THE JUBILEE CENTRE
FOR CHARACTER & VIRTUES

UNIVERSITY OF
BIRMINGHAM

CHARACTER EDUCATION
IN UK SCHOOLS
RESEARCH REPORT

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The University of Birmingham is a top ranking British University. Founded in 1900, it was England's first civic University and was ranked University of the Year 2013-14 by the Times and the Sunday Times.

The original Department of Education was founded in 1894 and became the School of Education in 1947. Ranked in the top 50 Schools of Education in the world today, it has a long-standing reputation as a centre of excellence for teaching and research in a wide range of areas of educational practice and policy, with fields of expertise including disability, inclusion and special needs, education and social justice, and professional education.

Jubilee Centre for Character and Virtues

The Jubilee Centre for Character and Virtues is a unique and leading centre for the examination of how character and virtues impact on individuals and society. The Centre was founded in 2012 by Professor James Arthur. Based at the University of Birmingham, it has a dedicated team of 30 academics from a range of disciplines: philosophy, psychology, education, theology and sociology.

With its focus on excellence, the Centre has a robust and rigorous research and evidence-based approach that is objective and non-political. It offers world class research on the importance of developing good character and virtues and the benefits they bring to individuals and society. In undertaking its own innovative research, the Centre also seeks to partner with leading academics from other universities around the world and to develop strong strategic partnerships.

A key conviction underlying the existence of the Centre is that the virtues that make up good character can be learnt and taught. We believe these have largely been neglected in schools and in the professions. It is also a key conviction that the more people exhibit good character and virtues, the healthier our society. As such, the Centre undertakes development projects seeking to promote the practical applications of its research evidence.

This report was launched by Professor Sir Anthony Seldon, Master of Wellington College, on the 27 February 2015 at the City of Birmingham Council House.

Character Education in UK Schools

Research Report

CONTENTS

'THE FUNCTION OF EDUCATION IS TO TEACH ONE TO THINK INTENSIVELY AND TO THINK CRITICALLY. INTELLIGENCE PLUS CHARACTER – THAT IS THE GOAL OF TRUE EDUCATION.'

Martin Luther King, Jr.

[1] Online Appendices A and B can be found at: www.jubileecentre.ac.uk/characterandvirtueseducation

Foreword
Professor Thomas Lickona

One of the most important ethical developments of our time has been the recovery of ancient wisdom about the importance of character. We need good character to lead ethical, productive, and fulfilling lives. We need good character to create a just, compassionate, and productive society.

The renewed attention to character has given rise to an increasingly global character education movement. 'Education worthy of the name,' Martin Buber said, 'is education of character.' As the Jubilee Centre for Character and Virtues points out, good character includes moral virtues such as honesty and kindness, civic virtues such as community service, intellectual virtues such as curiosity and creativity, and performance virtues such as diligence and perseverance. Once we understand that these virtues are the foundation of both personal achievement and interpersonal relationships, the false dichotomy between academics and character education disappears. Character education isn't something else on educators' plates; it is the plate.

The call for character education arises in part from a widespread sense that the moral fabric of society is unraveling. In 2011, the University of Notre Dame sociologist Christian Smith co-authored a much-discussed book, *Lost in Transition: The Dark Side of Emerging Adulthood*. It painted a picture of young adult character that, though based on a US sample, reflected trends towards a decline in moral values likely to be found in other modern societies.

In an interview, Smith commented: 'Our findings suggest we are failing to teach and model moral reasoning skills, visions of a good life that transcends material consumption and immediate bodily pleasures, and the importance of participation in public life for the common good. The emerging adult lifestyle does not appear to be preparing youth for moral integrity in a challenging world, success in marriage, responsibility and sacrifice, or democratic citizenship' (cited in Lickona, 2012:8).

How can schools help to develop persons of character and public-spirited citizens? The answers are offered by this Jubilee Centre report, *Character Education in UK Schools*: train all teachers to capitalise on the opportunities, present in all phases of school life, for modeling and fostering the four kinds of virtues; ensure that every school has at least one teacher who will champion the implementation of character education; have a character education policy comprehensive enough to influence all school staff; use a tool, such as the Jubilee Centre's School Virtue Measure, to assess school culture and student character and guide improvements in the school's efforts to impact both.

The Jubilee Centre study reported here is the largest one of its kind, involving 68 schools, 255 teachers, and more than 10,000 students in four UK countries. It is rare in its 'triangulated methodology' employing three different ways of measuring adolescent character. It helps us understand what the best schools do to develop character by identifying the top seven and bottom seven schools according to students' performance on a moral dilemma test of their ethical reasoning. A surprising finding emerged: *many different types of schools*—faith and non-faith, state and independent, large and small, rural and urban, those in affluent areas and those in poor areas—were found among the top seven schools and among the bottom seven schools. What is the implication of this finding? In the report's own words: 'with the right approach, it is possible for any kind of school to nurture good character.'

What stood out about the top seven schools? Among their common characteristics: (1) Each was strongly committed to developing the whole child, with at least one teacher who was 'knowledgeable and passionate' about this emphasis; (2) Teachers in the top seven schools were much more likely to say their school placed a high priority on moral teaching and to feel they had the time and flexibility to discuss moral issues; and (3) 91% of the top schools' teachers said they could rely on their school's families to develop good character in their children, compared to only 52% of teachers in the bottom schools.

This last finding regarding families is an important reminder of the importance of parents. It should encourage all schools to take steps to strengthen the partnership between school and home. Many schools have done so as a key part of their character education work. They explicitly tell parents that the school views *them* as their child's most important character educators. Education, rightly conceived, has two great goals: to help students become smart and to help them become good. It's been wisely said that when we educate a person in mind and not in morals, we create a menace to society. A glance at history reminds us that civilisations decline when they fail to transmit their strengths of character to the next generation. Happily, with the help of the Jubilee Centre and like-minded others, more people are coming to realise what Aristotle taught long ago: We cannot live life well or create a good society apart from acquiring and practicing virtue.

Professor Thomas Lickona

Center for the 4th and 5th Rs
State University of New York at Cortland

Executive Summary

There is a growing consensus in Britain that virtues such as honesty, self-control, fairness, gratitude and respect, which contribute to good moral character, are part of the solution to many of the challenges facing society today.

Research suggests that children and adults live and learn better with good moral character and that moral integrity can also have a positive impact on performance in schools, professions, and workplaces.

Schools across the world increasingly understand the need to help their pupils to cultivate virtues at a young age. Attainment and grades form only a part of this bigger perspective on education. However, until recently, the materials required to deliver this ambition have been largely missing in Britain.

The Jubilee Centre for Character and Virtues, which forms part of the University of Birmingham, aims to help solve this challenge. As a world-leader in rigorous academic research into character education, the Centre operates on the basis that cultivating good moral character is possible and practicable. It is about equipping children and adults with the ability to make wise decisions and lead flourishing lives. The Jubilee Centre works in partnership with schools and professional bodies on projects that promote and strengthen good moral character within the contexts of family, schools, communities and the wider employment scene.

Schools play a critical role in the formation of young people, shaping the character of their students. However, not much is known about the current state of play in character education within Britain.

The research project described in this report represents one of the most extensive studies of character education ever undertaken, including over 10,000 students and 255 teachers in schools across England, Scotland, Northern Ireland and Wales. Research techniques consisted of a mixture of surveys, moral dilemmas and semi-structured interviews.

This report explores:
- The current situation in character education, both in the UK and internationally
- How developed British students are with respect to moral character and the extent to which they are able to understand and apply moral virtues, especially those aged 14 and 15
- How teachers in the UK understand their role in terms of students' moral and character development
- What helps or hinders the development of children's characters according to teachers in UK schools

Key findings

The Jubilee Centre's research found that with the right approach, it is possible for many kinds of school to nurture good character:
- The Centre's researchers explored the characteristics of the UK schools, whose pupils were, on average, best and least able to respond to a series of moral dilemmas. Different types of schools appeared in both groups, including state and independent, faith and non-faith, large and small, those with high and low percentages of free school meals (FSM), and those with varying Ofsted ratings.
- The schools in both groups were spread across the UK, showing no real trends in terms of geography or size of school.

Findings also show that a concern for the development of a child's whole character is central to good education and practice:
- In interviews carried out by the Centre, over half of British secondary school teachers (54%) and 80% of primary school teachers, said that their school already had a 'whole school approach to character building'.
- Furthermore, 59% of primary school teachers believed that their school placed a 'very high' priority on moral teaching.

However, there are weak links in the education system, which suggest that moral education needs to be prioritised within a greater number of British schools:
- The Jubilee Centre asked British students participating in this research to respond to a series of moral dilemmas and select the best and worst justifications for their chosen action from a list. Many students taking the moral dilemma tests appeared to approach the dilemmas from the perspective of self-interest.

- On average, participating students had less than a 50% match (42.6%) with the preferred responses to the moral dilemmas, as selected by an expert panel.
- Students struggled to identify why they would take a certain action (justification) more than deciding what that action would be (40.5% match with an expert panel).

It is also interesting to note that girls (47%) significantly outperformed boys (37%) when faced with these moral dilemmas.

The Jubilee Centre's findings also contradict some widely-held beliefs about the types of activity that build character:
- Contrary to the widely held public belief that sport builds character, British students claiming to participate in sporting activities did not perform better than those who said they did not practise sports when asked to respond to moral dilemmas.
- However, students who said they were involved in music or choir or drama outside of school performed better than those who said they were not and did not.

Overall, this research suggests that there may be gaps in the current system in terms of attempts to develop a child's whole character, not just their academia:
- 80% of teachers interviewed by the Jubilee Centre stated that the British assessment system 'hinders the development of the whole child'. In other words, the current system can hold back the development of a child's moral character. The majority claimed that exams have become so pervasive in schools that they have crowded out other educational goods.
- Only 33% of teachers stated that they had specific or additional training in moral or character education, yet 60% stated that they had to teach a subject relating explicitly to the development of the whole child (ie, citizenship).
- Finally, when asked what single change they would make to achieve better character education for their students, many teachers recommended that schools provide more 'free space' where students could be themselves and do things they really like, without having to think about exam scores.

