Character Education

Summary points

- 1. Character education has a long history and the present interest is not new.
- 2. Character education cannot be discussed in isolation. It raises moral, philosophical and practical issues and interests thinkers from different disciplines.
- 3. The emphasis on the 3Rs and the way schools are assessed are displacing character building, although teachers think it is important
- 4. The virtues enshrined in the traditional UK public (private) schools and religious foundations influence current thinking and practice in the UK
- 5. There have been numerous attempts to establish the core values that should underpin education and be pursued in schools
- 6. These attempts have adopted two approaches: one is top-down where virtues are articulated in abstract and applied in schools; however, it is difficult to teach these in isolation or in classroom settings.
- 7. The other is bottom-up and focuses on the promotion of pupil well-being, pursuing this in a 'whole school' approach where desired virtues are manifest in all aspects of school life.
- 8. The promotion of well-being should not be viewed as an alternative to academic success as they are mutually beneficial.
- 9. Research indicates that the conditions necessary for the successful implementation of a bottom-up approach are: setting clear aims, reviewing ways of thinking, adopting evidence-based practices and establishing support and training structures.

- 10.In scrutinising the provision of character education, no obvious gaps in provision, weaknesses in legislation or groups of children missing out are immediately apparent.
- 11. Nevertheless, three things are clear: schools are constrained by the curriculum, children learn values and virtues mostly from emotional contagion, and some children experience a mismatch between expectations made of them inside and outside school.
- 12.One helpful initiative would be to fashion a pedagogy relevant to schools serving poor areas that gives teachers an opportunity to influence the peer relations that shape pupils' values and virtues.
- 13. This innovation would be most effective if it was developed in a consortium of schools, either serving a poor area or in a group with similar characteristics. This promotes mutual support among teachers, economies of scale, joint events and high standards better than is possible in a single establishment.
- 14. The need is to devise and implement innovations that affect systemic thinking and can be developed to scale. This reduces the risk of their being an ephemeral phenomenon of passing interest.
- 15. There are lessons to be learned from the experiences of agencies that are delivering innovative projects concerned with character education.

Character Education

1. Character education has a long history

Attempts to influence the way children and young people think and behave have always been a focus of education. In Ancient Greece, the Spartans fashioned a programme to produce sturdy warriors and in more enlightened times Rousseau was unequivocal about what he thought best for young Emile's well-rounded socialisation. Educational debate has been always been fuelled by wider social and moral concerns which at different times have manifested themselves in religious inculcation, political directives and debates about school regimes. Thus, the current concern is not new.

The literature on the place of personal and social development in the education system has attracted attention from groups broader than teachers. William James in *Principles of Psychology* (1890) argued that personal attributes, such as focus, self-control and inner strength determined a child's academic success while his psychologist colleague, Lewis Terman, writing in 24 years later preferred 'physical, mental and hygienic health'. In a study of boarding schools in 1965, when asked 'what are the aims of your school?', the head of a famous Roman Catholic institution replied 'to prepare the boys for death' - sound theology but not shared by the pupils.

2. Character education cannot be discussed in isolation, it raises moral and philosophical as well as practical issues, and has thus attracted interest from a range of intellectuals

This means that discussions about character education become embroiled in wider philosophical and scientific questions. These can be complex and explain why no clear answers have emerged. For example, the Beatitudes are clear about what constitutes Christian behaviour but is the requirement to be a 'peacemaker' always appropriate? Most of the times, yes, but killing may be justified in times of war, especially if the conflict is perceived as 'just', and murder might be an effective way of achieving worthy political aims, as with World War II resistance fighters. It all depends on the context.

It has also been argued that the value of personality traits varies according to circumstance. Winston Churchill was an effective wartime leader but had been a political failure over Gallipoli and the General Strike. Brian Clough was a successful as manager at Nottingham Forest

but failed at Brighton. As President Truman remarked, "Mild psychopathy can be an advantage when deciding to drop an atom bomb". So successful leadership is perhaps best perceived less as an inbuilt asset and more as an ability to apply talent effectively to specific situations.

In addition to these complications, philosophers, such as Aristotle, Kohlberg and Russell, have questioned the existence of super-contextual moral states and of rules that are 'universal than of particular human concern'. The most cited example is the commandment 'love thy neighbour as thyself', but is this a universal truth or a child of its time?

