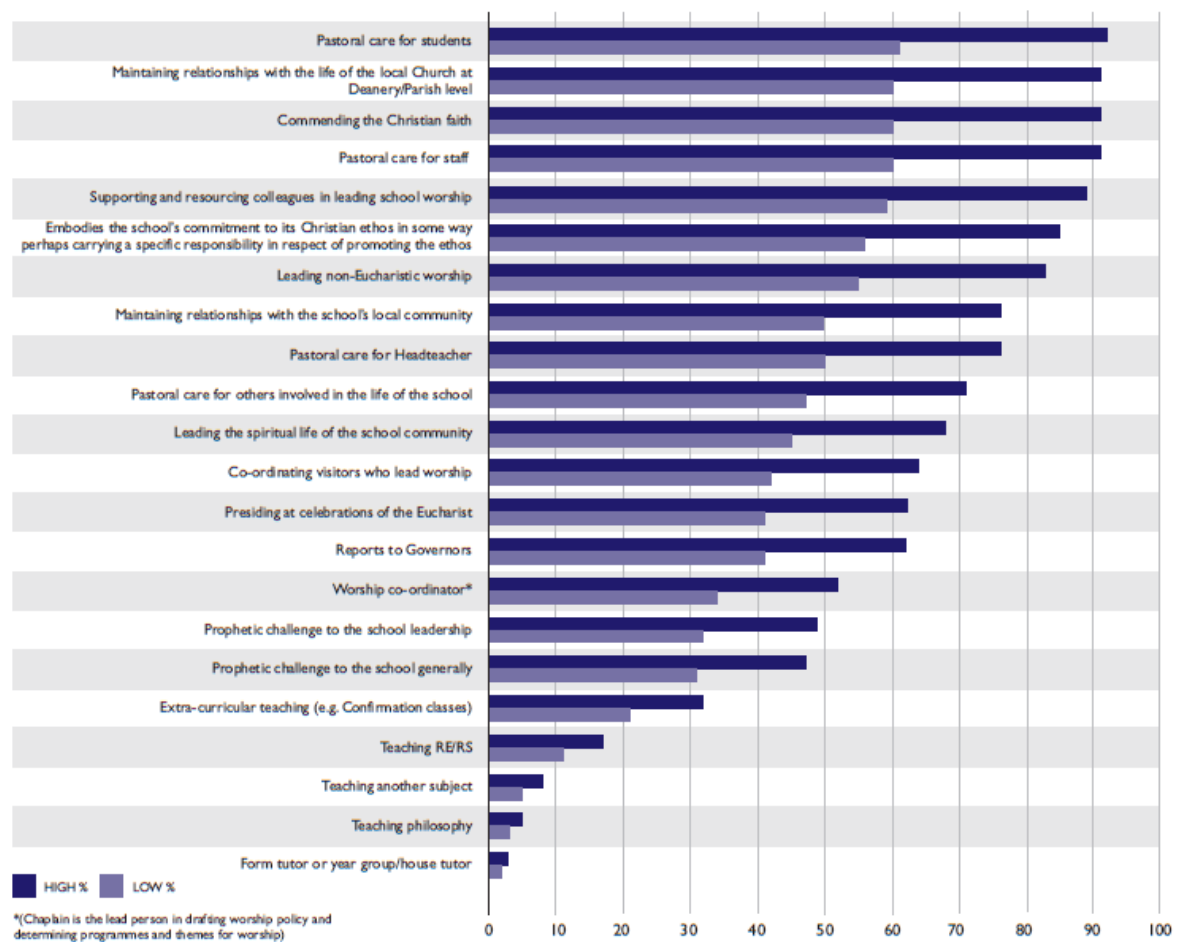


Figure 3 Tasks performed by the Chaplain

(Archbishop's Council Education Division, 2014, p.12)

Responses from schools began to explore this area of the chaplain's work. Schools spoke of the chaplain "underpinning" or "holding", or "championing", or "grabbing" that ethos (Archbishop's Council Education Division, 2014, p.6), which was an attempt to put language and labels around a somewhat intangible concept. Some even described the role of chaplain as the "executive face" of the promotion of a school's ethos (2014, p.23).

Although embodying the school's Christian ethos was listed as the sixth most commonly performed task performed by chaplains in the study, and despite "many respondents feel very strongly indeed about this facet of the role", it is then described as "not strictly speaking 'a task', it includes a range of tasks and...it has more to do with the 'being' of chaplaincy than the 'doing'" (Archbishop's Council Education Division, 2014, p.13), which gives very little insight into how this interaction between chaplain and ethos works in theory and practice, and its significance. What the research does offer is the perceptions of some schools about this interaction.

Some schools perceived the chaplain as a reminder of their Christian values, with the chaplain's presence and living example being key; this is in line with other research and literature expanding upon the chaplain's incarnational presence within the school (Archbishop's Council Education Division, 2014, p.6).

Many schools see the chaplain as the school's 'spiritual lead'... 'essential' to the enrichment of the school's ethos, that is to say, not just the existence of that ethos but to its deepening and intensifying. (2014, p.6)

Schools also affirm the value of their chaplain as a representative figure. One school spoke of the chaplain as 'the public face of God'. (2014, p.6)

This function brings the authority of the Bishop and also a commitment to the distinctive Anglican identity, in all its rich variety, of the worship and life of the school. (2014, p.6)

These are bold claims and they sit in contrast to Caperon's (2012) research which records chaplains speaking more cautiously about how much influence they actually have within their school contexts.

Interestingly, where Caperon's research found just over half of chaplains as having a special relationship to the headteacher, The Public Face of God reports that "this distinctiveness [of chaplaincy] is expressed by access to all members of the community, including the Headteacher" (2014, p.7).

An observation contained within the report notes;

The bottom line is that the Christian ethos of the school depends on the headteacher. If the Head isn't promoting it, it will not happen and sometimes the Head has to force the issue if the desired ethos is to be firmly embedded. The Chaplain is the 'executive' face of that promotion. (Archbishop's Council Education Division, 2014, p.23)

This features at the end of the report as a 'lesson to share' and brings some clarification as to who is responsible for ethos within the school, though it is clear this is an area which requires further research.

What is remarkable about this report is that it concludes with a summary that the chaplain is the ‘*executive face*’ for the promotion of a school’s Christian ethos (2014, p.23). In some chaplaincy contexts included in the research, the post “is only for a few hours each week”, and just over half of chaplains who took part in the study were not full-time. Yet the chaplain who visits for a few hours each week is also deemed capable of “reflecting and shaping the ethos and character of the school community” (Archbishop’s Council Education Division, 2014, p.1). If this is the case, there is much to unpack as to what makes chaplaincy able to do this with such limited official authority, influence and power.

Despite the bold claims made in *The Public Face of God*, the Church of England’s ‘Vision for Education’, published two years later (Church of England, 2016), contained only one reference to chaplaincy or chaplains, and that is with reference to the breadth of chaplaincy contributions to society, not specifically school chaplaincy.

3.3.8 A Very Modern Ministry: Chaplaincy in the UK (Ryan, 2015)

Ryan’s report on chaplaincy in the UK is a study of chaplaincy across a range of contexts, and it begins from the understanding that “there remains a lack of accessible public research on what chaplains are, what they do and why (if at all) their roles matter” (2015, p.9).

The report records the findings from case study research into chaplaincy provisions across a range of sectors in Luton. The research concludes “it was noteworthy how few full-time chaplains there are in Luton”, with only 14 out of 150 chaplains, or 9 percent working over 30 hours or more per week (the research project’s definition of full-time). (Ryan, 2015, pp.21–22), although it is noted that it is notoriously difficult to accurately measure the number of people involved in chaplaincy work and ministry (Todd et al., 2014).

Reflections on qualitative interviews from around 100 participants identified five aspects of mission and purpose, one of which was ‘creating community and ethos’. This resonates with the central focus of this study. Ryan explores this element of chaplaincy through some stories in military, hospice and theatre chaplaincy, but draws some general conclusions;

...ceremonies and traditions can have a phenomenal impact on creating a sense of community and appreciating the values and ethos of an organisation and chaplains in many fields play a huge part in that. (Ryan, 2015, p.37)

As well as ceremonies and traditions, the importance of relationships was discussed in relation to community and ethos.

Many chaplains spoke of the importance in their work of building relationships and befriending people. Those links and ties are an important part of connecting and building up many different fields...This was echoed by a number of stakeholders who spoke about how that little relationship was important in creating a good atmosphere around the place. (Ryan, 2015, p.37)

Ryan's research highlights the importance of the individual identities of chaplains, which is reflective of findings in other studies.

It should be of little surprise that one of the most important aspects in the appeal of chaplaincy is who the chaplains are. In a role that is often very personal and based on relationships, a non-judgemental attitude and being there for people in need, the personality of a chaplain is a critical element in their impact. (2015, p.55)

Whereas other research and literature has referenced the challenges and tensions of chaplaincy as it wrestles with authority and status within organisations, Ryan's research draws out the positives of the chaplain's unique relationship with the host institution.

In summary, "what is in common in all these cases is that the role of a chaplain in being able to sit within an organisational setting without being fully part of it is something that was accepted and viewed as positive by both stakeholders and service users" (Ryan, 2015, p.57).

However the tensions were still referenced, especially when chaplains were acting as critical figures within their organisations;

While in some contexts chaplains can be advocates and critical figures, in others, were they to perform that role, they would likely cease to be allowed access to those organisations and so would be unable to offer any help to the people in these places. (Ryan, 2015, p.47)

A Very Modern Ministry is a contextual research project into chaplaincy provisions across a range of sectors situated within Luton. However it provides important insight into the distinctiveness of chaplaincy and how individual identities and relationships work to create impact across organisations and settings.

3.3.9 Church of England Vision for Education: Deeply Christian, Serving the Common Good (The Church of England, 2016)

Whilst having previously been evaluated in light of distinctive Christian ethos, the Church of England's 'Vision for Education' published in 2016 makes important reference to chaplaincy. In this report, chaplaincy is described as one of the Church of England's main areas of work.

The Church of England has three main commitments that embrace the whole country. One is to local, regional and national presence in parishes, dioceses and central bodies, with a network of congregations and other organisations. Another is to chaplaincy, with thousands of workers, both paid and volunteer, involved in schools, colleges of further education, universities, hospitals, workplaces, prisons, the armed forces, airports, and other settings. The third is to educational institutions. Each of these three settings benefit from interaction and cooperation with the other two, and all are concerned with the quality of life together in this country. (Church of England, 2016, p.17)

This surprising equation of chaplaincy to both parish ministry and to schools as a whole implies that chaplaincy is of strategic priority to the Church of England, and the intent to encourage 'interaction and cooperation' between these three areas is certainly promising. However, this is the only mention of chaplaincy in the entire vision for

education. Whilst this may be due to the document's purpose as a strategic overview, it bears much resemblance to the 'Dearing Report' (*The Way Ahead: Church of England Schools in the new Millennium, 2001*) which was criticised for minimal references to chaplaincy despite the perceived significance of the role from schools, students and staff.

This is also the case in a related document published by the Church of England's Foundation for Education- Christian Leadership in Schools. The only mention of chaplaincy in this report is a reference to chaplaincy offering leadership support to schools.

Theory, research and practice into 'leadership' of Church of England schools is multi-level and could incorporate thinking on leadership by governors, headteachers and middle leaders (including subject, teacher, or year group leadership). Or it could refer to aspects of leadership related to Multi Academy Trusts (MATs), or to more abstract concepts such as pedagogic leadership, a holistic approach to aligning leadership values with what is actually taught, or, in some cases, to leadership in schools offered by clergy and chaplains. (Spencer & Lucas, 2019, p.8)

Chaplains are last on the list of those providing leadership influence to Church of England schools, which begs the question of how much influence do chaplains provide to school leadership and to school ethos? Clearly there is much more evidence needed to support the case of chaplains providing significant influence upon school communities.

3.3.10 Summary

There is a limited quantity of literature and research on UK school chaplaincy, although that which does exist gives great insight into the significance of the role and ministry of the school chaplain.

Large scale surveys of school chaplains have shown the wide range of school settings in which chaplains work, and the variety of ways in which the role is carried out, in particular, the significant differences in working hours combined with a mixture of paid and voluntary roles. Despite this diversity, common themes emerge from school chaplaincy, including a strong focus on pastoral ministry, coupled with a more collective focus on supporting the institution.

Within this collective focus, the role the chaplain plays in embedding ethos is recognised, albeit superficially, and it is clear more research is needed to understand this more fully. The significant ‘Public Face of God’ report, in particular, describes the chaplain as the ‘executive face’ of a school’s distinctive Christian ethos, yet presents limited evidence to unpack this claim or to show the impact that it makes.

Research into school chaplaincy has shown that including students in the data collection is vital for a clear understanding of chaplaincy. Students have consistently shown that when they are asked to comment on chaplaincy, they do so with accurate insight and perceptive language.

Despite some useful contributions, more research is needed into school chaplaincy, particularly its impact upon school ethos, in order to evidence and justify the claims that chaplaincy is a significant ministry in and beyond UK schools.

3.4 Outstanding Questions of Chaplaincy and School Ethos

The UK literature leaves some questions as to the interaction between the school chaplain and school ethos. Where appropriate, additional literature, including international research is offered here against some of these outstanding questions to guide this study forward.

3.4.1 The Chaplain's Role in School Ethos

Australian chaplaincy research has mirrored the research in the UK, in that the chaplain's role is typically framed within a pastoral narrative. This has led to questions such as "The school chaplain versus the school counsellor: is there a difference?" (Loza & Warren, 2009, p.21). The posing of this question assumes that these two roles are very similar, with only minor differences distinguishing them from each other. Yet in the same piece of research, when principals were asked what would happen if the chaplaincy provision at their school were to cease, one principal commented, "I can't begin to tell you what we'd do. I have no idea... I don't know... I live in fear of that happening...I guess what comes to my mind is that the heart of the school would be lost" (Loza & Warren, 2009, p.33).

However, within the Australian literature are hints at the role of a chaplain going much deeper than the support of individuals within the school community, providing a "multi-faceted and, in many ways, immeasurable service" (Loza & Warren, 2009, p.33) that includes aspects of "raising questions of meaning, value and purpose within the institution (Jenkins, 2006)" (Ford, 2011, p.6).

Hughes and Sims' conducted a large scale research project in 2009 titled 'The Effectiveness of Chaplaincy: As Provided by the National School Chaplaincy Association to Government Schools in Australia'. Their study finds that "staff suggested that the chaplain had had a marked influence on the ethos of the school. In a quiet way, the chaplain had contributed to an ethos of respect and care that had permeated the life of the school" (2009, p.63).

Hughes and Sims' research triangulated these findings by seeking the views of the school principals directly;

According to the principals, chaplains also had an impact on the general morale of the schools in which they worked. They helped to build the sense of community in the school and supported the school ethos. In their focus on the wellbeing of the students, they made the school a more caring place. In some case studies, it was noted that the chaplains kept the values of the school before staff and students. (2009, p.26)

Recent data from a multi-case study research project in three faith-based schools in Australia by Parker et al. (see Figure 4) showed that chaplains perceived their greatest impact was on a number of factors which could be aligned with the concept of a school's ethos or habitus.

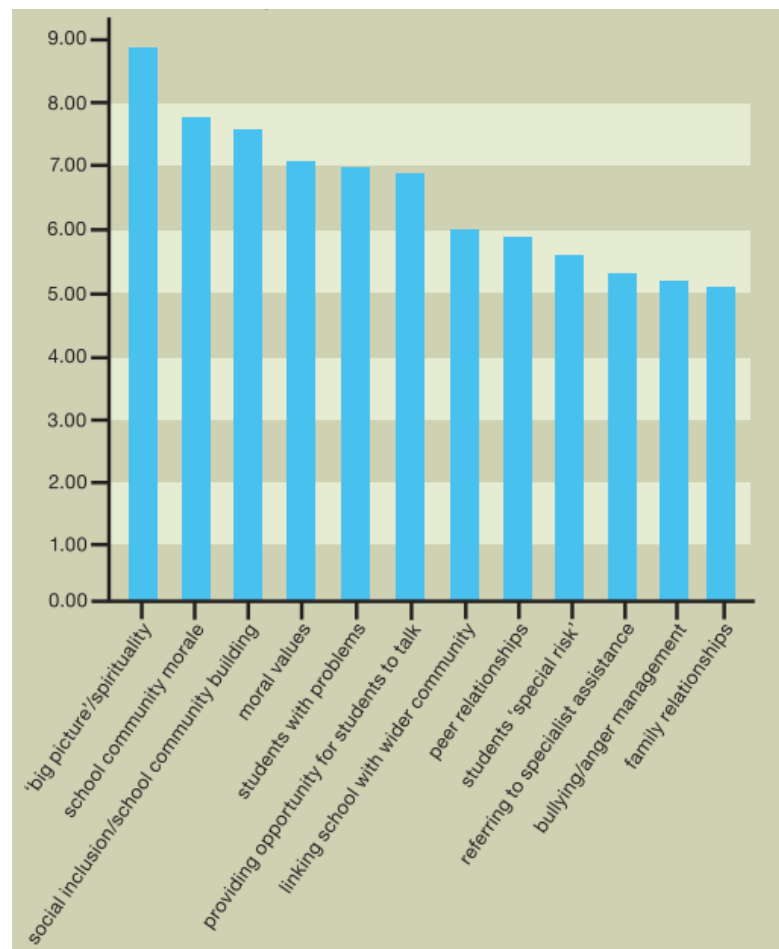


Figure 4 Chaplains' perception of their impact

(Parker et al., 2017, p.56)

‘Big picture’, morale, community building and moral values all scored higher than more practical activities such as talking to students, connecting to the local community and dealing with bullying.

The Australian research surrounding school chaplaincy, despite contextual differences, supports the idea of the chaplain as someone who is a key part of the institutional identity of a school community, just as respected as other members of staff, but more easily accessible and with an underlying sense of separation from the institution too. This enables the chaplain to operate beyond the boundaries of ‘individual pastoral support’ to raise questions of meaning among the whole community, and interact with ethos in culture in a distinct way.

3.4.2 Tension between Chaplain and the Host Institution

The tension between chaplains and their host institutions is not a new phenomenon. From an Australian context, this was written about in 1988, when Ellis remarked, “Anglican school chaplains regularly find themselves in a peculiar and uncomfortable position. There is a conflict between their perceived task as an ordained member of the Church and their expected tasks at school” (1988, p.22).

Ellis understands this to come from an ever changing relationship between the church and education. Historically, this may have come from chaplains attempting to balance their teaching commitments with religious commitments, however all expressions of chaplaincy may still experience this tension.

For chaplains without a teaching commitment, Hill, speaking from an Australian context, describes them as being perceived as even further from the institution, with potential benefits for their work.

Freed of this kind of identification with the teaching establishment, chaplains are the more likely to be seen by students and staff as being at a sufficient remove from the school’s authority and accountability structures to be approachable for the sharing of very personal lifestyle issues. (2007, p.52)

This is also illustrated through other international research. Yapp's (2003) research into the self-perceived role of Christian chaplains in New Zealand state schools has something to contribute here, as it offers in-depth reflection upon the experiences of chaplains themselves. As well as exploring the relationship between the chaplain and the school, the research also uncovers the distinctiveness of chaplain's roles within the school.

In particular, this study uncovers chaplain's perceptions of their authority and power within their respective institutions. One of the major differences in school chaplaincy in New Zealand is that the chaplains are volunteers, as opposed to employees. Regardless, the chaplains didn't see a perceived lack of institutional authority as a drawback to the role. "76.60% of respondents rate themselves as having between moderate and low status/power in the hierarchy of the school" (Yapp, 2003, p.181). Many even reported a lack of status or power as something they embraced within their role (Yapp, 2003, p.129), with over 93% (Yapp, 2003, p.160) of chaplains responding that they were not treated as 'teacher-aides', which was seen as positive, and were understood to have a distinct, separate role which they were encouraged to pursue.

Yapp uncovered that chaplains viewed their separation from the authority of the school as something which enhanced their work and their relationships. One chaplain described themselves as having "outside authority" (Yapp, 2003, p.217) although this is not unpacked or explained in context.

"By being seen to be apart from the school, chaplains think they can be regarded to be approachable; their relationship-building with the school community is somehow enhanced" (Yapp, 2003, p.192), and it was this relationship building work that chaplains generally saw as the most important aspect of their work, and a measure of success.

The discussion of tension brings with it discussions and questions of authority and power which are important to unpack. This may involve 'necessary liminality', or "Being willing to linger somewhat on the edge of things, while striving to be genuinely embedded in context, is a paradoxical path for the chaplain to patrol" (Whipp, 2018, p.108).

Hughes and Sims' research leads to a similar conclusion. They write, "the fact that the chaplain was not a teacher, nor a psychologist, but a 'neutral' person was noted quite

frequently” (Hughes & Sims, 2009, p.27). It is important to note that this neutrality was in the context of the chaplain’s placement as not being seen “as part of the ‘school structure” (2009, p.21), as explained further;

Some of the chaplains were described as being ‘neutral’ people. They were not seen as being on a particular side. They were not part of the authority structures of the school, or, for that matter, of the family. Hence, chaplains were in a good position to mediate, and, sometimes, to be advocates for students. (2009, p.45)

Isaacs and Mergler refer to Australian-based research from Pohlmann (2010) where a number of stakeholders felt that chaplains should uphold the school’s values. A member of senior staff in Pohlmann’s research commented, “an effective chaplain should be [among other things]...representative of the school community’s core values” (2010, p.187). Yet in Pohlmann’s research, “school-based respondents stated that an effective chaplain, in their care role, was a supportive, understanding, caring adult who modelled Christian values” (2010, p.391). It is this tension and conflict that can prove a challenge to a chaplain’s role, in asking the question of ‘where does a chaplain’s allegiance lie?’

Although Isaacs and Mergler’s research centred on a small scale study of primary school chaplains in Australia, its focus on values was interesting. They found that in contrast to chaplains “stating that they felt strong similarities between their own values and that of the school, five [of eight] chaplains could not clearly articulate what their schools’ values were” (Isaacs & Mergler, 2017, p.8). More surprisingly, these chaplains “assumed that the school’s values would align with their personal values and those affiliated with their role as chaplain” (2017, p.8).

Despite this three of the eight chaplains interviewed for this study said they “do not experience or rarely experience a tension between their values but see their values as complementary in the school setting” (Isaacs & Mergler, 2017, p.8). Instead they described the tension as “priority clashes”, for example “clashes between chaplaincy and the Queensland public school system, and a clash between a chaplain and a parent” (Isaacs & Mergler, 2017, p.8).

This leads Isaacs and Mergler to recommend that there is a more explicit conversation about values between schools and chaplains;

Schools should clearly express their values to their chaplain in order to make sure that either the chaplain's personal or chaplaincy values are complementing the school's values or that the chaplain consciously prioritises the school's values above any other. In this way, differences between the school's values and the chaplains personal and chaplaincy values can be addressed, and it can be made clear to the chaplain that they must uphold and work within the parameters of the school's values and expectations. (2017, p.8)

This echoes with research from the UK which also highlights a lack of clarity on Christian values, and the challenge of individual chaplains aligning to their school values.

O'Malley, in his work 'School Ethos and Chaplaincy', writes "The relationship between the school and the chaplain is complex and in each case it will develop into a unique pattern" (2008, p.20), thus there is a greater need for further attention on how the chaplain relates to the institution of the school, and the tensions, challenges and opportunities that emerge as a result. The tension between chaplain and institution is demonstrative of the negotiation of habitus experienced between institution and individual.

3.4.3 Tension between the Individual and the Collective

A common area of tension within the work of school chaplains was the balance between their work primarily focussed on individuals, and their work to support the collective. This was a question also raised within an Australian context by Pohlmann, when he writes, "is a school chaplain simply chaplain to the students or pastor to an entire school community?" (2013, p.72).

Caperon uncovers this specific tension reflected through student perceptions of chaplaincy;

Asked about the most important element in a chaplain's job, some students argued for this being the leading of public worship while others argued for the pastoral role – highlighting what chaplains themselves see as two core functions. (Caperon, 2015, p.72)

Caperon gives mention to a chaplain who identified two main areas of work as pastoral support and school assemblies, before reflecting that the two are not necessarily mutually exclusive (Caperon, 2012, p.107). This tension was also reflected in findings from Ryan (2015, p.51), and Isaacs and Mergler (2017, p.10).

There is a variety of perspectives on where the role of the chaplain should focus. There is evidence from Australian-based chaplaincy provision to focus on the pastoral care of individuals, yet other perspectives advocate the opposite position. The Bishop of Gent, Luc Van Looy, in the foreword to O'Malley's *School Ethos and Chaplaincy*, writes of the importance of a chaplain having a whole-school impact and approach, and therefore writes that "one thing the chaplain must avoid is a limited focus on either the neediest or the most gifted or the most troublesome students" (2008, p.5).

Other perspectives are more balanced;

"the primary responsibility of the pastoral minister or school chaplain involves tending to the personal needs of school members- both adults and students- as well as to the overall character of the school community" (Bryk et al., 1996, p.140).

This area of tension and potential conflict is worth exploring more in practice to see how chaplains and schools deal with this day to day.

3.5 Conclusion

The literature review provided a thorough evaluation of available research, firstly on the notion of 'distinctive Christian ethos', and then on school chaplaincy in the UK.

The concept of a distinctive Christian ethos is a vision that has proven difficult to fully and clearly express, and therefore to realise, in the context of UK schools. The changing

nature of education and school improvement has presented a number of challenges to the fulfilment of this vision, although the significant growth of Church schools in the UK is seen as one measure of success of the distinctive Christian ethos. There is a wide variety of perspectives on what this means, how it is interpreted by staff, and how this is perceived by students and the wider community.

Educational chaplaincy has a variety of models and styles, and will look very different in multiple contexts. The research around chaplaincy is equally as varied, from defining chaplaincy by lists of tasks, to identifying the chaplain as the 'executive face' of a distinctive Christian ethos. The research is mixed and there is a need for further research to provide additional knowledge, insight and understanding where gaps exist.

Outstanding questions from the literature review included the chaplain's role in embedding ethos, tension between a chaplain and the host institution, and the tension between the individual and the collective. These outstanding questions are present in the international research too.

The literature review provided a solid foundation for the research methodology in order to explore the three central research questions.

4 RESEARCH METHODS

4.1 Central Research Questions

Three central research questions were created, and these questions were designed to provoke the creation of new knowledge in this area by extending the existing literature on chaplaincy and school ethos;

1. In what ways does a chaplain contribute towards ethos and culture within a secondary school, and what is the impact of this contribution?
2. What challenges do chaplains experience in working with ethos and culture, and how does this aspect of their work relate to other areas of responsibility?
3. What is the distinctiveness of a chaplain's role that equips and enables them to interact with ethos and culture, and what is the impact of this distinctiveness?

4.2 The Research Design and Methodology

Harker et al write that Bourdieu “works in a spiral between theory, empirical work and back to reformulating theory again but at a different level” (1990, sec.3). Bourdieu himself writes, “...one cannot grasp the most profound logic of the social world unless one becomes immersed in the specificity of an empirical reality” (Bourdieu, 1993, p.271). As such, the research aims of accessing the lived reality of the interaction of a school chaplain with a school's ethos and habitus required a study design that would uncover this and a data analysis approach which would illuminate this.

Having evaluated the theoretical and cultural contexts, as well as the literature surrounding school chaplaincy and distinctive Christian ethos, it is appropriate to follow Bourdieu's lead into empirical research which this methodology seeks to outline.

4.2.1 On Accessing Habitus

Creating an appropriate research methodology to explore the individual and corporate outworking of ethos and habitus was not straightforward. Bourdieu's goal in his work was to uncover and explore "the most deeply buried structures of the different social worlds that make up the social universe" (Reay, 2004, p.431). Nash describes the 'disclosing' of the habitus as "the methodological problem for a researcher" (1999, p.178), and Ngarachu writes that "habitus operates unconsciously and this is one of the challenges that emerge when trying to apply the concept empirically; how can we observe it in an empirical research context?" (2014, p.60).

This difficulty to 'access' habitus is coupled with the previously identified challenges with defining and understanding the concepts of school chaplaincy and school ethos. In order to overcome these challenges, a rigorous and creative methodology was needed in order to provide clarity for participants and the researcher, ease of engagement around some conceptual topics, and high quality data for analysis.

The task for the researcher is to analyse practices so that the underlying structuring principles of the habitus are revealed. However, empirically, one does not "see" a habitus but rather the effects of a habitus in the practices and beliefs to which it gives rise. The structure of the habitus must be captured by excavating beneath practices to capture its relational structure as one among a range of possible structures. The questions for research are thus: what particular structure of the habitus is in play here compared to other possible habitus structures?; and how can we tell when that habitus has changed, varied or remained the same? (Maton, 2008, p.62)

Reay critiques some of her own research to give an example of where habitus has been potentially misused; "Bourdieu's challenge to use the concept as a way of interrogating the data is ignored and habitus becomes an explanation of the data rather than a way of working with it" (2004, p.440). Reay then commends Charlesworth's (2000) 'A Phenomenology of Working Class Experience' as "probably the most comprehensive attempt to use habitus in order to move analytically from the individual to the class

collective and back again...which also works organically and sensitively with the data” (Reay, 2004, p.441).

This research aimed to achieve this level of interaction with habitus- the moving backwards and forwards between the individual and the collective, working ‘organically and sensitively’ with the data.

4.2.2 Hermeneutic Phenomenology

The project sat within the realm of a qualitative enquiry, as it was important to capture the depth of the lived experienced of chaplaincy and its interaction with ethos.

Slater writes, “given the relational-centered focus of most chaplaincy work, the development of practice-based evidence for chaplaincy sits well within the tradition of qualitative inquiry with its emphasis on researching lived experience” (2016, p.74).

However, with such a variety of research methods within the qualitative approach, it was imperative to choose the one which would yield the best results for this particular study. A number of approaches had the potential to be used for this study, both ethnography and phenomenology showed potential in being suitable to achieve this goal.

The stated challenges with regard to defining ethos, habitus and chaplaincy exist because these concepts are primarily experienced rather than described, so in order to be successful, any research methodology needed to prioritise the lived experience of chaplains, students and staff. The study was specifically focussed on exploring how the chaplain worked with ethos from the perspective of individual participant’s experiences. Therefore, a phenomenological approach, specifically a hermeneutical phenomenology approach, was the most appropriate route for this study.

Van Manen writes that phenomenology asks,

“What is this or that kind of experience like?” It differs from almost every other science in that it attempts to gain insightful descriptions of the way we experience the world pre-reflectively, without taxonomizing, classifying, or abstracting it. (1990, p.9)

This phenomenological insight “...has the potential to penetrate deep to the human experience and trace the essence of a phenomenon and explicate it in its original form as experienced by the individuals” (Kafle, 2011, p.183). This was required in order to “unveil the world as experienced by the subject through their life world stories” (Kafle, 2011, p.186).

There are numerous differences between descriptive and hermeneutic phenomenology (Koch, 1995, p.832); this project sat broadly within the category of hermeneutical phenomenology, as it existed to document and evidence the lived experience of chaplains and their interplay with the concept of ethos in an educational context. It also included research where “participants offer narratives, or provide general accounts of events and situations, from a particular perspective — namely, their own” (Paley, 2005, p.107).

Graham writes that when investigating ethos, “adopting a discursive or language based form of description would seem potentially more fruitful” (Graham, 2011, p.33), and this led towards a hermeneutic phenomenological approach to the research methodology, which “involves a thematic analysis of data where the researcher is tasked with making sense of the participants’ world” (Graham, 2011, p.133). Specifically with regard to young people, Cullingford writes, “the most direct way to explore children’s thinking is through language” (1991, p.7), and this was a significant feature of data collection and analysis.

One of the unique features of hermeneutic phenomenology is the concept of “co-construction of the data with the participant as they engage in a hermeneutic circle of understanding” (Laverty, 2003, p.30). This means that the research isn’t done *to*, or *for* participants, but *with*, and reflection on the data and its relation to the wider context is crucial to a deeper understanding of the phenomenon in question. “Thus, the phenomenological method for Heidegger consists of reduction, construction, and destruction” (Giorgi, 2007, p.66).

Hermeneutics invites participants into an ongoing conversation, but does not provide a set methodology. Understanding occurs through a fusion of horizons, which is a dialectic between the pre-understandings of the research process, the interpretive framework and the sources of information.

(Koch, 1995, p.835)

This was achieved within the methodology through focus groups which revisited ideas as part of the nominal focus group technique, and in interviews this was achieved through clarification and follow up questions (Webster et al., 2014, p.98). The practical methodology used to achieve this is explored later in further detail.

4.2.3 Research Rigour

Golfashani highlights that within qualitative research studies, the concept of “discovering truth through measures of reliability and validity” is instead replaced by the idea that findings are trustworthy and defensible (2003, p.602), giving the research rigour and ensuring confidence in the findings (Lincoln & Guba, 1985)

Thus the design of the research methodology, and its implementation is important, as “qualitative research has been scrutinized as being inherently biased and lacking analytical discipline, rigor, credibility, and transparency. (Charmaz, 2014; Gioia et al., 2013)” (Shufutinsky, 2020, p.51).

To ensure confidence in this project’s findings, a number of measures were built into the methodology, in both the data collection and data analysis processes, to ensure the project was not only designed well, but implemented well also.