Key recommendations

The report makes four main recommendations pertaining to schools and the development of their students' characters:

■ Members of school staff should be trained in developing character, and each school should have at least one teacher (preferably more) who is especially passionate and knowledgeable about character education and directly involved with its implementation. This, however, is unlikely to be sufficient without an effective school leadership team that is also concerned with character education.

■ Schools ought to have a character education policy that will be influential across all staff. A framework for this has been created by the Jubilee Centre[2].

■ Students require more direct help moving from motives of self-interest towards moral orientations concerned with others – this is an aspect of character development deserving of emphasis in schools.

■ Schools should assess their own efforts towards the development of students' characters. The Jubilee Centre is developing a measure for this purpose, known as The School Virtue Measure (SVM).

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[2] http://jubileecentre.ac.uk/userfiles/jubileecentre/pdf/other-centre-papers/Framework..pdf

1 **Purpose of the Report**

The research discussed in this report explored the formation of character in students in 68 schools across the UK. It investigated how teachers viewed their role in developing good character and virtue in students, and assessed character and virtue among the students themselves. The research forms part of the Jubilee Centre's wider investigation of how successful schools are in building character and nurturing virtue, and where improvements might be achieved to transform the lives of young people in order to help them flourish.

The most extensive part of the research, highlighted in this report, explored character and character education in UK secondary schools, using three different methods (moral dilemmas, self-reporting by students of their own character strengths and teachers' reports on students). Over four thousand (4,053) year 10 students (S3 in Scottish schools), aged 14 and 15, were surveyed in 31 secondary schools. In each one of these schools at least three teachers were interviewed. Teachers were also interviewed in 23 primary schools. The schools covered were of different types (including state and independent, faith and non-faith, large and small, those with high *and* low percentages of FSM, and those with varying Ofsted ratings) across England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland.

Researchers also surveyed 3,223 secondary school students in other year groups using only moral dilemma tests, and included a further 2,848 students in the development of a practical measure for schools, called the School Virtue Measure, which was developed by the Jubilee Centre. In total, 10,207 students and 255 teachers were involved in the study.

The main aim of the research was to investigate the nature, impact and current understandings of education for character in British schools, and how such education can be improved. Four overarching research questions were addressed:

1. What is the current policy-driven and academic state of play in character education, internationally and especially in the UK?
2. How developed is the character of British students, particularly those in year 10? What are the strengths and weaknesses of students' characters?
3. How do UK primary and secondary school teachers understand their role in students' moral and character education?
4. What helps or hinders the development of children's characters according to UK primary and secondary school teachers?

The purpose of this report is to make a positive and practical impact on the lives of students in Britain by influencing educational policy as well as schools directly. It is with this purpose in mind that the report provides necessary evidence and recommendations for improvements in character education in schools. In addition, it seeks to redress what is seen by many academics and practitioners as an imbalance in UK schools where too much emphasis is placed on academic attainment to the detriment of the development of good character (cf. Davidson, Lickona and Khmelkov, 2008).

['IT IS NOT UNIMPORTANT, THEN, TO ACQUIRE ONE SORT OF HABIT OR ANOTHER RIGHT FROM OUR YOUTH; RATHER IT IS VERY IMPORTANT, INDEED ALL IMPORTANT.'
Aristotle]

2 Background

2.1 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Ideals of 'character' and 'virtue' have recently witnessed a resurgence of interest, in political and educational circles, and also among the wider public, both internationally and in the UK. In education, student 'flourishing' is increasingly being seen as an overarching aim of educational efforts, with good character considered a constitutive part of this aim (Walker, Roberts and Kristjánsson, 2015:85-86). After a *Character and Resilience Manifesto* (Paterson et. al., 2014) was published in the UK, the Labour Shadow Education Secretary Tristram Hunt (2014) commented that character can and should be taught in schools. He argued that character and resilience are vital components of a rounded education and good preparation for a career. In the summer of 2014, the Conservative Secretary of State for Education Nicky Morgan (2014) said that 'for too long there has been a false choice between academic standards and activities that build character and resilience', which she said, 'should go hand in hand'. In addition, there is strong support among parents for the idea that schools should promote character development alongside academic study; 84% of UK parents believe that teachers should encourage good morals and values in their students (Jubilee Centre for Character and Virtues, 2013a), and 91% of UK adults surveyed said that it is important that schools help children develop good character (Jubilee Centre for Character and Virtues, 2014).

While 'character' has become an increasingly popular notion in the UK, it has a long history that can be traced back to the ancient Greeks, most notably Aristotle (384-322 BC), the 'father' of contemporary virtue ethics. Aristotle's ethical system was absorbed into Christian moral theory by St. Thomas Aquinas, and was thus assured an important role in European moral thought from the thirteenth century onward. A variety of moral theories have been propounded and discussed since the eighteenth century, but during the second half of the twentieth century, European philosophers returned to Aristotle's ethical ideas and began to advance 'virtue ethics' as a distinctive perspective in moral theory. In Germany, this renaissance of virtue can be traced to Joseph Pieper (1966), in France to Vladimir Jankelevitch (1949) and in the UK to Elizabeth Anscombe (1958).

Anscombe criticised ethical theories that focused on 'duty' and 'obligation' and proposed to base moral theorising on naturalistic notions such as 'character', 'virtue' and 'happiness'. Following Anscombe's wake-up call, there has been a renaissance of Aristotelian virtue-based approaches in several fields: in moral philosophy (MacIntyre, 1984; Nussbaum, 1986), moral psychology (Flanagan, 1991; Peterson and Seligman, 2004; Lapsley and Power, 2005; Schwartz and Scharpe, 2010; Fowers, 2012), philosophy of education (Sherman, 1989; Carr, 1991; Curren, 2000; Kristjánsson, 2007; Sanderse, 2012), and education more generally (Berkowitz and Oser, 1985; Nucci, 1989; Lickona, 1991; Ryan and Lickona, 1992; Kilpatrick, 1993; Ryan and Bohlin, 1999; Arthur 2003). Virtue-based approaches to moral education have been typically referred to using the umbrella term 'character education' and, while remaining controversial in some academic and political circles, these are now widely considered to be morally justifiable, psychologically realistic and educationally effective (Berkowitz and Bier, 2006). Evidence of the impact of so-called performance virtues for academic achievement is readily available (Tough, 2013); evidence of a similar effect of the moral virtues is harder to obtain but still exists (Berkowitz and Bier, 2006). Others argue, however, against judging the effectiveness of the development of moral virtue at school only in terms of its instrumental benefits, rather than its more general intrinsic value for a 'flourishing life' (Kristjánsson, 2015).

Until the 1990s however, the domain of moral psychology and education was still dominated by the deontologically inspired work of Lawrence Kohlberg (1981). For Kohlberg, the paragon of moral development is not the virtuous person, but the autonomous person who can justify moral judgements rationally from an impartial point of view. In light of critiques by care ethicists (Gilligan, 1982; Noddings, 1984) and the absence of empirical findings demonstrating a clear association between moral reasoning and moral action (Blasi, 1980), a comprehensive neo-Kohlbergian approach was developed (Rest, 1986; Rest, Narvaez, Bebeau and Thoma, 1999). Its core is the so-called 'four-component model of moral behaviour', which comprises not only 'moral judgement', but also 'moral sensitivity', 'moral motivation'

and 'moral character'. This model comes arguably much closer to an Aristotelian understanding of moral functioning than did Kohlberg's original model (Sanderse, 2014; Curzer, 2014).

In the USA, character education was a priority from the very outset of formal schooling (Hunt and Mullins, 2005, ix; McClellan, 1999), and after falling out of favour for some time, it was revived with some force in the 1990s. In the UK, character education was a theme in schools throughout the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century, but only recently has it recaptured serious attention (Arthur, 2003; 2005; 2008). As opposed to the USA, where 'character education' is often associated with conservative values, in the UK it has frequently appeared as a buzzword for political and educational progressives, dating all the way back to the Scottish Enlightenment (Arthur, 2003:10). In particular, at the end of the 1990s, the government sought to identify common values that could underpin the National Curriculum, such as respect and responsibility (Revell and Arthur, 2007:80). Furthermore, new aims were added to the curriculum, such as the development of children's community involvement, the development of effective relationships and contribution to the common good. The Government's Green Paper *Schools: Building on Success* (2001:16) acknowledged that 'character building is a key part of an overall approach to education'.

The call for character building in UK schools increased in 2011 as riots occurred in several areas across the country. Prime Minister David Cameron (2011) claimed that the riots were caused by people 'showing indifference to right and wrong' and having 'a twisted moral code'. He mentioned schools as part of a solution to counter the 'slow-motion moral collapse'. More recently, character came to be seen as a counterweight to the emphasis on cognitive skills in schools (Tough, 2013:xix). Politicians have gradually come around to the idea that character is as important as academic grades for success in school and beyond. In May 2012, character education gained a strong academic foothold in the UK with the establishment of the Jubilee Centre for Character and Virtue, one of the largest research initiatives in character, virtue and

virtue education ever undertaken. The Centre has been built on the foundations laid by the *Learning for Life* projects carried out in England and Scotland between 2004 and 2006 (Arthur, 2010) and engages in extensive research-based and developmental work through UK schools and society at large.

2.2 PROBLEM STATEMENT AND CONCEPTUAL CLARIFICATIONS

As character education is currently high on political and educational agendas in the UK, it is important, especially in this 'age of measurement' (Biesta, 2010), to explore the condition of students' characters and what efforts are already underway in schools to help cultivate good character. By providing extensive empirical evidence about the current situation, this research report tries to pave the way for practical efforts to improve the lives of young people. Stimulating that effort has been the Aristotelian assumption, upon which the Jubilee Centre's work is predicated, that the theoretical study of virtue and character has a practical aim: '…the purpose of our examination is not to know what virtue is, but to become good, since otherwise the inquiry would be of no benefit to us' (Aristotle, 2002:1104a25-30).