There are also empirical problems. One is the haunting question of whether character education can be taught. Some behavioural disorders are difficult to change while others, such as bigoted attitudes, are more open to influence. It is also known from numerous studies, for example Rutter's *Fifteen Thousand Hours*, that school regimes influence behaviour while the children are there but, as follow-up studies reveal, the effects tend to fade once they have left. Moreover, the traditionally benign influences of staff and peer modelling are probably declining as children gather information from the Internet and other sources private to them. So criteria for evaluations, such as 'proselytisation' or 'fervency', are probably inappropriate to evaluate character education and it may be better to use measures like 'developing a useful form of thinking' or 'not changing who we are but what we do'.

3. There is growing concern that the emphasis on reading and arithmetic in the UK national curriculum and the way schools are assessed by Ofsted are displacing character training, despite the fact that teachers think it is important

At the more practical level of everyday schooling, many educationalists and teachers worry that the current stress on the 3Rs in in UK and the ways schools are assessed by Ofsted have side-lined any consideration of character education and ways of achieving it. Even traditionalists seem worried with one top public school head opining, 'Preparing for exams is about 25 per cent of what schools are for and the other 75 per cent is helping young people develop intellectually, emotionally, psychologically and artistically'.¹

The last Government responded to this unease by allocating £3.5 million to special projects, as did its predecessor with the *Let's Get Smart*

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¹ Sir Anthony Seldon, *Daily Telegraph*, June 24th 2015

initiative. The current Ofsted website includes a section on PSHE education (Personal, Social, Health and Economic education - see later), part of which is suggested as a way of equiping children up to year 6 'with the knowledge, understanding, attitudes and practical skills to live healthily, safely, productively and responsibly', although the evaluation by Formby and colleagues shows, that its implementation across the country is variable². But despite these efforts, they are drops in the ocean and it is still not clear what sorts of people we want the education system to produce to produce or whether all of the desired aims are compatible – is it possible for a child to be both a technical whizz-kid and a well-rounded individual?

4. The heritage of the UK public (private) school ethos and religious education are historically significant and still influences educational thinking and practice

British education has been strongly influenced by the public schools which flourished in the nineteenth century with the growth of Empire. Their ethos has been aped by aspirant establishments ever since. The famous public school heads, such as Thomas Arnold, were unequivocal about the attributes they sought for their leavers. Many of these can be seen in portrayals of upper class Englishmen but the essential qualities are important because their influence is still around. They include: a career where you start at the bottom and rise to the top twice (in prep and secondary school), repress expressions of emotion, do not identify emotionally with those you command, defer gratification, remain psychologically independent and exude confidence even if you are uncertain. Most of all, however, is the expectation to be loyal – first to your house and school and later to your country and God, as well as to colleagues now in high office whose teenage peccadillos you could reveal.

The heritage of all this is that British education has always had an underlying moral agenda; so not doing one's homework is viewed as something more than an organisational oversight. The important point, however, is that these attributes were tied to a particular social order where people worked alone and under stress when administering the Empire and their values and beliefs were reinforced, and indeed rarely challenged, by family, social class and similarly educated colleagues. For

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² PHSE is not part of the national curriculum so schools are not criticised by Ofsted for not teaching it. However, they do face criticism if the problems that PHSE seeks to address are seen to be prevalent or encouraged.

this purpose they were highly functional but out context they seem quaint and even comic. The same applies to all establishments strong on socialisation, such as seminaries, military academies and faith schools.

5. What is the current thinking about the values and virtues that should be pursued in character education?

If the traditional public school values are less relevant today, what should take their place? Attempts to compile a set of core attributes have found it easier to define what is not desirable as opposed to what is. For example, most people agree that children should not be exploitative, self-centred or aggressive, but what happens when cultural elements creep in? Behaviours such as obedience to elders or religious observance are esteemed in many societies but are unlikely to be accepted as universal standards in others.

So what have the leading experts in this field suggested?

Initially, it is clear that character training is not about inculcating a set of truths or indoctrinating children into a way of thinking. It is a process of social and moral development that encourages them to think about options and develop a sense of appropriate aims and measures. Hence it is significant that the name of one of the major programmes in the UK, SEAL, stands for social and emotional aspects of learning and in the US, CASEL stands for collaborative for academic, social and emotional learning.