Firstly, multiple methods were employed to collect data in each school setting. Each method will be addressed and justified individually, but it is their collective contribution that allowed for a broader inclusion of voices to be heard from in each school.

“Engaging multiple methods, such as, observation, interviews and recordings will lead to more valid, reliable and diverse construction of realities” (Golfashani, 2003, p.604).

It will be explored how the use of multiple methods, involving multiple participants, enabled the inclusion of a wider range of voices and perspectives to be brought to the study, minimising the ability of a single individual to override the experiences of others within the school. This helped to triangulate the data, which is described by Carter et al.

as “a qualitative research strategy to test validity through the convergence of information from different sources” (2014, p.545).

Other details included a range of styles and types of questions asked of participants, including prompt phrases, allowing for all ages and abilities to engage with research even if language and terminology initially appeared to provide a barrier in communicating with participants. Where answers to questions were unclear or vague, regular clarification was sought during interviews and focus groups to ensure that participant responses were as clear and articulate as possible, and could be recorded appropriately.

The visiting of each case study school over a planned two-day period ensured all data was collected within a very short, contained time period, minimising the effects of other variables on the school community.

The analysis of the data through the hermeneutical cycle allowed for a trustworthy reflection upon participant’s lived experiences within the case study schools.

For a hermeneutic phenomenological project, the multiple stages of interpretation that allow patterns to emerge, the discussion of how interpretations arise from the data, and the interpretive process itself are seen as critical. (Koch, 1995, p.835)

More is unpacked about the individual stages of data collection and analysis further in this chapter, but elements such as these were built into the design from the outset, and allowed for a methodology that was fit for purpose.

It was important to recognise that “the researcher’s understanding of an essence is always “on-the-way”, partial, and particular to the experiences from which the interpretations were formed” (Kafle, 2011, p.189). Pike’s research in a school community encountered this challenge, and found that the understandings of research participants are only ever *partial* and uniquely personal, but also that the process of capturing this data can be, according to the critique of Pike’s work, “quite heavily constraining” (Bragg et al., 2011, p.563). Pike’s response was acceptance that “of course, such interview and other data do not provide a 'transparent window'” (2011,

p.568), but that appropriate processes can help mitigate the effects, including protecting anonymity to enhance internal validity (Pike, 2011, p.568).

Whilst a complete and full understanding of every aspect of ethos and chaplaincy was not expected, the study was designed to ensure that data was collected and processed as transparently as possible, in order for the findings to be trustworthy and defensible, providing the most full and accurate understanding within the limits of the project.

4.2.4 Limitations and Scope

This study planned to give an intentional focus on a smaller number of case studies in order to achieve greater depth of understanding in each setting. Findings and conclusions were therefore not designed to be automatically generalisable or relatable to every school context, and should instead be seen in the context of this project's aims and objectives.

This is explained by Slater;

Case studies depend for their meaning on the concrete particulars of the case in context: the knowledge they generate is context dependent. The findings of a case study are therefore not directly transferrable to other situations but they can resonate with the experiences of readers in similar contexts, offer insights and raise issues that have significance beyond the particular case. Moreover, if several case studies are done, a cross-case analysis can be undertaken that can identify patterns and themes that may have relevance in similar contexts.

(Slater, 2016, p.73)

However, the intentional decision to investigate a wide range of categories of schools gave maximum opportunity for the resonance of this project's findings into similar school contexts. It also allowed for the findings to be have defensible interpretation as they existed in schools of a range of religious and non-religious categories and locations. This allowed for the potential of other schools to benefit from the findings of this study, particularly those who may have had similar journeys and similar experiences of chaplaincy.

Jelfs comments, “(Gomm et al., 2000) suggest that because case studies represent a microcosm of a larger system, what is found in them is likely to be indicative of what is happening elsewhere too” (2010, p.32), although Jelfs was cautious of suggesting anything more than ‘tentative’ implications on the wider generalisation of the research findings (2010, p.36).

This was the situation in Isaacs and Mergler’s chaplaincy research in Australia. “While the research data are rich and valid, the small sample size means that the findings cannot be generalised to all Australian chaplains or other chaplains worldwide” (2017, p.12).

Lester summarises that “phenomenological studies make detailed comments about individual situations which do not lend themselves to direct generalisation in the same way which is sometimes claimed for survey research” (1999, p.2). Therefore, treating each case study as a separate entity was a way of not overly-complicating the data and being able to analyse and reflect upon it with confidence and clarity. While findings were made explicit if they were present across multiple case studies, they were not extrapolated or applied to the wider fields of chaplaincy and/or education due to the reasons stated above.

The resources available to the researcher meant that the research contained one episode of fieldwork, as opposed to multiple episodes over time. Whilst multiple episodes would have allowed for the visiting of schools over two or three years, to track “the different types of changes that take place or the different outcomes that result” (Lewis & McNaughton Nicholls, 2014, p.62), this would have generated vast quantities of data without there being a guarantee of increased trustworthiness due to the inevitable changes in staff and student populations. For example, it would have been impossible to guarantee that the same students and staff could be interviewed over multiple years, and to spread the data collection over a longer period of time increased the risk of variables such as inspections and changes in senior leadership. The unmanageable workload for the researcher and the participants (Webster et al., 2014, p.87), also determined this approach to be unviable.

Using only one episode of data collection did not mean that the study would be ‘trapped in time’. A research project focussing on young people involved in the criminal justice system recorded the experiences of young people at multiple stages of the system, and included their recollection of past events (Cleghorn et al., 2011). Similarly in this

project, using young people in different year groups and asking them to reflect and recollect prior experiences of the school, created the wider context for the study without the need for multiple episodes of data collection (Lewis & McNaughton Nicholls, 2014, p.61).

It follows, second, that habitus is not necessarily coherent and unified. Rather, it displays varying degrees of integration and tension, depending on the character and compatibility of the social situations that fashioned it over time. (Wacquant, 2016, p.68)

Wacquant references the changes to habitus over time, which will be evidenced by the retrospective descriptions from students and staff, rather than repeated return visits to the case study schools.

4.3 The Sample, Recruitment and Selection

4.3.1 Using Case Studies

In order to explore the research questions within school communities, the use of instrumental case studies was employed.

Punch writes,

The basic idea is that one case (or perhaps a small number of cases) will be studied in detail, using whatever methods seem appropriate. While there may be a variety of specific purposes and research questions, the general objective is to develop as full an understanding of that case as possible. (1998, p.150)

Hughes and Hitchcock explain that a case study usually includes the following features:

1. a concern with the rich and vivid description of events within the case
2. a chronological narrative of events within the case
3. an internal debate between the description of events and the analysis of events
4. a focus on particular individual actors or groups of actors and their perceptions
5. a focus on particular events within the case
6. the integral involvement of the researcher in the case

(1995, p.317) (in Collie, 2017, p.83)

While there are limits to the case study approach, it presented a range of benefits to this type of project to have a few case studies examined in depth, in order to capture as fully as possible the stories and experiences of individuals. “The critical issue for researchers is to choose the approach that best addresses the questions asked” (Morrison, 2007, p.33). The benefits of the approach were as follows.

First, whilst not providing the breadth and scale of a quantitative approach, and therefore increased generalisability, the case study approach offered an opportunity to

capture and communicate the depth of the lived experience of chaplaincy and ethos as summarised in the research questions.

Second, the case study approach adopted here allowed the inclusion of the voices of chaplains, students and staff, and went some way to address the lack of studies directly including the voices of those who experience chaplaincy services, which are “remarkably thin on the ground” (Kevern & McSherry, 2016, p.53).

Third, bringing together multiple participant groups into the case study approach helped to provide some form of triangulation of the chaplain’s voice to the perceptions of others (Kevern & McSherry, 2016, p.55).

Slater summarises,

[the case study approach] allows the researcher to use multiple qualitative methods to elicit the different understandings that participants might bring to a situation and thus to move beyond descriptions of practice to capture the processes and relationships, the *how* and the *why* data, that is then available for interpretative analysis. (2016, p.67)

Therefore, for this particular study, and in order to answer the central research questions in the fullest possible way, the adoption of a case study based methodology was appropriate.

4.3.2 Selecting Case Studies

Choosing appropriate case studies was a significant event in the data collection process. A school was listed as a potential case study if it was a secondary school, educating pupils between 11 and 16 years of age, with at least one Christian chaplain. These were essential inclusion criteria for this study. A number of schools meeting these criteria were identified through desk based research, and grouped according to travelling distance from the researcher. The schools were approached systematically, via email and telephone calls, and based upon a positive response to this initial contact, a number were shortlisted.

Additional inclusion criteria stated that the chaplain needed to be near full-time, and needed to have been working in the school for at least one academic year. Research from the think tank *Theos* investigating chaplaincy in Luton reported that, “the number of chaplains actually full-time in a single organisation is, therefore, even fewer, just seven out of 150...or a little under 5% of the total” (Ryan, 2015, p.22). Despite this evidence that requiring a near-full time chaplain might eliminate a large number of schools from the study, it was deemed important to ensure that there was enough contact time between the chaplain and the organisation to build a chaplaincy suitable for researching at this level of depth, and in order to control some of the variables between case studies.

The rationale for choosing a near full-time chaplain was also an intentional choice to choose examples of chaplaincies that were made a priority within their contexts. Caperon gives a similar evaluation, that “it is hard, though, not to see one- or two-day a week arrangements reflecting a sense that chaplaincy is not high on the school’s list of priorities” (Caperon, 2015, p.59).

A total of six schools were chosen for the final sample following positive response from the head teacher or principal. This sample size allowed for a range of school sizes, types, and locations to be included in the study. While a statistically significant sample size was not required or achievable for this qualitative project, six schools still offered a sample size large enough to highlight consistencies and differences between settings. Importantly, six schools was also a sample size that was achievable within the limits of resources, including time, available to the researcher.

The final six schools chosen for research participation were from a range of school types, including independent schools, faith schools, academies, and those within and outside of MATs. The case studies were not statistically representative of the UK’s education provision, but did represent the breath of categories of schools that young people in Britain would typically attend.

Although choosing six unique case study schools did not give a sample size large enough for statistically significant data to be extrapolated and generalised, it offered a perspective on the research questions from each of the main school types and categories in the UK, thus exploring the concept as fully as possible with the time and resources available.

4.3.3 Reflection on Case Study Schools

Six co-educational, secondary (11-16) schools participated in the study, in line with the proposed research methodology. Names and locations of schools have been removed in order to protect anonymity. A brief description of each case study is included below for context. Schools have been given new names which are used throughout the thesis for identification. Similarly, participants have been given new names, and job titles have been generalised in order to protect anonymity.

Name Label	Category	Chaplaincy Provision	Religious Character	Size of Student Population Small <700 Medium 700-1000 Large >1000
Ashwood School	Academy, sponsored, MAT	One, non-teaching, lay	None	Medium
Birchwood School	Academy, sponsored	One, teaching, lay	Church of England	Large
Cedarwood School	Academy-converter	Two, both non-teaching, one lay, one ordained	Church of England and Roman Catholic	Medium
Dogwood School	Academy-converter, MAT	One, non-teaching, lay	Church of England	Large
Elderwood School	Independent	One, teaching, ordained	Church of England Foundation	Small
Firwood School	Academy, sponsored	One, non-teaching, lay	Church of England	Small

Table 2 The characteristics of all six case study schools used in the study

Ashwood School

Context

Ashwood School is a sponsor-led secondary academy, with sixth form, run by a multi-academy trust. At the time of visiting, the school was rated as ‘good’ by Ofsted. The school is situated on outskirts of a market town in a largely rural setting. The progress 8 score, (indicating GCSE performance) shows that the school achieves GCSE results in line with the national average. The student population of the school includes a higher percentage of students with special educational needs and health and care plans compared to the national average, and also a higher percentage of students with English as an additional language, when compared to the national average. There is a higher percentage of students qualifying for free school meals, and attendance at the school is better than the national average.

Participants

Chaplain	Staff	Students
Mrs Bolton	Ms Smith <i>Acting Principal</i>	Sam
	Mrs Hayfield <i>Senior Leader</i>	Joseph
	Mrs Taylor <i>Middle Leader</i>	Kyle
	Ms Fenwick <i>Teacher</i>	Kayleigh
	Miss Khan <i>Support Staff</i>	Beth

Table 3 Participants from Ashwood School

Birchwood School

Context

Birchwood School is a sponsor-led all through academy, with sixth form. At the time of visiting, the school was rated as ‘outstanding’ by Ofsted. The school is situated on the outer fringes of a large city. The progress 8 score shows that the school achieves GCSE results which are well above the national average. The student population includes a higher percentage of students with special educational needs and health and care plans compared to the national average, and a lower percentage of students with English as an additional language when compared to the national average. There is a higher percentage of students qualifying for free school meals, and attendance at the school is worse than the national average.

Participants

Chaplain	Staff	Students
Mr Green	Mr Todd <i>Principal</i>	Leon
	Mrs Harvey Assistant Principal	Dylan
	Mr Goodall <i>Senior Leader</i>	Christopher
	Mr Bright <i>Teacher</i>	Shannon
	Mrs Grisham <i>Support Staff</i>	Farrah

Table 4 Participants from Birchwood School

Cedarwood School

Context

Cedarwood School is an academy converter school. At the time of visiting, the school was rated as ‘outstanding’ by Ofsted. The school is situated on fringes of a city. The progress 8 score shows that the school achieves GCSE results well above average. The student population includes a higher percentage of students with special educational needs, health and care plans when compared to the national average, and a higher percentage of students with English as an additional language when compared to the national average. There are fewer students qualifying for free school meals compared to the national average, and attendance is better than the national average.

Participants

Chaplains	Staff	Students
Rev. Matthews	Mrs Rutterford <i>School Governor</i>	Summer
Miss Marks	Mr Byford <i>Principal</i>	Lydia
	Mrs Helmingham <i>Senior Leader</i>	Thomas
	Mr Sunak <i>Middle Leader</i>	Deon
	Miss Terrence <i>Teacher</i>	Matthew
	Mr English <i>Support Staff</i>	Christopher

Table 5 Participants from Cedarwood School

Dogwood School

Context

Dogwood School is an academy converter school. At the time of visiting, the school was rated as ‘good’ by Ofsted. The school is situated in a largely rural area outside the boundaries of a large city. The progress 8 score shows that the school achieves GCSE results which are in line with the national average. The student population includes a higher percentage of students with special educational needs, health and care plans when compared to the national average, and there are fewer students with English as an additional language when compared to the national average. There are fewer students than average qualifying for free school meals, and attendance is better than average.

Participants

Chaplain	Staff	Students
Mr Gooch	Mr French <i>School Governor</i>	Joshua
	Mr Dale <i>Principal</i>	Shanice
	Mr Marsh <i>Vice Principal</i>	Kascper
	Mrs Rosewood <i>Middle Leader</i>	Justine
	Mrs Matthews <i>Teacher</i>	
	Mr Curtis <i>Support Staff</i>	

Table 6 Participants from Dogwood School

Elderwood School

Context

Elderwood School is an independent school with sixth form, located in a completely rural context on the edge of a market town. The student population includes a lower percentage of students with special educational needs, health and care plans when compared to the national average. There is limited data available to show the characteristics of the student population and their academic performance.

Participants

Chaplain	Staff	Students
Rev. Daley	Mr Burrows <i>Headteacher</i>	Kieran
	Mr Simmons <i>Senior Leader</i>	Emily
	Mr Joscelyne <i>Middle Leader</i>	Florence
	Mr Smith <i>Teacher</i>	Matthew
	Mrs Mahmood <i>Support Staff</i>	James

Table 7 Participants from Elderwood School

Firwood School

Context

Firwood School is a sponsor-led academy with sixth form. At the time of visiting, the school was rated as ‘requires improvement’ from Ofsted. The school is situated on the edge of a city centre. . The progress 8 score shows that the school achieves GCSE results which are below average. The student population includes a higher percentage of students with special educational needs, health and care plans when compared to the national average, and a lower percentage of students with English as an additional language when compared to the national average. There are more students qualifying for free school meals at this school compared to the national average, and attendance is worse than the national average.

Participants

Chaplain	Staff	Students
Mr Roberts	Mrs Donnelly <i>Governor</i>	Bella
	Mr Williams <i>Principal</i>	Noah
	Ms Felgate <i>Senior Leader</i>	Holly
	Mr Jones <i>Middle Leader</i>	Reece
	Mr Wade <i>Teacher</i>	Laura
	Mr Deane <i>Support Staff</i>	Tyler
	Mrs Barker <i>Support Staff</i>	
	Mrs Hume <i>Support Staff</i>	

Table 8 Participants from Firwood School

4.3.4 Participant Recruitment

Lewis and McNaughton Nicholls expand upon the difficulties in choosing participants within each case study;

There may be differences in the precise populations involved in each setting, and a decision needs to be made about how much consistency there should be between cases. The design needs to have integrity within each case, but also enough consistency between cases to allow comparison...mapping the full range and diversity of case types and incorporating all the key players in each may result in very large overall samples. (2014, p.67)

This illustrates the challenge in selecting participants within each case study, and creating consistency across the study, despite potential variations between school populations.

In order to maximise an achievable sample size, covering a number of key groups, the use of non-probability/purposive methods was utilised for selecting the sample. This is where “the characteristics of individuals are used as the basis of selection, most often chosen to reflect the diversity and breadth of the sample population” (Wilmot, 2005, p.1).

This approach was used by Green (2014, p.289) to select appropriate members of staff for research into school ethos in joint-sponsored academies. This method was also used successfully by Birkinshaw in his study on secondary school students’ understanding of collective worship (2018, p.46). Graham’s research into school ethos was based upon hermeneutic phenomenology, and in line with the work of Langdridge (2007) and Cohen et al (2000), Graham too utilises a purposive sampling approach in order to ensure that appropriate voices are heard and included into the data collection process. This is therefore a method that is well used within the field and valid in its approach.

Holstein and Gubrium write, “The key question for respondent selection, then, is whose voices will be heard and whose voices silenced if we conceive of people in particular ways?” (1995, p.27). They advise that it “requires a critical analysis of the categories and vocabularies used to identify potential respondents” (Holstein & Gubrium, 1995, p.27). The perspective that those not selected through purposive sampling are effectively ‘silenced’ has strong implications and illustrates the importance of appropriate sampling methods.

Wilmot writes,

The criteria used may be based on demographic characteristics or behaviours or attitudes, and will need to be prioritised if purposive sampling is to be employed. This is partly influenced by the fact that qualitative research is often, but not always, based on a relatively small number of cases so it may not be possible to include all of the sample criteria in the sample design. Some criteria may be considered more important than others in relation to the research objectives (2005, p.4)

As with the selection of case study schools, students and staff selected to take part in the research were not proportionately representative of the student and staff cohort in each school. Instead, the participants represented each sector of the cohort, including those in vulnerable student groups as defined by the National Foundation for Educational Research (NFER, 2017). For example, students of ethnic backgrounds were included, as well as those categorised as ‘pupil premium’, and those with Special Educational Needs and Disabilities (SEND). Students from younger year groups and older year groups were selected in order that the full age spectrum of the student body be represented in the data, to avoid bias.

Lewis and McNaughton Nicholls recommend that,

group discussions benefit from some diversity in group composition, but it is usually helpful for there to be some commonality between people in their relationship to the research topic or in the socio-demographic characteristics

which are most relevant to it. (2014, p.57)

Thus the diverse range of participants, alongside including students from the same year groups played a large part in ensuring the group dynamics were fitting to the research.

Combining the need for broad representation and the need for commonality, each student focus group comprised of a near equal balance of older and younger students and a near equal gender balance. Within this selection were a 'pupil premium' student, a 'free school meal' student, an ethnic minority student and a SEND student. These groups are the most common of the 'vulnerable groups' (NFER, 2017) as used in educational research and it was important that these voices were heard. A student from none of these groups was also included.

The exclusion criteria for student focus groups included 6th form students, as some of the case study schools did not have a 6th form, making the data collection inconsistent.

Staff selected to participate in the research included members of staff from four different levels of leadership in order to collect data from multiple perspectives. This resonated with research from Pike at Trinity Academy, where he intended to expand upon "the specific nature of the Academy's ethos as it is experienced and interpreted by students and staff (not just as intended by leaders or sponsors)" (2010, p.751). Pike's approach and analysis was critiqued by Bragg et al. for focussing too heavily on perspectives from senior staff, and for 'official' sources being under-critiqued. They wrote that;

these [perspectives] receive very little scrutiny and, moreover, constitute a focus on 'intended' ethos that tells the reader nothing about how ethos is experienced... We learn far too little about the nature of interactions between staff and between staff and students, especially out of lessons. (Bragg et al., 2011, p.562)

Multiple perspectives are needed to illuminate a better understanding of ethos, and should be accompanied by adequate scrutiny, analysis and discussion. Perhaps this is why Pike responds by writing "it should be pointed out that the interviews with students and the survey of 191 14-year-olds provided data on how the ethos intended by school

leaders is experienced” (2011, p.568), although Bragg et al. suggest the weighting of the data gives greater importance to ‘intended’ rather than ‘experience’ ethos.

The inclusion of staff and students at multiple levels of the school community was an intentional decision to include multiple voices in the research. Green and Cooling found that existing research has focusses more on “statistical analysis of school outputs...studies that investigate the relationships between the desired Christian ethos, and the school’s processes and structures and their impact on pupils, are less common” (Green & Cooling, 2009, p.79). Francis and Penny also describe the lack of research focussing on the views of students within Church schools, in order to better understand their ethos (Francis & Penny, 2013, pp.132–133). The intention to include multiple voices, including students therefore attempts to fill a methodological gap as well as to generate more valid data. The inclusion of students in particular has already been shown to work very well for evaluating chaplaincy in studies where this method of data collection has been used.

One significant challenge to achieving purposive sampling was how to select students within the identified categories. To overcome this challenge, the professional judgement of ‘gatekeepers’ was used to select the research participants for this study. In practice, this involved the researcher’s main contact at the school, usually the chaplain, selecting participants based on the researcher’s specified criteria.

This was the only way to achieve the purposive sampling method, as the data about pupil types and vulnerable groups was, understandably, restricted to those employed by the school. The gatekeeper could then access this information and choose the appropriate participants.

Turley and Tompkins (2012) used similar rationale to justify the use of gatekeepers. In their study, the gatekeepers were used to manage the selection of participants on the researchers’ behalf, at the discretion of their professional judgement. This was acknowledged at the outset of the study to ensure transparency throughout, as concerns existed over bias of the gatekeeper. The gatekeeper may have, for example, only selected students and staff who would give a favourable report on the school and/or the chaplain, a risk also highlighted by Caperon (2015, p.67).

This is also highlighted by Wilmot who describes ‘gatekeeper syndrome’, where “there may be a tendency for the organisation’s representative to select potential respondents

who are in more regular contact with the organisation or who may present the organisation in a good light” (2005, p.6). While Graham states that it is “unnecessary and inappropriate to establish whether other members of staff within the field site school would have selected the same participants” (2011, p.160), it is worth acknowledging the challenges of this approach.

However, Ritchie et al. state that “the precision and rigour of a qualitative research sample is defined by its ability to represent salient characteristics” (Ritchie et al., 2014, p.113), and so successfully representing a broad range of groups within the case study negated the potential bias of the gatekeepers by providing precision and rigour to the study through the selection of students in vulnerable groups.

This decision also minimised the potential for “power imbalance and coercion, as well as potential concerns about child protection issues” (Webster et al., 2014, p.91), as the researcher was removed from initiating direct contact with unknown young people.

The breakdown of participant groups within each of the six case studies is outlined below;

Participant Groups within each Case Study			
Participant Group	Category	Number	Strategies for Data Collection
Staff	Governor	1	Semi-Structured Interview
	Principal/Headteacher	1	
	Senior Leader	1	
	Middle Leader	1	
	Teaching Staff	1	
	Support Staff	1	
	TOTAL	6	
Students (balance of gender and KS3/4)	Pupil Premium	1	Nominal Focus Group
	Ethnic Minority	1	
	SEND	1	
	Free School Meal	1	
	Non-Significant Group	1	
	TOTAL	5	
Chaplain	Chaplain	1	Semi-Structured Interview
	TOTAL	1	

Table 9 A breakdown of participants requested during case study visits

4.3.5 Consent, Confidentiality and Ethics

As Slater suggests, this approach needed to be undertaken with due regard to ethical considerations (Slater, 2016, p.67). Webster emphasises that “consent is not a single event but a process” (2014, p.88), and this was particularly apt with this research taking place in the fields of education and religion.

The process of consent began with the appropriate design of a research methodology, followed by ethical approval being sought through the ethics board to ensure compliance before the research began. Only once this was obtained did the contact with schools begin. Evidence of this process can be found in Appendix 12.

Practically, consent was sought from the headteacher or principal of the school, indicating permission to proceed with the research in that context. For staff, signed consent was required following the provision of an information sheet, a cover letter, and the opportunity to ask questions of the researcher. Students were given an age-appropriate and accessible version of these documents, and additional consent was also

requested of the primary carer or parent. Participants were also reminded of the project's purpose and scope prior to their contribution in order to outline the research aims and objectives, and given time to clarify any questions or concerns.

The entire data collection and analysis process was designed with the consent, confidentiality and anonymity of the participants in mind, and a series of documents are included as appendices to show the information and consent material provided to relevant participants at the appropriate point in the research process.

Continuing the journey of consent meant much more than information documents and signed forms. Learning from the experiences of other researchers, such as Donnelly, was useful to understand the reality of educational research, and the importance of trust, consent and confidentiality throughout the research process;

Initially I was aware of my identity as 'researcher' in the school and the effect that this might have on the data collected. I was particularly concerned that the principal and the deputy principal found it difficult to react to me as anything other than an 'aloof outsider'. (Donnelly, 2004, p.267)

Research in a school environment involved working with adult professionals and vulnerable children in the same setting, therefore it was important to be professional, responsive and approachable. Taylor writes, "...privileged access to pupils' values depends on what they choose to disclose to a relatively trusted stranger as meaningful to them in the school context" (1996, p.135), and so creating trust quickly was essential if the data was to be rich and deep.

During Murphy's research on pupils' perceptions and experiences of school chaplaincy, it was noted that "the pupils did not know the researcher and this was felt to be important in minimising bias" (2004, p.197). So the unique title of 'relatively trusted stranger' endowed upon the researcher by Taylor should be seen as an opportunity rather than a challenge, providing the trust and consent is maintained.

Webster et al. give some practical advice for helping to cultivate this within small groups; "The risk [of breaking confidentiality] cannot be removed altogether, but it is helpful to acknowledge the issue and to develop a 'group contract' whereby people

agree not to disclose information shared” (2014, p.98), this was one of the methods employed within the focus groups to maintain a sense of confidentiality.

Some additional methods employed included seeking clarification of consent before audio-recording any interviews; word-for-word transcription of interviews, without paraphrasing or summarising; the removal of personal identifiable information, including names, roles, institutions; and the replacement of school names with coded names. All data and documents were also securely stored under the requirements of the Data Protection Act (Great Britain, 1998).

Particularly in case study research, confidentiality may be inadvertently breached through the inclusion of identifiable characteristics of an individual in the interview transcripts or data analysis (Webster et al., 2014, p.98). However, it is also the case that the altering or summarising of interview or focus group transcripts, in an attempt to minimise the risk of personal identification, may lose “some of the richness and impact of a finding” (Webster et al., 2014, p.98). There is a fine balance to make between the two (Flick, 2009). Where this was potentially problematic, quotes were cut short or split into parts to avoid any identifiable characteristics being included. Long direct quotes from Ofsted or Statutory Inspection of Anglican and Methodist Schools (SIAMS) reports were also removed to avoid the schools being identified through an online search, to ensure that confidentiality and anonymity remained a priority. In addition, during data collection, students were asked not to discuss other students’ responses to questions outside of the group as part of the ‘group contract’ already discussed.

4.4 Data Collection Methods

A range of data collection methods were employed in this phenomenological study in order to achieve the aims of the research.

Graham outlines the complexity required in producing an appropriate methodology and research approach to fully understand it within schools.

The complexity of ethos is such that it would seem that to fully understand its influence within schools a wide range of different forms of enquiry and research would seem to be needed to build a sufficiently rich picture that might provide

teachers, education leaders and policy makers with the knowledge required to use ethos in an informed and critical manner. (2011, pp.73–74)

Jelfs' research into Christian distinctiveness in Church of England schools in a single diocese took advantage of a range of data collection methods, including interviews with a selection of participants, observations, focus groups and documentation analysis (2010, p.32). This range of methods was appropriate, because the focus of the study could be found evidenced across the breadth of the organisation of a school, and these methods ensured relevant data was collected from a range of sources.

Typically, data collection methods for phenomenological or ethnographical studies are broad and inclusive. Bragg & Manchester (2016), for example, describe a variety of methods they used in their pursuit of a language of school ethos;

Accordingly, we collected official expressions of school ethos, from prospectuses, websites and interviews with senior managers (heads and/or deputy heads), who were interviewed at least once. We also sought out understandings 'from below', and different 'insider' accounts from key creative practitioners and classroom teachers, who were interviewed at least once individually and once in as a group. We elicited student perceptions through 'walk and talk' methodologies in which we were given guided tours of the school, and through focus groups in which we used creative methods such as photovoice...and 'metaphorical thinking' exercises in which we asked students to tell us 'if my school were an animal, what kind of animal' it would be. (2016, pp.5–6)

The data collection methods used by Bragg and Manchester included a range of styles in order to appeal to the variety of participants taking part in the research. This particular approach was used to inform the data collection methods for this project, which are outlined below in chronological order. Each approach is then individually justified.

First, documentation analysis included publically available information about the school's ethos, including material on the school's website, news articles, and inspection

reports. Some of this material was viewed immediately, some was not viewed until later on in the research process.

Second, a visit to the school allowed for a ‘climate walk’ observation to take place- focussing on the physical environment, atmosphere, climate and interactions between students and staff.

Third, individual and in-depth semi-structured interviews were conducted with members of staff and the chaplain to explore the relationship between ethos and chaplaincy from the perspective and experience of those who work within the school environment.

Fourth, nominal focus groups were conducted with selected students to explore the relationship between ethos and chaplaincy from the perspective and experience of students.

The four stage process took place once in each school. Crucially, the methods provided “an in-depth understanding of the world as seen through the eyes of the people being studied” (Wilmot, 2005, p.1).

4.4.1 Documentation Analysis

The process of documentation analysis can “provide in-depth understanding of different aspects of the research and valuable information about the wider context” (Slater, 2016, p.71). However, it is also important to note that the content of official school documentation and school self-evaluation statements do not equate to lived day-to-day school ethos. (Graham, 2011, p.73)

One source of documentation included the school’s own published material regarding ethos and chaplaincy. Collie describes the importance of viewing and analysing official documentation and literature of an organisation but recognising their limitations, “mission and vision statements are useful in expressing the ideal towards which the school aspires. However, such statements do not presume to encapsulate totally the school’s ethos” (2017, p.40).

This material, most often accessed in the form of a dedicated page on the school’s website, was a useful starting point in understanding ethos and values, and the role of

the chaplain. The content was created and published by the schools themselves, and so was typically aspirational in focus, often forming part of the school's marketing and corporate image. While not objective, and not necessarily accurate, it was helpful to the researcher to get a sense of each school's stated ethos before arrival. This is expanded by Flick (2009), who offers a reminder that official documentation is written for a specific purpose and so the lack of 'reality' in these documents needs to be thought about carefully.

The second aspect of documentation analysis was that of inspection reports, news articles, and other internet-based content about each school. Early in the research planning process a decision had to be made as to when to view and analyse this aspect of the documentation data.

There was an argument to suggest that the early analysis of this data would have enabled better preparation for the on-site data collection. Holstein and Gubrium write,

Sensitivity to context underscores the need for interviewers to be at least minimally aware of the cultural and "ethnographic background" within which interviews are embedded. Interviewers are often cautioned that they must "know the local setting" to ask good questions and interpret the meaning of answers. (1995, p.45)

Whilst being 'minimally aware of the cultural and "ethnographic background"' is an advantage, spending too much time analysing documentation evidence could have been a disadvantage, giving an unfair bias and prejudice to the researcher before arriving on site. Therefore it was decided that prior to a site visit, a school website would be viewed for logistical information only (for example, school opening times, location, members of staff), and also to gain an overview of the school's ethos and chaplaincy provision only. All other documentation, for example, Ofsted reports, would be viewed after the site visit. This enabled the site visit to be approached as objectively as possible.

A balanced approach is used in Bragg and Manchester's research. Their research also included documentation analysis as part of the data collection process, but it was only cited if it was supported by evidence from other sources. "Rather than taking official discourse and interview data at face value, we cite them here only if corroborated by our own observations or by more junior and peripheral members of the school community"

(Bragg & Manchester, 2016, pp.5–6). This approach was also taken in this study, although long, identifiable quotes from publically published reports were not included in this study in order to protect the anonymity of the participating schools.

4.4.2 Observations

Moyles suggests observation as a useful tool for leaders who “may want to establish how the culture of the school is projected by those within it...” (2007, p.238), so it was a natural fit that some form of observation would be used in a research project such as this.