As 'virtue' and 'character' are complex notions, it needs to be clarified how they fit into the Aristotelian virtue ethical framework described above and how they can have traction in today's schooling. Among the central tenets of an Aristotelian approach are the principles that: (a) there is an objective notion of human flourishing; (b) the virtues are a necessary condition for flourishing; and (c) these acquired attributes necessary for flourishing should be the ultimate ends of the education system (Walker, Roberts and Kristjánsson, 2015). In this report, we take our definition of 'character education' from the Jubilee Centre's *Framework for Character Education in Schools* (2014:2). Character education is used here as an umbrella term for 'all explicit and implicit educational activities that help young people develop positive personal strengths called virtues'.

Virtues are understood to be settled (stable and consistent) states of character, concerned with praiseworthy conduct in significant and distinguishable spheres of human life. Each virtue typically comprises a unique set of emotion, reason, attention to ethically significant factors, and conduct, but also a certain style. For example, 'the compassionate person *notices* easily and *attends* to

situations in which the lot of others has been undeservedly compromised, *feels* for the needs of those who have suffered this undeserved misfortune, desires that their misfortune be reversed, acts for the relevant (ethical) *reasons* in ways conducive to that goal and *exudes* an outward aura of empathy and care' (Kristjánsson, 2013:3). A virtue is a character attribute that is well entrenched in its possessor and 'goes all the way down' (Hursthouse, 2013) to the core of individual selfhood. In this report, the terms 'virtue' and 'character strength' will be used interchangeably; however there is a contestable separation between the two in recent virtue-based positive psychological theory (Peterson and Seligman, 2004).

It is helpful to divide the virtues into four main types: moral; intellectual; civic; and performance. Moral and civic virtues are essential to a good communal life; intellectual virtues are dispositions pertaining to inquiry, understanding, applying knowledge and respect for evidence; and performance virtues provide the strength of will to achieve goals, whatever they are. In some academic and political circles, 'character' has recently come to be equated only with the possession of

performance virtues, such as resilience and self-confidence (Tough, 2013). By contrast, the positon of the Jubilee Centre, as expressed in the *Framework for Character Education in Schools* (2014), is that without the compass provided by the moral virtues, the cultivation of mere performance virtues is inadequate and even counter-productive. The virtues that will be singled out for special consideration in this report are 'honesty' (being truthful, sincere), 'self-discipline' (the ability to control one's emotions), and 'courage' (bravery, the ability to do something that frightens one). The reasons for this choice are explained in Section 3.1.1.

Concerns remain about whether psychological measurement can detect virtue (Haldane, 2014) and whether an evidence-based 'what-works approach' in education may be crowding out discussion of important values (Biesta, 2010). We assume, nevertheless, that there is no reason in principle why virtue cannot be measured. Several attempts have been made: Big-Five personality theory research has focused on what are arguably personality substrates of virtues, such as agreeableness and conscientiousness; the VIA Inventory of Strengths identifies self-reported virtues; moral dilemma tests explore some cognitive components of virtue; longitudinal observational methods aim to gauge virtues in action; and more recently, implicit testing and neuroscientific measures have focused on detecting intuitive moral responses. In a systematic review of these methods, Kristjánsson (2015, ch. 3) concludes that 'a proper instrument to measure (Aristotelian) virtue needs to be an eclectic patchwork and needs to offer the possibility of triangulation' (see also Curren and Kotzee, 2014; Fowers, 2014).

Motivated by this conclusion, the Jubilee Centre has used a mixed-methods approach that combines students' self-reports (Values in Action survey), other-reports (teachers' reports on students as a group) and students' responses to moral dilemma tests (the Intermediate Concept Measure for Adolescents, UK version). The Ad-ICM (UK), which has its roots in the neo-Kohlbergian tradition (Thoma, Derryberry and Crowson, 2013; Thoma, 2014), measures students' *moral judgement* about what action a protagonist should take, and why; the VIA Youth Survey (96-item) measures students' *moral self-understanding* or identity (Peterson and Seligman, 2004; Park and Peterson, 2006); and teachers' reports on students indicate students' display of virtue through overt *moral action* in the classroom. While these methods (explained in more detail in Section 3.1) do not measure all components of students' virtues directly, they do collectively provide significant evidence concerning virtue-based character development. Students'

moral development has been studied empirically in several ways before, each time using only one or two of the three measures we have used. Our study is – to the best of our knowledge – the first attempt to use all three together.

Limitations of space preclude an exhaustive survey of previous empirical literature on all the variables under discussion in this report (see further in Section 5), so a brief sampling of earlier significant research findings will have to suffice. Using an internet sample of 17,056 UK respondents, a VIA-IS study of self-reported character strengths showed that women typically scored higher than men, and that four of the top five 'signature strengths' of UK men and women were the same: open-mindedness; fairness; curiosity; and love of learning (Linley *et al.*, 2007). Internationally, the VIA Youth Survey has showed that most common among youth are the virtues of gratitude, humour and love; and least common are prudence, forgiveness, spirituality and self-regulation (Park and Peterson, 2006).

Previous research on teachers' beliefs (from various countries) has shown that teachers generally support the idea that teaching is an activity concerned with issues of 'what is good, right and virtuous' (Sanger and Osguthorpe, 2011:569). Teachers are commonly drawn to the teaching profession because of its moral nature (Book and Freeman 1986; Brookhart and Freeman, 1992) and *want* to be role models and make a difference in the lives of students (Osguthorpe and Sanger, 2013). However, teachers seem to lack a rich professional knowledge and language through which they can talk about moral dimensions of teaching (Sockett and LePage, 2002; Sanger and Osguthorpe, 2011). One reason for this may be that formal teacher training does not offer a focused and systematic treatment of the moral dimensions of teaching (Willemse, Lunenberg and Korthagen, 2008). Revell and Arthur (2007) report the related finding that a majority of pre-service teachers hesitate to act on their moral commitment and regret that values education of some sort was not part of their training.

2.3 OVERALL EVALUATIVE GOALS

What is the current state of play in character education, internationally and especially in the UK? How developed is the character of British students? What helps or hinders the development of children's characters? How do UK school teachers understand their role in students' character education? The general evaluative goals and intended outcomes of this study are to answer these questions. Our aims in addressing these questions are simultaneously academic, practical, political, and transformative.

This research matters academically, because it attempts to measure virtue from different perspectives by combining three established methods. Furthermore, the use of this triangulated design yields a wealth of empirical information about UK students' characters, which was previously unavailable. The findings of this report have practical importance because the answers to the research questions can inform decisions made by politicians, policy-makers, teacher trainers and teachers, at a time when character education is firmly on educational and political agendas. When we have more reliable evidence on what the strengths and weaknesses of students' characters are, and how teachers seek to cultivate good character in practice, feasible suggestions can be made about how individual teachers and whole schools can create a culture that promotes the development of good character. Section 6 of this report offers recommendations for how teacher training can facilitate a more deliberate and comprehensive approach to character education.

In sum, our goal is to explore what is known about the nature, impact and current understandings of education for character in British schools – and to provide guidance for improving it.

[
'WE DO NOT LEARN FOR SCHOOL, BUT FOR LIFE.'
Cicero
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3 Methodology

The main component of the overall study considered the character of year 10 students (aged 14 and 15) in secondary schools across the UK. The work was guided by the belief that virtues can be effectively assessed through methodological 'triangulation'. A combination of three methods was used: students' scores on moral dilemma tests (Ad-ICM (UK)), students' self-reported character strengths (Values in Action Youth Survey (VIA)), and teachers' reports on students as year groups.

In addition to this main measure component, there were other related pieces of work. In secondary schools, Ad-ICM (UK) moral dilemmas were also completed by students other school year groups as a singular method, in order to contextualise the year 10 results by age. In addition, teachers were interviewed in both primary and secondary schools. Data from parts of the interviews (with secondary school teachers) were used to triangulate the measurement of students' characters. An overview of the methods used in the studies discussed in this report is shown in Flowchart 1 below.

The authors of this report have also been involved in three related projects not fully covered in the report. The first project aims to develop a measure of virtue intended for use by schools themselves. This *School Virtue Measure* (SVM) will be mentioned again in the Recommendations section (6.4.). The second

project conducted focus groups with small groups of primary school students in years 5 and 6 (aged 9 and 10) in combination with the teacher interviews discussed in this report. These focus groups provide the basis for forthcoming publications and are mentioned briefly in paragraph 6.4. Finally, an additional 84 teachers (from early years to post-16) were interviewed about their views on the teaching profession.

In this section, each method is described, including the rationale behind it, and how data were collected and analysed.

3.1 METHODS

3.1.1 Moral dilemmas – Ad-ICM (UK)
3.1.1.1 Rationale
The dominant method used in the triangulated research to measure students' moral character was the validated Intermediate Concept Measure for adolescent populations (Thoma, Derryberry and Crowson, 2013), adapted for use in the UK. This method was chosen because it currently provides the most promising measure of the age group of interest (especially when used in conjunction with self-reports and teacher evaluations) from a broadly Aristotelian perspective (Kristjánsson, 2015, ch. 3).

The Intermediate Concept approach (ICM) developed by Rest, Narvaez, Bebeau and Thoma (1999) is underpinned by a neo-

Kohlbergian perspective. Responses to the dilemmas are expected to reveal information about 'Intermediate Concepts'. These are assumed to lie between so called 'bedrock' schemas of moral reasoning (self-interests; maintaining norms; and post-conventional schemas) and specific contextual norms (such as professional codes). Intermediate Concepts are considered specific to daily life, and as being related to similar virtue-based concepts (Thoma, Derryberry and Crowson, 2013).

For practical reasons, the adolescent version of the ICM (Ad-ICM) was reduced from seven moral dilemmas to three, to form the Ad-ICM (UK). These dilemmas (measuring *honesty, courage and self-discipline*) were chosen because they measure virtues that seem uncontested across cultures and because they also match qualities measured by the VIA Youth Survey (self-report, used as part of the triangulation). American terms were replaced with British ones and the moral dilemma targeting *courage* was altered to a story about a female protagonist competing as a gymnast, instead of a story about a part in a play, because the new dilemma seemed a more tangible experience. The structure of the original measure was retained and changes were made under the close guidance of the authors of the original measure.