It is also apparent that the recent literature on character building falls into two groups. There is a plethora of advice about what an individual needs to get on well in modern society; this stresses features such as resilience, confidence and rationality. Then there is a set of values about what is needed for people to succeed in post-industrial, multi-cultural societies where there is more than ever a need to agree what is and is not acceptable within a context of tolerance and understanding, and to modify these views as societies change. Alongside these are essential skills such as the need to get on with others, cope with employment and act as good citizens. The two groups are obviously linked but it is the latter perspective that has interested most educationalists because it focuses on what happens in schools and on the group experience of children.

In assembling the package of desirable qualities, the theorists have separated civic values, moral virtues and performance qualities. The first involves such things as being law abiding and participating in civic society; the second includes truthfulness, honesty and developing a sense of justice; and the third concerns resilience, grit and determination. Each observer has also contributed additional items: Katherine Weare, for example, introduces the concept of mindfulness, the organisation Character Counts defines 'the six pillars of character' as trustworthiness, respect, responsibility, fairness, caring and citizenship while Jen Lexmond adds self-control and reflection. In a similar vein, James Wetz proposes thoughtful attuned interaction relevant to current age and state. Roger Weissberg, in contrast, focuses on intellectual skills and recommends self-management, self-awareness, social awareness, forming relationships and responsible decision making, a perspective echoed by PSHE education (see later) that adds good management of substance abuse, personal finance and sexual behaviour³.

All of these observers produce evidence to show the wider benefits of achieving these attributes in terms of improving children's behaviour, mental health and academic attainment. James Arthur and his colleagues at the Jubilee Centre at Birmingham University speak of good persons and citizens as well as flourishing individuals. Thus, the moral and technical are combined and mutually reinforcing.

If then we accept character training 'as a set of social traits and dispositions that produce specific moral emotions, inform motivation and guide conduct' (Arthur et al.), then it should be possible to establish a core set of universally acknowledged cosmopolitan virtues and values within the constraints of context and culture discussed earlier, and to implement these in schools. This is a 'top down' approach where values are defined in abstract and then applied.

6. Establishing the core values that underpin character education: a top-down approach that develops virtues in abstract and apples them in schools

In the current literature on character education (e.g. Storr, Wetz, Lexmond, Weare, Weissberg, Carr, Arthur), the following core values have been proposed. There are at least twenty-five of them and they can be divided into three groups of what the Jubilee Centre calls 'virtues':

recurs. But, nationalistic claims to exclusivity seem exaggerated considering that India is the world's largest democracy and Panama heads the 2014 Gallup-Healthways global league table for well-being.

³ In debates about what should be taught in schools, the phrase 'British values' recurs. But, nationalistic claims to exclusivity seem exaggerated considering that

Civic character virtues:

responsible citizenship; adopting a sense of justice; acting fairly; respecting the rights and responsibilities of others; willingness to help others; social awareness

Moral character virtues

honesty, sincerity; compassion; truthfulness; sense of gratitude; humility; modesty; mindfulness

Performance character virtues

Resilience; grit; determination; courage; self-control; self-discipline; self-management; self-awareness; relational skills; responsible decision making; thoughtful and attuned interaction

Alongside this is the need for optimal academic achievement to provide the technical knowledge necessary for employment in a modern economy and for good physical and mental health to cope with the academic and social pressures that children face. On top of these are personal contentment and a good quality of life.

However, there is criticism that these are mostly middle class virtues and although there is increasing consensus on all sorts of issues given the global economy and modern communications — an example is the way that the rules of soccer have become standardised around the world — it is not true that people in the UK are 'all middle class now' or that ideologies are intrinsically compatible - there are some happy criminals. When there a mismatch between the moral values espoused at home, in the local community and at school, for example where personal safety involves weapons, jobs are scarce and dead-end or schools endure bullies, gangs, ethnic and religious tensions and indifferent parents, these moral exhortations are more akin to idealistic United Nations charters proposing 'peace and goodwill' than to viable recipes for change.

Given these concerns, it might be concluded that 'nothing can be done' as for many schools the situation is seemingly hopeless. But this is where the pioneers in this work have something to offer. By careful construction of an appropriate curriculum and its introduction to schools, they are confident that they can have some effect on children's characters and that this has beneficial spin-offs for the individual, the school and society.