Beare et al. (1989) suggest that culture is expressed in different ways, including verbally (through descriptive language), behaviourally (through traditions and rituals), and visually (through school design, logos, and vision statements). Moyles writes “we can only gain much of this information by observation...if we ask teachers and others for such information, they may find it difficult to divorce feelings from ‘facts’” (Moyles, 2007, p.239). The use of observational data in this study was chosen to compliment other data collection methods.

The inclusion of observations as a method of empirical data collection was an attempt to collect a perspective of school ethos independent from student and staff viewpoints. “It is not dependent, like survey methods, on respondents’ personal views but seeks explicit evidence through the eyes of the observer either directly or through a camera lens” (Moyles, 2007, p.237). In an attempt to be as objective as possible, a measurement tool and template was created to include aspects of the school’s physical environment as well as interactions between students and staff.

4.4.3 Semi-Structured Interviews

Stern writes, “to understand ‘living schools’, it may be helpful to have an approach to research that is independent of the stated rhetoric, that builds a distinct picture of the school which can then be compared with the rhetoric” (2013, p.228).

Therefore, in contrast to documentation analysis, (which featured the school’s and external perspectives on the school), and observation, (which featured the researcher’s

perspective on the school), semi-structured interviews were intended to bring another set of perspectives to answer the research questions.

The use of semi-structured interviews allowed for the direct input of the voices and understandings of staff and students into the research project. This approach resonated with Bourdieu's understanding of the lived reality of the habitus. Bourdieu wrote "...one cannot grasp the most profound logic of the social world unless one becomes immersed in the specificity of an empirical reality" (Bourdieu, 1993, p.271). The immersion into the social world forces one to confront the reality of the concepts of chaplaincy, ethos and habitus as manifested in a school environment. "Access to the social world is through descriptions and accounts people use to make sense of their own and others' actions" (Sammel, 2003, p.161), and the use of interviews was an effective way to hear and record these descriptions, and "one of the most powerful tools for gaining an understanding of human beings and exploring topics in depth" (Carter et al., 2014, p.545) citing Fontana and Frey (2000).

The interview is a "conversation with a purpose" (Dexter, 1970, p.123), and in order to make the most of the time spent with participants, a semi-structured interview was used so as to concentrate on a core set of questions at hand, but also to leave space for digression should a particular area for discussion emerge which required follow up questioning.

Particularly on the use of interviews with students, Cullingford writes, "to interview children is to avoid having hypotheses, to allow them to define what is significant. Of course we are clear about the subject that is being discussed, but we make no assumptions about what children should say" (1991, p.7). The semi-structured approach was designed to work particularly well with students.

A core set of questions are contained in Appendix 8 for use with school staff and Appendix 9 for use with the school chaplain. "All interviews are reality-constructing, meaning-making occasions, whether recognized or not" (Holstein & Gubrium, 1995, p.4), and this process was best served by a semi-structured format which allows the participant to construct and make meaning of their lived experience.

The goal in these interviews was "to formulate questions and provide an atmosphere conducive to open and undistorted communication between the interviewer and

respondent” (Holstein & Gubrium, 1995, p.8). Trust was important throughout the research process, but particularly during the in-depth interviews and the interpretation and analysis of the data afterwards.

Although interest in the content of answers persists, it is primarily in how and what the subject/respondent, in collaboration with an equally active interviewer, produces and conveys about the subject/respondent’s experience under the interpretive circumstances at hand. (Holstein & Gubrium, 1995, p.9)

In addition to the audio recording of the interview, notes were taken by the researcher about the content, the context and the communication of the interviewer, in order to capture as much as possible of the full experience of the interview. Where appropriate, follow up and clarification questions were asked of the participant in order to create an ‘active interview’, because “every interview [besides being an information-gathering occasion] is an interpersonal drama with a developing plot” (Pool, 1957, p.193).

“The value of these methods is founded on the belief that participants are individuals who actively construct their social worlds and can communicate insight about it verbally” (Lewis & McNaughton Nicholls, 2014, p.55). This posed an initial challenge as to whether participants, particularly students, were able to articulate the concept of ethos and chaplaincy accurately, or whether their understanding of the complexity of chaplaincy or conceptuality of ethos was correct.

One of the challenges raised in any research with young people is communication. There may be a variety of reasons as to why a young person may be nervous, reluctant or too shy to share in an interview or focus group situation, a situation encountered by Bragg and Manchester (2016, p.5), which they pre-empted by ensuring the methodology contained some inclusive data collection techniques.

Therefore, for this project, the use of focus groups was employed for students, so that ideas and concepts could be explored in a group setting, and interviews used for adult participants. The semi-structured nature of the interviews gave space for the clarification of terminology and definitions should that have been required.

4.4.4 Focus Groups

When conducting educational research, focus groups are effective because “pupils tend to be more forthcoming in groups than when interviewed on their own” (Ribbins, 2007, p.212). Thus the focus group proved to be an effective use of time and resources, while also increasing the quantity, quality and validity of data. A core set of questions used to provoke discussion in the focus group can be found in Appendix 7.

One benefit of using a focus group as a tool for gathering the experiences of students was that “abstract, intangible or conceptual topics can be better suited to group discussions, where the group can work together to tackle the subject and share views” (Lewis & McNaughton Nicholls, 2014, p.56), and this helped to alleviate any issues of an individual not being able to fully articulate the concept of ethos. Opportunities were also made available for clarification of terminology and responses.

Another advantage of utilising focus groups was that they “elicit data from a group of participants who can hear each other’s responses and provide additional comments that they might not have made individually” (Carter et al., 2014, p.545). Sammel also found value in the interactions between the participants as well as between the participants and the researcher. “I became more interested with the play of understanding that occurred in dialogue between the participants, than in trying to accurately capture each person’s specific thoughts” (2003, p.163), and this unique dynamic added to the rationale for choosing focus groups as a main source of empirical data.

The drawbacks to using this method included “the possibility of some regression to the mean in the views expressed, and it can be difficult to avoid the assertive dominating the discussion. Finally, group interviews are far harder to record than one-to-one discussions” (Ribbins, 2007, p.212). These concerns were weighed up with the benefits previously explained, and fears over dominant participants were managed mid-focus group through the leading and facilitating of the interview, and also through the use of the nominal group technique, which is to be explored.

The size of the group was also an important component in the research design. A group size of 5 was chosen for a number of reasons. First, this allowed for the inclusion of four students from ‘vulnerable groups’ and a student not from a vulnerable group. Second, this prevented a potentially overwhelming number of possible social interactions which would have occurred within a group size larger than five. Third, this

manageable size ensured every participant had the opportunity to contribute. Using a larger group size ran the risk of some students taking a passive role and not contributing at all.

Aside from the discussion elements, it was important for the outputs of the group to include some form of consensus about the chaplain's engagement with school ethos. For this, the *nominal group technique* was explored, and combined with the traditional focus group technique in order to employ the *nominal focus group technique*.

4.4.5 Nominal Group Technique

The nominal group technique alone is a useful way of facilitating group research. An example of a nominal group technique used in UK research is outlined by Sumsion (2000), developed from the original concept by Van de Ven and Delbecq (1972), where the process includes a number of elements, including:

- explanation to the group
- silent generation of ideas by group participants
- listing of all ideas
- clarification of ideas and terminology
- individual ranking of priorities
- group discussion
- group ranking of priorities.

Others point out specific benefits of the technique, including that it “uses participants’ own words so the original meaning is maintained” (Pendleton & Myles, 1991) from (Sumsion, 2000), and that it “prevents powerful group members from dominating the discussion” (Scott & Deadrick, 1982) from (Sumsion, 2000), which was a concern with using groups of students.

Additional benefits are that “the results are immediately available at the end of the session” (Varga-Atkins et al., 2011, p.4), and that it “also provides extended space for pupils to reflect and this may be particularly important where pupils are less articulate, less confident or require more time” (Porter, 2013, p.48).

This unique approach was more tangible as it aimed to focus group members' thoughts on a specific task of rating and ranking. Yet the benefits of the focus group were useful too, especially the recording and transcription of the conversations taking place within the group. Eventually, it was decided to combine both techniques and use a 'nominal focus group'.

4.4.6 Nominal Focus Group

A nominal focus group is a particular way of leading group based research that combines elements of the nominal group technique and focus group technique (Varga-Atkins et al., 2017), as evidenced by a study from Varga-Atkins, McIsaac and Willis (2017, p.298).

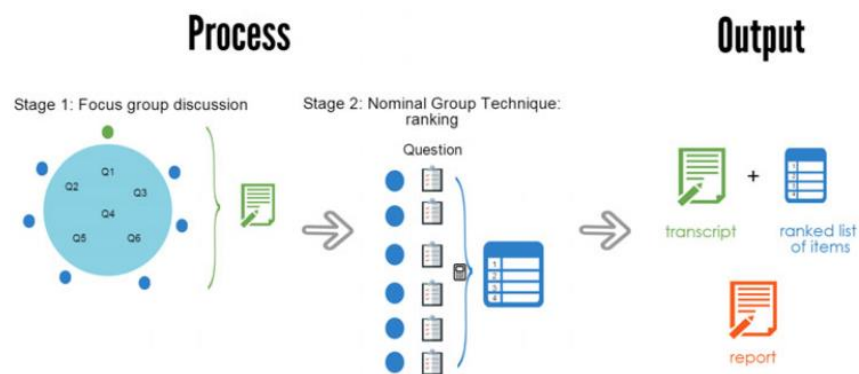


Figure 5 The Nominal Focus Group
 (Varga-Atkins et al., 2017, p.293)

In particular, “formulating ideas and exploring issues, including student questions, developing ownership of the process and producing high-quality feedback were major advantages” (Varga-Atkins et al., 2017, p.298) of this approach. This method allowed for time to be spent discussing defined research questions, whilst allowing space and time for digression with the students. It also provided the opportunity to create a quantitative ranked list of roles within the school which the students understood to be most involved with embedding ethos.

One caution with regard to this technique was that “the question needs to be well focused and easily understandable by participants” (Varga-Atkins et al., 2011, p.5). This

understanding was established at the very start of the data collection session with the participants. Providing this was clarified early on, the process and the outputs of the nominal focus group approach suited this research well, and provided a range of outputs useful for data analysis, including a transcript of conversations, a ranked list of items, and an end of group report.

Practically, this meant that at the end of the focus group, students were given a sheet of Ethos Influencers (Appendix 10), which contained wide range of roles within the school setting. Students were asked to score the top five roles they perceived to be involved most with embedding ethos. This was completed individually, in silence, before being opened up to the group for discussion. The group were then given another blank copy of the sheet, and asked to score the top five ethos influencers, but this time as a group. This approach ensured that individual students enough time to think about, and write down their own answers to the question, participate in group discussion and debate, and then take part in creating a group consensus. The nominal focus group was audio recorded, transcribed verbatim, and notes were taken throughout.

4.4.7 Reflection on Data Collection

The data collection process took place over a period of fourteen months. This was longer than expected, but was necessary to achieve the total number of schools proposed in the research methodology. There were initial challenges in finding schools willing to participate in the study, and it was necessary to contact over fifty schools in order to achieve six who agreed to take part in the research. There were two main reasons why recruiting schools proved to be more challenging than expected.

First, school websites rarely contained detailed information about their chaplaincy or chaplains. It was not initially clear from many school websites whether their chaplains were full-time, part-time, or occasional visitors, whether they worked on one or more sites, or were spread over multiple schools. The proposed criteria of focussing on full-time or near full-time chaplains, those working in one school and those in post for at least one full academic year, excluded a number of schools from the study. However, much work needed to be done to ascertain these details in the first instance. Whilst understandable that schools would not necessarily include granular details about

chaplaincy on their website, it made finding chaplains who matched the inclusion criteria more challenging and resulted in a delay in finding appropriate schools.

Second, the depth of the study was problematic for some schools who felt they could not commit to participate in the research at the time. Many chaplains indicated a willingness for themselves and their schools to complete a survey or to have a telephone conversation, but fewer chaplains were agreeable to the full requirements of the project, mainly an on-site visit for face-to-face interviews with staff and students over two full days, as this methodology proposed. Chaplains were unable to authorise such a project without permission from the headteacher or principal, leading to a number of factors that resulted in schools declining or ceasing correspondence.

Despite these challenges, an intentional decision was taken by the author to stay true to the original methodology in order to maintain the depth and integrity of the study. This patience paid off, but at the cost of a delayed timeline.

The final selection of six schools were an appropriate mixture of religious character, and none, state and independent, schools that were part of a MAT, as well as convertor schools that operated outside of a MAT. The schools covered a range of sizes, had a range of Ofsted ratings, as well as an independent school not inspected by Ofsted. There was a heavy weighting towards Church of England schools across a range of categories, although in reality this was a reflection on the prevalence of chaplains in Church of England schools.

These six schools showed enthusiasm to be part of the research by organising timetables for the two-days of site visits, arranging interview participants in line with the criteria, and providing appropriate support during the data collection process. This was of benefit to the study, as during each site visit, the author was able to focus on the data being collected rather than the operational aspects of the data collection.

Whilst broadly following the planned and proposed methodology, data collection differed from the research methodology on three occasions.

In one school, some interviews took place in the central canteen, rather than in meeting rooms or classrooms. This, at times, meant that where interviews overlapped a break or lunchtime, the resulting noise levels in that space created some minor distractions to both the interviewer and the participants, and this background noise was reflected on the audio recordings too.

In a second school, interviews with students took place individually rather than in a focus group due to circumstance outside the author's control. This eliminated the interactions between students which had proved useful in other schools, however individual interviews provided much more contact time with the students, and this resulted in a deeper insight into the research topic as a result.

In a third school, a member of staff asked not to have the interview recorded due to some challenging events that had taken place earlier that day. The interview was shortened and handwritten notes were taken in place of an audio recording. However, due to lack of a verbatim transcript, the collection of handwritten notes was limited in usefulness and eventually removed before the data analysis stage. This interview was not included in data analysis and the participant was not replaced with a substitute.

These were minor alterations to some aspects of the methodology due to factors outside the author's control in what was a series of busy, working school environments.

More generally, there were some barriers identified with addressing a conceptual topic such as ethos, but these were overcome through careful consideration of the questions to be asked, with each interview beginning with questions helping participants to identify and describe their perspective on school ethos.

In addition to interview transcripts, reflection notes were made following each interview, which included initial reactions, references to environmental factors and comments on the communication between researcher and participant.

Documentation evidence also included Ofsted reports, and SIAMS reports, and these were accessed and downloaded after each site visit to avoid prejudgement of each case study based on the contents of those documents. Long quotations and extracts from these widely available reports have not been included in this thesis, as doing so would directly identify participating schools and compromise anonymity.

Observation data was initially thought to be an important element of data collection, and the observation data was collected through the use of a 'climate walk' template in each school. However, on reflection, this proved to be unhelpful in addressing the research questions and this data was not carried forward through data analysis. Partly this lack of helpfulness was down to the template used, which attempted to measure aspects of the school climate which proved largely irrelevant, and partly due to the subjective nature

of the author attempting to measure school climate following a short tour of each school's main buildings.

Overall, the author was satisfied that data collection took place in line with the proposed and planned research methodology and provided a wealth of data for analysis in order to answer each of the central research questions.

4.5 The Data Analysis Approach

4.5.1 The Hermeneutic Cycle

“Hermeneutics is the stream of phenomenology supported by Heidegger...It is the basis for interpretation, with the aim of allowing the text to speak for itself” (McConnell-Henry et al., 2009, p.9). This aim is achieved through a journey of thinking, explained more by Smythe et al.

The process of doing hermeneutic phenomenology is represented as a journey of ‘thinking’ in which researchers are caught up in a cycle of reading-writing-dialogue- which spirals onwards. Through such disciplined and committed engagement insights ‘come’. The researcher is always open to questions, and to following a felt-sense of what needs to happen next. (2008, p.1389)

This hermeneutical cycle was crucial to begin to understand the interaction between the school chaplain and the school ethos through the perspective of participants in the case study schools. However, participant's interpretations of this interaction were embedded into their understanding and experiences of schools, their staff, their family life, their childhood and their personal development. Koch writes of this interconnected nature of personal interpretations;

We are self-interpreting, self-defining, living always in a cultural environment, inside a web of signification we ourselves have spun. There is no outside, detached standpoint from which we gather and present brute data. When we try to understand the cultural world, we are dealing with interpretations and

interpretations of interpretations. (1995, p.831)

Lester expands upon this, writing, “the purpose of the phenomenological approach is to illuminate the specific, to identify phenomena through how they are perceived by the actors in the situation” (1999, p.1). The understanding and perception of school ethos and school chaplaincy was important to those who work and study within the institution. They are the ‘actors’ through which this phenomenon was explored.

This means that to understand reality, we need to understand both detailed experience and the bigger picture, and thus factors such as language, temporality, history and culture become important. Neither the whole nor the individual elements can be really understood without reference to the other – this is known as the hermeneutic circle. (Brooks et al., 2015, p.642)

Thus the hermeneutic cycle provides constant communication between the individual parts and the whole in order to provide greater insight on the phenomenon being described.

Kafle writes that “description itself is an interpretive process. To generate the best ever interpretation of a phenomenon it proposes to use the hermeneutical cycle” (2011, p.187), and that deeper understanding “occurs through increasingly deeper and layered reflection by the use of rich descriptive language” (Kafle, 2011, p.191). This called for a methodology deeply rooted in participants’ use of contextual language, and the condition that the researcher would respect that language throughout the data analysis process.

The approach was justified as it was “powerful for understanding subjective experience, gaining insights into people’s motivations and actions, and cutting through the clutter of taken-for-granted assumptions and conventional wisdom” (Lester, 1999, p.1). This approach was by far the most suitable for investigating the phenomenon in question.

For any study to be successful, researchers must develop a “phenomenological eye” through which they can see the uniqueness of the phenomenon in all of its complexity and strangeness, as well as a strong “phenomenological pen”

through which they can re-evoke and illuminate the phenomenon in their text.
(Goble & Yin, 2014, para.3)

Through the hermeneutical cycle, the phenomenological eye and pen were developed to understand the breadth and depth of the phenomenon of how school chaplains interacted with school ethos. This analysis required careful consideration of the author's own identity as both a researcher and a chaplain, and also a recognition of the steps needed to ensure the process was trustworthy, which are now explored.

4.5.2 Self Reflection and Reflexivity

Shosha writes that “phenomenology can be divided into descriptive phenomenology created by Husserl and interpretive- hermeneutic phenomenology created by Heidegger” (2012, p.32).

While Husserl developed transcendental phenomenology, believing that the researcher needed to “put aside any presuppositions” in order to generate valid data, Heidegger suggested that “the researcher is as much a part of the research as the participant...that there is no such thing as interpretive research, free of the judgement or influence of the researcher” (McConnell-Henry et al., 2009, p.9). The result is that “...our experiences, both as practitioners and as researchers are then woven together to produce a shared understanding of the phenomena” (McConnell-Henry et al., 2009, p.8).

This welcome approach meant that this author's identity as both a chaplain and a researcher could be seen positively throughout the research process, rather than a consistent source of conflict and inherent bias.

To try to escape from one's own concepts in interpretation is not only impossible but manifestly absurd. To interpret means precisely to bring one's own preconceptions into play so that the text's meaning can really be made to speak for us. (Gadamer, 1998, p.415)

Throughout the data collection and research period, the author was a full-time secondary school chaplain. The decision to research the intersection of school chaplaincy and school ethos was born from the author's own experiences in chaplaincy

practice, so there is benefit to both identities being recognised and highlighted from the outset of the research.

Since 2014, the author has been employed by an ecumenical faith-based charity to provide chaplaincy services within a local secondary school. This provision is unusual in that it serves a school without religious character, the author being the first chaplain in the school's history, and coming from a Christian foundation. The school, a sponsored academy, has been on a journey of improvement and has transferred between multi-academy trusts during the course of the author's chaplaincy service. This context has offered the author a range of experiences of ethos and culture within a changing education setting which prompted curiosity about this area of school life.

Even though the author's school did not have religious character status, the author received regular feedback over the course of the chaplaincy provision that inferred a relationship between the identity and practice of the school chaplain and the concept of school ethos. This feedback raised a number of pertinent questions to the author about how chaplaincy can and should interact with school ethos, and whether this differed across different categories of schools.

This experience and intrigue was of benefit to the study, as the author was grounded in understanding the realities and breadth of school chaplaincy work, particularly starting chaplaincy from scratch, without being confined to a particular type of church school or faith school to model how this should work as part of a particular religious tradition. This left the author in the position of being open to a variety of expressions of how chaplaincy interacts with ethos and culture.

In order to hold together the author's identity of being both a chaplain and a chaplaincy researcher, this required intentional action to ensure the research was conducted appropriately. Lavery writes, "the researcher is called, on an ongoing basis, to give considerable thought to their own experience and to explicitly claim the ways in which their position or experience relates to the issues being researched" (2003, p.28). This helps to mitigate some potential areas of downfall in this methodology, most notably the misrepresentation of the schools being studied.

Langdrige recognises this too;

There are dangers in misrepresenting the people and communities being studied and constructing a subject or topic that reflects your own position (as an outsider), such that those being studied no longer recognize themselves or the communities to which they belong. (2007, p.60)

The action took the form of a process of self-reflection, with the author spending time thinking, reflecting and recording thoughts and considerations throughout the research process- both during data collection and data analysis. It was important that the author's experience was recognised and embraced, but that the interpretation of the data from case study schools was seen within the context of the school community rather than being contrasted with the author's personal experience.

This transparency should exist not only with regards to the methods and procedures, but also in reference to the researcher performing the qualitative inquiry, so as to understand the state of mind, experiences, aims, goals, and beliefs of the researcher, and the direction of the research, and how they affect or are affected by one another. The researcher can be transparent about the self to the audience, but also can find means of continuous self-transparency to aid the rigor, unbiased, and trustworthiness throughout the research cycle. (Shufutinsky, 2020, p.53)

Spencer et al. also suggest that "the researcher should keep a log of emergent analytic ideas" (Spencer et al., 2014, p.296) a process also encouraged by Horvat and Antonio (2016, p.321). Therefore, the author made regular recordings of reflections and personal perspectives on the data within a secure digital research journal. This was added to and reflected on throughout the study, therefore providing a way for this author to intentionally engage with regular self-reflection and foster greater transparency throughout the entire research process. This ensured the research was conducted appropriately and generated defensible findings.

4.5.3 Reflection on Data Processing

During data collection, interviews and focus groups were recorded onto a digital audio recording device. These recordings were later transcribed verbatim. During this process, all identifying information removed. This included names, job titles, locations and any other information which would allow schools and/or individuals to be identified. Where possible, transcripts were sent to participants for clarification. No participants requested any changes to the transcripts. The nominal focus group audio was also transcribed, with identifiable information removed. Clarification was sought during and throughout the nominal focus group, as it was not possible or ethical to contact students after the data collection visit. For example, on a number of occasions during the nominal focus group, repeating back to the students what they had said, or key words they had used, resulted in further clarification or explanation. This meant that the ethics of the research were not compromised by further contact with students.

All transcripts, accompanying notes and relevant documents were uploaded securely to a qualitative research analysis software called 'Dedoose'. This software was a useful tool, as it allowed each document to be thoroughly analysed with a range of manually applied codes. All recordings, transcripts and documents were securely stored and filed, backed up and password protected.

The author transcribed each interview himself. Although this process was time consuming, it meant the author became close to, and familiar with, the data and the intricacies of the language used by the participants by the time of data analysis. This familiarity allowed for accuracy in the coding process, as each transcript had already been read multiple times in detail.

After trialling a variety of coding techniques, descriptive coding was employed as the chosen method for data analysis. This method provided the best access into the rich language used by a wide range of participants, whilst minimising the risk of the author imposing themes or patterns upon the data.

Codes were applied in a hierarchy tree, allowing for both detailed and broader codes to be used, and for more specific codes to be located within categories and subject areas. In order to do this, specific codes were applied first, then they were arranged into

categories. Broader comments by participants were then allocated codes at higher levels of the hierarchy.

An example of the coding hierarchy is below;

Describing Ethos

> Embedding Ethos

> Key Indicators of Ethos

> Assemblies and Collective Worship

As illustrated here, comments about ‘Assemblies and Collective Worship’ could be reviewed on their own, or viewed within the parent category of ‘Embedding Ethos’. General comments about embedding ethos within the school were then able to be located under the parent category of ‘Embedding Ethos’ allowing the capture of both granular details and broader remarks about school life.

This methodology was well suited to the study, as participants operated on multiple levels. Some described in very general terms their school’s journey over five or ten years, some pointed out milestones, trends and patterns. Others were more detailed in their responses, describing individual events, conversations, and activities. Students of multiple ages described a range of individuals, trends, thoughts and events depending on their length of time at the school. Descriptive coding was an approach that encompassed each of these extremes of responses and allowed each to be coded with equal importance.

The coding process took place over a period of four months, which provided adequate time for transcripts to be re-read, and coding descriptors to be double checked and adjusted if necessary, with the author’s own reflection taking place throughout and recorded in a research journal.

In total, 120 documents and transcripts were analysed. A total of 43 different codes were used a total of 2380 times. 1119 excerpts were highlighted from the documents for further analysis.

4.5.4 Reflection on Data Analysis

Data analysis broadly involved two stages of “managing the data” followed by “making sense of the evidence through descriptive or explanatory accounts” (Spencer et al., 2014, p.296).

Jelfs described a typical approach to data analysis within the context of qualitative educational research. This process is characterised by familiarisation with data, clarifying key themes and summarising the findings;

Through a process of identifying key ideas and themes, characteristics of each school were developed. Increasing familiarity with ideas emerging from the interviews and focus groups were combined with observations and reflections, and school documents were scrutinised for the insights they provided. Gradually key conceptual features of each of the schools emerged. This process was repeated for each case study school and then across all the schools. (Jelfs, 2010, p.32)

This is the general approach that was adopted for this project. A modified version of Colaizzi’s (1978) seven-step model of data analysis was utilised to achieve this. This provided a framework for analysing and interpreting the research data to lead to a “concise yet all encompassing description of the phenomenon under study, validated by the participants that created it” (Brooks et al., 2015, p.643).

The benefits of the method are summarised by Shosha who writes that “Colaizzi's process of phenomenological data analysis showed an active strategy to achieve the description of living experience for those people” (2012, p.42). The method was also used by Murphy in investigating pupils’ perceptions and experiences of school chaplaincy (2004, p.198), illustrating it has been tried and tested in the field of school chaplaincy.

Colaizzi's Seven Step Method

1. Familiarisation: The researcher familiarises him or herself with the data, by reading through all the participant accounts several times.
2. Identifying significant statements: The researcher identifies all statements in the accounts that are of direct relevance to the phenomenon under investigation.
3. Formulating meanings: The researcher identifies meanings relevant to the phenomenon that arise from a careful consideration of the significant statements. The researcher must reflexively 'bracket' his or her presuppositions to stick closely to the phenomenon as experienced (though Colaizzi recognises that complete bracketing is never possible).
4. Clustering themes: The researcher clusters the identified meanings into themes that are common across all accounts. Again bracketing of presuppositions is crucial, especially to avoid any potential influence of existing theory.
5. Developing an exhaustive description: The researcher writes a full and inclusive description of the phenomenon, incorporating all the themes produced at Step 4.
6. Producing the fundamental structure: The researcher condenses the exhaustive description down to a short, dense statement that captures just those aspects deemed to be essential to the structure of the phenomenon.
7. Seeking verification of the fundamental structure: The researcher returns the fundamental structure statement to all participants (or sometimes a subsample in larger studies) to ask whether it captures their experience. He or she may go back and modify earlier steps in the analysis in the light of this feedback.

Figure 6 Colaizzi's Seven Step Method

(Brooks et al., 2015, pp.643–644)

The method, as outlined above, is reliant on the high quality of empirical data.

The method depends upon rich first-person accounts of experience; these may come from face-to-face interviews, but can also be obtained in multiple other ways: written narratives, blogs, research diaries, online interviews, and so on. (Brooks et al., 2015, p.643)

The collection of high quality data was ensured by following the methodology as previously described.

There is much discussion over the inclusion of step seven, which seeks verification from the research participants. “The final step in Colaizzi’s method, returning the results to the participants, is a controversial one” (Brooks et al., 2015, p.644).

...any notion that participants can simply rubber-stamp an analysis as ‘correct’ is untenable. Nevertheless, given the aims of descriptive phenomenology, it is not unreasonable to expect that they should be able to recognise their own experience in the fundamental structure. (Brooks et al., 2015, p.644)

It was decided not to return the analysis to the research participants, as it was not possible to access all of the participants following the completion of the analysis, either due to ethical restrictions (as was the case with students), or through individuals moving on from their roles, or not giving contact details and not consenting to follow up communication. Therefore step seven of Colaizzi’s method was not followed in this instance.

Once the coding process had been completed, highlighted excerpts were gathered into themes. These themes were not intended to organise the coded excerpts into neat categories to make complete sense of the responses, but instead to offer “shape to the shapeless” (Van Manen, 1990, p.88). Rather than offering a tidy completeness to the study, “a thematic phrase only serves to point at, to allude to, or to hint at, an aspect of the phenomenon” (Van Manen, 1990, p.92).

Following the identification of predominant themes, further reading of the data followed a ‘selective reading approach’ which involved reading a text

several times and ask[ing], *What statement(s) or phrase(s) seem particularly essential or revealing about the phenomenon or experience being described?*...The task is to hold on to these themes by lifting appropriate phrases or by capturing in singular statements the main thrust of the meaning of the themes. (Van Manen, 1990, p.93)

This process was dependent upon self-reflection as expanded upon previously in the research methodology. “The phenomenological method consists of the ability, or rather

the art of being sensitive—sensitive to the subtle undertones of language, to the way language speaks when it allows the things themselves to speak” (Van Manen, 1990, p.111).

The excerpts selected as giving further insight into the theme were understood to be indicators of the wider notion of a chaplain’s interaction with ethos. “...every phenomenological description is in a sense only an example, an icon that points at the “thing” which we attempt to describe” (Van Manen, 1990, p.122). Therefore themes were expanded upon to explore them more fully, but the examples and phrases given by participants were not expected to provide a complete, full understanding of the research questions.

The themes identified included;

1. Identifying the Ethos
2. Indicators of Ethos
3. The Chaplain’s Work
4. The Chaplain’s Interaction with School Ethos
5. The Chaplain’s Distinctiveness

These are now explored and a more full description is offered of each theme.

5 RESEARCH FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

5.1 Overview of Findings

This research uncovered a number of findings which are first summarised here, and then expanded in more detail in this section.

First, the importance of identifying and defining the ethos of a school emerged; individuals being able to recall, understand and explain that ethos in their own words was deemed of great significance. These experiences were then contrasted with more formal methods of expressing ethos in the case studies- for example, official vision statements and specific identification of organisational values.

Second, key areas of school life were identified as ‘indicators’, or moments where ethos was seen and experienced most clearly. These included through specific people, the conducting of assemblies, the school’s physical environment, key relationships and the use of language. These indicators of ethos are explored in order to understand how individuals encountered the ethos in the day-to-day life of a school.

Third, the chaplain’s role was explored in light of the two main aspects of the role – whole school support and pastoral care for individuals. A tension between these two foci was explored and expanded upon.

Fourth, the challenges of the chaplains’ role, identified solely through the interviews with the chaplains are explored more thoroughly in the context of the previous findings.

Fifth, the chaplain’s direct engagement with school ethos was examined, and a variety of ‘modes’ of a chaplain’s interaction with ethos was generated from the language used by participants.

Sixth, in order to understand what qualified the chaplain to undertake this level of interaction with ethos, participants’ responses were distilled to describe five key areas of ‘distinctiveness’ in chaplaincy. These included the chaplain’s distinctive impartiality, relationships, peaceful presence, authority, depth and embodiment. Each of these was unpacked individually and quotations from participants were used to help explore these areas.

5.2 Identifying the Ethos

As initially expected, for many students, and for some adult participants, the word ‘ethos’ was an obstacle that had to be overcome, as it was not commonly used language in many schools.

Interviewer: *“If I said the word ethos to you, would you know what that meant?”*

“No...”

“No...”

“I think I've heard of it, but I don't know what it means.”

Bella, Noah and Reece, Students, Firwood School

Questions for the student focus groups (Appendix 7) were therefore designed to be accessible for participants even if they found terminology confusing or difficult to grasp. Using this set of questions, one of the initial reflections was that many participants had not thought about their school in this way before, or had never had the opportunity to verbalise it to other people. This was applicable to student and staff responses.

“I'm trying to articulate here, it's quite hard, I've never really thought about this before. Just give me a second.”

Kieran, Student, Elderwood School

“Interesting, so it should be such an easy question to answer shouldn't it?”

Mr Burrows, Head Teacher, Elderwood School

This lack of preparedness was of benefit to the study, as participants were not perceived to be giving pre-prepared or rehearsed answers, or repeating ‘official’ statements of intent. Many were verbalising their thoughts on this topic for the first time, and some participants openly and transparently discussed the thought process as they navigated their way to an answer for each question asked of them.

It was not unusual for participants in the student focus groups to react and respond to the answers of others, prompting further discussion and elaboration in a very organic way. This at times led to language that could be perceived by some as clumsy or

disorganised, however, this added an individuality and authenticity to participants' responses which wouldn't have been accessed if the topic and the questions drew easy, rehearsed answers. This demonstrated the close focus and attention on language which was deemed to be important following the literature review.