The Ad-ICM is a measure that bridges neo-Kohlbergian and neo-Aristotelian approaches by asking respondents to make moral judgments about a story in which a virtue is at stake. The question of how this measure and the four-component model, which underpins it, relates to the Aristotelian notion of 'character' is, however, a complex one. The idea of the dilemma tests is that patterns of ratings and rankings in response to the dilemmas reveal information about the extent to which participants' application of virtue concepts match expert views. Although Ad-ICM is not designed to assess 'moral schemas' directly, they are implicated in the kinds of choices that the students are able to make. The moral schemas in question are often understood exclusively as schemas of moral reasoning (Thoma, 2006), although ICM scores have been significantly correlated with behavioural and decision-making variables (Thoma, Derryberry and Crowson, 2013). This suggests that the Ad-ICM may perhaps be

Flowchart 1: A representation of the main methods used across the research project
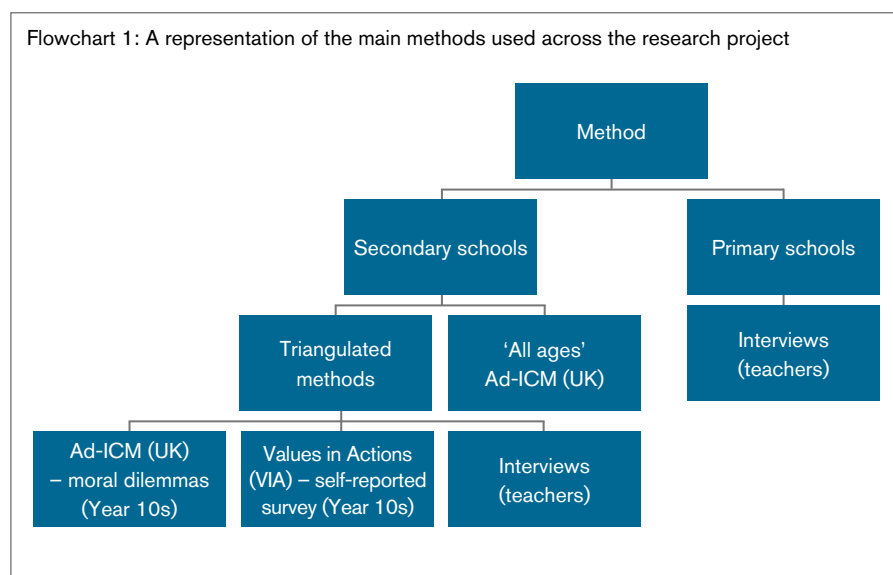
seen as a measure of moral functioning in general, with an emphasis on the cognitive aspects of virtuous character. This is bolstered by the neo-Kohlbergians' understanding of the Ad-ICM, as focused on the mastery of virtue concepts. Although this may be the case, the measure, like others, cannot *directly* assess the entirety of the adolescents' characters. In particular, it cannot be known whether or not they are habitually virtuous in their lives or if when they act virtuously, they do so with pleasure and for its own sake in line with a true Aristotelian definition of the term. Notwithstanding these common limitations, the measure has generated findings that further our understanding of virtue acquisition by adolescents.

3.1.1.2 Collection of data
Supervised by researchers and teachers, students completed electronic (and sometimes paper[3]) surveys in order to respond to the moral dilemmas. An example of the courage dilemma is provided in Appendix 1. Students rated action choices *and* reasons/justifications on a scale from 1 ('I strongly believe that this is a GOOD choice/reason') to 5 ('I strongly believe that this is a BAD choice/reason'). They selected and ranked best (first, second and third) and worst (and second worst) options for actions *and* reasons. Demographic questions were also asked before students completed the survey.

3.1.1.3 Analysis of data
Results from the surveys were exported to SPSS and sent to Professor Stephen Thoma, University of Alabama, to run the ICM analysis and produce results relating to expert panel judgements. Full details of the expert-panel process are available in Thoma, Derryberry and Crowson (2013). Each possible response to a moral dilemma (choices and justifications) was scored as 'acceptable', 'neutral' or 'unacceptable'. This code underpins all calculated scores. For example, best and worst scores for choices and reasons can be calculated to achieve a 'total good' and 'total bad' score that represents the extent to which judgements correspond or contrast with the expert panel. A total ICM score is also calculated, which indicates the overall convergence of judgement with the expert panel for all variations (such as the selection in the moral dilemmas of 'appropriate' good and poor reasons, together with 'appropriate' good and poor choices).

A student consistently selecting neutral or unacceptable choices will score low.

Importantly, there is no overall 'right' or 'wrong' single answer to the dilemmas because for each dilemma, there is more than one acceptable, unacceptable, or neutral option. Always selecting acceptable options will produce a score fully compatible with the expert panel (100%); selecting an equal mix of unacceptable and acceptable options will produce a score of about 50%; and selecting neutral options will not raise or lower the score. Negative scores occur when the individual consistently selects acceptable items as 'bad' and unacceptable items as 'good'. Typically, participants select a majority of choices in the 'appropriate' direction, so a few misidentifications can be absorbed and the summary score remains positive.

3.1.2 'All-ages' Ad-ICM (UK)
Students from other secondary school (and sixth form) year groups, aged 10–18, also completed the Ad-ICM (UK) as a stand-alone measure so that comparisons could be made with the data collected from the year 10 students in the triangulated sample. This method was sometimes used with other year groups in the same secondary schools as the year 10 students, or was carried out in separate schools with any year group. Surveys were conducted and data analysed as for the triangulated sample, except that teachers, rather than researchers, facilitated data collection under guidance from the research team.

3.1.3 Students' self-reports – Values in Action (VIA) Youth Survey (96-item)
3.1.3.1 Rationale
The second method of the triangulated design was the validated VIA Youth Survey. The VIA measures 24 'character strengths' that are grouped to form six broad categories of virtue. The 96-item version was used[4].

The VIA classification is a well tried and tested measure that is presented as being 'grounded in a long philosophical tradition concerned with morality explained in terms of virtues' (Peterson and Seligman, 2004:9), though the limitations of its self-reporting design are recognised (Park and Peterson, 2006)[5].

3.1.3.2 Collection of data
In the complete survey, with year 10 participants, students transitioned from Ad-ICM (UK) to the 96 VIA questions, answerable by choosing from five options ('very much like me' (5), 'mostly like me' (4), 'somewhat like me' (3), 'a little like me' (2), 'not like me at all' (1)) to show whether 96 statements (eg, 'I don't boast about what I achieve') were like them or not. A

combination of four statements (phrased positively and/or negatively) is intended to measure each of the 24 character strengths.

3.1.3.3 Analysis of data
Responses to the 96 questions were sent to a team at the VIA Institute on Character for analyses and scores were calculated for all 24 character strengths of each respondent. They were then returned for further analysis.

3.1.4 Teacher Interviews
3.1.4.1 Rationale
The overall aim of the semi-structured interviews was to determine how character education was being provided in primary and secondary schools across the UK, and what teachers perceived as helping and hindering this effort. In secondary schools, the interviews also formed the final part of the triangulated research design to compare teachers' views of the students' characters with students' own assessments of themselves (obtained using the VIA). Teachers were asked about the relevant year group as a whole, and were not asked to comment on individual students.

Five key themes were covered:
■ Teachers' role in developing character and virtue
■ Their autonomy to direct their teaching with a focus on moral education
■ Their school's priority on moral teaching
■ The extent to which teacher training and experience enabled them to explore moral issues
■ Their students' character development

3.1.4.2 Collection of data
At least three teachers were interviewed in each school for between 30 and 40 minutes. Interviews consisted of 60 questions, 51 of which were closed.

Two of the questions were integral to the triangulated research design and related directly to students with whom the teachers were working:

Here is a list of universal character strengths. If you consider the children that you are teaching in year ten, what would you rate overall as their 3 most pronounced and 3 least pronounced strengths?

A list of 24 character strengths is provided

Thinking about your class(es) in year ten, within this year group, how often do you think that the following qualities have been displayed over the last few months?

Teachers could answer: 'A lot', 'Quite a lot', 'A little', or 'Very little' in response to ten personal qualities asked about:

Optimism about the future || Empathy for others in the classroom || Demonstrate a good understanding of their own feelings || Eager for new knowledge || Honesty || Modesty and humility || Self-control || Delayed gratification || Gratitude || Courage*

*Data for 'courage' is not available for entire sample, as it was included in interview schedules mid-way as a revision.

The questions as a whole sought to provide answers around the themes outlined in the rationale.

3.1.4.3 Analysis of data
Interviews were audio recorded (with permission by all) and later transcribed. Data collected from the closed questions were processed by SPSS; and NVIVO was used to analyse responses to the open questions to explore teachers' thoughts in greater detail.

3.2 RECRUITMENT AND ACCESS

3.2.1 Schools
Data collection began in February 2013 and ended in June 2014. Table 1 shows the different methods that were used in several schools.

We actively recruited a variety of school types such as: state school and independent, faith-based schools of different types, grammar schools, single-sex and co-educational, rural and city, those in affluent areas and deprived areas, and so on.

3.2.2 Teachers
The sample included teachers from a range of subjects (religious education, geography, maths, English, physical education, science(s), history, politics, sociology, citizenship, ICT/computing, art, music, drama/performing arts) and a range of roles within their schools (main subject teachers, heads of years/key stages and heads of departments, guidance/pastoral support staff and teaching assistants, special education needs coordinators (SENCO), head (and deputy head) teachers, as well as other members of senior leadership teams, and school chaplains).

Teacher interviewees were selected by gatekeepers for each school that agreed to participate in the research.

3.3 LIMITATIONS OF THE RESEARCH

A number of schools in the triangulated research sample were already oriented towards character development evidenced by their interest in the study. Researchers were partially successful in countering this bias by seeking other kinds of schools during the recruitment process. Similarly, teachers already interested in character education were more likely to participate in the study, potentially biasing the data.

Schools in London and Northern England were especially difficult to recruit.

As data were gathered from the 'all-ages' sample without researcher supervision, some caution is required when interpreting these results.

Triangulating three methods around three specific virtues creates certain definitional challenges. For example, teachers will interpret the virtues in their own way; and both the VIA and Ad-ICM also operationalise the virtues slightly differently.