So what do they suggest?

7. Can these virtues be taught? If so, how?

The answer to this question is 'yes' but not in a simplistic way as a separate subject or as a something distinct from other aspects of school life. Neither can it be achieved by crude solutions such as recruiting exmilitary personnel onto the staff. This is because children come with deeply held values and experiences and change is most likely to occur slowly and incrementally through role modeling and emotional contagion. Direct teaching is more useful to provide the language and tools that can be used in developing character in and out of school but it is easier to raise moral issues in the study of religion, history, art, poetry, literature and even science, as well as in discussion about school activities. The educational philosopher David Carr has expressed concern about the effects of creeping cultural illiteracy in the UK national curriculum (and among many newly trained teachers who were taught under this) and the consequences of this decline for character education.

One major policy document designed for schools to use is:

A Framework for Character Education in Schools (The Jubilee Centre, University of Birmingham)

This framework operates at a fairly general level and does not lay out a detailed curriculum. No one is being told to read Hamlet to appreciate moral dilemmas or to listen to Parsifal to understand redemption. Neither does it offer a method of implementation. What it does do is stress the value of character education and the role of schools in delivering it. It accepts that the choice of virtues will depend on individual constitution, developmental stage and social circumstance but accepts the possibility of a set of prototypical virtues that will be embraced by representatives of all culture and religions. It stresses the ancient Greek concept of 'phronesis' or good sense; this is knowing what to want and not want when the demands of different virtues conflict and to integrate such demands into an acceptable course of action. This ability to assess situations, think through options, look ahead and consider the consequences are seen as the overarching components of good character which, in combination with personal traits, empower students to achieve their full potential.

Discussions about the application of this are restricted to asking schools to be clear about the citizens they want to produce and to provide opportunities for reflection and testing out options. In short, 'they should help prepare students for the tests of life, rather than a life of tests'.

8. A bottom-up approach to character education focusing on the promotion of pupil well-being

A different approach is recommended in four other reports. These avoid laying down desirable virtues and start with a concern for the social and emotion well-being of children. It concentrates, therefore, on the stresses and strains of schooling and on children who find it difficult to cope. At first, this welfare perspective seems fundamentally different to the approach discussed above and appears to confuse mental health issues with normal adaptations, but further analysis will show that it is concerned with the same sorts of problems and reaches similar conclusions about what needs to be done.

Four influential reports in this area are:

PSHE, Personal, Social, Health and Economic (PSHE) Education, see www.psheassocation.org.uk

Katherine Weare, What Works in Promoting Social and Emotional Wellbeing and Responding to Mental Health Problems in Schools?, National Children's Bureau, 2015

Accredited Training in Children's Emotional Development and Attachment – an Entitlement for All who Work in our Schools, Consortium for Emotional Well-being in Schools, 2013

What can we do to Help Children and Young People to Develop Good Mental health and Emotional Well-being in the Face of Challenges in School?, Report of a seminar convened by the All Party Parliamentary Group for Children, 2015

Also important are the materials produced by the charity Character Counts (www.charactercounts.org) which seek to develop character traits, such as perseverance, empathy and self-control, in the belief that investment in these leads to success with progressive goals, such as freedom, fairness, opportunity and social mobility

All of these initiatives begin by stressing the importance of the non-cognitive side of education and the social and emotional learning that occurs in schools. As leading thinker James Heckman of the University of Chicago opined, "Programs that build character and motivation – not just cognition – are essential". If this is pursued effectively, the benefits for the whole school are enormous: a contented staff, more academic

learning, fewer mental health issues and less difficult and risky behaviour among pupils. For this, there are some well-tried and tested models both to promote levels of social and emotional well-being generally and to help individual children facing learning or relationship difficulties or mental health issues. These include: PHSE (personal, social and health education), Health Promoting Schools, SEAL (Social and Emotional Aspects of Learning) and TaMHS (targeted mental health in schools).

Two of the reports, the Consortium and seminar summary, look more specifically at the need to include these perspectives in teacher training and to equip new graduates with the skills to implement them.

9. How to achieve what is thought necessary for effective character education: the common ground

While these top-down and bottom-up approaches might seem contradictory, they reach the same conclusions about what is needed and how it can best be achieved.