5.2.1 Student Expressions of Ethos

Once the barrier of terminology was overcome, the majority of participants instantly recognised that their school did have a distinct character and ethos, and this perception was accessed most vividly through the student focus groups and interviews.

With the help of the carefully thought out research questions, including the abstract question of 'if your school was an animal, what would it be and why?' the students were able to describe, some in detail, their perception of their school's ethos and culture.

"I figure it would be kind of an eagle, so something that you can't always notice, it's always watching you from afar, it's always standing on a pedestal kind of waiting to come and help you out when you need it or to come and pick you up and to really kind of help you out I think that's what our school is."

Matthew, Student, Elderwood School

"I'd say it's an owl, because it's supposed to be really intelligent, the school only has high reach for their students, and they strive for everyone to get the best grades they could possibly get, those are very high standards in terms of work ethic."

"I was thinking about an ant, because we're very much a community and we work together not just to build as individuals but to work as a team."

Florence, Student, Birchwood School

"Like a wolf or something, like we stand out but we also stay in our pack."

"I would say like maybe, I don't know, lions, because I think they stay together but they are also fierce."

Interviewer: *"Do you mean fierce like...a bit scary?"*

"Like...competitive. With sport."

Laura and Noah, Students, Firwood School

Some responses amongst the focus groups were received more seriously than others. Some provoked a more light-hearted or humorous reaction from others in the group; but all responses provided enough detail to explain students' thoughts and opinions on the topic.

Interviewer: *"If your school was an animal, what would it be and why?"*

[laughs]

"I feel like it could be a cat or a pigeon."

[laughs]

"No, no, no, it's just...like...no like because a cat like chills every now and then, but is persistent to get like, when cats try to get a bird. Like, one cat is trying to get what they want, they go for what they need or want. And the pigeon because the pigeon never gives up, it flies away as quick as it can."

Kayleigh, Student, Ashwood School

Responses such as this, which described a school as 'a cat or a pigeon' was perceived by the rest of the focus group as an entertaining remark about school life. However the student reacted in a way as to clarify and defend their remark as a genuine contribution to the area of discussion, and they were insistent on explain their perspective.

"I would say like a herd of elephants. Because our school is made up of colleges, and..."

"...they unite together to become one..."

"...We join together to represent our school."

Interviewer: *"So they are like separate, but together?"*

"Yeah..."

"Yeah..."

"Yes..."

"They all want to achieve the same thing."

“Um...it could be a duck...because a duck always goes for what it wants...like when people put bread on the floor it goes for what it wants...it always goes forward, like it will...”

[laughs]

“Like a big dog, because like...they seem like...a school they always seem scary, but actually...like a big dog is actually really nice and everyone in the school is really nice and like caring and understanding and I feel like that’s what a dog is like.”

Sam, Joseph, Kayleigh and Beth, Students, Ashwood School

Although this question generated a mixture of answers and analogies with students at Ashwood School, at the heart of the students’ responses was an attempt to verbalise the culture and ethos of their school in a way that perhaps they hadn’t done previously. Their organic responses as a group which developed together and involved other members of the group validated the nominal focus group as an appropriate and effective methodology.

Only one student throughout the study dismissed the idea of a school being able to possess an ethos of its own.

“I don't necessarily believe you can symbolise, if that's the word, something down into one specific characteristic. A school especially like [here] is so different. There's so many different aspects of the college. Right, so, you have your students who are really sporty, you have your students who are really academic, you have your students who are really theatrical and into drama, you have your students who are really musical. You have students who are kind of good at all kinds of things. You have enough students who don't really have a specific kind of thing. You have all the teachers that are aware of that. And the teachers who are not aware of that, we have traditional teachers who are still you know, who've been teaching it for 30, 40 years, and they've taught some student's parents so...that kind of thing. And you have new teachers who have only been teaching one or two years and they have different influences. And that will change things, and out of those groups of, you know, your sports, your theatricals, you then get integrated social groups from that through the year

groups, through being in the houses...and to try and like bring it down into one specific characteristic such as an animal, or anything like that...I don't think it's quite possible. Because you know, it wouldn't? Yeah, it doesn't. I don't think it works."

James, Student, Elderwood School

Smith's reflections on Bourdieu (1990) say, "it is not entirely clear whether [Bourdieu] believes that habitus can also be an attribute or characteristic of an institution" (2003, p.464), illustrating that perhaps an organisation cannot have its own distinctive ethos outside of the collective of individuals that make up the community within it. The student referenced here was the only one to illustrate this perspective in the interviews.

The remaining participants, on the other hand, expressed what they believed to be unique characteristics of the ethos of their school, as well as unpacking the elements which acted as the driving force behind it and the day to day indicators of it.

As outlined in the original theoretical context of this study, the view that organisations could possess an institutional habitus, an ethos, was adopted, and it was stated that this view was to be tested through the empirical research. This theory was found to be accurate, in that all but one participant identified their school as having a distinct ethos. Occasionally the participant's description differed from the formal expression of the ethos found in the school's official communications and publications, but there was still a general understanding that the institution of the school 'possessed' an ethos of its own. This study has shown that the evidence collected supports the theoretical concept of an institutional habitus.

5.2.2 Formal Expressions of Ethos

While the vast majority of students were able to talk about their own perception of ethos in their own language, responses were divided when asked about more formal expressions of ethos.

The following quotation illustrates a student who understood very clearly the school's expression of ethos- the mission statement and motto, and the idea that ethos is aspirational;

“[Ethos is] like where the school wants to go, want they want to achieve, so like their motto and it’s like a theme for the school as well, so by ‘Cum Deo’ you know that the school is Christian, that’s an ethos, and reading the mission statement as well you can kind of tell where the school wants to go and what they want to achieve for each student.”

Deon, Student, Cedarwood School

Other responses were vaguer, and in some instances, even further prompting and questioning from the interviewer had little effect on the clarity of answers.

Interviewer: *“Does your school have a stated vision or mission, and if so, can you remember what it is?”*

“I don’t know.”

“I think the main mission of the school is to help us succeed and get to the places where we want to be in life.”

Interviewer: *“Some schools do that by having ‘values’, does your school have any particular words or phrases that are important to them?”*

“Things like wisdom and respect. Stuff like that.”

“There’s like a wellbeing thing.”

“Nothing I can really think about off the top of my head.”

Justine, Kascper and Shanice, Students, Dogwood School

This illustrates wide disparity in the ability of students to recognise and recall their school’s ethos, as formally defined and stated by the school themselves. In contrast to students who were able to articulate the formal expressions of school ethos very clearly, other students had very little recollection of official words and terminologies used to express the school’s ethos.

York’s research showed that “the presence of a mission statement in a school displays not only a degree of corporate purpose, but is also a statement of the identity that a school which has one construes for itself” (York, 2016). However, these findings show that the presence of an ethos or mission statement does not guarantee it is well understood or even acknowledged. Green discovered similar findings in his research, concluding of one school “although this mission statement is posted in every classroom,

it was not referred to by any pupil or any member of staff, over the 11 days, with the exception of the headteacher” (Green, 2015, p.141).

The websites of each participating school included at least one page on the school’s ethos or values, and often this official expression of ethos was visible within school buildings, usually in reception areas or in communal spaces through wall displays and printed literature. Despite this, it was variable whether this was able to be recalled, let alone understood, by students.

5.3 Indicators of Ethos

Throughout data collection, specific questions were asked of students and staff what factors were the primary indicators of ethos in their respective schools. This provided a variety of responses from participants and resulted in clusters of responses around some of the key indicators of how ethos was demonstrated in the day to day of school life.

The first group of responses were coded in transcripts from every school, and included identification and discussions of *key people*, *assemblies/collective worship*, *place* (physical environment), *relationships* and *language*. These are listed and explored in order of the frequency in which they were coded across all case studies. These areas were frequent in occurrence, were coded a total of 386 times during data analysis, and were described in great depth by participants.

The second group of responses included identification and discussions of the *curriculum* and *tutorials/form times*. These indicators were less frequent in occurrence, and described in limited depth and detail by participants. They were coded a total of 37 times but did not appear in every school context, and therefore are not explored further in this thesis.

This initially resonates with findings from Green’s research into school ethos, where it was understood by students that there was “a duality of provision where one aspect is the assemblies, tutor times and RE lessons and the other aspect is the other curriculum subjects” (Green, 2015, p.171). Green reported that “for many pupils there was no obvious link between the two aspects” (Green, 2015, p.171). Whilst not exactly the same in terms of content, this study presents in a similar way two distinct aspects of school life, with the majority of curriculum subjects separated from the provision of assemblies.

The first group of responses, highlighting areas where ethos was indicated the most strongly, are now explored in greater detail.

5.3.1 ‘Reminding us we’ve got a bigger part to play’ : People Indicating Ethos

Typically, participants across the case study schools gave responses describing *people* as being the key indicator of ethos. In some cases, participants expressed the view that *every* individual in the school community was responsible for driving and embedding ethos, but most commonly, responses referenced *specific* individuals within the school.

A wide range of roles were perceived to be the driving force behind embedding ethos, and this was echoed in some of the documentation analysis of the schools too. These responses highlighted the varying perceptions of who leads on ethos in each of the schools, and to illustrate this, roles are underlined for emphasis.

“[The chaplain] leads on events within the school that remind us that we’ve got a bigger part to play within our community.”

Mrs Taylor, Middle Leader, Ashwood School

“Everybody. But as I say, we need somebody to help us do that. So it comes...it comes from the top. So it needs to be...I need to be reminding [everyone of] it.”

Mr Williams, Principal, Firwood School

“The ethos of the school always has been and always will be led by the headmaster and then by the senior leadership team”.

Mr Curtis, Support Staff, Dogwood School

“[The chaplain] will oversee it, followed by SLT [Senior Leadership Team]. And then...probably...tutors as well. Because some of the tutors also take part in leading assemblies from time to time. So without the Christian ethos...it's hard to do an assembly.”

Mrs Baker, Support Staff, Firwood School

“Because they're [the sixth form students] the ones who actually set the tone of what is and what is not appropriate, or language or dress, the attitudes, all that sort of stuff.”

Mr Burrows, Headteacher, Elderwood School

Across the case study schools it became clear from participants' responses that ethos was born from, understood by, and driven by, prominent individuals within the school community who acted as indicators of the aspirational ethos, of how the school could and should be.

Interestingly, participants very rarely referenced themselves as driving the ethos within their school communities, even if other people in the school had identified *them* as being a significant person in this regard. Instead, they would identify someone else, or offer the response that 'everyone' was responsible.

Of all the factors that were described as driving, embedding and indicating the ethos within the case study schools, *people* was the most frequently referenced. It was not the case that ethos was perceived to come from an 'external organisation' or was driven by a head office or a corporate team, it was much more personable, and yet there was large uncertainty as to who this person, or who these people, actually were.

Conversely, where people held the potential and power and ability for embedding ethos, 'people' were also described as the biggest challenge to embedding ethos, particularly those who questioned, challenged or resisted the embedding of a particular ethos.

In a school with a strong house system, this manifested in staff mediating between a house ethos and the school ethos.

“They've [House masters] got to strike a fine balance between trying to keep that house identity, but also, we are part of something bigger.”

Mr Smith, Teacher, Elderwood School

Occasionally this mediation and negotiation was described as being unhelpful towards the aims and aspirations of the school, especially where staff did not take part in school wide activities or where staff were critical of the school's approach.

“There is always resistance, because there is always this faction, wherever you work, that thinks that they could either do it better, or it's not the right way to run it, so that could be applied to every school, I'm afraid. There's also the

resistance of time- we've seen it done like that in the past, so it's not going to happen, there's also the resistance of youth, where just because you tell us to do that, if you don't show me respect, this is the most common one, if you don't show me respect, why should I show you respect? So you have resistance and obstacles to overcome all the time."

Mr Curtis, Support Staff, Dogwood Academy

A concern from one principal showed that staff who were overly critical had perhaps misunderstood the purpose of ethos, tending to see it as an afterthought as opposed to fundamental to the creation of a successful school environment.

"Some people pick and choose the bits of the ethos they like...further down the school they do, they start coming here and they like the fact that children behave very well, they like the atmosphere and they like that, but then they start picking at the things that create that...it's just a constant work with them to say 'look, you have to take the whole package, and if you have a fundamental issue with part of that package you have to consider whether this is the place for you to be'."

Mr Todd, Principal, Birchwood School

All the participating schools referenced some form of challenge of the ethos by particular people at particular times, and this could be an outworking of the theory of symbolic violence (Bourdieu & Nice, 1977) (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992) and habitus tug (Abrahams & Ingram, 2013, p.3), where individuals struggle to reconcile themselves with the institutional habitus of their school. The principal of Birchwood School was very clear in their response that staff had to align with the school's ethos in order to continue to be part of the school. On reflection of the whole data, typically all schools pointed to the majority of staff being supportive of the school's ethos the majority of the time.

Students provided interesting reflections on the contrast between the school's stated ethos, and the day to day culture within the school. The instances referred to by students were often very specific situations which they had witnessed between other students, and specific interactions between students and individual members of staff.

Interviewer: *"What is the culture of your school?"*

"Kind of dramatic."

“There's like loads of like trouble, like fights.”

“But they will get sorted.”

“The teachers will always come and help.”

“I feel like everyone runs, I feel like, we call it ‘beef’, it's like everyone runs over to it”

“Because it all starts as like a little group and then they just go...”

“The whole school gets involved in everything.”

“But it always gets dealt with eventually.”

“Rumours spread like wildfire here...”

“...just because we're very close.”

Bella, Noah, Holly, Reece, Laura and Tyler, Students, Firwood School

“I will say there are there are some teachers and some pupils, I mean we have our little prefect meetings, and it terrifies me to hear some of the stuff pupils and teachers come out with...I'm quite liberal and I cannot believe the fact that people come out with comments like that...it's almost like the attitudes of people. People who are not being open minded enough can stop it [ethos] being envisaged.”

Kieran, Student, Elderwood School

Students pointed to these types of incidents that showed a stark contrast to the ethos which the school presented. They spoke of these events not with pride but with a mixture of perceived embarrassment and indifference, knowing that these were examples where the school community did not live up to what it expected of itself and to what others expected of it.

In the midst of this ongoing interaction and tension between a school's current culture and the school's aspirational ethos, a student response described the dynamics between the two, and the involvement of different individuals in forming and shaping along the way;

“I think a lot of the culture does come from the students themselves. You know, that is...a lot of that. So from in school and out of school in the boarding houses,

that culture is sort of born there as such. And then I think you have the, [chaplain] and characters like that, who then see that and try and build on it with their own influence. Keeping it all on the right path as such.”

Matthew, Student, Elderwood School

This level of detail shows this student’s understanding of culture and ethos as being something which is dynamic, and something that requires shaping and building in order for it to become a reality. The role of the chaplain is understood here to be a role that has some influence upon the interaction between ethos and culture in a school community day to day. The chaplain’s role in ‘keeping it all on the right track’ is further explored in interviews and focus groups with participants.

In summary, ethos in the case study schools appeared to be primarily driven by and indicated by a network of individuals with varying levels of recognition as to their responsibility and influence upon it. There were, of course, moments where individuals and the wider school community did not live up to or match the expectations the school had set itself, and moments where individuals resisted and challenged the ethos of the schools they were part of. This is illustrative of the theory of symbolic violence and habitus tug as individuals interact with the institution. However, the schools in this study reported the vast majority of people being on board with the school’s ethos and positive about embedding it into the day to day culture of the school the majority of the time.

5.3.2 ‘Expressing the School’s Character’ : Assemblies Indicating Ethos

The second most frequently referenced indicator of school ethos was the school assembly, or collective worship.

Despite differences in the arrangement of assemblies across the case study schools, the most common arrangement was for whole year groups to meet together once a week in a communal location- Cedarwood and Elderwood schools both had chapels where collective worship took place. Other schools had assemblies in the school hall. From this point forward, the word ‘assembly’ will be used as an umbrella term to encompass any collective gathering within the school that involved an element of spiritual or moral reflection.

Regardless of the structure, frequency or leadership of assemblies, it was the second most frequently referenced indicator of ethos for two reasons.

First, for the ability of assemblies to bring the school community together (albeit often just year groups) into one space at a specific time on a regular basis.

“[Assemblies] are the only times that we are together as a community. I think it's vital, I would never want to remove that.”

Mr Simmons, Senior Leader, Elderwood School

“When you group together, the first thing on a Monday morning, the whole school together, it sets the tone for the week.”

Emily, Student, Elderwood School

These two perspectives show acknowledgement among both staff and students about the importance of the school assembly. In a school environment which has many opportunities for division, for example between year groups, houses, departments and also socially- between previously attended primary schools, for example; assemblies were an opportunity to unite and bring together a potentially fractious community.

Second, assemblies were recognised as an important ethos indicator due to their ability to take aspects of ethos, explore them, unpack them and relate them to students.

“But I think, whether you call it a chapel or whether you call it assembly, I think [they are] really important, for the sake of community. And for the person to be seen that spreading that ethos on a regular basis- that this is why we're here, this is what we're trying to achieve.”

Mr Jones, Middle Leader, Firwood School

“At the moment what we do with the values is every assembly theme, every assembly week, ideally, will tie into one of those four values. Every week. It may not be specifically mentioned ‘this week we’re doing hope’, but hopefully the theme or the idea will have some aspect of that.”

Mr Gooch, Chaplain, Dogwood School

Interviewer: *“So where are those moments where those values do appear quite prominently?”*

“In assemblies. And they say, ‘Oh, the assembly today is about respect. It’s one of our core values, or it’s about this or it’s about that’. The head always puts on the side of his PowerPoints the school values. And promotes them. So that’s where but you don’t see it everywhere.”

Mrs Matthews, Teacher, Firwood School

“We’ve done it where form tutors have done the assemblies as well. So they’re bringing in the Christian ethos and the statements that we have, and bringing into their lives and how it affects them, those words and what those words mean to them.”

Mr Joscelyne, Middle Leader, Elderwood School

Assemblies were seen as a time where conceptual aspects of ethos were grounded into reality and made relatable and contextual to the school community. Participants described the ability of the assembly to ‘spell out’ various aspects of ethos. Yet the assemblies also had the potential to go above and beyond this expectation, not just making ethos relatable, but making it a source of inspiration; a memorable moment in the week.

“And it is important, because it starts off the week. Depending on what is going on there, it sets up your week. Perhaps that’s overstating it slightly, but it sets up your day, certainly. And if you come out of there with either a big smile on your face, or, you know, ‘wow’, I hadn’t thought about it like that before, you know, or a different perspective, it does make a difference.”

Mr Smith, Teacher, Elderwood School

It is perhaps unsurprising that the school assembly was identified as one of the key indicators of ethos that is judged by the Church of England and Methodist Church SIAMS inspections. ‘Collective Worship’ is listed as one of seven strands in the latest framework (The Church of England, 2019) on which school inspection judgements are made. Multiple SIAMS reports, where available for case study schools, highlighted the importance of assemblies in communicating the school’s ethos.

Frequently, the school assembly was the ‘go to’ response when participants were asked about where ethos was promoted, delivered and displayed in the life of the school. The assembly was seen as one of the key indicators which gave the school an identity and a space where identity was explained.

This, however, conflicts with Green's research which found

that structures and processes, curriculum and pedagogy communicate ethos to students often more powerfully than explicit teaching about Christian values in RE and collective worship (2009) (2014, p.296).

This research also uncovered inconsistencies between case study schools in how assemblies were planned, managed and delivered, and how this was experienced by students.

First, the chaplain had varying levels of input into assemblies across the participating schools, from occasional contribution (Ashwood School), to leadership of the year-round programme (Dogwood School). Birchwood School also had tutor resources produced by the chaplain which linked into the assembly theme, and were designed to continue the topic throughout the week. Ashwood School had a 'podcast' that was produced each week by the chaplain to align with assembly themes and explore them in a much deeper way.

Second, although assemblies were identified as a key indicator of ethos, there were differing perspectives between schools, and within schools, as to whether assemblies should be doing this passively or explicitly.

Some participants recognised that there was a 'balance' to be made but acknowledged their school had struck the correct balance for their students respectively.

"I think it's a balancing act, isn't it? I think, you know, we, we have we have one each week in regards to the assembly where then an SLT member or member of staff will relate it to them for what's going on in the world at the moment. And I think that's really, really good. Because I think that helps students relate to those teachers and the SLT."

Mr Jones, Middle Leader, Firwood School

"It's not always explicit, what we do, we revisit explicitly, through assemblies and tutor time and resources, but we deliberately don't want staff to be explicit about [ethos] all the time, because then it just becomes an eye-roll, 'ughh, so you want us to be resilient then, sir?'"

Mr Goodall, Senior Leader, Birchwood School

“I think what I’m really trying to say is there is a more coherent thrust to assembly themes, and they do bring in a certain amount of Christian influence and thoughts and ideas, and I think they usually end with a prayer, but it’s not necessarily Christian every week, but it is a good blend.”

Mr French, Governor, Dogwood School

This ‘blend’ was an attempt by schools to combine statutory requirements that “all pupils in attendance at a maintained school shall on each school day take part in an act of collective worship” (Her Majesty’s Stationary Office, 1988, chap.40) with denominational guidelines, alongside requirements in state schools for broader “spiritual, moral, social and cultural development of pupils” (Ofsted, 2019, p.59). This was also combined with the desire to expand upon the school’s own values and ethos. In summary, it was perceived that assemblies were trying to achieve a number of different objectives simultaneously.

This attempt to cover so much content had some drawbacks which was highlighted in a few participant’s responses. One staff member reflected that in order to achieve so much within assemblies, content was often ‘bolted on’ to meet requirements without much forethought or consistency.

“...our assemblies will often have bible readings in them. In all honesty the depth of understanding of those passages is not always fantastic, and sometimes you listen to an assembly and you think ‘ahh...that’s kind of just bolted on’.”

Mr Bright, Teacher, Birchwood School

Other participants expressed a discontent with the perceived balance of assembly arrangements, and communicated a desire for assemblies to be more explicit in promoting ethos.

“...there’s a subtlety there, and I think there’s probably work to be done to make it more obvious, and that’s actually then looking at doing something more direct with the students, ‘as one of our values...’ and doing some school work on it.”

Mrs Rosewood, Middle Leader, Dogwood School

“I’ve been at more overtly religious schools. And I think we do it quite lightly, but it’s still there.”

Ms Felgate, Senior Leader, Firwood School

A student's feedback on their experience highlighted their understanding of assembly as a time to pick and choose between what was on offer from the front, with a variety of options if you wished to 'join in' or if you wished to 'just sit there quietly and listen'.

"In RE, if you don't believe in God or something, they don't mind, they just ask you to think about people who do believe in it, so that when we do go to church [for assembly], if you're a different religion or you don't believe in it, then you don't have to listen. You still have to go, but you don't have to listen. So you can just sit there. They don't make you join in all that prayers and things in assemblies, so you can just say it with the person or just sit there quietly and listen."

Shanice, Student, Dogwood School

It was unclear whether this was the official position of the school, however it brought into tension a consumeristic attitude of 'take what you want, depending on your beliefs' which sat in conflict with the assembly's aim of bringing the community together around one central ethos.

This tension was expanded upon through student interviews at Firwood School. These interviews were completed individually, and it was the topic of assemblies that students provided particularly deep insight into. There were two main themes which emerged from Firwood student's interviews.

Firstly, students understood that the assembly, or 'chapel', offered something which students could take from, or consume, depending on their level of need, similar to the perspective shared from the student at Dogwood School.

"As a student myself, and I think I can speak for most others, you can take your own, you make what you make from the chapel, and from talks and lectures and things that you get in there. Yeah, definitely."

Emily, Student, Elderwood School

One student viewed the weekly chapel as their replacement for church while they were away from home, showing the depth of meaning that students can take from what others may perceive to be a compulsory ritual.

"For me it's kind of my...my stronghold really, because although I can always be constantly away from church, church isn't just defined by one place you can

have church anywhere...there will always be positive upbringing words which I think is so important”.

Matthew, Student, Firwood School

Secondly, students again referred to the uniqueness of the school assembly in bringing students together and having a strong purpose behind it.

“I think it definitely is [important] because it's where you, you go and your mind is fully focused on...so if assembly was in house, chapel in house, it wouldn't...everything else you do in house is quite relaxed, you know, you board there, so there wouldn't be a sort of set, right, this is the assembly time now. So when you walk into the chapel, you know why you're there. And the tone shifts. I love the space of the chapel. Because it's not massive, which means that it feels like you are not one, that you're very close knit community, you know, one another, really well.”

Kieran, Student, Elderwood School

“So I mean, I enjoy it. Because I like the community of coming together on a Monday, and, I don't know, I enjoy...in the singing, it might sound weird, but it's a good bringing people together. I like listening to talks.”

Florence, Student, Elderwood School

The assembly was unique in its ability to unify students and staff, and the regularity of this gathering, combined with the leadership of staff such as the head teacher and chaplain, gave the assembly high status with staff and students. Despite this high status, students engaged with school assemblies on different levels. While some students saw the assembly as the ‘stronghold’ of a church away from home, others saw this as a space and time to ‘just sit there’. The significant variation in levels of engagement by students was noticed in this study, although overall students still perceived the assembly to be a strong indicator of school ethos.

5.3.3 ‘Unapologetically built for one purpose’ : Physical Environment Indicating Ethos

The physical environment of the school was recognised by participants as indicating and communicating something of the school's ethos. Physical environment was a loose term that at one extreme, encompassed discussions about architecture of school buildings, but at the other extreme included conversations about individual murals, signs, posters and even the school toilets.

Whilst *people* have already been described as being the most influential indicators of ethos, it should not be assumed from this that the physical building and environment have no role to play. This research found that both 'people and place' were important indicators of a school's ethos, and participants frequently referenced décor, signs, spaces, lighting, architecture and similar environmental factors as important contributions towards the embedding of an ethos within their schools. Ethos therefore was not found to exist simply in a social realm, but that it was indicated by physical manifestations on the school site.

Responses fell into two categories. First, some responses focussed on factors outside of the school's control. These included comments about the placement of the chapel on the school site, the proximity of the sixth form centre to the main building, and the amount of sunlight in the chaplaincy space.

"[The Chapel] is again unapologetically built for one purpose, it's very good to talk about this being their chapel you know, and when we have any of our leavers services it talks about that this is your chapel and it remains your chapel. And it's amazing how many kids when they come back, and they maybe even resented chapel during term time it is probably the first place they want to go visit and it's one of the key shared memories."

Mr Burrows, Headteacher, Elderwood School

"It sounds weird as well, but it's quite bright, so it's not dull, so it kind of lifts your mood, and the school in general is quite bright, you don't come to school and think 'oh God, not this again, not here again'."

Deon, Student, Cedarwood School

These factors would be difficult, if not impossible, to replicate in other schools, therefore there was limited scope in referencing these as 'best practice' or attempting to compare and contrast between schools with such differing physical environments.

However, the majority of responses fell into a second category, referencing more minor factors which *were* within the school's control, including notice boards, displays, murals, posters, and the signage on toilet cubicles.

"...we've tried to signpost the words around the school in the four stairwells, we've got the quad sort of setting, and you've got the hope and dignity on one, and the signing being the idea that they are seeing it all the time, they are seeing those words".

Mr Marsh, Vice Principal, Dogwood School

"...so we've got some display boards around the school where most of the students always come through, so we've got this system where you have to go up a certain set of stairs to get to maths, and then you have to come down these back stairs to get to English to then get back down again, so literally everyone has to go past all the display boards anyway."

Ms Fenwick, Teacher, Ashwood School

"We've got a non-gender toilet at the front door...so I feel like the work that we did around that was really important in making everyone feel welcomed and valued."

Mrs Hayfield, Senior Leader, Ashwood School

"I think [students] know it's a Church of England school. We've got the cross up, we've got the sacred space here, where they can have prayer time..."

Mrs Hume, Support Staff, Firwood School

These details were noticed by students, and at Firwood School, when asked about the core values, the first response from students was to talk about the physicality of the values alongside what they were.

Interviewer: *"Tell me about the core values."*

"Perseverance..."

They're everywhere...

They're the banners that hang over there [points]

Perseverance, teamwork, leadership...

Humility...

Perseverance...

Teamwork...

Aspiration...

Hard work, forgiveness...

Respect.”

Bella, Noah, Holly, Reece, Laura and Tyler, Students, Firwood School

The details of each school’s physical environment also helped to correct any misconceptions about school ethos, often challenging students’ presumptions about what their school would be like.

“Yeah until I saw the chaplaincy, I thought it would be super uptight like really strict religious school, because I saw the crosses everywhere and the sheets with the prayer and like ‘what’s all this’ and for some reason it made me relax more and feel that it was as uptight and strict as I thought it would be.”

Thomas, Student, Cedarwood School

This also illustrated the student’s positivity towards the designated chaplaincy spaces. Where a chaplaincy space or chapel existed, students reacted positively and spoke about these spaces with great pride and respect.

“So when you walk into the chapel, you know why you're there. And the tone shifts. I love the space of the chapel.”

Emily, Student, Elderwood School

“I think a physical chapel's quite important. It's quite a feature of having a large chapel there. And it's because it is larger on the outside as well. So if you look at the school from the outside, the first thing you'll meet with is the chapel. So it's a very deliberate piece of architecture.”

Kieran, Student, Elderwood School

However, in schools where these designated places did not exist, students rarely sought after them. There was only one comment from students at Dogwood School that

highlighted a lack of quiet space, however this was the only comment of its kind throughout the interviews and focus groups.

“We are a lively school, so wherever you go, it’s lively, everyone’s like really loud.

There isn’t a space where it’s actually quiet, it’s just noisy everywhere.

...

Especially the English corridor, don’t ever go in there!”

Shanice and Joshua, Students, Dogwood School

In summary, place was important to students in their perceptions and interpretations of school ethos. While this was true on the level of school buildings and the architecture of buildings, the majority of the impact of place were the seemingly small details of signage and symbols which indicated their schools ethos day to day. Lastly, while designated chapel or chaplaincy space was greatly appreciated where it was available, it did not appear to be necessary towards the process of schools embedding their ethos.

5.3.4 ‘If it’s relational, you don’t need rules’ : Relationships Indicating Ethos

Data analysis uncovered that relationships were an important indicator of the school’s ethos, and formed a space in which the ethos of the school could be embedded. This was recognised through participant responses in interviews and focus groups, but also through school inspection reports carried out by Ofsted, SIAMS and the Independent Schools Inspectorate (ISI).

Participants described relationships as key to ethos in three main ways; for demonstrating values, nurturing equality and respect, and shifting toward positive behaviour management.

First, participants described relationships between students, between staff and students, and between staff as demonstrating a number of moral values, including forgiveness, trust, respect, hope, gratitude and generosity.

“...one of our strategies for fall outs between students or even a breakdown of relationship between staff and students, we’ll have this idea of reconciliation

and open dialogue, with the idea of repairing, and being able to keep those relationships strong, so it is represented in those other places where it is about forgiveness.”

Mrs Rosewood, Middle Leader, Dogwood School

“I was quite surprised...that my other friends are so open about their problems, or they'll just talk quite honestly, to the teachers, and I think that's quite good, it's quite a difficult relationship, to build up the trust factor.”

Kieran, Student, Elderwood School

“...the headmaster, if he sees a domestic walking down the corridor at six o'clock in the morning. Its “morning, [name]”, “morning, [name]”. Even he will make the support staff feel that they are very valued and what they do. Which is really important. Yeah. I don't think I can stress enough actually.”

Mrs Mahmood, Support Staff, Elderwood

“I've never worked in a school where children always thank me on the way out of the classroom, and that sense of that...I suppose having the humility to understand that, you know, they've been given something and they should be grateful for it, a sense of gratitude, and I don't know how it's been embedded as part of the school culture, but clearly it is.”

Miss Terrence, Teacher, Cedarwood School

“You know, [the headteacher] he's generous with these, you know, with these ‘Second Chance’ options. And I think that's the ethos. But it's interesting because he's never written it down...And he's not one for publishing these things.”

Rev. Daley, Chaplain, Elderwood School

These extracts are a handful of examples of specific values which were demonstrated through relationships in the school community. The anecdotal stories told by participants included events in which they were personally involved as well as stories in which they were an outsider. Examples of individual behaviour- such as the headmaster greeting every single member of staff in a corridor, were stories which participants reflected on with pride. They acted as well-known anecdotes describing ‘how we do

things here' and showing where values were demonstrated through relationships shared with others.

Second, relationships were seen as important in the context of ethos, as they fostered an atmosphere of respect and equality amongst and between students and staff which allowed a particular culture to be created. This included staff intentionally being with students, becoming accessible to reduce a sense of separation caused by their role.

"...also you've got to look at it from the house masters and the house mistresses who are always constantly being people's stronghold when they struggle, for me they're like a second dad and stuff for always for me to go and speak to them will help big time and I think they're the ones that are really pushing the culture that they want to create."

Matthew, Student, Elderwood School

"And [the head teacher] doesn't always stay in his office, he goes 'round visiting classrooms..."

Yeah

Yes...Everyday

The head teacher might sit on the same table as you

Yeah...very involved with the students."

Matthew, Summer, Christopher, Student, Cedarwood School

"They [teachers] always make sure that you know who your port of call is, and they always make sure the, you know, you can always go and ask for help. So teachers and students- it's not as though they're different social standings obviously you respect teachers and things like that, but they are, you realize, obviously, they are human beings but you take them more for human beings rather than a teacher."