Self-reporting measures carry the usual risks of bias, owing to the possibility of self-delusion or over and under-reporting of a person's strengths. Similarly, moral dilemmas may stimulate responses more in line with social desirability than a person's actual moral responses in life[6].

3.4 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Ethical approval was granted for the research by the University of Birmingham Ethics Committee and informed consent was obtained from participants. In the case of schools, initially a senior member of staff consented to their school's participation. This was followed by information sheets and the signing of consent/opt-out forms for participants. Parents as well as students were provided with these, and consent was required from both parties in every case. Teachers were guaranteed confidentiality and anonymity, and could withdraw up to a given date. Where names are used in the report, they are pseudonyms, and codes are used as substitutions for school names (eg, S1 or P2 – see Appendix 2).

Table 1: Final Samples for All Research Methods

School	Method	Number of schools	Number of students	Number of teachers
Secondary	Triangulated – year 10s/teachers	31	4053	102
	Ad-ICM (UK) 'all ages'	8 (not incl. 5 from triangulated)	3223	
	School Virtue Measure (Recommendations section, para 6.4)	6	2848	
Primary	Focus groups (Recommendations section, para 6.4)	10	83	69
	Interviews – mixed questions	13		
Additional	Interviews using additional method –about the teaching profession (from early years to post-16)			84
Total		**68**	**10,207**	**255**

A detailed list of all schools that took part in the research (anonymised) is provided in Appendix 2.

6   For an overview of other, more general, limitations of trying to 'measure virtue', see Kristjánsson (2015: ch. 3). For commentary on strategies to reduce social desirability bias in measures of character, see Fowers (2014).

4 Findings

This section describes the findings from the triangulated data, the 'all-ages' Ad-ICM (UK) data, and then teacher interviews more generally (both primary and secondary schools). Demographic information for students and teachers is provided in Appendix A, available online (www.jubileecentre.ac.uk/characterandvirtueseducation).

4.1 DATA FROM THE TRIANGULATED RESEARCH METHODS – SECONDARY SCHOOLS

This section describes teachers' assessments of the character strengths of students they taught, how the same students reported their own character strengths, and how those students performed in response to three moral dilemmas.

4.1.1 Teachers' views of the students
Teachers were asked to select from 24 character strengths (Peterson and Seligman, 2004) the three most and three *least* pronounced strengths among the year 10 students that they taught.

The *most* prominent strengths (of the 24) selected by teachers were humour (54% of teachers choosing this in the top three), curiosity (38%), fairness (35%) and creativity (28%), whereas the reported least prominent

strengths were self-regulation (32.7% placing this in the bottom three), persistence (30%), spirituality (28%), and open-mindedness (23%). A complete list is in Appendix 3.

Combining the frequencies of the most and least pronounced strengths shows which character strengths teachers focused on (*'teacher focus'*), given that they could only choose a total of six from 24. Overall, 'humour' received the most attention, followed closely by 'curiosity' and 'persistence', and then 'open-mindedness'. At the opposite end, 'love', 'prudence', 'citizenship' and 'integrity' received the least overall attention from teachers.

In the second, more direct question, teachers were asked to state how often ten specific qualities had been displayed by the same group of students during the months leading up to the interview (from 'a lot' to 'very little'). These qualities are provided in section 3.1.4.

In these *'teacher reports'*, 'honesty' was the character strength (of the ten) that teachers recognised most as being present 'a lot' or 'quite a lot' (83.7%), followed closely by 'eager for new knowledge' (79.6%) and 'empathy' (78.6%). In contrast, more than 60% of teachers recognised 'delayed gratification' only 'a little' or 'very little'. (See Appendix 3 for all results.)

4.1.2 Students' reports on their own character strengths
Through the VIA survey, students indicated their dominant character strengths, shown in Table 2 below (the most dominant strengths are at the top of the table). Ranked mean scores and standard deviations for students for each of the 24 character strengths are included[7].

Table 2: Average (mean) VIA Scores Across Sample (n=3312), Character Strengths Ranked by Mean (highest to lowest)

Character strength	Mean	Std. Deviation
Gratitude	3.93	0.78
Humour	3.80	0.95
Teamwork	3.70	0.80
Social intelligence	3.65	0.76
Kindness	3.63	0.82
Zest	3.59	0.94
Bravery	3.56	0.83
Love	3.56	0.91
Forgiveness	3.54	0.98
Curiosity	3.54	0.89
Creativity	3.44	0.96
Humility	3.42	0.81
Fairness	3.38	0.85
Hope	3.37	0.92
Perspective	3.32	0.81
Perseverance/ persistence	3.31	0.96
Appreciation of beauty and excellence	3.29	1.00
Judgement / open-mindedness	3.27	0.91
Honesty	3.22	0.81
Prudence	3.17	0.90
Love of learning	3.05	0.98
Leadership	3.00	1.01
Self-regulation	3.00	0.95
Spirituality	2.34	1.09

Chart 1: 'Teacher focus': students' four most pronounced and four least pronounced strengths according to teachers
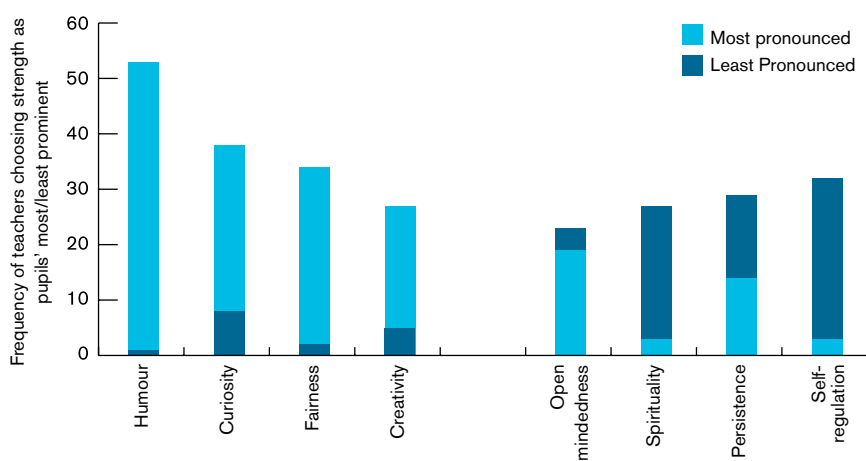
7   Scores correspond to the 1 to 5 scale of the VIA, where 1 is 'not at all like me' and 5 is 'very much like me'.

Table 2 shows that the top five reported strengths for the entire sample were: 'gratitude', 'humour', 'teamwork', 'social intelligence' and 'kindness'. At the other end, 'spirituality' received the lowest rating for the whole sample, closely followed by 'self-regulation', 'leadership', 'love of learning' and 'prudence', suggesting that students considered themselves to possess these character strengths less than the other 19.
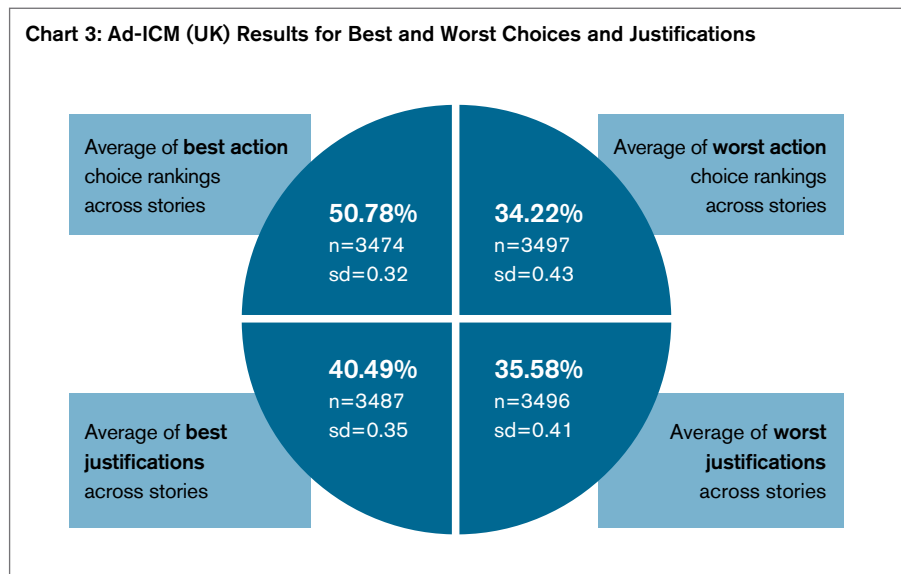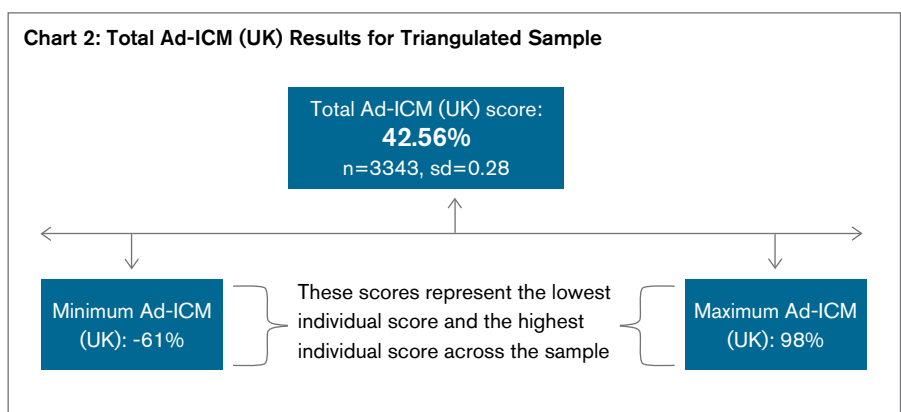
The overall variation between boys' and girls' reports of their character strengths was small, with girls reporting marginally higher for 15 strengths and boys reporting marginally higher for the other nine. See online Appendix B for the full results.

4.1.3 Students' performance on the moral dilemmas

The Ad-ICM (UK) is primarily reported on here as a putative overall assessment of character, although its dilemmas (honesty, courage and self-discipline) are considered separately later in this section[8].