The most striking conclusion is that there is no point in pursuing character education in isolation. There has to be a whole school approach that overrides compartmentalised thinking and the defensive protection of structures and budgets. The Jubilee Centre document talks about the need for students and teachers to display awareness of character virtues in the school's 'thinking, attitudes and actions'. They should be 'reinforced everywhere: on the playing fields, in classrooms, corridors, interactions between teachers and students, assemblies, posters, head teachers' messages and communications, staff training, relations with parents and extra curricular activities'. PSHEe, Katherine Weare and the Consortium similarly recommend 'adopt a whole school thinking' in which all parts of the school organisation work together coherently. This means a supportive school and classroom climate and an ethos that builds a sense of connectedness, focus and purpose and an acceptance of emotion, respect, warm relationships and communication as well as the celebration of difference (in contrast to the present time where the ethos seems to encourage competition at all levels).

Details of what need to be stressed are provided; for example PSHEe lists eight key areas: alcohol, smoking and drug use; personal health; bullying; citizenship; democracy and human relations; careers and the world of work; personal finance; family and relationships and sex education. The important point, however, is that all of this needs to be backed by an early introduction of skills based programmes, the serious pursuit of preventive

work, resources devoted to professional learning and staff development, and a supportive policy on bullying, stigma and helping children with special needs. The engagement of pupils, parents and the local community is also essential as is the need to care for staff, the implementation of targeted interventions, establishing clear pathways and referral systems for children experiencing problems and understanding the roots of behaviour and learning difficulties.

As said earlier, the benefits of this approach are wide and have been confirmed in a recent Public Health England meta-analysis. High levels of well-being are associated with lower levels of mental health issues and pupil drop out and with better examination results and attendance. There is a strong correlation between the quality of the personal social and health education in a school and its overall effectiveness.

In summary, a focus on well-being and mental health is relevant to character education because it enables schools to provide a happy and healthy environments for all pupils and staff and to prepare the citizens of tomorrow with sound character and values. But just as important, it also directly supports their more immediate mission: the promotion of effective learning.

10. The conditions necessary for the successful implementation of character education and maximising pupil and staff well-being

If we are to help schools deliver character education and deal effectively with children's social and emotional difficulties, what are the auspicious conditions?

Initially, we have to overcome the confusion caused by each agency using its own language. As seen above, the list of terms is extensive. Moreover, each service tends to have its own focus with some divisions of responsibility and structure reflecting false dichotomies, such as between cognitive and non-cognitive psychological processes. No single term is ever going to be appropriate which, although confusing, should not be seen as a major hindrance because it is the principles that are important and there is usually more consensus about them.

'What works' conclusions have become increasingly robust over he past few years thanks to validated interventions becoming available, making the context for the pursuit of evidence-based practice more favourable. But one lesson that has been learned is that while the fundamental concepts are clear, they need to be well taught; the provision of good quality services is not just a question of money.

It is also essential to avoid contrasting well-being with academic attainment, as if one weakens the other. This is misleading because both go together with success in one area improving outcomes in the other. Indeed, it improves the situation in all four areas of interest to the charity as they are all interconnected.

One practical difficulty, however, is achieving the right balance between universal and targeted services. We cannot have one without the other but how can targeted interventions be delivered without creating stigma? Again, the problem is partly structural and is exacerbated by adopting too rigid a division between options. Rather than an 'either/or' approach, the need is for a system of graduated support operating in a regime well disposed to promoting children's well-being.

The evidence also shows the value of providing or harnessing help early in the child's life, to keep it going and ensure it is consistent.

Then there are benefits from raising awareness of special needs and mental health problems among pupils and staff but to do this without frightening people. This does not mean that teachers have to become therapists but that they should be helped to recognise the signs of problems, understand their nature and know what to do about them, and to feel supported in this. The aim is to try and go beyond descriptions and pursue the 'why' questions. Older people may also have to keep up to date with the modern communication methods used by young people as these are now an important factor in children's lives.

Finally, we have to get everyone in the school to stand up to the stigma associated with differences, learning and behavioural difficulties and failure, as these are often a source of bullying and withdrawal, and for everyone to remember that these issues also affect staff as well.