James, Student, Elderwood School

Unsurprisingly, the staff who intentionally went out of their way to be accessible to students to offer encouragement and support were the staff who were recognised as having notable relationships with students.

“You get some teachers who will have really good relationships with students, some who will have more sort of average teacher relationship. So you know, I'm a teacher, I teach you this, that's all you can get. There are some who are much more integrated in student life. That's more often than the other type. And then obviously, you get your people like [the chaplain] who is, you know, more of that integration into student social life.”

James, Student, Elderwood School

These positive relationships were characterised by respect and a sense of equality, irrespective of the authority associated with the role. This led to their values and behaviours being identified as important areas of the school's ethos.

Third, relationships were seen as important in the context of ethos as they had the potential to shift the school culture away from a focus on rules and formal discipline sanctions, to one of positive behaviour management and flourishing. This was particularly evident in Dogwood and Elderwood Schools, where there was a desire by both head teachers to move away from a rule-based, culture to one defined by positive relationships between students and staff.

“...to me, it's all about relationships. So getting good relationships and staff that get to know [students] really well as people, not just sort of exam candidates. I think the pastoral and the co-curricular that we have here make that much easier to do than in many schools. So, you know, staff really do know the kids very well, and the kids respond to that. And if it's relational, if you get a situation where you're not needing rules, but the kids just want to work for you and don't want to let you down, then you're half way there.”

Mr Burrows, Head Teacher, Elderwood School

“We've done a lot of work...about the way we deal with challenging children, instead of it being a process of, you know, you've done this, therefore this is the outcome and you need to face a sanction...it's all around relationships, you've got to build strong relationships with the children, treat them with dignity... when you build strong relationships, a child does something wrong, normally it's a relationship that's broken down, rather than saying 'you've broken this rule here, and therefore there's a sanction for it', and that kind of aligns with dignity and hope, and really about the fact that our young people, many of them

have come into school with some terrible home situations and we try and put it right through what we do.”

Mr Dale, Principal, Dogwood School

The principal at Dogwood School referenced how the importance of relationships is a way of embedding two aspects of the Church of England’s ‘distinctively Christian ethos’ desired for its schools- dignity and hope. This particular example of behaviour management sits in stark contrast to a more traditional approach but was being actively pursued by Dogwood School, and also Elderwood School in the independent sector.

Even in schools with more traditional behaviour systems, there was still a broad understanding that positive relationships were key to the running of a good school.

“And, you know, if you say, if we've got, for example, if we're having a discussion about a child, and we're concerned about the progress or the behaviour, there will always be a member of staff who will say 'I've got a good relationship with that child, I'll speak to them'. And that I think, is where it really underpins everything. The teaching is built on the relationships between staff and students between students and students and between staff and staff.”

Ms Felgate, Senior Leader, Firwood School

Birchwood School expressed their provision for ‘reconciliation and open dialogue’ to repair broken relationships and many other schools had their focus on relationships recognised in their respective inspection reports.

More specifically, school inspection reports included a number of references to ‘strong’ or ‘positive’ relationships between students and staff. These references understood relationships in a number of ways; indicating that the school ethos was ‘enhanced’ by the strong relationships; that pupils’ learning was supported by positive relationships; that relationships ‘create’ a positive atmosphere; and that the school ethos and relationships between staff and students were both components in creating positive student behaviour.

In summary, relationships were deemed important in the context of school ethos in three main ways. First, relationships acted as effective conduits of values. Second, relationships fostered a culture of respect and equality. Finally, relationships held the potential to shift the school culture away from one focussed on rules, sanctions and

consequences to one embodying dignity and hope, which are key values in the Church of England's vision for a distinctive Christian ethos.

5.3.5 'It's almost like common language' : Language Indicating Ethos

It was interesting to note how participants used language to define and discuss ethos in the first instance. Opening up the discussion around definitions of ethos and culture brought into the conversation other terms used by the participants. For example, students often used words such as *atmosphere* and *vibe*. Their language was perceived by the researcher to be intentional and thoughtful.

Although individuals did not typically distinguish between the terms ethos, culture and climate, there was broadly a good understanding of the topic being discussed.

Asking participants at the beginning of interviews how they understood ethos returned a range of responses. Responses from students were particularly interesting. Some engaged with the terminology, some gave conceptual answers, and some referenced tangible elements of school life.

"I think the word ethos puts people off, I think, people if you were to say, oh, like the vibe of the school, they would be able to say, 'Yeah, okay, I get that'".

Matthew, Student, Elderwood School

"[Ethos is] like the feel of the school and what the atmosphere and the community is meant to be like."

Kieran, Student, Elderwood School

"Just the environment...the atmosphere is positive, like there's no-one being horrible, there's no-one calling people names, and if there is it's sorted, it's just a positive climate. Being around positive people, positive mind-set, like do you get what I mean?"

James, Student, Ashwood School

Yet each of these responses shows understanding of the topic at hand and an ability to link the concept of ethos to tangible elements of school life. Taking into account the conceptual nature of the research, and the finding that many participants had previously

been given limited opportunities to speak about the ethos of their schools, it was perhaps surprising that students and staff generally used rich language to articulate their thoughts, opinions and experiences of ethos both clearly and coherently.

On reviewing the use of language by all participants in each school, another observation was that schools varied greatly in how frequently they referenced the importance of language to embedding ethos in their settings. For example, some schools frequently referenced their intentional use of defined key words and phrases to communicate their ethos; in contrast, some schools were much vaguer and less intentional about their use of language to embed ethos.

The case study schools which most frequently referenced the importance of having to use language to define their ethos, were those with a Church of England religious character– Birchwood, Dogwood, Elderwood and Firwood schools. Although spanning a range of geographical locations, student intakes, and both state and independent sectors, participants in these four schools most frequently referenced the importance of the use of language to define and describe their ethos, through the use of common words, phrases and vocabulary.

By comparison, the inter-church school (Cedarwood) and the academy of no religious character (Ashwood), referenced the importance of ethos-defining language less frequently. Instead, these schools more frequently referenced the importance of their local mission statement/vision statement as a tool for making their ethos distinct from other schools. Perhaps for these schools, without a nationally defined ethos to hold on to, a local expression of the school's aspirations provided a more bespoke approach which required significantly less explanation and interpretation on the part of staff and students.

In terms of the strategies leaders used to embed their ethos in their respective schools with language, participants were keen to describe their methods.

Leaders at Dogwood School described the positive impact of their strategy for using of language to embed and indicate ethos across the school;

“It’s almost like common language across year groups and talking to our students about that.”

Mrs Rosewood, Middle Leader, Dogwood School

This was achieved through an approach described by a senior leader;

“I would definitely say we have bought into those four values and we are running with it, and it’s definitely something we are looking to continue to strengthen, and it was on our school improvement plan for this academic year for us to get those values out more, because we put it on the plan, it then became in people’s appraisals and things like that... We felt that we wanted to embed these values in everything that we do, and the best way to do anything in a school is if you really want to do it, it has to go on your school improvement plan basically. And once it’s on there, then you know you’re going to be accountable for it, and the work gets done. And I think that’s helped...it’s not unique but it’s helped us to get things in a better place”

Mr Marsh, Vice Principal, Dogwood School

Despite the participant’s comment this approach was ‘not unique’, none of the other case study schools described the inclusion of the development of ethos, culture and values onto their school improvement plan; a document typically designed to include specific areas for measurable improvement, including safeguarding, behaviour and academic outcomes.

The school were considering extending this specific use of language to parents and were keen to include the chaplain as a facilitator of that.

“I think going forward, we’ve got it in the school planners, the words are out there...there’s no harm in us...how can we get that out to the parents a bit more so they know more about that. So could [the chaplain] do drop-in sessions to say parents ‘you can drop-in, and we’re just going to talk about the word ‘hope’ and what it means for the school and what it means or should mean for you as parents, and if we can get the parents using that dialogue”.

Mr Marsh, Vice Principal, Dogwood School

In the context of this research project, the method used by Dogwood School was a unique approach. On one level, this shows intentionality to link home and school and create a consensus on values, minimising the tug between habitus at home and habitus at school. However this could also be viewed as a criticism of the national ethos of the Church of England, which perhaps remains too vague, and in some cases simply out of touch with local communities; so much so that schools such as Dogwood School needed to create events and workshops to engage parents in understanding and using their

language. Either way, this further supported the finding that schools of a Church of England religious character had more work to do to embed the language of ethos within their schools. This was an interesting discovery which resonated with a similar finding from the literature review that there remained a lack of agreement or consensus over what constituted a ‘distinctively Christian ethos’ in Church Schools.

The school that appeared to be furthest along on the journey of using language to embed ethos was Birchwood School. An interview with a senior leader illustrated a whole school approach of being intentional about the use of language to define and embed ethos.

“What’s more powerful is you build up a language around those words, which is what we did on the Spring training day, and so that people can use a variety of phrases around those words but you’re not changing your ethos...certainly one of the mistakes we made very early on in [the academy], was with the four R’s, was we got teachers to use those every lesson, and by year two, that first year group were just fed up, they were fed up of being told ‘how are we learning now? We’re being resourceful’ and they were just getting really fed up with it, so we went very implicit, but we’ve worked out over the ten years that you need to strike the right balance...

[For the younger years] They have kept the words, largely, but they talk about things...they use other phrases to talk about forgiving and moving on...one of them is essentially ‘don’t let things build up, let them drop’, but they say it in such a great way, everything’s a rhyme, a rhyming couplet type phrase, and that’s great for little ones, having things they can remember, and if you go to primary or talk to [the chaplain], he’ll tell you all about that, so they’re obvious, you’ve got to play with those words and make them age appropriate, but the ethos is still there...so they have little puppets, to represent the four R’s, so they’ve got Resourceful Rocky or something, I don’t know what the names are, and Resilient Romeo and things like that.”

Mr Goodall, Senior Leader, Birchwood School

This illustrated student’s lack of engagement with the school’s previous approach involving the imposition of set phrases and wording. Following student feedback, leaders moved to a less prescriptive way of exploring and using language. Whilst the intention remained, and although the ethos was unchanged, Birchwood’s revised

approach became more balanced, more relational, and more personal. The example of puppets being used to physically embody the values, and the use of easy to remember rhyming couplets with younger students, were age-appropriate, creative and accessible methods used embed this language.

Firwood School described a similar journey, and participants gave the example of a time when language was previously used in a very particular and structured way. Participants then described the recent transition to a more balanced way of working with the language of ethos. Additionally, the principal expanded upon the role of the chaplain in keeping this language alive throughout;

“You know, but actually, I think so, some kids are definitely getting the language, but we try to make it lived by reminding people of it. And I’m very much now getting...I think at first, everyone...used the currency of the values in the conversations. I think there’s been a time also where it’s been a bit less so and perhaps the only banner waver for that has been [the chaplain] and a few key staff. But that’s kept enough of it going so that it’s not alien as I’ve come to refresh it.”

Mr Williams, Principal, Firwood School

The reflection that the chaplain was at one time the only ‘banner waver’ for the language around ethos was a remarkable insight, and illustrated the chaplain’s involvement and interaction with ethos, often above and beyond that of other staff. The chaplain’s role in embedding ethos will be explored further.

Other case study schools had made steps towards creating a shared language around ethos, but many had also encountered challenges in doing so, including which words to use and how many to include. Whilst these challenges may be perceived as granular, one principal was honest in reflecting that those decisions made the difference in whether the school’s defined ethos was accepted or rejected.

“Quite early on I looked at reframing the values of the school, because they were wordy, they were vague, they...people couldn’t explain what that meant, and actually they weren’t serving a purpose.”

Mr Dale, Principal, Dogwood School

One school had condensed their ethos into a four-word phrase, which was enthusiastically referenced by one student;

“I think a lot of people will like all know the phrase like [school phrase] and stuff like that so I think phrases like that are so important because it kind of gives for us at our age we kind of need something brief to hold on to.”

Matthew, Student, Elderwood School

Surprisingly, this phrase wasn't mentioned or referenced in any other interviews at Elderwood School, despite this individual's perception that this school phrase was a critical component of the school's identity. This illustrated the other extreme of the use of language to embed ethos- an easy to remember phrase with little depth that had failed to embed itself beyond a few observant individuals.

At both extremes there were challenges; schools using language for ethos which was either too wordy or too conceptual, but also schools experiencing challenges with language being too condensed and prescriptive without sufficient depth of meaning. For younger students in particular, there was a challenge for them to not only remember, but to deeply understand some of the values which were part of the school's ethos. This challenge was understood by senior leaders in multiple schools.

“I mean, some of the tougher concepts. I think the kids are just still developing, like humility is a really tricky one. You know, what is humility? And why? Why is that superpower?”

Mr Williams, Principal, Firwood School

“... ‘part smart’ is one of their phrases, which is rather than being redemptive”

Mr Goodall, Senior Leader, Birchwood School

“...also for students, to make sure that they're able to go ‘oh I'm hearing all these words, community, wisdom, I'm hearing them all regularly, I need to have knowledge of what they mean and why they should be important to the organisation that we are a part of””.

Mr Marsh, Vice Principal, Dogwood School

There was an acceptance in the case study schools that language surrounding ethos was powerful, and needed to be embedded over time into each school's culture. As such, they needed to be accessible by every individual, and understood not just superficially, but on a much deeper level too.

In summary, across the case studies, schools with a Church of England religious character generally needed to be more intentional about their use of language to describe and communicate their ethos. Following findings from the literature review of a lack of understanding of what constitutes a ‘distinctive Christian ethos’ in Church Schools, this study also confirms that Church of England schools had to invest a significant amount of work into defining, explaining and communicating what it meant to be a Church of England school to its community, and why this was important. The school of no religious affiliation and the school working from an inter-church ethos found less need to use language as a key indicator for ethos, but did rely more on their local mission/vision statement to set them apart from other local education provisions.

5.3.6 Summary of Findings : The Indicators of Ethos

The influence of individuals, the conducting of assemblies, the physical environment, the importance of relationships, and the use of language were frequently referenced and expanded upon by students and staff alike as important indicators of school ethos.

This research opened with the need to explore how school communities and those within it understood and interacted with ethos, and this was achieved through the identification of these five features of school life.

More specifically, this research set out to explore how the chaplain interacted with school ethos, and the chaplain’s work within each case study school is now explored.

5.4 A Chaplain’s Work- Individual or Communal Impact?

In each case study, participants were able to describe and explain the role of the chaplain and give detailed examples of their impact in the school. There was some variation in the types of work that was described, and participant responses were divided into two groups based on the focus of their discussion.

The first group of responses recognised the chaplain’s contributions to the *whole* school as their primary focus. The second group of responses recognised the chaplain’s contributions to the *individual* as their primary contribution.

Participants in the former group spoke of whole school initiatives, including collective worship, assemblies, key events and religious festivals, whilst participants in the latter group referenced one-to-one mentoring, pastoral care and bereavement support.

This is not to suggest that participants who focused on the chaplain's whole school initiatives negated the individual support the chaplain offered, or vice versa. It is important to note that many responses included elements of both, however typically responses were weighted significantly towards either the individual or the collective focus, hence the distinction which is now explored in greater detail. This resonates with McKeone's work on school chaplaincy, which finds "a chaplain cannot work solely on a one-to-one basis, nor limit the work to addressing large groups of pupils" (1993, p.10), but there is a balance between the two which will now be explored.

5.4.1 'Setting the Tone' : Collective Worship and the Impact of the Chaplain on the Whole School

First, the chaplain's impact upon the whole school is explored.

References to the chaplain's whole-school work included a range of projects and initiatives, but participants most frequently referenced contributions to supporting and/or leading collective worship and assemblies. As has already been discussed, the chaplains involved in the study had varying levels of input into assemblies and collective worship, from occasional contribution, to leadership of the year-round programme.

The importance of the gathering of staff and students- whether whole-school, year group, or other collective combination of students, was noted by a range of participants in the primary data collection and secondary data sources, identifying the school assembly as a key indicator of school ethos. The chaplain's involvement in assemblies was specifically noted by a number of participants and inspection reports.

"When you group together, the first thing on a Monday morning, the whole school together, it sets the tone for the week. And I think the chaplain is the person to instigate that tone in the first place and to re-establish it every week."

Emily, Student, Elderwood School

“He [the chaplain] helps coordinate some of the daily acts of worship, so we have assemblies and he helps to coordinate that programme as well as speaking in them quite often, which is an important part.”

Mr Dale, Principal, Dogwood School

“They are really proud of [the values] as well, especially [the chaplain] ... They talk about the Christian ethos...in assemblies as well...especially when [the chaplain] does assemblies.”

Bella and Noah, Students, Firwood School

One chaplain was often invited to lead assemblies at a linked primary school but was not involved with the assemblies at the secondary school where they were predominantly based. This was described as a challenge for them in their role;

“It’s difficult because the assembly slots don’t often fit with when I’m able to do stuff, so that would be a really useful way of becoming better known. So at the primary school I do assemblies every week with them. They know exactly what I do and what I’m about. They see me far more from the kind of religious/chaplain side I guess, whereas here I have a much more pastoral role.”

Mrs Bolton, Chaplain, Ashwood School

In this instance, the chaplain saw their lack of involvement in collective worship as a barrier to their role being understood more clearly by the students. In other schools, which incidentally all had a Church of England religious character, there was a much more established link between the chaplain and the school’s assembly programme, giving chaplains in these case study schools much more opportunity to exercise an impact upon the collective community of the school as a whole.

Although the chaplain at Ashwood School was not regularly involved in collective worship, they still reflected on their role as having a whole school impact, particularly regarding the representation of the school ethos in their day to day activities.

‘I see my role a little bit as a living role of the ethos within the school, as a representation of it. I’d like to think of it as that. And I know that if I was to go to SLT...if it felt like things were going on that weren’t fitting with the school ethos, I think that would be taken into account’

Mrs Bolton, Chaplain, Ashwood School

There were many comments made along the lines of chaplains ‘representing’ ethos, which will be unpacked in due course, but it was interesting to see that even chaplains with limited involvement in collective worship still perceived their role to have a focus on the whole, collective community of the school, illustrating that this aspect of chaplaincy was not dependent upon the leading of an assembly.

In addition to assemblies, participants described chaplains having a communal impact on the whole school through a number of other ways, primarily through the organising and running of prayers, and coordinating or contributing to events around religious festivals or national awareness initiatives. Other responses were referenced less frequently, including the chaplains’ involvement in student voice or student councils, creating displays and murals, producing tutor time worship resources and brokering meetings or making connections across the whole school community. While this list was comprehensive, involvement in the collective worship or assembly programme was the most frequently referenced way in which the chaplains had an impact upon the whole school.

5.4.2 ‘Accessible Anchor, Comforting Consistency’ : Pastoral Support and the Impact of the Chaplain on the Individual

Some participants primarily viewed the chaplain as having impact upon individuals, and these responses commonly spoke of the support and pastoral care which was offered one-to-one. The stories and examples given were either based on the participant’s own experience of being supported by the chaplain, or stories of known others who had benefitted from individual support. Stories typically referenced young people on the margins, those in vulnerable groups, or members of staff who were struggling with bereavement or loss.

The nature of the chaplain’s pastoral work varied across the case study schools, however there were some common threads that resonated with students and staff about the chaplain’s pastoral support to individuals.

First, the chaplain was perceived to have a different relationship to students than teachers and other staff did, which was viewed positively by students and staff. This is further expanded upon in a later chapter exploring the chaplain’s distinctiveness. This

‘difference’ in their relationship created the conditions for the chaplain to make valuable contributions to pastoral support in the school that other staff were not able to provide.

“But I think the chaplaincy bit is being that anchor for the kids being very accessible being a sleeves rolled up chaplain who is in and amongst them, so the coaching sport, you know, going out into the houses you know, [he] is regularly running lunches for prefects of the year 9s and the year groups, he takes them into the cafe for lunch, you know, in and amongst, and I think from example but also a constancy of knowing where he stands and being able to go to them and having that slightly different relationship which isn't as authoritative and I think [he] gets that balance right.”

Mr Burrows, Head teacher, Elderwood School

These perspectives of staff were also validated by responses from students who agreed that the chaplain provided something different to other members of school staff. This is why the pastoral support offered by the chaplain was welcomed by those in the school community.

Second, the chaplain was described as having an open and non-judgemental approach towards pastoral situations. Alongside this, none of the case study schools described formal referral processes in order to connect students with the chaplaincy. These factors meant there were minimal barriers for individuals to speak with the chaplain, resulting in many conversations on a variety of levels every day.

“You just go past his office, and you can see that there are individuals that he's talking to. So the students feel comfortable talking to him, obviously I don't imagine it would be everyone, but he is very, very open”.

Mr Smith, Teacher, Elderwood School

“It's very comforting, and I can speak from personal experience of having to go and speak to [the chaplain] throughout my time here. It's comforting to know that you've got someone who will listen, not judge, and be able to give you some support and guidance. And I think with students who have had bereavements or who have had certain, I mean, we've had students pass away as well, and he's been like our on-site, not counsellor, but the students know him and are very familiar with who he is and what his role is, and I think it's quite comforting to

have, again, consistency for one, but to know that there is somebody who cares and who will make time to listen to you.”

Mrs Grisham, Support Staff, Birchwood School

Within Ashwood School, the range of the chaplain’s support was explained by students and staff;

“...she [the chaplain] has a huge amount to do one-to-one with students, but it’s different to our welfare teams, so it’s not necessarily with that social care aspect at all, that real nurture, that real love, and that huge amount of work that she’s been able to do in just allowing the students to talk to her, so those who have been bereaved or those who have got problems or additional issues.”

Ms Smith, Acting Principal, Ashwood School

“It’s good to have a chaplain because you can just like have a chat with them at any time, because they’re understanding, they won’t judge you.”

Kayleigh, Student, Ashwood School

The open and non-judgemental approach of the chaplain allowed for them to be accessible for support, ranging from informal chats and conversations, to targeted bereavement support for students and staff.

Third, the chaplain typically was recognised for supporting vulnerable groups in the case study schools.

“...like the chaplain does like anti-bullying LGBT, so they know that it’s good to be different.

As well just making everyone feel equal, and just showing that even though you might be different to someone else, like that’s okay, and it doesn’t matter that you might not be like someone else, but it’s just as well to show to people that you don’t need to be a certain way to fit in, and that like you are just as equal to anyone else.”

Kyle and Beth, Students, Ashwood School

“I had a different experience. Because I was only in here for a week of year seven, and then in hospital for two months, and then [the chaplain] actually came to visit me. That’s how I found out about him.”

Bella, Student, Firwood School

From students who had been bullied, to those in vulnerable groups, to those who had suffered bereavement or major illness, the chaplain was seen to specifically support these 'edge cases', although not exclusively. This was in contrast to other staff within schools who may have a remit for a whole year group or a whole house depending upon their role.

Fourth, the chaplain's open access to students and staff was a factor that resulted in the chaplain being able to have pastoral conversations and provide individual support each day.

“And I don't think there is, in fact I know, there is not a single place where [the chaplain] would not be welcome. In the school. You know, in any office in any staff room, In any group. There's no one that would...you know, there's plenty of rooms that I could walk in and go silent. And that's a problem because it means that some people I can't go and connect, to get to socially, just pop in and connect to somebody, I can't do that yet. But [the chaplain] can, and he does.”

Mr Williams, Principal, Firwood School

Whereas other staff were perhaps restricted in their access to individuals, either by nature of their role, timetabled teaching or other commitments, the chaplain was available to all, so that they could support individuals across the school community.

These excerpts use descriptive and positive language to describe the chaplain's support of individuals within the school community. Much has already been written and published regarding this important aspect of a chaplain's work and ministry, therefore it was encouraging to hear consistent messages regarding the chaplain's contribution to pastoral support across each of the case studies, in both exceptionally tragic circumstances, and in the everyday. This study noted the chaplain's distinctive relationships, open and non-judgemental approach, focus on vulnerable students and open access to students and staff as crucial factors in the success of the chaplain's pastoral impact upon individuals.

5.4.3 Chaplaincy's Tension and Duality

Observing two types of responses, those focussing more on the chaplain's collective impact and those focussing more on the chaplain's individual impact, was an outcome of reflection on the data through the hermeneutical cycle. On further reflection upon the interview transcripts, a remark from a middle leader set up an interesting tension between the two areas of the chaplain's role.

"I think [the chaplain] gets inundated with referrals for one-to-one work, and they spend a lot of time one-to-one with students, which means that the rest of the school kind of doesn't value, or doesn't get that kind of valuable work with the whole school message around how to welcome and include people."

Mrs Taylor, Middle Leader, Ashwood School

Previously the areas of individual impact and communal impact had not been perceived as mutually exclusive, however this member of staff had identified a conflict between the chaplain spending perhaps *too* much time with individuals and not enough time with the collective of the whole school community.

Rather than a chaplain needing to choose between one and the other, this response perhaps suggests a level of 'intentional balance' that a chaplain should foster within their work, to ensure the best impact for both individuals and the school collectively. It was rare to hear of a tension in the balancing of a chaplain's responsibilities in other interviews, which aligns with Threlfall-Holmes understanding that difficulties with chaplaincy roles "are far outweighed by the positives" (2011b, p.138), however, there were echoes of this concern elsewhere as chaplains understood the relationship and connection between their work with the individual and their work with the collective.

"In terms of my contribution, the scary thing is I've got to live it. You know, that's the point of being the chaplain, you're showing it, and if they don't see it, I can say what I like. But actually, I'm meant to be showing people what this actually means. For all of my frailty, that's what we do as chaplains... but through everything we do, there is a sense in which faith isn't just personal, it has an effect on the community that we are part of..."

Mr Green, Chaplain, Birchwood School

The tension of being responsible for whole school initiatives, such as collective worship, whilst also needing to maintain successful and authentic one-to-one relationships with a wide range of people, in often vulnerable situations, was distinctive. The use of language such as ‘scary’ shows the subsequent responsibility attached to this.

Yet this duality was also of great benefit;

“The larger part of their role is making sure that all students in the school feel that they are part of that wider community.”

Mrs Taylor, Middle Leader, Ashwood School

“...so yeah, he's just good because you share life with him, he's not like...he's not like a teacher he's more of a...for me he's like one of my mates really, yeah he's really good just because he's so open and he just helps me out...so yeah he's a really important and vital person within the whole community.”

Matthew, Student, Elderwood School

With a focus on both individuals and the collective, the chaplain was well placed to ensure that individuals were connected into the school community and made to feel welcome and a part of the school. This resonated with the chaplain’s pastoral care focus on vulnerable students, and students on the edges or the fringes of the school community.

Doyle writes of the chaplain having a significant role in developing and sustaining the relationship between the whole school and the individual,

...good moral development is the result of the interactions of good people with each other, therefore the atmosphere that exists between the significant adults in the young person’s life greatly influences his/her development and ability to contribute to the common good. For this reason, the manifestation of a spirit of partnership between the participants in the school will benefit not alone the young person, but society as a whole, and the chaplain, as a significant faith presence among the community, is pivotal to its development and sustenance.
(2004, p.102)

This duality in a chaplain’s role appeared to be viewed as both a challenge and an opportunity. To illustrate this, when a situation arose which created division between an

individual and the school community, a chaplain was torn between their dual commitments. This was evidenced in interviews where chaplains typically spoke about three main areas of concern in this regard; the tension between academic expectations and pastoral realities, worship and the Eucharist, and working alongside others. These three areas contained areas of challenge for chaplain in their commitments to individuals and the school community.

Each of these three areas of tension for chaplains can be described as examples of symbolic violence. To return to a definition by Horvat and Antonio,

We find that the interaction of the school organizational habitus and the habitus of the individual students represents a form of "symbolic violence" (Bourdieu & Nice, 1977); (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992) in which the school habitus asserts and maintains its dominance over the individuals who do not "instinctually" fit in this environment. These individuals are then distanced and Othered as a result. (2016, p.320)

Each area is explained in more detail, exploring the chaplain's specific challenges with dealing with situations of symbolic violence in their schools.

5.4.3.1 Academic .vs. Pastoral

A tension between the academic and pastoral foci of the school was described by a number of chaplains, and their conflict between the two. Chaplains tended to give more support to the pastoral side of the debate, even though some had teaching commitments as a part of their role.

"I think sometimes the thing that will really cause a bit of tension for me, is I see a lot of the reality of student's lives, and I think that is sometimes very difficult, I sometimes think that I have to fight on their behalf against the academic side and the pressures, and these are the hoops you have to jump through because you are in school...pushing them through their endless and endless assessments isn't going to help."

Mrs Bolton, Chaplain, Ashwood School

However, chaplains were mindful of the balance between academic and pastoral as part of the child's holistic development. It was the chaplain's holistic perspective on the child that led to tensions with institutions prioritising an academic drive and focus;

"I definitely feel there are times where my values of, actually this student is going to be a much better person and happier person if we can actually work around what they have got going on."

Mrs Bolton, Chaplain, Ashwood School

"I sometimes get frustrated that they don't know that [the student's] parents are divorcing or cat has died or something. But their focus is academic...I'm thinking, well, if you knew his story, that his mum had just died, you might understand, you know, you know what I'm saying?"

Rev. Daley, Chaplain, Elderwood School

One chaplain referred to the extreme or 'edge' cases where students had broken boundaries and consequences had followed. It was not unusual for interviewees to reference high profile or memorable individuals with regard to their behaviour. On reflection, perhaps these examples were given as 'case studies' from which participants were wrestling with the tension between supportive inclusion of the individual and the upholding of behavioural expectations for the many.

"First term, I was here, there was a kid who was expelled for just being bad, she'd come with a really long file and lots of problems. We tried to make good of it, give her a second opportunity, and it didn't work."

Rev. Daley, Chaplain, Elderwood School

In contrast to school systems where students struggled to comply, one chaplain expressed the challenge of school systems where students generally *did* conform to the school rules- the difficulty being that it became harder to identify students who might be struggling pastorally;

"Because we keep very sharp lines, some of the [issues] will go below the surface because [students] do switch as they come through the gates, and they do look smart, and there isn't the opportunity to wear any gang colours...you have to be a bit more attuned to what's going on to spot it...initially you could miss it and you could walk through our playgrounds and go 'oh, what a bunch

of nice middle class children, isn't it nice and quiet here', actually our kids are not that different from most schools, but our routines and our regime is."

Mr Green, Chaplain, Birchwood School

This was a clear tension in the chaplain's role. There was an understanding and support for the organisational aims and ethos, and shared aspiration for the school. In some cases, this ethos was the most attractive feature of the role;

"I think when I came here, it was the vision and the ethos that I got from the headmaster that really, you know, swung me over."

Rev. Daley, Chaplain, Elderwood School

However, coupled with this was a concern for the individual and how their wellbeing might be negatively affected by the ethos and culture of the institution. This tension shows the chaplain operating in the duality of the role and understanding a balance is needed between organisational aims and the individual experience and wellbeing of the student.

5.4.3.2 Worship and the Eucharist

Some chaplains elaborated on tensions and challenges related to the Eucharist. While these challenges were not present in every school, interviews uncovered chaplains who thought very deeply about these issues and the subsequent inclusion and exclusion of students and staff.

"The greatest sticking point for us as an inter-church Catholic/Anglican school is obviously our sacramental worship and I think for both of our traditions, that's something we hold very dear, it's not something we want to fudge on and simply say we won't have sacramental worship because it's going to be difficult...but we have to acknowledge every single time that this is difficult and there is a brokenness and a lack of unity, at the heart of what we're trying to express as a combined Christian outlook."

Rev. Matthews, Chaplain, Cedarwood School

Whilst this challenge was inherently part of the make-up of an inter-church school, the chaplains held a unique role in holding those tensions and attempting to ensure all were

included. The chaplains were thoughtful, deliberate and intentional about their work surrounding the Eucharist.

“I would say one of the strongest threads of the inter-church school is working with the difficulty...we’ve seen that be real stress for members of the school, to take part in worship where there is a sense of exclusion, because that is the nature...Anglicans can’t receive in a Catholic mass, and Catholics are not permitted to receive in an Anglican Eucharist.”

Rev. Matthews, Chaplain, Cedarwood School

This overlap results from a negotiation of values between the denominations which was explored in the theoretical context to this study. The negotiation between these values had the potential to create tension in schools and between schools where values are disputed, as “schools sometimes become the battleground where groups with different value priorities vie for influence and domination” (Halstead, 1996, p.3). Green uses research from joint church academies to argue that while having a set of core values can create a ‘consensual space’ for negotiation, “the practical effect is a dilution of the Christian basis of the ethos being communicated to students” (2014, p.288).

While chaplains recognised this challenge, they worked within it, embraced it, and described this as one of the strengths of the school.

This tension was not confined to the inter-church school, and a similar challenge was expressed in the largest Church of England school too.

“...we’re not Eucharistic in the way that some schools are. Because if you are saying what binds us together is Eucharist and you’re celebrating something that somebody in your community can’t join in with, well what does that mean as a church school?

And there’s a kind of floating question about the extent as to whether we ought to be the base for some kind of fresh expression for young people. If roughly half of our students are church-ed that means half are not, where do they go to the next step in their leap of faith?”

Mr Green, Chaplain, Birchwood School

Although these concerns and questions weren’t commonly raised by the students or staff, it was interesting to note that the chaplains took these very seriously, and applied

much thought into the tension between the requirements of collective worship and the sacraments but also the place and inclusion of the individual amongst that.