The Ad-ICM (UK) performance for the entire sample showed that, on average, students had less than a 50% match with expert panel choices (42.6%). This compares with high school students in the USA (49%, n=169, sd=0.28) and Macedonia (36.5%, n=266, sd=0.42); and with Taiwanese students aged 14 and 15 (53%, n=794, sd=0.24)[9].

The total Ad-ICM (UK) score is calculated from responses to the moral dilemmas and is based on the students' selection of both *choices* and *justifications* in the story. Students were required to select three best options and two worst options; first for what the protagonist should do (choices) and then for why the protagonist should take an action (justifications) in each of the dilemmas. As explained in 3.1.1, each possible option has been rated by an expert panel as acceptable, unacceptable or neutral. The total ICM score therefore shows the extent to which students were able to select 'appropriate' responses for the protagonist in all of these different ways – the total Ad-ICM (UK) score incorporates all of the students' 'best' and 'worst' selections into its calculation. As seen in Chart 2, students scored as low as -61% and as high as 98%, representing the range of scores across the sample.

Chart 2: Total Ad-ICM (UK) Results for Triangulated Sample

Total Ad-ICM (UK) score:
42.56%
n=3343, sd=0.28

Minimum Ad-ICM (UK): -61%

These scores represent the lowest individual score and the highest individual score across the sample

Maximum Ad-ICM (UK): 98%

Chart 3: Ad-ICM (UK) Results for Best and Worst Choices and Justifications

Average of **best action** choice rankings across stories
50.78%
n=3474
sd=0.32

Average of **worst action** choice rankings across stories
34.22%
n=3497
sd=0.43

Average of **best justifications** across stories
40.49%
n=3487
sd=0.35

Average of **worst justifications** across stories
35.58%
n=3496
sd=0.41

Next, component parts of the total Ad-ICM (UK) score were examined. Scrutiny of the students' selection of 'best' and 'worst' action options together with scrutiny of their 'justifications' and 'choices' answers revealed that **students were better able to select best actions and justifications** over worst actions and justifications. In other words, they seemed to find it more difficult to identify poor options, both in terms of what the protagonist should do and justifications for doing so. They were **also better at picking good (best) choices than at selecting good justifications, suggesting that they could more easily identify what should be done rather than explaining why** (see Chart 3 *above*).

Several factors were found to influence the performance of different groups and some of these are described below (see online Appendix B for full results):

- **Gender** – girls (47%) significantly outperformed boys (37%) – for total Ad-ICM (UK).

- Students who said that they were **religious** achieved higher Ad-ICM (UK) scores (46%) than those who selected atheist or did not provide a religion (42%); the difference was statistically significant. The difference increased when students were asked whether they practised their religion or not: those who said that they did scored 48% compared to those who did not (42%), or did not know/would rather not say (41%). This difference was also significant.

- Students who said that either both of their parents or their father had attended university scored closer to the expert panel (both 47%) than those who did not know (38%) or said neither of their **parents** had been (42%). Those whose mothers only had **attended university** were in the middle (43%). Differences between groups were significant.

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8   Using scores relating to 3 dilemmas to assess moral development is considered justified because the shortened UK test is operating in ways similar to the complete Ad-ICM that comprises of seven stories.

9   Data for the USA and Macedonia was provided by Professor Stephen Thoma from the University of Alabama and data for Taiwan, was gathered by Associate Professor Yen-Hsin Chen, National Taichung University of Education under the guidance of the Jubilee Centre.

- Students were asked how the school **grades/results** they achieved compared to their class mates; the highest-scoring (with a total Ad-ICM (UK) score of 49%) was the group that said they got 'mostly better' grades than their class mates, followed by those who said 'about the same' (42%) and 'better' (38%). Those who said 'somewhat lower', as a group, had a total Ad-ICM (UK) score of just 28%. Differences were significant.
- Students claiming to do 'charity work (or similar)' outside of school made moral dilemma choices that were closer to the expert panel (50%) than those that did not (41%). Similarly, students who were involved in 'music/choir' (48%) or 'drama' (48%) outside of school performed better than those who were not (41% and 42% respectively), and students doing 'art or photography' (45%) performed better than those who did not (42%). These differences, all significant, were the most marked when looking at the relationship between Ad-ICM (UK) results and **extra-curricular activities**. Doing 'sports', 'debating' or 'other' did not significantly influence the results.

4.1.4 Comparing students' self-reports with their moral dilemmas results

This section compares results from Ad-ICM (UK) with the VIA Youth Survey. This is, to the best of our knowledge, the first systematic attempt to compare findings from a moral-dilemma measure with findings from VIA-style self-reports. (Findings from the teacher interviews will be considered in relation to these measures later when the three component virtues of the Ad-ICM (UK) are analysed separately.)

Except for 'humour' and 'spirituality', all of the self-reported character strengths assessed in the VIA Youth Survey had positive and significant relationships with total Ad-ICM (UK) score, although most correlations were weak (see online Appendix B). Thus, researchers explored further how those scoring closest to the expert panel (Ad-ICM (UK)) rated themselves for particular strengths, compared to those matching the panel the least.

To do this, students were divided by Ad-ICM (UK) results into fifths, so that the top and bottom-scoring 20% of students could be considered (those with incomplete VIA data were omitted from analysis). Students in these 'high' and 'low' groups perceived themselves differently according to their VIA results.

Table 3: How those Scoring the Top 20% of Ad-ICM (UK) Results Compared to those Scoring the Bottom 20% Differ in VIA Scores (ranked by difference)

Character strength	Top 20% of students who scored highest on Ad-ICM mean (n 663)	Bottom 20% of students who scored lowest on Ad-ICM mean (n 586)	Difference
Prudence	3.50	2.87	0.62
Fairness	3.68	3.08	0.61
Perseverance/ persistence	3.63	3.06	0.57
Love of learning	3.32	2.77	0.55
Kindness	3.89	3.36	0.53
Self-regulation	3.27	2.75	0.53
Forgiveness	3.79	3.26	0.52
Judgement / open-mindedness	3.51	3.00	0.51
Honesty	3.46	2.96	0.50
Teamwork	3.94	3.48	0.46
Gratitude	4.15	3.70	0.45
Social intelligence	3.86	3.42	0.44
Appreciation of beauty and excellence	3.54	3.11	0.44
Bravery	3.77	3.36	0.42
Humility	3.59	3.23	0.36
Love	3.74	3.39	0.35
Creativity	3.58	3.25	0.33
Perspective	3.46	3.19	0.28
Curiosity	3.67	3.39	0.28
Zest	3.67	3.49	0.18
Hope	3.42	3.29	0.13
Spirituality	2.27	2.38	-0.12
Leadership	3.08	2.98	0.09
Humour	3.79	3.75	0.04

Table 3 shows that the top group scored higher for 23 of the 24 character strengths, but that the divergence for some virtues was significantly greater than for others. 'Prudence', 'fairness', 'perseverance', 'love of learning' and 'kindness' differed most between the two groups.

4.1.5 Comparing individual moral dilemmas with students' self-reports and teachers' assessments of the students

The three virtues targeted by the Ad-ICM (UK) are honesty, courage and self-discipline. **Despite a small positive relationship between students' responses to moral dilemmas and their reports on their own character strengths, discrepancies were also clear.** Noticeable, in this regard, was a conflict between Ad-ICM (UK) scores for these three virtues and students' reports of related character strengths. Another perspective is provided by 'teachers' focus' and 'teachers' reports' for the same three virtues, among others. Each virtue is explored separately below.

Courage
- Ad-ICM (UK) scores for courage were between those for the other two virtues (43.45%)
- Students reported themselves as being relatively brave – courage was seventh highest of 24 character strengths (VIA Youth Survey)
- *Teacher focus* – teachers gave relatively little attention to courage, but did more often report it as a *least* prominent strength

- *Teacher report* – when asked directly how often courage had been displayed over the months leading up to the research, 61% of teachers reported that, on average, courage was displayed 'a lot' or 'quite a lot'

Honesty
- Students scored low on the honesty dilemma – the sample mean showed a very poor match to expert panel choices (19.92%)
- Average student self-reports for honesty were also low - ranked 19th out of 24 strengths
- *Teacher focus* – teachers did not focus much on this virtue when selecting most/least prominent strengths, but it was chosen as *most* more than *least*
- *Teacher report* – when asked directly about honesty, only 16% of teachers said it was generally lacking (noticed it 'a little') among the students in the past few months

Self-discipline
- Highest Ad-ICM (UK) results were achieved for self-discipline (62.75%)
- Students' own reports about themselves placed self-discipline in the bottom two of the 24 character strengths (23rd)

- *Teacher focus* – teachers focused on this strength a lot, and negatively so; 32 teachers reported self-regulation as one of the three *least* prominent strengths compared to just three who considered it a *most* prominent strength
- *Teacher report* – when asked directly however, 68% stated that on average this strength was present 'a lot' or 'quite a lot' over 'the last few months'

Perseverance seemed to be related to self-discipline, and teachers focused on perseverance/persistence even more than self-discipline. Again, their emphasis was more likely to be negative than positive, with 29 teachers placing it among the three least prominent strengths.