In conclusion, the messages for service directors and staff are: be clear about the qualities you want in your school leavers and consider the activities and rules of behaviour most likely to generate them. Then incorporate these into a school ethos that is considerate to others, provides core instruction on social and emotional issues and integrates this into the wider curriculum and the involvement of families. However, it needs to be kept simple and be well taught. It is also necessary to ensure that this thinking permeates all aspects of school life. It is

particularly important to help staff feel that pressures emanating from outside are not being imposed on them and to allow expressions of negative emotions and, finally, not forget that they too need a satisfying work-life balance.

11. Fruitful areas for development

One thing that the above discussion has revealed is that character education is a complex and there are no salient or fool proof conclusions or methods Unlike other areas in education, it is difficult to identify gaps in services, loopholes in law, groups of children missing out or how services might be refocused; hence recommendations for change do not immediately leap out.

But three things stand out from the evidence discussed. First, the UK national curriculum has narrowed the focus of teaching and limited opportunities for activities outside basic subjects. Schools are frightened to stray too far away from this requirement as the penalties are severe. Second, it is also clear that children learn about morals and virtues mostly from other pupils and from peers and family outside school. Thirdly, it is likely that children who experience a mismatch between the values ordained by the school and those encouraged by peers will respond to the latter. This makes it difficult to teach virtues in the classroom and attempts to do so, such as in civics lessons, will have limited effect.

In schools educating middle-class children this is less of a problem, but in poor areas the situation is serious. There is not only a clash of values but the schools also lack the facilities to do much about it given the high levels of family fragmentation and lack of social cohesion in the local community.

So what would be helpful is the fashioning of a pedagogy that is relevant to schools serving poor areas. Pedagogy refers to the activities that complement the 3Rs and which allow children to enjoy (enjoyment is very important) group activities in sport, leisure and culture in settings where teachers can influence the peer relations that shape pupils' values. There may be structures to build on, such a buddy schemes, but it is almost certain that something extra is needed to take the pressure off schools hidebound by the struggle to meet academic targets.

Moreover, this innovation would be most effective if it could be developed in a consortium of schools, either serving a poor area or involving a number of establishments with similar characteristics, such as

serving rural or ethnically diverse communities - with modern communication technology, projects no longer need to be constrained by geography. This enables head teachers to support one another and benefit from economies of scale by having a drama group, peripatetic music teacher and sports instructor serving several schools, rather than relying on the 'hit and miss' approach that depends on who is available. This would also allow schools to undertake joint events in sports, outdoor activities, concerts and drama and ensure that the standards achieved are higher than would be possible in an individual school. The aim would be for the activities to be seen as more important than the content given that outstanding success is unlikely and any sense of failure must be avoided.

There are several organisations in the UK implementing this type of innovation, such as the Sutton Trust and the ORMISTON group of academies. Their experience suggests that projects need to be managed by someone funded by the charity and who holds a large budget to distribute among schools. As schools are too independent of one another and central agencies, money has to be the incentive for joining. In addition, the innovation must be imaginative but disciplined, i.e. being married to local practice and not giving mavericks too free a hand. It could either focus on making things better or something completely new – the first of these is just as important as the second, although less newsworthy. A role for the charity would be to encourage small radical groups who take risks and protect them as necessary. If the innovations work, the charity needs to ensure that they grow big and ideas get copied so that they have systemic influence. This scaling up is an art in itself.

It is also important to remember that successful delivery relies on local interactions. The Government can only set the conditions for delivery. Thus, the directors of the innovations need to be close to the point of delivery, not tucked away in distant offices.

A mistake some charities make is to establish a methodology and develop it into an interesting idea, but to publicise it as the only way to do things, surrounding it with a zeal that becomes exclusive and divisive – hence counterproductive. A recent example was an education minister's support for synthetic phonics to help children read: this was good for many five year olds but debilitating for the brighter ones. So humility has to complement creativity and efficiency.

These discussions suggest that one way forward is for the charity first to make connections between the four areas it has highlighted and understand their significance, but not to try to do everything. Then to develop a narrative to articulate the aims of the selected activities and prove to the world that they not only work but also have pay-offs in all areas, including better results in core subjects. Once this is done, the detailed points on delivery and scale can be considered to ensure that the innovation endures to bring about systemic change.

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