5.4.3.3 *Working alongside Others*

While some participants were very positive about the influence of other staff on the ethos and culture of the school, chaplains presented an alternative perspective on staff engagement, describing the challenges of working alongside individuals who might not be as engaged as others in the ethos of the school.

Interviewer: *“What do you think is the single biggest challenge to embedding ethos across the school?”*

“Commitment...I think it’s getting people on board with it.”

Mrs Bolton, Chaplain, Ashwood School

“I think that’s sometimes where we fail, because a lot of our stuff is implemented through tutor time, and if we have tutors who are not on board with that, so some tutors will not show the tutor notices and will not play the podcast...there are some tutor groups that were like ‘well, sir didn’t show us the podcast...we haven’t done it’. So, I think because it’s coming from those different people rather than top-down, when somebody is not engaged in it, there’s not anything pushing them to be engaged in it, so it takes a lot of effort from the other people to try and make it happen.”

Mrs Bolton, Chaplain, Ashwood School

“So I think that ethos of the school had been imprinted by [deputy head] and Headmaster. The other senior management had been here before. So they kind of just go with the flow. They weren’t anti-establishment, but they weren’t necessarily on board.”

Rev. Daley, Chaplain, Elderwood School

While these remarks focussed on the staff communicating the ethos to students, at times this lack of engagement was more personal, and it was the chaplain who articulated some of these more personal tensions where no one else did.

“I think there is a general acceptance [of the ethos] ...but there was a question of ‘do all staff need to say ‘Amen’ at the end of a prayer?’, if they don’t actually believe it, or are they supposed to be doing it as a kind of example for the young people?”

Mr Gooch, Chaplain, Dogwood School

Although these references were infrequent, they illustrated some tensions and challenges with how the chaplain worked alongside others in a school community, where staff had varying levels of engagement with the ethos.

This was most evident in responses describing the chaplain’s role in being an ‘in-between’ for staff who didn’t identify as Christian, and/or who had not had a Christian upbringing or a deep understanding of the Christian faith, and trying to help them understand deeply the Christian ethos of particular schools.

“That’s hard when lots of staff don’t come to us because of that ethos, they come because we are a great school.”

Mr Green, Chaplain, Birchwood School

“...I am a Christian. And I feel like a lot of my colleagues are not, and they can't see the resemblance...I know, like a lot of people say, 'Oh, I don't need to go to church to, you know, believe in God'. You know, I think it does help. And [chaplaincy], it's like an in-between, for a lot of people to have [the chaplain] here, to have that, and the assemblies that staff go to.”

Mr Deane, Support Staff, Firwood School

“I almost feel like when I started, it’s fairly obvious that a significant body of the staff were Christian. And although that hasn’t gone, I don’t get the impression that the staff coming in are particularly Christian...necessarily...there are a fair amount who aren’t and don’t see the importance of it. And I suppose the reality is that those people who are more secular will place more emphasis on the secular lessons that can be learned from faith rather than the religious lessons that can be learned from faith.”

Interviewer: *“Whose responsibility do you think it is to drive that ethos in an environment where there are fewer people who would automatically resonate with that?”*

“I think it has to be [the chaplain], primarily as chaplain.”

Mr Bright, Teacher, Birchwood School

Whilst this was particularly in reference to Church of England schools, it raises larger questions about how important it is for staff to align with the ethos of a school, especially in school communities where ethos is deemed to be crucially important to the life of the school.

For the chaplain to be labelled here as the person responsible for engaging staff in a school’s ethos (particularly in the schools of Church of England background), illustrated a level of responsibility which leads to descriptions of it being ‘scary’.

“And what [our in-school research] really helpfully pointed out was the gap between the senior staff’s knowledge of Christianity, because although not all of them are practicing Christians, most of them were at least churched in growing up. And the younger the staff were who were asked, the less they understood. And so, that was really useful for me to use as evidence in terms of how we develop ethos, because if you don’t ‘get it’ you can’t pass it on.”

Mr Green, Chaplain, Birchwood School

According to the chaplain at Birchwood School, this trend appeared to highlight a growing gap, as younger staff tended to understand less the foundations of the ethos of Church of England schools such as Birchwood. For the chaplain to act as the bridge between staff and the school’s ethos was another challenge and frustration with the chaplain’s role in embedding ethos.

5.4.4 Summary of Findings : Individual and Communal, the Opportunities and Challenges

Pastoral support of individuals was identified as a core component in a chaplain’s work and much has already been written and published about this aspect of a chaplaincy. However, school chaplains within the case studies clearly also had a role to play in contributing to whole school initiatives and programmes, having an impact on the collective school community. While these two areas of impact were not deemed to be

mutually exclusive, in line with the thoughts of McKeone (1993, p.10), responses from participants were typically weighed towards one of these focuses.

Interview transcripts revealed moments where chaplains experienced challenge or tension between their duty to individuals and their duty to the wider school community. Chaplains generally found their role to be positive and fulfilling, and references to these moments of symbolic violence were few in quantity. They were, however, insightful, and clustered around the challenges of academia verses pastoral, worship and the Eucharist, and working alongside others.

The literature review previously highlighted that the Church of England perceived its distinctive Christian ethos to be one which was;

...hospitable to diversity, respects freedom of religion and belief, and encourages others to contribute from the depths of their own traditions and understandings. It invites collaboration, alliances, negotiation of differences, and the forming of new settlements in order to serve the flourishing of a healthily plural society and democracy, together with a healthily plural educational system. (Church of England, 2016, p.3)

This research showed this claim to be optimistic at times, with the reality of the day-to-day running of schools presenting a different picture. In tension with the promise of an inclusive ethos, collaboration, negotiation and contribution didn't always lead to the 'flourishing of a healthily plural society'. Instead it occasionally led to a contested ethos that lacked depth and distinctiveness, and a battleground of values that struggled to show clarity of purpose. The chaplain, although very positive with regard to their work around ethos and culture, was able to highlight these moments of tension in each case study school.

5.5 A Chaplain's Interaction with School Ethos and Culture

Having established some context with regard to the expressions of ethos across the case studies, as well as the roles of the chaplains, we come now to the central concern of this research.

Participants were specifically asked for their understanding of the chaplain's interaction with ethos, in order to help identify the nature of the relationship from multiple perspectives.

First, interviews in all case study schools showed that participants recognised the chaplain as having a role to play with regard to embedding the school's ethos into the day to day culture of staff and students. Participants were keen to point out specific areas where this was done particularly well, and these responses were explored first.

Second, the language of participants was used to label a series of 'modes' to describe a variety of levels in which a chaplain was engaged with embedding ethos. These modes were loosely linked to the length of time a chaplain had served within their respective schools, however they also acted as a way to show the variety of ways in which a chaplain may be involved in closing the gap between ethos and culture.

Third, the level of responsibility the chaplain carried for ethos was explored, including examples where this responsibility left the chaplain as being solely responsible for the ethos of the school, and the appropriateness of this arrangement.

Fourth, responses citing areas for improvement in the chaplain's engagement with ethos were explored in order to clarify potential areas for chaplaincy development and growth.

5.5.1 'Outstanding contribution' : A Chaplain Working with Ethos

Interviews in all case study schools consistently showed that chaplains were already engaged with ethos enhancing work, which was widely recognised and respected. A number of responses cited here, show that across the case study schools, chaplains were conducting positive work embedding ethos within their schools, and this work was perceived to be important and worthwhile.

“...the ethos here is one of tolerance, of respect. And as I said, of care, producing decent humans. And I think that's where...chaplaincy comes in.”

Mrs Mahmood, Support Staff, Elderwood School

“I think [the chaplain is] core to it [ethos], really, because they, you know they organise all the assemblies and sort out who's running it, and they're a very visible presence, you know [one of the chaplains] is always around the school, and there's always people and things going on [in the chaplain's centre] at lunchtimes, anyone can drop in.”

Mr Sunak, Middle Leader, Cedarwood School

“I think the chaplain is very important in that culture as well. He speaks probably to the school, the whole school, more regularly than anyone else.”

Mr Burrows, Head Teacher, Elderwood School

“[The chaplain has] strengthened it, I think. 'Cos we could have like the school prayer and everything, do all the masses without the chaplain, but it makes it less significant.”

Christopher, Student, Cedarwood School

“I don't think there would be any specific leadership of [ethos]. So I think there would be accountability for it and responsibility for it, but there wouldn't be one person really driving it.”

Mrs Harvey, Assistant Principal, Birchwood School

“And a lot of that [ethos] is down to the continuity that [the chaplain] has given, that whoever's the head, whatever the staff makeup is like, [the chaplain] is there, just underpinning it and giving it a structure to move it forward.”

Ms Felgate, Senior Leader, Firwood School

“I think [the chaplain's] arrival which as I say has...taken the place...[of the] Christian Ethos Group, [the headteacher, the chaplain] and I meet twice a term now.”

Mr French, Governor, Dogwood School

While the practical demonstration of this work varied from school to school, the chaplains were all valued for their contributions to the ethos of the school.

However, responses described different levels of contributions, and this is explored further in order to fully answer the research question of how exactly a chaplain contributed towards school ethos.

5.5.2 ‘Building, Embedding, Embodying’ : Modes of a Chaplain’s Relationship with Ethos

While there was consistent recognition of the impact of the chaplain on the embedding of school ethos, a focus of this research was to explore the nature of that dynamic link, and the chaplain’s specific involvement.

Responses varied significantly, as participants described the nature of the chaplain’s interaction with ethos in a number of ways using rich and varied language. In order to understand this interaction further, and after careful reflection upon the interview transcripts, key responses have been selected, and keywords underlined to identify ‘modes’ of how a chaplain interacts with ethos.

“Well, I suppose [chaplaincy’s] the living embodiment of what that school ethos is, um, and that’s very much how I see [the chaplains] as part of that, and I’m very, very thankful that they are here and kind of offer the living, breathing support of the values that we promote, which is to do with kindness and compassion and belonging, reaching out to others.”

Miss Terrence, Teacher, Cedarwood School

“So, from in school and out of school in the boarding houses, that culture is sort of born there as such. And then I think you have the, [chaplain] and characters like that, who then see that and try and build on it with their own influence. Keeping it all on the right path as such. Letting it develop, letting it grow, letting become bigger and, and more diverse and better in so different ways, but also guiding it, you know, and I think his role is much like that.”

Kieran, Student, Elderwood School

“Right from the early days, having the chaplain always putting that quite specific lens on it is absolutely vital, because it was quite a singular lens, we were all doing other things, bringing that singular lens on it is really quite important.”

Mr Goodall, Senior Leader, Birchwood School

“I would say that the school ethos is actually spearheaded by the [chaplain] because the initiatives that we have around it, she’s part of it at all points.”

Ms Fenwick, Teacher, Ashwood School

“I think what I’m really trying to say is there is a more coherent thrust to assembly themes, and they do bring in a certain amount of Christian influence and thoughts and ideas, and I think they usually end with a prayer, but it’s not necessarily Christian every week, but it is a good blend. So, I would have said that [the chaplain’s] influence has been particularly there in the collective worship, and as I said, just being around.”

Mr French, Governor, Dogwood School

“I think that having my role here became part of that influence, and almost, not necessarily influencing, but reminding the school of what the ethos and the values are. I see my role a little bit as a living role of the ethos within the school, as a representation of it. I’d like to think of it as that.”

Mrs Bolton, Chaplain, Ashwood School

“And a lot of that is down to the continuity that [the chaplain] has given, that whoever’s the head, whatever the staff makeup is like, [the chaplain] is there, just underpinning it and giving it a structure to move it forward.”

Ms Felgate, Senior Leader, Firwood School

In addition to these key words, ‘embedding’ was added following wording used within an inspection report for one case study school which described the chaplain as ‘embedding’ the ethos of the school.

This diverse use of language illustrated a wide range of ‘modes’ (see Table 10) as to how a chaplain might engage and interact with ethos. Even participants within the same school focussed on different aspects of a chaplain’s interactions with ethos, providing a rich tapestry of language to explore across all the case studies.

<i>Mode of interaction</i>	<i>Providing a lens on ethos</i> <i>Building ethos</i> <i>Influencing ethos</i> <i>Reminding of ethos</i> <i>Embedding ethos</i> <i>Representing ethos</i> <i>Continuing ethos</i> <i>Underpinning ethos</i> <i>Embodying ethos</i> <i>Spearheading ethos</i>
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Table 10 A summary of some key terms used to describe a chaplain’s interaction with ethos

Even after identifying a list of modes from interview transcripts, there was little value in comparing and contrasting modes between case studies and individual chaplains, as they were inherently contextual and unique to the individual and their perception of the chaplain. Instead, a full list of modes was created to showcase the breadth and depth of how chaplains were interacting with ethos independent of the school from which they emerged.

It was also unfair to draw conclusions that chaplains should either be tied to a singular mode or should encompass multiple modes simultaneously. To suggest that every chaplain should be described as an ethos ‘reminder’ whilst also ‘embedding’ and ‘building’ and ‘spearheading’ the school’s ethos, would be an inaccurate interpretation of the responses. Instead, it is suggested that these modes may suit a range of chaplains and contexts, and shift and change over time.

Rather than being tied to individual chaplains or individual school contexts, these modes appeared to be more closely associated with the length of time a chaplaincy provision had been in place. In the example from Birchwood School, the chaplain’s ‘lens’ on the ethos was useful at the start of the school’s journey with a recently defined ethos. From Dogwood School, the chaplain’s ‘influence’ on the ethos was also crucial early in the process of forming and defining the school’s ethos. In contrast, a chaplain ‘underpinning’ the ethos and providing ‘continuity’ through the challenges of senior staffing changes (as was the case at Firwood School), was only possible following the chaplain spending a significant amount of time in the role, and enough opportunity to build relationships and trust across the school community.

To develop this further, each of the modes of a chaplain’s interaction with ethos were grouped into stages (see Table 11) depending on the length of time a chaplain provision had been established within the school, and these groupings are displayed below.

Age of Chaplaincy Provision	New and Emerging → Established → Well Established			
<i>Mode of interaction</i>	<i>Providing a lens Building ethos Influencing ethos</i>	<i>Reminding of ethos Embedding ethos Representing ethos</i>	<i>Continuing ethos Underpinning ethos</i>	<i>Embodying ethos Spearheading ethos</i>

Table 11 Grouped ‘modes’ of a chaplain’s interaction with ethos

The interviewees showed that these modes may last for varying amounts of time. A chaplain working on ‘continuing’ the ethos during a period of senior staffing changes could be operating in this mode for over a year during upheaval and change in a school community. In contrast, a chaplain acting as a ‘reminder’ in the run up to important religious festivals or notable events, may operate in this mode for a few days or weeks. This loose categorisation of the chaplain’s interaction with school ethos provides a way to better understand the chaplain’s role more fully independently of a list of operational tasks and is one of the key outcomes of this study.

5.5.3 ‘The only person’ : A Chaplain’s Responsibility for Ethos

Amongst the interviews were a thread of responses regarding how much responsibility the chaplain should take for ethos in their schools. It has already been explored that chaplains have a significant interaction with ethos in various ways, a question remained of how far should this go?

A generally reflection upon the research data was that chaplain’s responses to questions about school ethos evoked responses comparable to responses from principals, head teachers and senior leaders, in that answers were reflective, thorough, in depth, and showed a clear understanding of the context of the school and its journey over time. Although most chaplains did not hold senior roles within their school’s staffing structure (excluding the case of Birchwood School), chaplains responded to interview questions using strategic-level insight into the school’s ethos and culture. This illustrated the chaplain’s deep involvement with the embedding of ethos, and how the

chaplains were engaged in conversations which typically other staff were not aware of, or engaged in.

This is balanced with recommendations in the literature that school chaplains should not assume sole responsibility for the ethos.

While the chaplain has much to contribute to school ethos, it is important not to assume sole responsibility for it. The school's ethos is a matter for the entire school community. All have a role to play in ensuring fidelity to this ethos and its creative expression in the day-to-day life of the school. The chaplain, nonetheless, takes special care to be a resource person in this matter. (Monahan & Renehan, 1998, p.65)

However responses collected from participants across the case study schools presented a mixed picture. Participants were divided, and some expressed that in their schools, the chaplain *did* have full responsibility for the ethos.

"No, poor [the chaplain] has it all on his own shoulders, with a little bit of help from the RE department."

Mrs Matthew, Teacher, Dogwood School

"I would suggest he's the glue that holds everything together."

Ms Felgate, Senior Leader, Firwood School

"I think that the whole...the whole Christian ethos of the school is dependent on the quality of the chaplain....I think that the chaplain can make such...it's on him, or her, if you get the right one, it can be game changing."

Mr Simmons, Senior Leader, Elderwood School

Interviewer: *"Who in your mind should be leading on [ethos]?"*

"Yeah it should be everyone in the entire school."

Interviewer: *"And who at the moment is leading on that?"*

"The only person is [the chaplain]."

Mr Wade, Teacher, Firwood School

"I think it has to be [the chaplain], primarily as chaplain."

Mr Bright, Teacher, Birchwood School

“I think there's been a time also where it's been a bit less so and perhaps the only banner waver for that has been [the chaplain] and a few key staff.”

Mr Williams, Principal, Firwood School

This final quote from Firwood School echoes Hughes and Sims' Australian research, where it was found that “in some case studies, it was noted that the chaplains kept the values of the school before staff and students” (2009, p.26).

In contrast, other responses suggested the chaplain worked as part of a wider team, with ethos and culture being delivered and embedded in partnership with others. These responses typically illustrated the chaplain as having an *empowering* role which took things *further* and *deeper*.

“I think ethos needs to be more than a chaplain, and I think there are lots of places where...it has to be absolutely promoted by staff, and they have to be pro-it, for, and the leadership team is promoting it, that's what we have to do, and the chaplain takes it further in terms of the prayers and spiritual life of the school, being there for staff, pastorally, and I think, you know, the Christian ethos is not his sole responsibility, it has to be spread out, has to be, as with anything within the school, you can't have just one person standing up for it, it doesn't work that way.”

Mr Todd, Principal, Birchwood School

“Well [the chaplain] is always at the forefront of [ethos], so whenever we hear anything about a week for this, or a week for that, it's always from her, and it's directly from her, it's not like 'I'll get my PA to write an email and send it out to all the staff', and if she wants you involved, or if she can recognise skills in you, she will contact you first as well, it's not always like just her doing stuff and the kids, it's like, oh this member of staff is strong on this, let's get them involved.”

Mrs Bolton, Teacher, Ashwood School

One school ‘delegated’ the work around values and ethos to a senior leader, which was the only example known to the researcher of this area of school life being formally put into the job description of someone other than that principal or chaplain. This leader had, however, sought to include the chaplain as part of their work.

“So [the head teacher] has looked at [the four values], and has put it under my area, for my area to do, so that’s one of the reasons for the drive behind the stuff that’s done with [the chaplain] as well. So it’s literally that’s all come from me through to those guys, so we’ve just got to get it into all the places.”

Mr Marsh, Vice Principal, Dogwood School

The phrasing from a participant at one school acknowledged that while the presence of an ethos of some kind is not dependent upon the presence of a chaplain, for it to have depth and meaning, the role of a chaplain *would* be required. The language used in the response summarised many of the more detailed points from other participants and resonated with the idea of a chaplain taking things further and deeper.

Interviewer: *“...if the role of chaplain wasn’t there, do you think there would be enough expertise, enough depth of understanding to promote that ethos as strongly?”*

“No. To promote an ethos of some kind, yeah. Uh...to have a rich, deep and meaningful ethos, no.”

Mr Bright, Teacher, Birchwood School

The level of influence the chaplains had on the embedding of ethos into their school cultures came as a surprise for some participants, and this was best illustrated through a student’s response;

“Cos although...it’s hard for the chaplain, because she’s not like [the head teacher], because everyone knows [the head teacher] and things like that, but she’s almost on the same level as him, because she does a lot, but her perceived authority isn’t as much.

...but you wouldn’t...because the head teacher’s the head teacher and is supposed to be the highest in the school, you wouldn’t think the chaplain compares at all, but she’s quite important...for our school anyway.

She’s like...she’s compared to the head teacher she doesn’t do big things like the head teacher but she does little things that help a lot.”

Deon, Student, Cedarwood School

The language used here conveyed comparison between the authority and influence of the head teacher’s leadership and the chaplain’s leadership. Whilst the student was

unable to clearly articulate the separation or the overlap, there was clear comparison and association between the role of head teacher and chaplain. This raises the question of whether it is appropriate in each school context for the chaplain to be seen as having such a high level of influence over the ethos of the school.

The comparison with the head teacher was a recurring theme. As part of the student focus groups, individuals were given a list of over twenty roles within the school and asked to think about the people who most embed ethos with their school. Students were asked to score the top five roles that embed ethos. These individual scores were then debated amongst the focus group using the nominal group technique, and together the group agreed on a final top five (see Table 12). Although this did not take place in Elderwood School, the lists from the other case study schools are below;

Order of influence	Ashwood School	Birchwood School	Cedarwood School	Dogwood School	Firwood School
1	Principal	Principal	Students	Principal	Chaplain
2	Teachers	Senior Leaders	Principal	Pastoral Teams	Students
3	Chaplain	Chaplain	Chaplain	Support Staff	Teaching Assistants
4	Senior Leaders	Heads of Department	Senior Leaders	Teachers	Lunchtime Supervisors
5	Students	Teachers	Governors	Students	Senior Leaders

Table 12 Students' perception of roles most involved in embedding ethos in their school

The chaplain was consistently listed in the top three in four out of five schools, and in one school was scored as number one. The only other role to appear consistently in the top three was the principal, illustrating the comparison between the roles of chaplain and principal with regard to influence and responsibility for embedding ethos.

The chaplain did not appear in the top five in Dogwood School. One reflection was that this chaplaincy was the youngest out of all the schools, with the chaplain having been working in the school for just over one year. This fits with the previous description of chaplaincy ‘modes’, and the chaplaincy at Dogwood School may have been operating at a more foundational mode just one year in. Similarly, the role of Principal did not appear in the top five in Firwood School, perhaps because the new Principal had not been in place for very long at the time of data collection.

In summary, whilst the literature recommends avoiding a situation where the chaplain takes full or sole responsibility for school ethos, this did appear to be the case in some contexts. The chaplain perceived to have this responsibility as a response to other people stepping away, rather than as an intentional choice to delegate responsibility to the chaplain.

5.5.4 ‘The Next Challenge’ : Room for Improvement?

Some participants at Ashwood School and Dogwood School suggested areas for the chaplains to further develop their ethos enhancing work. These suggestions included increased provision for developing child spirituality, drop-in sessions and workshops with parents exploring school values, staff training exploring the link between Church and school, and ‘Philosophy for Children’ courses.

These varied suggestions from a range of participants showed a desire for chaplains to grow and expand this area of their work both within the school, but also within the wider community of parents and the Church. These suggestions, in context, were not offered as criticisms of a chaplain’s lack of effort in this particular field of work, but were instead offered as encouragement that these chaplains should feel empowered to develop their whole-school role further.

“I think if she led maybe philosophy for children sessions in our school maybe that would really help to create more of an ethos day to day. I think they could probably do with more exposure in the school, like leading assemblies, leading like scheduled events every term, instead of the adhoc events that they do. I think they’ve done a lot of work around Eid and celebrating the events around different religions, and that has been really valuable, really informative.”

Mrs Taylor, Middle Leader, Ashwood School

The suggested enhancements to chaplaincy at Ashwood school were primarily activity-based, adding additional projects and programmes to make chaplaincy and ethos more visible day-to-day. In contrast, suggestions about the development of chaplaincy at Dogwood School were predominantly about adding depth to the chaplaincy provision and the ethos.

“I think Christmas is a prime example where it’s just become Santa Claus and presents, and so that is another element that I’m, this year, [the chaplain] is looking at, and I think beyond that, it will be to explore the children’s spiritual dimension and identity regardless of faith, but actually that there is more to them that is more than thinking and being, that their thoughts and their physical attributes, but there is this spiritual dimension that sometimes they don’t explore or use, and that is probably [the chaplain’s] next challenge.”

Mr Dale, Principal, Dogwood School

“So could [the chaplain] do drop-in sessions to say parents ‘you can drop-in, and we’re just going to talk about the word hope and what it means for the school and what it means or should mean for you as parents.’”

Mr Marsh, Vice Principal, Dogwood School

“...that’s kind of the next step as we go through, how can he lead the staff through a little bit more, maybe some more training on the values and why they are important. Why are they important to the church, and therefore leading into...we know why they are important to us as a school because we’re linking them to all the school stuff, but maybe going back a stage and linking it to why are these things important to the church, what are the values of the church? There’s certainly work to be done there staff wise.”

Mr Marsh, Vice Principal, Dogwood School

While interviews and focus groups found virtually no criticism of the chaplaincies in each of the case study schools, in the above two schools there was a desire to see some extra development and enhancement of the current chaplaincy provision, specifically with regard to interaction with ethos.

5.5.5 Summary of Findings : A Chaplain's Interaction with Ethos

Data from the case study schools uncovered a range of ways in which chaplains were interacting with ethos and how this interaction had changed over time. In line with the research methodology, the language used by participants was respected and used to identify a series of 'modes' to describe how a chaplain interacted with ethos. These modes were loosely grouped into timespans depending on whether a chaplaincy was new, established or well established. Rather than seeking to imposed labels or frameworks, this approach is one which involves terminology born from the data and the experience of the case study schools. The analysis provides useful insight into the unique interaction between the chaplain and the school ethos.

5.6 The Chaplain's Distinctiveness

Having established a more detailed insight into the chaplain's interaction with ethos, the next research question asked of the distinctiveness of the chaplain's role, and what equipped and enabled the chaplain to interact with ethos in this way.

Research already shows that "pupils hold them in high regard and see chaplains as having a specific, perhaps unique role" (Doherty, 2004, p.704), however understanding further the nature of this distinctiveness was a specific focus for this study.

Interviews with participants in each school explored the question of what qualified the chaplain to be able to contribute to ethos-embedding work across the schools they worked in, and what made the chaplain's role so distinctive and unique in contributing to this work.

The chaplain's role, in line with other research and literature, was widely recognised as providing something distinct and different from other staff, professionals, and teams within the school. This was referenced across all case studies by a wide range of participants, but most frequently referenced by students themselves.

However, participants occasionally struggled to articulate why the chaplain's role was distinctive, as illustrated by one student's response;

“I do feel he does bring things to school. But you know, it's quite difficult to pin point exactly because he's always been there. So without them, you're not necessarily sure.”

James, Student, Elderwood School

Analysis of the interview transcripts revealed five emerging areas showcasing the chaplain's role was distinctive. These themes are drawn from the interviews within the case study schools in this study, and should not be viewed as an exhaustive list.

From the interviews conducted, the chaplain's role was distinctive in five areas; its provision of impartiality, relational focus, peaceful presence, religious authority, and depth and embodiment. Each aspect is expanded upon here in further detail.

5.6.1 Distinctive Impartiality

From an Australian perspective, Patrick critiques the religious and spiritual aspects of chaplaincy's distinctiveness, concluding that such a distinction should be removed. Patrick claims that “if the spiritual element of chaplaincy were removed so it complies with the principle of religious neutrality, there is strong reason to believe that [chaplaincy's] primary benefit to students would still remain” (2014, p.219). Yet in this study, the first emerging theme of distinctiveness was the very principal of religious ‘impartiality’.

The chaplains who participated in the study were described by many as offering an inclusive, impartiality to students and staff. Whilst one could argue whether it is even possible to remain entirely impartial in an educational institution, participants were essentially describing a metaphorical space where students and staff were free and able to explore values and beliefs without fear of ridicule or judgement.

“...actually the chaplaincy is more like, it's like a blank piece of paper, you just come in here and like empty your thoughts and things like that...so, a lot of people come to the chaplain with problems and she gives them solutions or advice and things like that, or just gives them her ears that they have someone to talk to. And that can be helpful and effective.”

Thomas, Student, Cedarwood School

“We have a lot of students who come from different faiths, and there’s a lot of pressure from some of their faiths, they are coming to our school and then being asked to do things in this way and that way, and they may know that may go against something they may do in their own religion...previously I would have said well let’s work through it, but we have that expertise now of the chaplain to say ‘we have a chaplain on site, he knows we have other faiths within the school, and he’d be a great person to go and speak to’.”

Mr Marsh, Vice Principal, Dogwood School

At no point during the data collection were chaplains accused of excluding individuals based on their beliefs, or engaged in evangelisation or proselytising. Chaplains were never described as being unapproachable either. Instead, the chaplain was described as one of the key people students and staff would go to for people who wanted to *explore* values and beliefs in an open and honest way. Further to this, one participant described the chaplain choosing to help in situations that didn’t necessarily resonate with the chaplain’s own values or the values of the school.

“Yeah. I mean, [the chaplain] deals with a lot of stuff that he obviously may not agree on, or kind of the Christian beliefs doesn't really kind of shine through there.”

Mr Jones, Middle Leader, Firwood School

The chaplains in these case study schools were described as chaplains who didn’t seek to impose their values or beliefs onto others, and chaplains who demonstrated inclusiveness consistently. The chaplains created spaces of impartiality which allowed for individuals to openly and honestly explore their own values and beliefs.

One student combined the ideas of a physical space and relational space to describe the chaplain as a ‘safe person’;

“I don't know if this is a thing but [the chaplain is like] a safe person. As in like, you know, you have a safe place like the sacred space. Yeah, he's a safe person that you can just like...be with.”

Bella, Student, Firwood School

The student’s opening remark of ‘*I don’t know if this is a thing*’ showed their own unease with some of the vocabulary used to describe this idea. Despite this, the

comparison gives further evidence of the chaplain's demonstration of impartiality. The 'space' the chaplain offered for students (and staff) to negotiate and explore values and beliefs was akin to a safe physical space.

Approachability and safety were key to students and staff coming to the chaplain, but when they 'arrived' at a relationship with the chaplain, it was the impartiality, openness and acceptance that was the distinctive feature of their identity.

Interestingly, one chaplain was perceived to be sufficiently impartial that they received critique from a student; the student expressed frustration that the chaplain's personal beliefs weren't explicit enough;

"I have had one student said to me, 'I don't know what you believe.' and she was a very bright girl. And I respected her opinion greatly. Which I took as a compliment...that means I'm so broad minded that I allow so much...I let Muslims speak you know, atheists speak about evolution passionately twice this term, but when she said that to me last year...and she said, 'well we don't know what you believe', it was a real turning point because I don't champion my belief...That is that my downfall was that I keep presenting different views, you know..."

Rev. Daley, Chaplain, Elderwood School

This conversation was unique and provided a fascinating insight into the student-chaplain relationship. In the context of Elderwood School, the ethos was clearly Christian. The provision of a chapel, Christian symbols, the heritage of the school and the priority and style of collective worship reinforced the school's Christian ethos. The chaplain's decision to allow students and staff of other faiths, and no faith, to speak occasionally in the chapel was clearly not creating a school-wide impartiality or lack of clarity around the faith basis of the school's ethos. On reflection, the student's critique rests not with the lack of clarity regarding the school's ethos, but speaks to the chaplain directly, describing a need for greater depth of understanding of the chaplain's own faith. The student's critique was perhaps not necessarily a comment on the flavour of collective worship, but instead illustrated the need for students to have an authentic relationship with the chaplain, who is open and honest about their own personal faith and faith journey.

It was fascinating that impartiality was seen as a *distinctive* feature of chaplaincy and was described by multiple participants across the case study schools. The chaplain was also described as one of the only people who could offer a truly impartial, safe space in which individuals could understand their own beliefs more clearly and deeply. This is a marked difference from the narrative presented by critics of chaplaincy, which typically expresses the chaplain as religious infiltration into a neutral, secular education system.

5.6.2 Distinctive Relationships

A second notable theme in the data was that the chaplain formed distinctive relationships with students and staff across the case study schools. There is much written about the distinctive role of the chaplain, and students' ability to understand this distinctiveness. Caperon found;

The perception that the chaplain has a distinctive role within the institution of the school, significantly different from that of the ordinary teacher, also seems to be one widely shared among students (2015, p.71).

However in this project, the experience of students and staff spoke more of the chaplains' distinctive *relationships* with others, as opposed to their operational duties. This is recognised by Murphy in the conclusion, "there was unanimous agreement between respondents that their everyday encounters with the chaplain were fundamentally different to those they had with other staff members in the school" (2004, p.208).

Students typically use a range of descriptive language to describe their relationship with their chaplain, as illustrated by Scott's self-reflection where he was described as a "father", a "big brother" a "second parent" and "adult friend" (1998, p.49). However these labels, sometimes found in research, are limited in their ability to fully describe the relationship people had with their chaplain. Instead they act as similes, provide often weak comparisons, and are entirely dependent on the individual's personal experience of parents, siblings and friends.

Responses in this study showed that far from being 'another member of staff', the way that the chaplain related to people was understood to be different and distinctive to any

other relationship in the school. This was consistent with Murphy's findings. Instead of asking participants to put a label on this relationship, they expanded upon what made the relationship with the chaplain distinctive from other people in the school.

"You just know that that's that one person who understands everything kind of that's just their job to make people feel welcome and equal. I just feel like they, yeah there is other people up here to support, but they don't have the understanding of the chaplain."

Kayleigh, Student, Ashwood School

"[The chaplain is] ...different to our welfare teams, so it's not necessarily with that social care aspect at all, that real nurture, that real love, and that huge amount of work that she's been able to do in just allowing the students to talk to her, so those who have been bereaved or those who have got problems or additional issues."