Delayed gratification, also relatable to self-discipline, stood out too as a result for teachers' reports on students' behaviour in the past few months: 61% of teachers reported that this was only present 'a little' or 'very little' in their students.
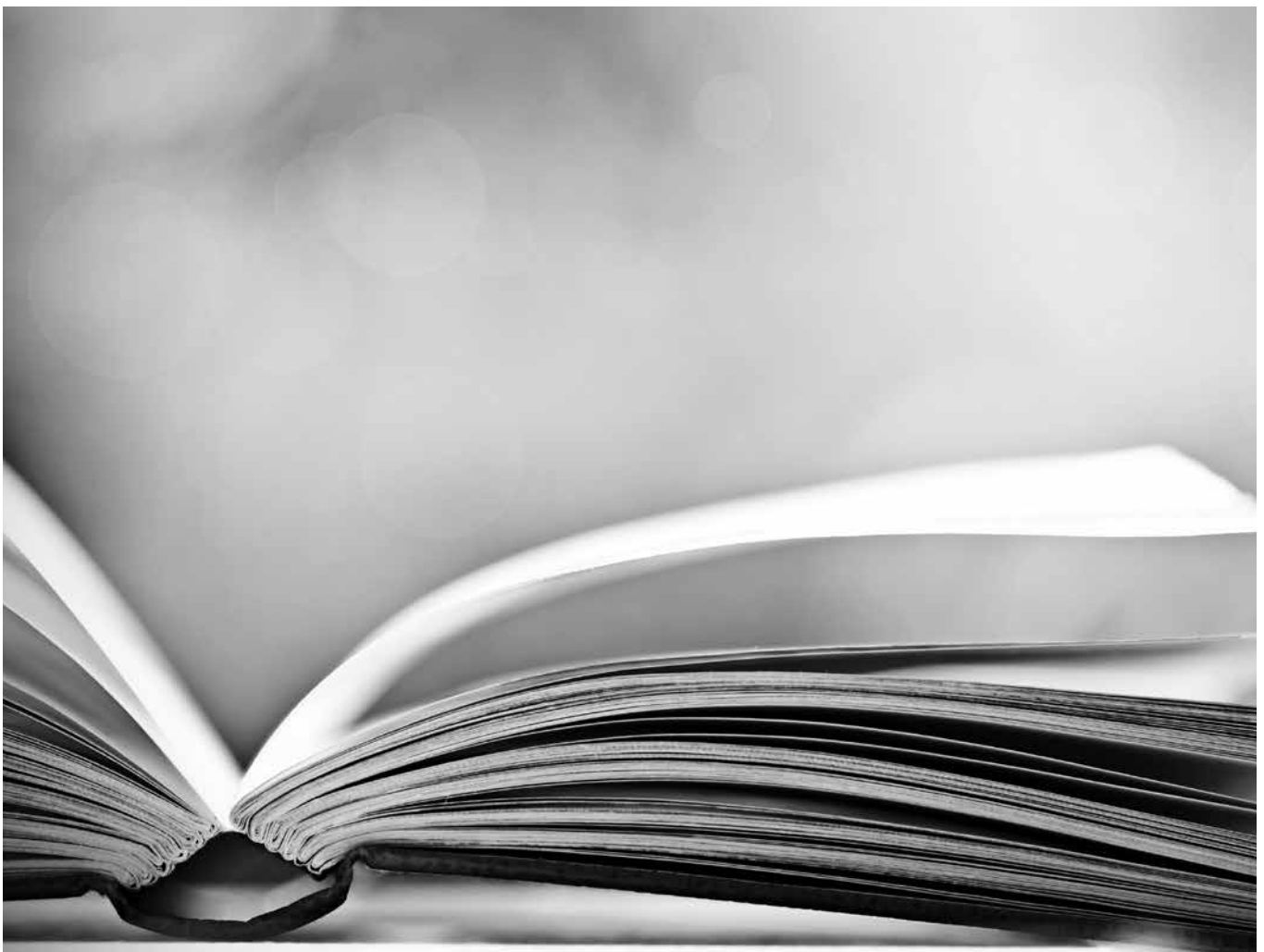
4.1.6 School-based analysis

Students' moral dilemma results were grouped to create an average (mean) school score (Ad-ICM (UK)). **These scores separated the schools in the sample considerably and ranged from 29% to 58%** (with an average school score of 42.7%). These lowest and highest means are lower than for schools in Taiwan (ranging from 39% to 63%, n=794), although schools may not be representative for reasons of access explained in section 3. Comparisons with USA are less clear, but mean Ad-ICM scores of 42% (n=74) for students of the same age were found in state schools in the south east; and in an independent high school, scores averaged 47.8% (n=42) (these results were provided by the University of Alabama, using the complete, seven-dilemma Ad-ICM).

Researchers explored the characteristics of the UK schools achieving the highest and lowest Ad-ICM (UK) results. **In both top and bottom quartiles** (eight schools in each) there was a **variety of school types, including independent and state; faith and non-**denominational; schools with both grammar and academy status; those from different regions (including rural and city); as well as a range of rates/percentages for FSM eligibility, Ofsted and grades achievement. In further analyses, the groups were narrowed to the 'top seven' and 'bottom seven' schools because one school from each group had a sample size (of students) deemed too small for analysis (<80). By chance, both schools were independent, but once removed there still remained an independent school in both groups.

The top group ranged, for Ad-ICM (UK), from 48% to 55% and the bottom group ranged from 29% to 36% (Tables 4 and 5).

How did this compare with how *schools* ranked based on their students' own self-reports of their characters? An average school VIA Survey score (mean) was calculated and then compared to schools' Ad-ICM (UK) results. Although schools ranked by VIA and moral dilemma results did not perfectly match, a pattern was clear (see online Appendix B). Schools in the top seven for Ad-ICM (UK) results were similarly positioned towards the top of schools ordered by the VIA. Likewise, the results for the bottom seven schools by Ad-ICM (UK) score gravitated towards the bottom of the list for schools by 'mean VIA' score. There were, however, definite outliers such as schools S4 and S22, for example.

Pinpointing why students at particular schools did well or not in the moral dilemmas tests was challenging. A number of school/regional level factors were assessed for their influence on individual Ad-ICM (UK) results. These are shown below (full results are available in online Appendix B):

Factors with no (statistical) influence:
- Size of school
- City or rural location
- Percentage of students achieving 5 General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE) at grades A* to C in England or Level 4 in Scotland
- Independent or state status

Table 4: The 'top seven schools', Representing their Grouped Ad-ICM (UK) Score and Data

School Code	Ad-ICM (UK) (%)	Region	Type	Faith	Location	Ofsted[10] (England only (1 = high))	% Achieving grades A to C or GCSEs/or Scottish Level 4[11]	% Students receiving FSM
6	54.59	Staffordshire	Academy Converter	Roman Catholic	City	1	81	13.3
8	52.28	Yorkshire	Independent	Christian	City	N/A	98	N/A
31	51.36	Berkshire	Grammar Academy	No[12]	City	1	95	12.9
13	49.90	Sussex	Academy Converter	No	City	2	63	21.6
3	49.28	Derbyshire	Academy Converter	Christian	Rural	3	67	14.3
17	48.31	Aberdeenshire	Academy Converter	No	Rural	N/A	81	8.3
26	48.15	Hampshire	Academy Converter	No	City	2	58	18.3

Table 5: The 'bottom seven schools', Representing their Grouped Ad-ICM (UK) Score and Data

School Code	Ad-ICM (UK) (%)	Region	Type	Faith	Location	Ofsted (England only (1 = high))	% Achieving grades A to C or GCSEs/or Scottish Level 4	% Students receiving FSM
22	36.48	Ayrshire	State Funded	No	Rural	N/A	77	17
7	36.01	Fife	State Funded	No	City	N/A	78	21.1
24	35.97	Hertfordshire	Academy Converter	No	City	2	53	15.6
11	35.41	Cheshire	Voluntary Aided	Roman Catholic	City	1	85	17
4	35.04	Hampshire	Independent	No	Rural	N/A	95	N/A
27	34.40	Shropshire	Academy Sponsor Led	No	City	2	61	50.1
32	28.70	Durham	Academy	No	City	3	63	26.5

[10] An Ofsted rating indicates how good a school is (outstanding, good, requires improvement, inadequate) based on criteria, such as how pupils are doing, qualities of the school building, what parents say about the school. More information is available at: www.ofsted.gov.uk/schools/for-parents-and-carers/understanding-school-inspection-report

[11] General Certificate of Secondary Education and Scottish Equivalent.

[12] Additional note re. school 31- Multicultural school –7.6% of respondents white, compared to average of 80% across sample.

Some (statistical) influence:

- Students going to a school that is classified as a faith school achieved slightly, but statistically significantly, better moral dilemma scores (46%) than those going to non-faith schools (42%)
- There were very small, but significant, negative correlations between students' total Ad-ICM (UK) scores and (a) their school's percentage of free school meal eligible students (-.095**), and (b) their school's local authority's unemployment rate (-.104**)

Ofsted ratings (for English schools only) provided statistically significant differences, but there was no linear pattern. In other words, higher Ofsted results do not necessarily associate with higher moral dilemma scores.

Drawing on field notes made during school research visits and personal recollections of schools by researchers, it was clear that the 'top seven' schools stood out as impressive and inspirational institutions, evidenced in many different ways depending on the type of school. For example, although the traditional independent (S8) and state Academy (S13) schools were developing character in their students in different ways, both stood out as schools attuned as much to developing the whole child as to achieving results. **One key finding from fieldwork experiences/notes was the presence in these schools of at least one teacher who was passionate and knowledgeable about the development of the whole child – sometimes described by them as 'character'.** This person combined some key personal qualities, such as: a passion for developing the whole child; a personal drive towards these ends; and a hands-on role in the school. This teacher was not normally a member of the senior leadership team (head or deputy head), but might be.

Teachers' views by school – What do teachers' views add to this picture? Although difficult to report at this level of analysis because of low sample sizes within each school (approximately three teachers per school), there were some interesting indicators for groups of teachers (clustered) by top and bottom schools by Ad-ICM (UK):

- Almost all teachers (96%) interviewed in the 'top seven' schools said that the modern student assessment system hindered the development of the whole child compared with 72% in the 'bottom seven'
- In the top schools, 80% (compared to 68% in the bottom) of teachers claimed that their school placed a 'high' or 'very high' priority on moral teaching

- More teachers in the top schools felt they could deviate from the standard curriculum without permission (66%, compared to only two fifths or 42% of those in the bottom schools)
- More top school teachers (77%) said they 'always' or 'often' had the time and flexibility to discuss moral issues when they arise compared to just over half of the bottom schools (52%)
- The biggest difference between the top and bottom (seven) school groups, however, was in the teachers' assessment of the extent to which they could rely on families to develop good character in children at their schools (91% in the top said 'all' or 'most' families compared to 52% in the bottom)

## 4.2 MORAL DILEMMAS (AD-ICM (UK)) ACROSS 'ALL-AGES'

To contextualise findings for the year 10 students in the triangulated sample, students (n=3223) from all secondary school year groups (aged 10–16) were also surveyed[13], including 129 sixth form students (aged 16-18). Moral dilemma results (Ad-ICM (UK)) for the 'all-ages' sample were similar to the triangulated year 10 sample in many respects. The average total Ad-ICM (UK) score for

'all-ages' students[14] was 42.1% (compared to 42.6% triangulated). As with year 10 students in the 'all-ages' sample, best choices and justifications were more expertly selected than worst; and choices more expertly selected than justifications. Girls also scored closer (48.3%) than boys (36.6%) to the expert panel.