Ms Smith, Acting Principal, Ashwood School

"I had various incidents where I had struggles with, problems with my children a few years ago and I was very upset about it, and I remember [the chaplain] just coming and looking after me, and I've never been in a school where, well normally you would have a line manager or a colleague, but it's actually someone who actually had their eye on the ball."

Mr Goodall, Senior Leader, Birchwood School

Some participants focused on love and nurture, others on understanding, others on the quantity of time given, and others on the chaplain's ability to be proactive. There were many ways in which the chaplain provided a helpful, supportive relationship to students and staff. Participants valued the chaplain's role as one which offered a *different* relationship, one which complimented their relationships with others in the school.

Two interviews from participants at Firwood School went even further to explain the distinctive relationship with the chaplain, explicitly drawing lines between different roles, and different relationships;

"I think because [the chaplain] isn't a teacher and isn't a member of staff, he's viewed differently. He's viewed as a...not that teachers aren't viewed as friends. But [the chaplain] is viewed totally differently...But there's a different kind of

trust. Different kinds of friend. While someone else could run the football team, I think students are eager to approach [the chaplain] and tell them things about their life at school...But I think they see [the chaplain] ...like a shepherd with sheep..."

Mrs Donnelly, Governor, Firwood School

"He's not part of the school...he's not part of my school life. He's part of my normal life."

Interviewer: *"Okay, so it's a different role?"*

"He's not just a teacher he's a personal friend.

When you speak to him he doesn't seem like a teacher.

No, he just seems like a normal...

He's a big part of people's lives. So it doesn't seem like he's just at school,

He's not just part of our school life,

He's part of our personal life."

Bella, Noah, Holly, Laura and Tyler, Students, Firwood School

Participants referenced here all understood the chaplain as someone who formed distinctive relationships, allowing them to know people beyond the boundaries of a teacher-student relationship, something highly valued by the students.

Specifically on reflection of the comparison between the chaplain-student and the teacher-student relationships, the chaplain's approach was defined by the giving of time and attention. The offer of both of these commodities in a busy school environment was rare. The proactive conversations in a reactive environment and the care for student's personal lives in a professional academic environment, made chaplaincy distinct from other provisions in the school. This approach to relationships could be described as being counter-cultural to relationships typically found within a school environment. The impact of this distinctiveness was summarised by a quote from a senior leader;

"And often, if you're speaking to a child and you say, is there somebody that you feel you can talk to? [The chaplain] will be the first name that comes out. Because, again, although he's constantly in the building, he always kind of sits out of the, the, the staff structure."

Ms Felgate, Senior Leader, Firwood School

The provision of a relationship based on the unconditional offer of time and attention was a distinctive feature of chaplaincy in the case study schools, and provided the chaplain with the authenticity to engage with ethos at a whole-school level. This set chaplaincy apart from other roles within the school setting.

The findings from this study go beyond artificial labels of *father*, *friend* or *sibling* to show the relationship people formed with the chaplain were distinctive and counter-cultural within a school environment.

5.6.3 Distinctive Peaceful Presence

Within the relationships offered to those within the school, a key recurring theme was that of a distinctive *peacefulness* which chaplains brought to their respective school cultures.

Whipp comments that “being attentive requires a quality of calm and stillness, even countercultural leisure, which the chaplain preserves amid the frenetic busyness of hard-working communities” (2018, p.110).

In an increasingly pressured educational landscape, the chaplain was perceived to be someone who brought a distinctive peaceful presence to the life of the school. This was noticed and described by multiple participants across the case studies.

“You do notice his presence, so without him it would be, not dull, but you would notice something was missing...he’s a very calm person...even if there was a situation going on...nothing’s too much if he can help, he’ll always assist somehow.”

Mrs Grisham, Support Staff, Birchwood School

“When we first started here we were quite rigid in our approach, the Christian element was very rigid...everything was done in a very systematic way, and because of the chaplain coming in, it’s kind of given us a...everyone’s relaxed a little bit more at the approach...and I think that’s helped the students have a better buy-in to what’s being delivered and also, it’s just a bit more of a relaxed approach.”

Mr Marsh, Vice Principal, Dogwood School

These contributions resonated with comments from Whipp, that a “sense of personal reassurance and regard is embodied by many school chaplains who see their students through year after year of rapidly changing educational demands” (2018, pp.105–106).

Whilst the idea of a peaceful presence was relatively conceptual, some participants explained this in further detail by referring back to the amount of time chaplains were able to spend with students and staff, creating space for individuals to feel free to talk, or not talk, and to feel valued. This was, again, described in contrast to other members of staff, with ‘busy’ being the most frequently used word to describe the barrier other staff sometimes face in giving enough time and attention to other people during the course of the school day.

“We all have sort of pressured jobs to do, obviously for chaplain in the school, he's dedicated to that time. You'd have to make that...it couldn't be a rushed thing could it? ...He has spent hours with some families.”

Mrs Mahmood, Support Staff, Elderwood School

“Well, we would be lost without [the chaplain] or a chaplain because everyone, I think everyone's so busy. You know, like, teachers are teaching and form tutors...The students can't go necessarily go up to them. We've got the inclusion team, but they could be involved in meetings. So I think it is important to have that key person that they can go and have a chat with, you know, even though it may be for just a few minutes. Just to put them at ease.”

Mrs Hume, Support Staff, Firwood School

“I think the atmosphere...would be a lot more tense and people would hide more things about themselves.”

Matthew, Student, Cedarwood School

The findings here are held in tension with Glackin’s research, where it was concluded, “Pupils feel unable to ‘be themselves’, to relax, to be informal in the company of a priest and because of this an essential component of the dynamic between pupil and chaplain is lost” (Glackin, 2011, p.47). Glackin’s work focused solely on Catholic primary and secondary schools, although this study did include an inter-church school which was both Catholic and Anglican, and the finding of a peaceful, relational

presence was also noted in that environment too, where one chaplain was ordained and the other lay.

Overall, it wasn't unexpected to hear a chaplain described as bringing a peaceful presence to a school, but this was perceived by students and staff as a notable in a frequently pressurised and challenging educational environment, and an approach that was highly valued too. For participants in this study, it wasn't the operational distinctiveness of chaplains which stood out, but the distinctiveness of the experience of peacefulness which participants found on encountering the chaplain.

5.6.4 Distinctive Authority

A third emerging theme from the data was the importance of the chaplain's *authority*, a priority also established by Glackin;

In their interviews, the students emphasise the authority of the chaplain's role through the status and respect with which they accord it. This is based initially upon their personal interactions with the chaplain. (2011, p.50)

A number of responses across the case studies pointed towards the chaplain as having distinctive authority, and being representative of a larger religious institution. These comments commonly referenced the chaplain as being a representative of 'the Church' in the school.

"I think his position here as chaplain is the more important because we no longer have any input directly from the church, either from the incumbent, because they haven't got one, or from the curate, because they haven't got one!"

Mr French, Governor, Dogwood School

A student in Caperon's research remarked "To take away a religious leader from the school is to take away the religious ethos" leading Caperon to comment that "this recognition of the central public and leadership aspect of chaplaincy ministry in schools is hugely significant" (2015, p.73).

It has already been explored in this study's findings that the chaplain was consistently listed as having significant influence, and therefore authority, on school ethos. In the nominal focus groups run with students, chaplains were scored as being in the top three

roles in four out of five schools for their influence upon the school ethos, and in one school was scored as the top role above all others. This was comparable to the level of authority held by the principal, and in one school the chaplain was scored in the nominal focus group as having *greater* influence than the principal on matters concerning ethos.

This aligns with Glackin's reflections,

In fully comprehending the importance of this role, students rank their chaplain among the senior members of staff of their school and yet by acknowledging the fact that the chaplain is not a teacher, they also demonstrate an awareness that the role of the school chaplain shares a different mandate and a different authority. (2011, p.51)

Whilst it wasn't always the case that the chaplain was not a teacher, there are similar conclusions found in the case study schools in this research. Glackin describes this 'different authority' as

'charismatic, ministerial authority': 'charismatic' because chaplains bring their individual charisms, gifts and personalities to the role and 'ministerial' because it is the specific actions which they exercise within the role that set them apart from other staff members within the school. (2011, p.52)

This was authority that came from the functions of the role, and the duties performed, but also from the chaplain's own sense of identity. The balance between the duties of the chaplain and the character of the chaplain was also noted by students in Murphy's research. "Acknowledging the fact that he was an authority figure many of the respondents suggested that the chaplain was also a friend" (Murphy, 2004, p.209).

This creates a unique and distinctive situation uncovered in this study where the chaplain's authority did not automatically formally distance them from individuals, as it could do with other members of staff. This was illustrated most clearly in Firwood School, where the chaplain was perceived to be a higher authority on ethos than the head teacher, but was also considered for many students to sit within the category of friend.

"He's not just part of our school life,

He's part of our personal life."

Bella and Holly, Students, Firwood School

Hill writes of this personal connection being due to the ‘freeing’ of the chaplain from the teaching establishment.

Freed of this kind of identification with the teaching establishment, chaplains are the more likely to be seen by students and staff as being at sufficient remove from the school’s authority and accountability structures to be approachable for the sharing of very personal lifestyle issues. (2007, p.52)

However, this study included one chaplain who was part of the school’s senior management team, and also teaching chaplains, yet the level of perceived authority appeared to be unrelated to the chaplain’s contractual connection with the institution of the school.

Hill writes,

...chaplains have an advantage over other pastoral personnel in one special respect, already mentioned: their identification with the formal authority structures of the school is less evident, so that students tend to perceive the relationship as more informal and voluntary. (Hill, 2007, p.53)

The findings from this study show that it is not enough to conclude that the chaplain sits ‘out on a limb’ enough for students and staff to have a friendly, informal relationship with them. This study showed that chaplains balanced varying levels of responsibility within their schools, including senior management, yet still managed to demonstrate impartiality, create distinctive relationships with students and staff and bring a peaceful presence. It is clear from participants’ contributions to this research that the chaplains were still perceived to have a high level of authority, but that it was situated elsewhere, other than the institution of the school, and unaffected by their ‘official’ position within the school.

This is described by Whipp as ‘necessary liminality’. “Being willing to linger somewhat on the edge of things, while striving to be genuinely embedded in context, is a paradoxical path for the chaplain to patrol” (2018, p.108). This echoes findings from the Church of England report that the chaplain is often seen as ‘*the public face of God*’ (Archbishop’s Council Education Division, 2014), a title with significant responsibility and authority, as perhaps the only official representation of the Church that young

people may encounter. Yet many chaplains who contributed to this Church of England research were volunteers, some working in their schools for just a few hours per week. Although it is important to reiterate that this research also included full-time chaplains who held significant teaching and leadership responsibilities.

Interestingly, a response from a head teacher differed remarkably from one of the students in the school;

“But I think the chaplaincy bit is being...a constancy of knowing where he stands and being able to go to them and having that slightly different relationship which isn't as authoritative and I think [he] gets that balance right. It's quite tricky, because you are a member of staff.”

Mr Burrows, Head teacher, Elderwood School

“Yeah, I think that would be something missing [without the chaplain]. Yeah, no, I do. I mean, it's that kind of religious authority.”

Florence, Student, Elderwood School

Within this case study school, the participants appear to be speaking about different types of authority. With regard to school-based authority, and the ability to discipline children and follow through with sanctions, the chaplain may be perceived as being in a role which ‘isn’t as authoritative’, yet in other matters, the chaplain may be perceived to have greater authority.

One student was asked to unpack the concept of the chaplain’s authority further, and used a comparison between the chaplain and the head teacher to illustrate their point;

“Cos although...it's hard for the chaplain, because she's not like [the head teacher], because everyone knows [the head teacher] and things like that, but she's almost on the same level as him, because she does a lot, but her perceived authority isn't as much.

...but you wouldn't...because the head teacher's the head teacher and is supposed to be the highest in the school, you wouldn't think the chaplain compares at all, but she's quite important...for our school anyway.

She's like...she's compared to the head teacher she doesn't do big things like the head teacher but she does little things that help a lot.”

Deon, Student, Cedarwood School

In summary, when participants, especially students, spoke about the distinctive authority of a chaplain, it appears they were not describing authority from the institution of the school, for example the power to discipline and sanction. Instead, they were describing an authority over the culture and ethos of the school. This was powerful enough that the chaplain was often equated with the head teacher in terms of their level of authority to embed ethos.

5.6.5 Distinctive Depth and Embodiment

A fifth and final trend which emerged from the data was that of chaplains' distinctive depth and embodiment of ethos. This is arguably the most significant of the distinctive features of chaplain in relation to the focus of this study, and has been saved until this point as it does include elements from the other four identified areas of distinctiveness.

This resonates with the idea of incarnational ministry but speaks to a specific application of this within a school context.

Caperon's earlier research explored the area of incarnational ministry, yet went beyond conventional understandings to highlight that the chaplain goes further than 'being there' and instead creates a more intentional embodied presence in the environment in which they minister. He highlighted that this understanding of chaplaincy was not yet well developed, and pointed to a need for further research and understanding

...it is about 'being there' in a specific way with a specific intention, to be an embodiment and a signifier of the Gospel, imitating Christ, pointing to God: intentionality is central. This theology appears as yet intellectually undeveloped, inchoate, and struggles to find articulation; but it has the potential – given further reflection and elaboration - to be an awareness that animates and provides clear motivation for the roles which school chaplains carry out.
(Caperon, 2012, p.117)

Caperon's more recent research revisits this idea again, developing the idea to highlight the significance of the chaplain's personal identity and essence.

Beyond...[the]...functional aspects of the school chaplain's role, however, is a more ontological dimension: the chaplain's personal being as someone whose presence and role both express and embody the truths of the Christian gospel.

School chaplains speak of a ‘ministry of presence’, where being is more significant than doing, where incarnation or embodiment is what counts...

The chaplain ‘makes faith present’ in the school community, and is seen as a role model for Christian character and behaviour: he or she incarnates and exemplifies faith through presence. As to identity, pupils seem clear that what counts is not so much the functional tasks undertaken by a chaplain, but the person the chaplain is: ‘it’s his “-ness”, who he is, his essence, his being’, reported a pupil in School C. (Caperon, 2016a, pp.320–321)

The same phenomenon was uncovered in each of the case study schools, although the chaplain was more explicitly seen as embodying the specific values and ethos of the school, rather than a general expression of the Christian faith. This was even the case in the school of no religious character.

“I see my role a little bit as a living role of the ethos within the school, as a representation of it. I’d like to think of it as that. And I know that if I was to go to SLT...if it felt like things were going on that weren’t fitting with the school ethos, I think that would be taken into account.”

Mrs Bolton, Chaplain, Ashwood School

Students and staff expressed ethos being *indicated* by various aspects of school life, which have already been explored; including people, assemblies, language and physical environment, yet the main way they referenced ethos being embodied, lived and demonstrated day to day was through the chaplain.

Similarly, for the students in Caperon’s research, “the ethos of a church school is somehow embodied in its chaplain, who is committed to exemplifying and championing the very values on which the school’s foundation rests. The chaplain is a guarantor of the school’s Christian identity” (2015, p.73).

This was possible because the chaplain was perceived to have a depth of understanding of ethos that other staff did not possess, and an ability to use that depth to demonstrate the ethos practically in the school community.

Interviewer: “...if the role of chaplain wasn’t there, do you think...there would be enough expertise, enough depth of understanding to still promote that ethos as strongly?”

“No. To promote an ethos of some kind, yeah. Uh...to have a rich, deep and meaningful ethos, no.”

Mr Green, Chaplain, Birchwood School

“I think the focus on spirituality is really important...someone else could have helped me with it, but I don't think they would have really kind of maybe understood it in the same way as [the chaplain] did...it was incredibly supportive to have [the chaplain] and her wealth of experience as a youth worker in the past, and then her chaplaincy experience to know how to kind of direct that.”

Mrs Hayfield, Senior Leader, Ashwood School

“I think other staff could carry on organising Eucharist, assemblies, organising the chaplaincy reps, but that's an organisation thing, they would be doing it because it was something that needed to be done rather than the chaplains where it is part of their Christianity to do it.”

Mrs Rutterford, Governor, Cedarwood School

The chaplain was understood to be one of the few people who had a deep understanding of the school's ethos, and as some responses illustrated, on some level actually lived and demonstrated the ethos consistently.

“But if [the ethos] were a series of words on a poster, which were not lived, then nobody would understand. So it only becomes consistent when your values are lived. That's now what [the chaplain] does, day in day out is he lives the values. So there is nothing inconsistent in what we say, and how he lives show how he behaves.”

Mr Williams, Principal, Firwood School

Following this description from the principal, a similar response was discussed amongst students at Firwood School during their focus group. The depth of understanding the chaplain had of the ethos was revealed most clearly in the following responses from participants;

“Like he goes by all of the core values.”

“They're just like his personality, basically, like he's respectful...”

“So, you know, you have like, we have the core values. And he just represents all of them.”

“It's kind of like so when people say they were creating [the chaplain], they took each of the core values and put it in...”

“But I think that was just coincidence that he is literally all of them.”

“...Yeah, it's just the way he is.”

Bella, Noah, Laura and Tyler, Students, Firwood School

This was a fascinating insight that drew a direct link between the school's ethos and the identity, or 'essence' of the chaplain. Interestingly, this did not reference a generic expression of the Christian faith, but instead understood the chaplain as someone who embodied the specific set of values held by the school.

This link between the ethos and values of a school and the person of a chaplain was echoed elsewhere at Firwood School, and in many other schools too;

“I would say [the chaplain] is the walking ethos of the school, in a way. I'm trying to put it in a way that doesn't sound cheesy, but yeah, he's everything you would want a chaplain to be. He's just a nice, respectful guy. Really easy to talk to, puts others first. And will always use his experience, and...he's always, he's always there. He goes out of his way to help people. You know, if now there was a lot of kids walking around and he saw one of us walking around trying to get the kids he'd step in, so he goes above and beyond I would say what, maybe people would expect a chaplain to do.”

Mrs Baker, Support Staff, Firwood School

‘Well [the chaplain] is always at the forefront of it...I would say that the school ethos is actually spearheaded by the [chaplain] because the initiatives that we have around it, she's part of it at all points’

Ms Fenwick, Teacher, Ashwood School

‘I'm very, very thankful that they are here and kind of offer the living, breathing support of the values that we promote, which is to do with kindness and compassion and belonging, reaching out to others.’

Miss Terrence, Teacher, Cedarwood School

'I think that the whole...the whole Christian ethos of the school is dependent on the quality of the chaplain.'

Mr Simmons, Senior Leader, Elderwood School

'I think the chaplain is the person to instigate that tone in the first place and to re-establish it every week. And it gets drummed into you'

Emily, Student, Elderwood School

Scott reflects on his chaplaincy role by concluding “chaplaincy provides the school community with a living example of what Christianity is all about” (Scott, 1998, p.52), yet this was more than ‘a living example of Christianity’. Caperon concludes that “a chaplain is a personal expression of the school’s Christian commitment, embodying its ethos of care and nurture, even embodying Christ.” (2016b, p.66). The key difference in terminology used by Caperon is the focus on *the school’s* Christian commitment. The chaplain embodied a more contextual expression of Christianity, framed by the values of the school. Yet this embodied expression was also inherently tied to the chaplain’s personal identity, or essence. This multi-faceted understanding of chaplaincy showed that chaplains were intentional individuals who embodied Christianity, their school, and their own identity simultaneously and without conflict.

This resonates with much earlier thinking that the chaplain “often *is* the Church...The chaplain represents the Church, the school and is the interface between Church and the ‘real’ world.” (Ellis, 1988, p.23), yet also includes more recent perspectives of chaplaincy which understands that “the chaplain is particularly conscious that it is in and through who he or she genuinely and authentically is that the presence of God In Christ is made known and publicly declared” (Caperon, 2015, p.53)

This inseparability between the person of the chaplain, the ethos and values of the school and the representation of Christianity was distinctive, and showed an exceptional level of personal involvement and commitment. This integrity was noticed by students and staff throughout the research.

5.6.6 Summary of Findings - The Chaplain’s Distinctiveness

In summary, participants in the case study schools provided a range of perspectives unpacking what makes the role of a chaplain distinctive from other roles within the

school. There were five elements of distinctiveness unpacked across the interviews; the chaplain's impartiality, relational focus, peaceful presence, authority, and depth and embodiment of ethos.

These elements provided the distinctiveness necessary for the chaplain to not only have extensive engagement with their school's ethos, but to be the person who was often seen as embodying the values and making them accessible to others.

5.7 Summary of Findings

The findings of this study were exclusively rooted in the language of the participating students and staff from the case study schools. Through a carefully selected research methodology, the emerging themes of discussion were identified and expanded upon, including the key indicators of ethos within the participating schools, the balance between a chaplain's individual and communal impact, the nature of a chaplain's interaction with school ethos, and the chaplain's distinctiveness.

The significant contribution made by the perspectives of students themselves, as suggested by Graham (2011, p.294), gave great insight into the central research questions.

For what could be described as an under-researched area of chaplaincy, these findings provide useful language to label the work that chaplains are undertaking in these and other schools. The 'modes' of a chaplain's relationship with school ethos is particularly useful as a way of helping chaplains to better understand their role and how their role may change over time.

The identification of the importance of balance between individual impact through pastoral support and collective impact through school ethos is an interesting finding that could be valuable in helping chaplains to work in a way that is purposeful and balanced. The five areas of a chaplain's distinctiveness were a fascinating finding that will no doubt encourage chaplains in their unique contributions to school life, reassure schools that existing chaplaincies make important contributions to the school community, and hopefully inspire more schools to begin to explore what chaplaincy could look like in their context.

These findings are not generalisable due to the small sample size and the case study approach towards the research questions, however they are an accurate insight into the interaction between school chaplaincy and school ethos in each of the case study schools, and provide a valuable contribution to this area of work and research.

6 DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

This chapter of discussion seeks to draw together the research findings with the proposed theoretical framework outlined in chapter two, and to discuss two key findings from the analysis- the idea of the chaplain as *impartial* and the idea of the chaplain as *translator*.

6.1 Revisiting the Proposed Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework expanded in chapter two proposed the concept of ‘layers’ of ethos. This was drawn from a bespoke framework, created by unifying two existing understandings of ethos into a singular model.

Donnelly’s Dimensions		Ungood-Thomas’ Concepts
Aspirational Ethos	↔	Vision
Ethos of Outward Attachment	↔	Values
Ethos of Inward Attachment	↔	Virtues

Table 13 Revisiting Proposed ‘Layers’ of Ethos

This theoretical framework was brought together for this study to address the need to understand ethos in a multi-faceted way, as an aspirational strategy tool used within organisational management, but also something which has an impact on individuals at a personal level.

The research showed that when participants spoke about ethos during data collection, they described ethos in multiple ways. In line with the proposed theoretical framework, ethos was described at different levels or layers by different participants, ranging from participants who described ethos as a higher level strategic tool, through to more granular, personal insights. This range of responses can be illustrated through the proposed theoretical framework as layers of aspirational ethos and vision, through ethos of outward attachment and values, to ethos of inward attachment and virtues.

In particular, when students were asked about their school's ethos, they typically defaulted towards talking about the aspirational, or vision, layer of ethos. A student at Cedarwood School summarised this succinctly;

“[Ethos is] like where the school wants to go, what they want to achieve, so like their motto and it's like a theme for the school as well, so by 'Cum Deo' you know that the school is Christian, that's an ethos, and reading the mission statement as well you can kind of tell where the school wants to go and what they want to achieve for each student.”

Deon, Student, Cedarwood School

This student understood this layer of ethos was aspirational; it was something which was aimed for, a distant destination and vision, and could be summarised by an easily memorable mission or vision statement which communicated a collective vision for the entire school community.

In addition to statements such as the above, there was an understanding that ethos existed on a more tangible, personal layer too, as demonstrated by the Principal of Cedarwood School.

“...for me, the biggest expression of that is not in our leading of assemblies or the style of prayers we use, but more in our interactions with one another and our building up community and relationships, and how I would like to think that manifests itself is in fresh starts for children, believing that every child has unique gifts and talents which it's our job to interpret and develop, and yeah, I think that's an important thing.”

Mr Byford, Principal, Cedarwood School

This insight from the school Principal showed ethos, something often assumed to be conceptual and abstract in nature, as being manifested in relationships, interactions and tangible expressions of care and love to individuals, particularly to those in need. The existence of ethos at both of these levels, the corporate and the personal, calls for a theoretical framework which recognises its ability to exist at different levels and layers, and a framework that understands a link between the aspirations of a school community and the day-to-day running, and culture, of the community.

Whilst ethos was recognised as existing at multiple layers, participants' responses shows that ethos was much more frequently described at an aspirational layer than it

was at a personal layer. This was illustrated at Dogwood School, where the student nominal focus group struggled to articulate ethos coherently beyond a loose description of a few values, as shown in some of their responses;

Interviewer: *“Some schools [express ethos] by having ‘values’, does your school have any particular words or phrases that are important to them?”*

“Things like wisdom and respect. Stuff like that.”

“There’s like a wellbeing thing.”

“Nothing I can really think about off the top of my head.”

Justine, Kascper and Shanice, Students, Dogwood School

Responses such as these illustrated ‘ethos gaps’ where there was an apparent disconnect between the aspirations of the school community, as expressed by those in positions of leadership and management, and the reality of the day-to-day culture within the school community.

Schools which tried to close this gap typically described the use of language and the delivery of assemblies as important in helping to communicate the aspirational ethos and vision through these respective layers, and allowing students the opportunity to understand ethos as a more personal concept.

Interestingly, where an ‘ethos gap’ existed in schools, where individuals were not able to understand ethos on a more personal level, this is frequently where the role of the chaplain became of increased importance.

In the absence of tangible, relatable ‘bridges’ between the layers of ethos, the chaplains stepped in and stepped up, often bridging the gap in ethos layers. In this research study, this was the case not only in schools with a religious character, where previous literature has hinted that the chaplain perhaps should play a significant role in relation to school ethos, but also in the school of no religious character. When the chaplain of Ashwood School (an academy with no religious character), was asked about whether their role required them to engage with the development and embedding of the school’s ethos, the response was interesting;

“I think if you were to look at it in a structured way...I don’t. [laughs] In the sense that I don’t sit on any committees, I don’t sit on any SLT meetings where I am asked to contribute to that side of stuff, however, I think that having my role

here became part of that influence, and almost, not necessarily influencing, but reminding the school of what the ethos and the values are. I see my role a little bit as a living role of the ethos within the school, as a representation of it. I'd like to think of it as that. And I know that if I was to go to SLT, particularly around the ethos side of stuff, if it felt like things were going on that weren't fitting with the school ethos, I think that would be taken into account; but I don't formally have any direct input into it."

Mrs Bolton, Chaplain, Ashwood School

Reflecting on this response, we see a chaplain who recognises their role as acting from the 'bottom up' - reminding the school of their corporate ethos at key moments throughout the year, but also acting 'top down', as being a 'living role of the ethos within the school, as a representation of it'. This appeared to be a result of the chaplain's own initiative, as she ended her answer with the remark 'I don't formally have any direct input into it'. Beyond the formality of job descriptions and the religious characterisation of the schools in this study, there appeared to be an inherent link between the role of the chaplain and their engagement in being a bridge between the layers of ethos, both top down and bottom up.

This was not solely the perception of the chaplains, as students recognised the role of the chaplain in embedding the ethos through the layers too.

"Like he goes by all of the core values."

"They're just like his personality, basically, like he's respectful..."

"So, you know, you have like, we have the core values. And he just represents all of them."

"It's kind of like so when people say they were creating [the chaplain], they took each of the core values and put it in..."

"But I think that was just coincidence that he is literally all of them."

"...Yeah, it's just the way he is."

Bella, Noah, Laura and Tyler, Students, Firwood School

This series of responses shows the chaplain acting top down to demonstrate and embody the ethos promoted by the school corporately.

In contrast, in another school, the chaplain was also seen to be shaping the ethos from the bottom up;

“I think a lot of the culture does come from the students themselves. You know, that is...a lot of that. So from in school and out of school in the boarding houses, that culture is sort of born there as such. And then I think you have the, [chaplain] and characters like that, who then see that and try and build on it with their own influence. Keeping it all on the right path as such.”

Matthew, Student, Elderwood School

The chaplain’s ability to work both ‘bottom up’ and ‘top down’ was an interesting reflection on the unification of theory with the findings. Participants in this research perceived the chaplain to be a key communicator and embedder of ethos, moving between layers and working to ‘translate’ ethos between students and staff, and between the corporate and the personal, often becoming the bridge between layers. This is not to say that others within these case study schools didn’t do this, or play a similar role, but this study’s focus on the role of a chaplain shows them working in this capacity across multiple types of school, and described as doing so by multiple participants across the school communities featured in this study.

6.2 Reflection on the School Chaplain as Impartial

One of the surprising distinctive features of chaplains and chaplaincy as found in this study, was the understanding from participants that the chaplain demonstrated impartiality. This initially seemed unusual for a person who had a significant role to play in embedding and developing school ethos. Being impartial went beyond just being ‘friendly’ and led participants to describe the chaplain as having a significant impact as a ‘safe person’, and never as someone who imposed.

This aligns with Murphy’s findings that “the chaplain somehow facilitated [students] in their everyday life by creating a safe place. His room is always available.” (Murphy, 2004, p.207). While some would argue that schools are safe places by definition, and point out they are environments where multiple people are available to offer support and encouragement, the chaplain’s impartiality was still recognised and well respected. For

some this was a *physical* safe and impartial space provided by the chaplain, but for others it became a relational or metaphorical space that allowed others to feel at ease, without fear of judgement.

This resonates with findings by Caperon;

Much appears to depend upon the chaplain's approachability... In all the focus groups, students spoke favourably of the chaplain's being available and approachable... 'being approachable is the key to it'... This is something in which a chaplain might be distinctly different from the other members of the school staff; and students were able to identify clearly the different positions of chaplain and teacher within the school. (2015, p.69)

This understanding illustrates that being authentically approachable and impartial was 'key' to a chaplain's success, and a distinctive feature of their work and being. The same was found illustrated through participants' responses in this study. This impartiality allowed the chaplain a level of access to, and respect of, students and staff which allowed them the opportunity to embed and demonstrate ethos to so many parts of the school community, outside of a particular department, faculty or year group, which is where other staff might have limited impact or reach.

Interestingly, the chaplain's distinctive impartiality was not found to be mutually exclusive with the chaplain being open and honest about their own faith journey. Students, as illustrated by the conversation referenced within this study, wanted the ability to make their own choices, whilst also hearing the depth of others' personal faith experiences. Thus the chaplain was capable of, and it was desired by some that they *should*, create an atmosphere of distinctive impartiality whilst being honest and open about their own faith too.

The drawbacks to this approach are that perhaps instead of creating this honesty within impartiality, the chaplain was occasionally perceived to have created an atmosphere of *neutrality*- neither one thing nor the other, leaving at least one student in a sense of confusion.

"I have had one student said to me, 'I don't know what you believe.'"

Rev. Daley, Chaplain, Elderwood School

In contrast to this, the vast majority of responses showed that chaplains communicated their own faith whilst simultaneously allowing others to explore theirs in safety, and this contributed towards the chaplains in this study being able to demonstrate and embody ethos with great depth, through drawing on their own faith, but without imposing upon others, or unintentionally pushing others away.

Whilst being both impartial and inclusive, chaplains were, as has already been presented, simultaneously operating on the level of institutional values- embedding ethos and defining the culture of the school.

The literature review described education as not being ‘value-free’, with the best schools being ‘values-driven’; “Education cannot and must not be value-free...At the heart of every school's educational and pastoral policy and practice should lie a set of shared values” (Department for Education, 1992, p.37). Research by the Jubilee Centre for Character and Virtues states, “the research evidence is clear: schools that are values-driven have high expectations and demonstrate academic, professional and social success” (2017, p.9).

The chaplains in this study appeared to be able to interact with, and embed a school’s ethos whilst also being distinctively impartial and often sitting ‘outside’ of the school’s structure; that through their ability to provide distinctive impartiality came the authenticity to interact with school ethos.

This is a fascinating juxtaposition of a role that is defined by impartiality, yet a role that is also perceived to be one of the most influential roles in the school in terms of influencing and embedding ethos and institutional values. This has led the author to reflect on whether these aspects of the chaplain’s role could be better summarised in understanding the chaplain as a ‘translator’ of ethos.

6.3 Reflection on the School Chaplain as Translator

The chaplain was identified, or identified themselves as someone who could operate between the corporate and personal layers of ethos. In some cases, participants recognised the chaplain as ‘embodying’ the ethos, or bringing it to life.

But if they were a series of words on a poster, which were not lived, then nobody would understand. So it only becomes consistent when your values are lived. That's now what [the chaplain] does, day in day out is he lives the values. So there is nothing inconsistent in what we say, and how he lives shown how he behaves. And so we always have at least one example of humility, or of perseverance of service. You know, he embodies these things as he goes about his work. And in doing so, he models for other adults. He models for me as a leader, and he models for the children.

Mr Williams, Principal, Firwood School

As well as 'embodying' ethos, chaplains were perceived to have a significant role in relation to a number of the 'indicators of ethos' as described earlier on in the study, including being a presence, organising assemblies, managing a welcome physical space and forming unique relationships;

I think [the chaplains are] core to it, really, because they, you know they organise all the assemblies and sort out who's running it, and they're a very visible presence, you know [one of the chaplain's] is always around the school, and there's always people and things going on [in the chaplain's centre] at lunchtimes, anyone can drop in and you know, it's not seen as a place where you just have to be godly, you know, they can come in and do all sorts, and they know they can come in and talk through issues or worries or friendships or whatever, and they know they're going to be listened to, and it's someone who is not their teacher, it's a different relationship, and I think some of the kids would rather talk to someone who is not their teacher, for whatever reason.

Mr Sunak, Middle Leader, Cedarwood School

Despite this widespread recognition of the chaplain's role in relation to ethos, the chaplains themselves often underestimated their impact and influence, as illustrated by the chaplain at Elderwood School.

So I'm all for that. And then I think my little spinning cog, what is my little spinning cog? And I'd say it is probably like I said in chapel this morning, just to remind every person that they matter. So that if you can give each kid a sense of value, then they can then it can then then they can they can they can grow into that. And I guess that is my little cog.

Rev. Daley, Chaplain, Elderwood School

This under-recognition by chaplains was evident in schools where the chaplain had no formal involvement in ethos, for example in Ashwood School, and in schools where the chaplain had a more formalised role to play, for example in Dogwood School, where the development of ethos was in the school improvement plan and the senior leader had plans for the chaplain's strategic involvement in the delivery of this.

Where the chaplains saw their role as a 'cog' that kept things moving, it led the author to reflect on whether the language of chaplain as *translator* would be useful. This term avoids clumsy language such as suggesting that that chaplain should be formally recognised as a 'Leader of Ethos', but recognises their crucial role in allowing communication between the layers of ethos, and helping to support the embedding of aspirational ethos and vision, through to ethos of outward attachment and values, through to ethos of inward attachment and virtues.

This language of the chaplain as 'translator' was not used by participants in this study, but is a reflection of the author following analysis of the findings. The use of the phrase 'chaplain as translator' seems an appropriate summary of, and communication of, the significant findings of this study; in terms of chaplaincy's unique contribution to, and impact in, each case study school context.

7 CONCLUSIONS

This study achieved its aims within the brief and scope outlined in the introduction. This study succeeded in using Bourdieu's theory of habitus and investigating this within an institutional context in multiple schools. The creation of a bespoke model of ethos transmission which contained three layers of vision, values and virtues was a useful theoretical framework for the research findings. A key achievement was the use of these theories in practice to answer each of the central research questions.

The findings of the three central research questions will be summarised, followed by the limitations of the project, before recommendations for further research are proposed.

7.1 Central Research Question One: A chaplain's contributions to ethos and culture

The first research question asked how a chaplain contributed towards ethos and culture within their schools, and what was the impact of this contribution. This question, explored through focus groups and interviews with students and staff, uncovered a range of ways in which chaplains contributed towards ethos and culture. Practically, this took the form of the chaplains' involvement in collective worship and assemblies, their relationships, the support they offered, and their availability of time. However the language captured a deeper understanding of how these activities contributed to ethos and culture, and these were named as 'modes'. These modes were arranged in a spectrum which ranged from new and emerging chaplaincies, through established chaplaincies, to well-established chaplaincies. Modes ranged from chaplains 'providing a lens on ethos' in a new and emerging chaplaincy, through to 'spearheading the ethos' in a well-established chaplaincy.

Within individual case studies, participants had a diverse understanding of the chaplain's contributions to ethos and culture, indicating the multifaceted nature of chaplaincy. Each member of the school community typically viewed a different aspect of the work. The range of 'modes' generated from this study allowed for these numerous perspectives to be captured and understood in relation to each other, and how each chaplaincy had developed and changed over time.

The chaplain was typically deemed to have a significant level of influence over the embedding of ethos in their schools, often comparably to the influence of the head teacher or principal. This led to a particular line of discussion, which included mixed responses, over whether a chaplain should have *sole* responsibility over school ethos, and how that was held in tension with the authority and responsibility of the head teacher or principal. It was uncovered that chaplains were frequently taking the initiative on embedding the ethos into the school culture, even if other members of staff were not actively doing so. This led others in the school community to perceive the chaplain had a greater level of responsibility over ethos than they typically did in practice.

In summary, each chaplain had multiple ways in which they engaged with ethos and culture, and in the case studies visited, these ways generally developed and grew over

time. The language used by participants in each case study was crucial to understanding more fully how the chaplain contributed to ethos and culture. In all cases the chaplain contributed helpfully and positively to the embedding of ethos and the shaping of culture in their respective school settings. The author's further reflection upon these findings show that there is potential in describing the chaplain as a 'translator' between respective layers of ethos to further describe the distinctive nature of chaplaincy in contrast to other roles within the school. This combines the range of 'modes' of working with ethos with the theoretical framework of 'layers' of ethos, in order to capture the breadth of ways in which chaplains engage with ethos across the schools in this study,

7.2 Central Research Question Two: Challenges of working with ethos and culture

The second research question asked what challenges chaplains experience in working with ethos and culture, and how this aspect of their work related to other areas of responsibility. In the case studies explored, chaplains were, generally, very positive about their role and impact within school, but during data analysis particular attention was given to moments where chaplains described challenges in their work with ethos and culture.

When analysing data surrounding the chaplain's challenges in working with ethos and culture, three specific challenges arose. Firstly, these included the tension between the academic expectations of students and the students' pastoral realities. This became particularly apparent when chaplains told stories of students on the fringes of the school community, for example, those who were being excluded. Secondly, some chaplains faced challenges around collective worship and the Eucharist. This included the tension of leading authentic and inclusive collective worship and Eucharist that didn't exclude or 'other' particular students. Thirdly, most chaplains cited tensions with working with other people to embed ethos, including other staff not fully understanding the ethos, or not being committed to it enough to embed it in their own work.

On reflection, these were all areas of symbolic violence and tension between an individual and the community, or institution, of the school. This was a challenge for the chaplain as someone who had both a commitment to the individual and a commitment to the institution. This challenge was illustrative of the chaplain's role, which in all case

studies had a duality of pastoral care for individual students, and also a wider remit for the whole school community. This was unusual, in that wider remits for the whole school community were usually reserved for senior leaders, and the head teacher or principal.

Whilst these challenges were referenced sporadically, this study aimed to pay particular attention to these challenges in order to test any perceptions that chaplains worked in harmony with their schools all the time.

Despite these tensions, the chaplain's contributions to ethos and culture were recognised and respected by the schools in which they worked, and all chaplains involved in the research were perceived to have positive experiences and working relationships with their schools.

7.3 Central Research Question Three: The chaplain's distinctiveness

The third research question asked about the distinctiveness of a chaplain's role which equipped and enabled them to interact with ethos and culture, and questioned the impact of this distinctiveness.

This question was answered through the analysis of interviews and focus groups, and five main areas of distinctiveness were identified in the chaplaincies that formed part of the study. The areas identified were the chaplain's distinctive impartiality, distinctive relationships, distinctive peaceful presence, distinctive authority and distinctive depth and embodiment. This should not be seen as an exhaustive list, however, these five distinguishing features of chaplains and chaplaincy were the most frequently referenced throughout the case studies, and therefore perceived to be the ones most evident to students and staff.

Some features of chaplaincy, for example, the distinctiveness of the relationship with the chaplain in comparison to other members of staff, were predictable conclusions, in line with expectations and other research findings. However, other features of chaplaincy as noted by staff and students were unexpected; for example, the finding that the chaplain's impartiality was a distinctiveness that enabled them to engage closely with the school's ethos and culture. These five distinctive features of chaplaincy were a welcome finding that made use of participants' language to better understand the unique

contributions of a chaplain's role. They help to uncover why a chaplain is able to work with ethos in a significant way, as opposed to simply describing what they do.

7.4 Limitations to the Project

As expected, there were some limitations to this research, and some areas which could not be explored or further investigated due to restrictions on resources, including time.

First, the sample size included six schools, which was sufficient for the scope and depth of this project, but it is insufficient to generate broader conclusions applicable to wider groups and regions of schools or chaplaincy provisions. For this, a much larger sample would be needed.

Second, there were limitations on the participants involved due to the resources and time available to the researcher in each school. Whilst this study was able to access an appropriate cross-section of each school community for involvement in interviews and focus groups, with greater resources this participant base could have been extended.

Third, this study recorded a 'snapshot' of each case study school during the data collection visits. This is a limitation recognised in studies with a similar design (Gibson, 2015, p.210), although it brought benefits and drawbacks to the study. Whilst data collection was carried out over two consecutive days at each school, participants frequently drew from their entire experience at the school. The questions posed to participants were phrased openly and were designed to encourage the participant to describe their perspectives from past and present. Some questions asked for examples of changes over time. In this regard, a singular data collection window is entirely appropriate for a study such as this, because it allowed for participants to draw from a stories, anecdotes and experiences over their entire period of time at the school.

An interesting reflection was that where staff were recently appointed, or had not witnessed significant changes in the life of the school, there was a lack of detail and clarity about historical but significant events. For example, new staff were unable to recall or give insight into schools moving into new premises, or changing to a new trust, or having a change of leadership. The stories of staff who had left the school were unable to be heard, rarely passed on, and not included in the study. Staff who had remained in the school for a long period of time could be described as being positively

biased towards the school's journey. A longitudinal study could have attempted to encompass a greater time span with more participants, but the inevitable staff and student changeover would severely limit consistency over time, and make a longitudinal approach difficult to justify for the additional resources expended.

Nevertheless, the methodology chosen for this study was fit for purpose and provided a suitable method of data collection and analysis to achieve the goals of the study.

7.5 Recommendations

Recognising the contributions yet also the limitations of this study, there are four recommendations for further research that would extend insight and knowledge into this area.

7.5.1 A Desire to Include More Voices

Further research could be broadened to include more voices in the study. Whilst this research put great importance on choosing which voices should be heard, there were limitations on time and resources. Further research could also provide the opportunity to interview additional focus groups of students, and perhaps even parents and carers, recognising their involvement in the life of the school.

Further research could extend the participant pool to include additional governors and executive leaders from academy sponsors and trusts, in order to provide a more strategic perspective on ethos and chaplaincy. The involvement of more participants from academy trusts would give particularly insight into how individual school communities interact with a standardised ethos of a trust or sponsor.

7.5.2 Chaplain's Engagement with Schools of No Religious Character

This study explored the engagement of chaplains with school culture and ethos, and the schools participating in the research were predominantly schools with a religious character. This reflects that chaplains are more likely to be found working in schools of

a religious character. However, this study was unable to explore more than one example of a chaplain working in a school of no religious character. In these types of schools, which typically make up the majority of secondary schools in the UK, working with ethos and culture might look different, or be higher or lower priority in the chaplain's day to day work. Further research amongst chaplains working in schools of no religious character would explore whether there is still a strong connection to this area of work in these schools in contrast to church schools and those with a Christian affiliation.

7.5.3 Relationship between Chaplain and Principal

A deeper and more focussed exploration of the relationship between a chaplain and a Principal or Headteacher could expand on a number of areas raised within this study. In particular, it could offer greater insight into the areas of power, authority and responsibility and would further explore the place of a chaplain within the school community. This knowledge would be particularly useful for new and emerging chaplaincies where there is no precedent for where the chaplain should sit in the hierarchy of the school, and would give insight into schools who wish to explore chaplaincy but are unsure of where to locate the role within their existing structures.

7.5.4 Redefining the Chaplain's Role

In light of the chaplain's significant contributions to school ethos, it may be of benefit in some schools to redefine the chaplain's role within the whole-school context, whilst also recognising the chaplain's significant contribution to the individual. Further research around how chaplaincy is defined and understood by leaders in education could build upon the foundation of existing language of incarnational ministry, but include the chaplain's sense of duality between the individual and the community. Further exploration of the use of the term 'translator' to describe a chaplain's work in this area may be useful. Further research and work in this area would potentially help to avoid the chaplain being confined to limited definitions which fail to recognise the breadth of the role, and give some shape to general statements about the chaplain's involvement in embedding school ethos.

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The School Chaplain- an embedder of ethos?

Research Information Sheet for Schools

Introduction

The broad purpose of this research project is to investigate the role of the school chaplain in relation to the concept of school ethos. The reason I have chosen to study this subject is due to my own involvement with the development and embedding of ethos in my role as chaplain, and the noticeable lack of research underpinning a chaplain's contribution to this area of school life.

Participation

As a participant school in this study, I would ask to visit your school for one day during Autumn Term 2018, to collect the views and perspectives on ethos from a small number of staff and students. A tour of the school will also form part of the process of better understanding each school's culture and ethos. The number of required participants for focus groups and interviews are shown below:

Participant Groups within each Case Study			
Participant Group	Category	Number	Strategies for Data Collection
Governance	School Governor	1	Semi-Structured Interview
	TOTAL	1	
Staff	Principal	1	Semi-Structured Interview
	Senior Leader	1	
	Middle Leader	1	
	Teaching	1	
	Support Staff Pastoral	1	
	TOTAL	5	
Students	Pupil Premium	1	Nominal Focus Group (3 from Key Stage 3, 2 from Key Stage 4)
	Ethnic minority	1	
	SEND	1	
	Free school meal	1	
	Non-Significant Group	1	
TOTAL	5		
Chaplain	Chaplain	1	Semi-Structured Interview
	TOTAL	1	
GRAND TOTAL		12	

Questions will focus on how students and staff understand and interact with current school climate and the ethos the school promotes. Questions will be phrased in a way that is as open and unbiased as possible, allowing students and staff the space to explain opinions and viewpoints on the topic without hindrance.

The interviews and focus groups are semi structured, meaning that the conversation may digress if there is a particular area of interest students or staff would like to share, or if answers to the questions lead the discussion in a particular direction.

The interviews and focus groups will take place in a location within your school as agreed by both parties in advance, in an atmosphere that is safe and open, such as a conference room, meeting room or classroom.

The interviews and focus groups will be recorded onto a digital audio recording device, and will later be transcribed. Participants may, at any point, view transcripts and read the finished research findings to check for the accurate understanding and portrayal of what has been shared.

Risks

The questions relate to student and staff perspectives on school culture, school ethos, and the role of the chaplain. There should be no risks of emotional discomfort. The interview may be stopped at any time and participants may opt to not answer specific questions if necessary.

If you wish to terminate your involvement in the research project then please let me know via email. You do not have to give a reason for the termination and any existing data (if the interview has already been completed), will be destroyed, providing it has not already been anonymised.

Benefits

By taking part in this study you are helping to provide much-needed insight into school culture and ethos within UK schools, and the role of a chaplain within this. The research may be used both within the education and faith sectors to further create schools which are safe, inspirational, and meet the needs of young people.

The anonymised results of the research will be gladly shared with the senior leadership team at your school to help you with strategic planning for the future.

Anonymity and Confidentiality

All personally identifiable information will be treated as confidential and removed as early as possible (usually during the transcribing process) in order to keep responses anonymous. This information, including names, professional role, school name, and employer will not be included in the final document. Interviews will be recorded, and all files will be stored behind a password. Raw files will be deleted after the final document has been completed. Note that it may be possible for an individual reading the research to identify a school where there are particularly distinctive features, for example, a unique ethos statement.

Expectations

The expectations are that the school chaplain can have a significant *potential* impact on school life by challenging and championing school ethos, and closing the gap between ‘the way things are’ and ‘the way things could be’. It is an initial expectation that this potential impact is under-recognised and under-utilised.

I very much hope your school is happy to participate in this important study, and I would be happy to answer any questions regarding this project. My email address is:

joshua.hunt@research.staffs.ac.uk

I, Joshua Hunt, will be responsible for the research undertaken and if you are unhappy with the process that has been undertaken you are welcome to contact my supervisor, Peter Twilley at Staffordshire University, College Road, University Quarter, Stoke-on-Trent, Staffordshire, ST4 2DE,

Appendix 2: Headteacher / Principal Consent Form

Project name:

The School Chaplain- an embedder of ethos?

Research Consent form for Head Teacher / Principal

Researchers are required to abide by ethical guidelines when working in schools. These cover topics such as gaining appropriate consent, permitting children to withdraw from the study, and keeping data confidential. We would be grateful if you could check and sign the following sheet to show that you approve of the research procedures for this study.

Names of researchers visiting the school:	Joshua Hunt
Supervisor:	Peter Twilley at Staffordshire University, College Road, University Quarter, Stoke-on-Trent, Staffordshire, ST4 2DE.
Period of visits:	One visit ideally during Summer term 2018 for one and a half days.
Classes/year groups involved:	Five students from a mixture of years and vulnerable groups to take part in one focus group.
Staff Involvement:	Five members of staff (principal, senior, middle, teaching, support staff), in addition to the chaplain involved in individual, semi-structured interviews. A school governor, or equivalent, to also take part in an individual, semi-structured interview.

Brief description of procedure:

A total of five students will be required for the focus group. These students should ideally be from a mixture of year groups and genders, and should represent a number of significant groups, including pupil premium, ethnic minority, SEND, and free school meal. The focus group is not intended to be statistically representative of your school community. The researcher is happy for the participant school to select the students for this focus group, and the researcher does not need to know which student belongs to which category.

Before beginning any data collection session, the researcher will reiterate that there are no right or wrong answers to the questions; rather, the researcher is just interested in the participants' views. Participants are given the option to withdraw from the study at any point. They will be told that they can skip over any questions they do not wish to answer, and that their responses remain anonymous.

For student involvement in the focus group, parents/carers will be sent an information letter with details of the study and a permission slip to be signed and returned in order for their child to participate in the study. Parents/carers should be given at least one week to read and respond to this letter. The child is also asked to sign this form to give their consent.

For staff involvement, information sheets and consent forms are provided, and the researcher will be happy to answer any questions prior to commencing an interview.

The focus group and the interviews will be recorded onto an audio recording device and later transcribed.

Consent

Please sign below to confirm that you:

- understand the requirements of children and staff who take part in the research
- understand the nature of the research methods taking place
- give approval for the research to take place at your school

Name of school: _____

Name of Head Teacher: _____

Signature: _____

Date: _____

I, Joshua Hunt, will be responsible for the research undertaken and if you are unhappy with the process that has been undertaken you are welcome to contact my supervisor, Peter Twilley at Staffordshire University, College Road, University Quarter, Stoke-on-Trent, Staffordshire, ST4 2DE,

Appendix 3: Information and Consent for Parents / Carers and Students

The School Chaplain- an embedder of ethos?

Research Information Sheet for Students and their Parents

Introduction

You have been invited to be part of a research project which looks at school life and the role of a school chaplain. In particular, this research will look at two areas- school culture (the current state of school life) and school ethos (the type of school life that students and teachers aim for).

Participation

If you are a student chosen to participate in this study, you will be invited to attend a focus group with some other students during the summer term of 2018, to collect your views and perspectives on school culture, school ethos, and school chaplaincy. Don't worry if you don't know what these terms mean at the moment, because questions will be phrased so that you can explain your own opinions and viewpoints on the topics.

The focus group is semi structured, meaning that while there is an outline of some questions, the conversation may go in different directions based upon student's answers.

The student focus group will take place in a location within your school as agreed by both the researcher and the school in advance, in an atmosphere that is safe and open, such as a conference room, meeting room or classroom.

The interviews will be recorded onto a digital audio recording device, and will later be transcribed. You may, at any point, view transcripts and read the finished research findings to check for the accurate understanding and portrayal of what has been shared.

Risks

The questions relate to your perspectives on school culture, school ethos, and the role of the school chaplain. There should be no risks of emotional discomfort. The interview may be stopped at any time and you may opt to not answer specific questions if necessary.

If you feel uncomfortable during any stage and choose to stop your involvement in the research project then please let me know via email, or ask a teacher/parent to let me know via email. You do not have to give a reason for this and any existing data (if the interview has already been completed), will be destroyed, providing it has not already been anonymised.

Benefits

By taking part in this study you are helping to provide much-needed insight into school culture and ethos within UK schools, and the role of a chaplain within this. The research may be used both within the education and faith sectors to further create schools which are safe, inspirational, and meet the needs of young people.

The anonymised results of the research will be shared with the senior leadership team at your school to help them with strategic planning for the future.

Anonymity and Confidentiality

All personally identifiable information will be treated as confidential and removed as early as possible in order to keep responses anonymous. Your name, or any personal details will not be shared. No-one reading the research will know it was you giving particular answers. Interviews will be recorded, and all files will be stored behind a password. Raw files will be deleted after the final document has been completed.

I hope that you will be happy to take part in this research and invite you to sign the attached consent form with a parent / carer. I would be happy to answer any questions regarding the research project. My email address is joshua.hunt@research.staffs.ac.uk

I, Joshua Hunt, will be responsible for the research undertaken and if you are unhappy with the process that has been undertaken you are welcome to contact my supervisor, Peter Twilley at Staffordshire University, College Road, University Quarter, Stoke-on-Trent, Staffordshire, ST4 2DE,

The School Chaplain- an embedder of ethos?

Research Consent Form to be signed by Parents / Carers and Students

By signing this consent form you agree to the following:

- We understand that the title of the research project is: *'The School Chaplain- an embedder of ethos?'*
- We have read and understood the project's Information Sheet and I know how I can ask questions about the project.
- We understand that my participation in this project is voluntary and that the student can be withdrawn from the project at any time without giving reasons.
- We understand that the personal information that my son/daughter provides will remain confidential, and that the responses they give within the focus group will remain anonymous.
- I acknowledge that I am providing informed and voluntary consent for my child to take part in the research project.

Parent/Carer Signature:

Date:

Parent/Carer Name:

Student Signature:

Date:

Student Name:

Please return this form to the school office.

The School Chaplain- an embedder of ethos?

Research Information Sheet for Staff

Introduction

The broad purpose of this research project is to investigate the role of the school chaplain in relation to the concept of school ethos and culture.

The reason I have chosen to study this subject is due to my own involvement with the development and embedding of ethos in my role as chaplain, and the lack of research underpinning a chaplain's contribution to this area of school life.

Participation

As a participant in this study I ask that you commit to one semi-structured interview during spring term 2019, to collect your views and perspectives on school culture, school ethos, and chaplaincy.

Questions will focus on how you understand and interact with current school culture and the ethos the school promotes, alongside the chaplain's role in this area. Questions will be phrased in a way that is as open and unbiased as possible, allowing you the space to explain opinions and viewpoints on the topic without hindrance.

The interviews are semi structured, meaning that the conversation may digress if there is a particular area of interest you would like to share, or if the answers to the questions lead the discussion in a particular direction.

The interviews will take place in a location within your school as agreed by both the researcher and the school in advance, in an atmosphere that is safe and open, such as a conference room, meeting room or classroom.

The interviews will be recorded onto a digital audio recording device, and will later be transcribed. You may, at any point, listen to recordings, view transcripts and read the

finished research findings to check for the accurate understanding and portrayal of what has been shared.

Risks

The questions relate to staff perspectives on school culture, school ethos, and the role of the chaplain. There should be no risks of emotional discomfort. The interview may be stopped at any time and you may opt to not answer specific questions if necessary.

If you feel uncomfortable during any stage and choose to terminate your involvement in the research project then please let me know via email. You do not have to give a reason for the termination and any existing data (if the interview has already been completed), will be destroyed, providing it has not already been anonymised.

Benefits

By taking part in this study you are helping to provide much-needed insight into school culture and ethos within UK schools, and the role of a chaplain within this. The research may be used both within the education and faith sectors to further create schools which are safe, inspirational, and meet the needs of young people.

The anonymised results of the research will be shared with the senior leadership team at your school to help you with strategic planning for the future.

Anonymity and Confidentiality

All personally identifiable information will be treated as confidential and removed as early as possible (usually during the transcribing process) in order to keep responses anonymous. This information, including names, professional role, school name, and employer will not be included in the final document. Interviews will be recorded, and all files will be stored behind a password. Raw files will be deleted after the final document has been completed.

Expectations

The expectations are that the school chaplain can have a significant potential impact on school life by challenging and championing school ethos, and closing the gap between 'the way things are' and 'the way things could be'. It is an initial expectation that this potential impact is under-recognised and under-utilised.

I hope that you will be happy to contribute to this research, and I am happy to answer any questions you may have about the project. My email address is joshua.hunt@research.staffs.ac.uk

I, Joshua Hunt, will be responsible for the research undertaken and if you are unhappy with the process that has been undertaken you are welcome to contact my supervisor, Peter Twilley at Staffordshire University, College Road, University Quarter, Stoke-on-Trent, Staffordshire, ST4 2DE,

The School Chaplain- an embedder of ethos?

Research Consent Form

By signing this consent form you agree to the following:

- I understand that the title of the research project is: *'The School Chaplain- an embedder of ethos?'*
- I have read and understood the project's Information Sheet and I have been provided with the opportunity to ask questions.
- I understand that my participation in this project is voluntary and that I can withdraw from the project at any time without giving reasons and without my rights being affected.
- I understand that the personal information that I provide will remain confidential, and that **the responses I give to interview questions and focus groups will remain anonymous.**
- I acknowledge that I am providing informed and voluntary consent to take part in the research project.

Participant's Signature:

Date:

Participant Name:

Researcher's Signature:

Date:

Appendix 6: Climate Walk Template

(Aligned with the National School Climate Centre Dimensions and Indicators)

Domain	Indicators	Criteria	Observed?	Comments
Safety	Rules and Norms	Students are complying with the dress code. [10] Movement during transitions is orderly (e.g., students appear to be going to class, minimal horseplay). [12] Students have a hall pass at times other than transition times, and are actively checked for these. [13]		
	Sense of Physical Safety	Visitors (including yourself) are greeted by staff, provided with a visitors pass, and directed to the appropriate location upon entering the building. [1] The physical space is utilized effectively (i.e., not overcrowded or underutilized) and routinely checked by staff for students lingering or loitering. [6] Transition times are of appropriate length and are effectively monitored by school staff. [11]		
	Sense of Social and Emotional Safety			
Teaching and Learning	Support for Learning	The classrooms are orderly and well- managed environments (i.e., the teacher is engaging with students and students are responding positively). [15]		
	Social and Civic Learning	The hallways and/or classrooms include current examples of student work, accolades, or recognition, as well as expectations of student behaviour. [16]		

Interpersonal Relationships	Respect for Diversity			
	Social Support from Adults	Staff members are being respectful to students. [9]		
	Social Support from Students	Students are being respectful to one another. Provide examples in the comments section. [8]		
Environment	School Connectedness and Engagement	If you are present at entry or dismissal, observe whether adults are actively supervising students. [17]		
	Physical Environment and Surroundings	The physical environment is welcoming and supportive of learning for all students (e.g., well-lit, graffiti-free, painted walls, etc.) [4] The cafeteria is clean, orderly, well- managed and with appropriate student groupings. [20]		
Leadership and Staff	Leadership and Vision	Support staff, teachers, and administrators are visible and engaging with students during transitions and at other times in the day. [14]		
	Professional Relationships	Staff members are being respectful to one another. [9]		

Bracketed numbers relate to the original criteria reference from the Baltimore City Climate Walk Tool, Baltimore City Schools (2013)

Appendix 7: Questions for Student Focus Groups

Prompts are in **purple** should the participant need extra guidance.

Supplementary questions are in **orange** should further detail be needed.

Part A: Questions related to terminology and understanding

Tell me about your school's vision or mission.

Does your school have a statement of what it aims to do?

What does that vision mean to you as a student?

Tell me about your school's values.

Are there some words or values which are really important to the school?

What type of characteristics does your school hope you will develop here?

What do you understand by the term 'school ethos'?

Where have you heard the term 'school ethos' before?

Bridging Question

If your school were an animal, what would it be and why?

Part B: Questions related to embedding and impact

What did you think this school was going to be like before you arrived?

Describe your first day here? What were you feeling? What was it like?

How is it different to what you thought it would be?

What makes your school ethos distinct and unique from other schools in the area?

Why do you think students should come here instead of other schools?

Is your school like this by accident or has it been shaped to be like?

Is there any particular person or a group of people who have shaped this?

How have they done that?

What is the biggest challenge to making your school vision become a reality?

What stops your school's vision becoming true for everyone?

What do you think could be done to overcome that challenge?

Part C: Questions relating to the chaplain's interaction with ethos

What do you think the role of the chaplain has contributed towards school ethos?

Has the chaplain changed day-to-day life at the school? How?

If your school didn't have a chaplain, what would be different?

Appendix 8: Questions for Semi-Structured Interviews with Staff

*Prompts are in **purple** should the participant need extra guidance.*

*Supplementary questions are in **orange** should further detail be needed.*

Part A: Questions related to terminology and understanding

Is there a defined vision for your school, and if so, how did this come about?

Who was involved in the process of creating the vision, and what happened?

Tell me about your involvement or experience of the process?

Is there a set of values your school aligns to, and how did this come about?

How do the vision and values appear in the everyday life of the school?

Do you think it makes a difference?

The vision, values and behaviours of a school are sometimes collectively known as ‘school ethos’, what do you understand by that term?

How much is the term ‘school ethos’ talked about by students and staff?

Part B: Questions related to embedding and impact

How would you compare this school's ethos to others locally?

Is there anything that makes your school ethos distinct and unique?

Is there any particular person or a group of people in the school who are responsible for embedding and challenging ethos, and how do they do this?

How deeply is the ethos embedded in your opinion?

What behaviours do students display here as a direct result of the ethos?

What do you think is the single biggest challenge to embedding ethos?

Can you give an example where something changed to align with the ethos?

Has there ever been a change of a rule, system or role to align with the ethos?

Part C: Questions relating to the chaplain's interaction with ethos

What do you feel the role of the school chaplain has contributed towards the ethos?

Has the chaplain changed day-to-day life at the school? How?

What influence does the chaplain have on the atmosphere or culture here?

If your school didn't have a chaplain, what would be different?

How does the chaplain display or embed the schools vision or values in their role?

What does the chaplain do that explicitly communicates the vision/values?

Appendix 9: Questions for Semi-Structured Interview with the Chaplain

*Prompts are in **purple** should the participant need extra guidance.*

*Supplementary questions are in **orange** should further detail be needed.*

Part A and Part B as above, followed by the questions below:

Part C: Questions related to the chaplain's interaction with ethos

How do you have influence on the school's vision, values and/or ethos?

How do you encourage more intentional thinking about vision or values?

How would you like your role to interact with the vision, values and ethos?

What impact do you think that would have, compared to your role now?

Do you view your role as aligning to that ethos or as something separate from it?

Do you see your role as being part of the school's vision? How?

Describe the relationship between the school and your employer?

Is there a tension here at all, and how is that worked out in practice?

Could you describe a time when there was a conflict or negotiation of values?

Appendix 10: Ethos Influencers

Ethos Influencers

Headteacher / Principal	The Senior Leadership Team	Heads of Departments	Classroom Teachers
Teaching Assistants	Support / Office Staff	Chaplain	Students
Lunchtime Supervisors	School Governors	Pastoral Teams	Other: <hr/>

Appendix 11: Interview Reflection Sheet

Interview Details		Interview Checks	
School Name		Pre-Interview	
Date		Consent Reminder?	
Participant's Role		Anonymity Reminder?	
Interview Start Time			
Interview End Time		Post-Interview	
Interview Duration		Data Use Reminder?	

Interview Location	
Comment on environmental factors interruptions/distractions etc	e.g. noise,

Interview Content
Comment on interview content e.g. were all questions answered, was there a heavy focus on one area, were responses detailed or vague?

Interview Communication
Comment on interview communication e.g. was communication open, awkward, friendly, evidence-based, was there emphasis on past/present/future?

Any other comments?

Appendix 12: Confirmation of Ethical Approval

FW: Ethics form

ethics <ethics@staffs.ac.uk>

Wed 09/12/2020 15:18

To: HUNT Josh <joshua.hunt@research.staffs.ac.uk>

Cc: WEBB David <D.A.Webb@staffs.ac.uk>; WALKER Annie <A.M.Walker@staffs.ac.uk>; SANGHERA Sunder <Sunder.Sanghera@staffs.ac.uk>

Dear Josh,

Unfortunately, we haven't been able to find the letter of approval for your ethics application, but we can confirm that your research was reviewed and approved in July 2017, as per the e-mail below.

You can use this e-mail as evidence in your thesis.

Best wishes,

Christine

Christine Dover
Ethics Admin
Research, Innovation and Impact Services
Staffordshire University
Cadman Building
College Road
Stoke-on-Trent
ST4 2DE

01782 294110

c.j.dover@staffs.ac.uk

Staffordshire University supports its colleagues to have a good work / life balance and to work flexibly where they choose to. If you are contacting me out of my standard office hours I may not respond immediately. Equally, there is no expectation for you to respond immediately if you receive this email from me outside of your normal office hours.



From: BOWERS Deana
Sent: 05 July 2017 10:46
To: HUNT Joshua J <joshua.hunt@research.staffs.ac.uk>
Cc: TWILLEY Peter <P.L.Twilley@staffs.ac.uk>
Subject: Ethics form

Dear Joshua
Your project proposal declared on the Ethics Form has now been approved by the Faculty's Ethics Committee.
You can now begin to work on your proposed study.
Kind regards

Deana

Deana Bowers
Student and Course Administrator
Student and Academic Services
Staffordshire University
Room E200, Blackstone Building
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Stoke-on-Trent
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Email: d.bowers@staffs.ac.uk



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