Performance on individual moral dilemmas matched the *pattern* of the triangulated year 10 sample too, as students scored most highly for self-discipline and lowest for honesty. However, there were also differences. The scores for the separate dilemmas were quite different, indicating that age influences Ad-ICM (UK) results. Across all of the dilemmas, average Ad-ICM (UK) results for students aged 11, 12 and 13 (43.1%, 43.4%, 44.4%, respectively) were higher than for students aged 14 and 15 (39.3% and 37%); scores were then higher for students aged 16 and 17 (43.7% and 51.5%)[15]. Differences by age were statistically significant (see online Appendix B).

Students in the 'all-ages' sample did perform better than the triangulated (year 10) sample overall for honesty (25.8%, compared to 19.9%) and less well for self-discipline (58.9%, compared to 62.8%) and courage (40.7%, compared to 43.5%).

Graph 1: 'All-ages' Ad-ICM (UK) Results by Age
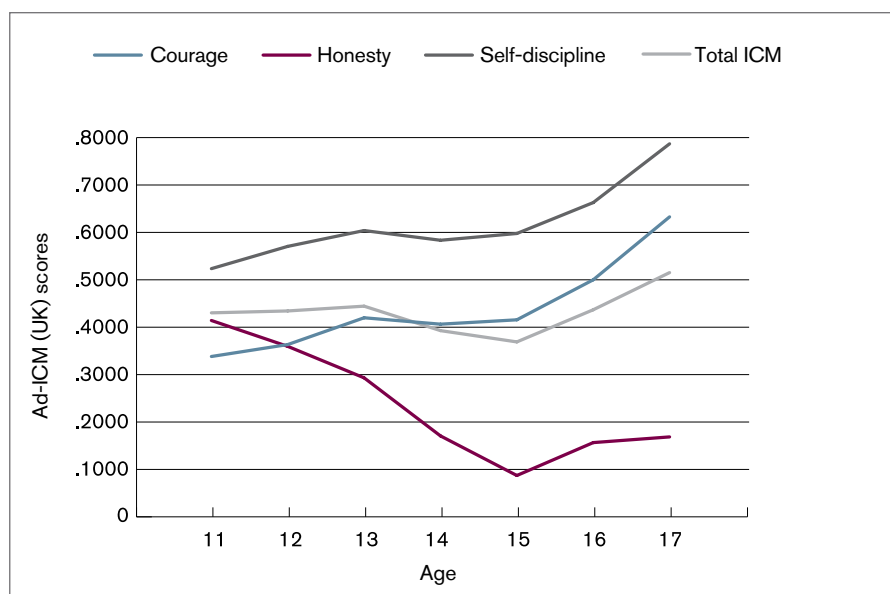
After increasing from age 11, courage and self-discipline held reasonably steady between the ages of 13 and 15 before then increasing again. Honesty, however, was the virtue that dipped most between the ages of 13 and 15. Initially midway between courage and self-discipline at age 11, scores for honesty declined dramatically between ages 11 and 15 before then increasing but remaining the lowest-scoring virtue.

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[13]   Students from year 10 groups are included, but are not the same year 10 pupils as in the triangulated sample.

[14]   Students aged 11-17 included, as sample sizes for ages 10 and 18 too small.

[15]   These differences persisted for single schools where all age groups were included and sample sizes large enough.

4.3 INTERVIEWS WITH TEACHERS

Findings from the interviews with teachers are provided in this section to show the extent to which teachers felt that they were hindered or enabled in their attempts to develop the whole child (demographic information and full results are available in the online Appendices A and B available at www.jubileecentre.ac.uk/characterandvirtueseducation). Further information has also been accepted for publication (Sanderse, Walker and Jones, 2015, forthcoming).

Overall, teachers claimed to care much more about children becoming good and happy people who have positive relations with others than about students' grades and future jobs. Generally, they wanted to help children to be 'happy' or 'well-rounded', prepare them for life, and make a positive difference in their lives. Despite the current emphasis in schools on students' performance, moral virtues, such as kindness, respect, empathy and honesty, were mentioned most when teachers were asked what positive character traits they would like to see cultivated in children. When asked how students acquire virtue, respondents indicated that they believed that virtues are primarily 'caught' (73.5%) compared to 'taught' (17.6%). In line with this finding, all but one respondent considered themselves to be 'a moral role-model'.

Almost 60% of secondary school teachers and 80% of primary schools teachers stated, when asked, that they were 'always' developing the whole child, and it seemed that most teachers considered moral education to be part and parcel of teaching. Additionally, respondents were very positive about their freedom to put moral and character education into practice in a way they wanted in their own classrooms. Approximately 70% of both groups of teachers felt that they always or often 'had the time and flexibility to discuss moral issues when they arise'; and 89% of secondary school and primary school teachers felt very or quite 'free to try out their own ideas'.

Respondents, however, also expressed several concerns regarding moral and character education. Firstly, almost 80% of secondary school teachers and 75% of primary school teachers considered the 'assessment system to hinder the development of the whole child'. The majority claimed that testing had become so pervasive in schools that it put a lot of pressure on students to perform, which had crowded out other educational goods. They

believed that testing did not always do justice to differences between children, and some respondents felt that students undervalued activities that were not assessed. In addition, teachers did not report a great deal of freedom regarding deviating from the standard curriculum without permission.

Secondly, only 35% of secondary school teachers believed that teacher training had prepared them well or very well to explore and develop moral issues and only 33% had received specific training in moral/character education. Yet, 60% of them had to teach a subject relating explicitly to the development of the whole child (eg, citizenship or PSHE). In primary schools, only 24% believed that 'teacher training had prepared them (very) well to explore and develop moral issues' whereas 77% had to teach a subject relating explicitly to the development of the whole child (46% had received specific training). In secondary schools, 59% of respondents claimed to 'always' or 'often' seek the advice of their peers, and 77% of those in primary schools said this was the case. In addition, 69% of secondary school teachers and 92% of primary school teachers felt 'always' or 'often' supported by the management when addressing moral issues in their own way. Furthermore, 81% of both primary and secondary school teachers believed that their moral values are 'similar' or 'very similar' to those of the wider community.

Generally, secondary school teachers believed that moral education was less on the school's agenda, and needed more attention. First of all, only 19% of secondary school teachers, compared to 59% of primary school teachers, believed that their school placed a 'very high' priority on moral teaching. Secondly, only 54% of secondary school teachers, compared to 80% of primary school teachers, said that their school had a 'whole school approach to character building'. Thirdly, compared to their primary school colleagues, a higher proportion of secondary school teachers believed that more explicit moral education was needed in their school (61% compared to 46%), and nearly three quarters believed that the way that moral education was achieved needed improving in their school, compared to 49% of primary school teachers.

When asked what single change respondents would make to achieve better character education for their students, many recommended that schools provide more 'free space' where students could be

themselves and do things they really like, without having to think about exam scores. Respondents suggested that sports and extra-curricular activities, such as special projects and trips, could stimulate students to be creative, to express themselves, and cooperate with others[16]. They also suggested that schools dedicate more time to Personal Social and Health Education (PSHE) and related subjects. Furthermore, many teachers recommended personal investment in the pedagogical relationship with their students. This means that teachers should make time to engage with children, get to know them, show openness about their backgrounds, and find out what interests them. Respondents often felt that the content of the curriculum was rather fixed, but still they believed that they could make a difference in children's lives through their interactions with them.

4.4 OVERALL FINDINGS

This research provides the first comparison of UK students' scores on the VIA and Ad-ICM (UK) measures. A weak statistical relationship between the majority of the VIA character strengths and students' performances in the Ad-ICM (UK) was found, however glaring discrepancies were also noted.

Students often seemed to approach the moral dilemmas from the perspective of their own self-interests, or from the perspective of 'minding their own business'. Students appropriately identified what the protagonists should do more easily than identifying why they should do it. They also had difficulties identifying poor actions and poor justifications.

A school's Ofsted performance or GCSE results did not seem to influence the moral dilemma results among year 10 students. A school with below-average GCSE results and a relatively low Ofsted rating could still rank highly for the moral dilemmas. Furthermore, school-wide FSM percentage seemed to have only a minimal effect on these results.

Some individual factors were statistically associated with how students performed on the Ad-ICM (UK). The following groups scored higher: females over males; those who identified themselves as religious (and practising) over those who did not; those who participated in charity work over those who did not; those who participated in extra-curricular music or drama over those who did not. However, sport was not a statistically significant variable.

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[16]   Teachers interviewed for Jubilee Centre report, 'The Good Teacher: Understanding Virtues in Practice' also linked extra-curricular activities (and role-modelling) to students' development (Arthur et al., 2015, forthcoming).

When exploring how the triangulated year 10 results held up against other samples, it was found that year 10 students scored lower than students of the same age in Taiwan. Furthermore, according to the 'all-ages' sample, there were signs of a dip in performance on the moral dilemma tests at the ages of 14/15.

When secondary schools were separated and ranked by their moral dilemma results, a variety of school types were noticeable in both top-and-bottom-scoring groups. Present among top schools was a 'key teacher' who seemed to be going 'the extra mile' in encouraging character development and working with students. This suggests that any kind of school can become a school of character, and reinforces the need for good leadership of this sort. 'Top school' teachers were also more likely to prioritise moral teaching; feel able to deviate from the standard curriculum without permission; and believe that they had time and flexibility to deal with moral issues. Teachers stressed an obvious but important point: families matter for the development of children's characters.

The majority of teachers interviewed in the study taught a subject that explicitly related to the development of the whole child (eg, citizenship/PSHE), but only a few had received specific training in any form of moral or character education. Most of the teachers believed that the current school assessment system and associated pressures hindered attempts to cultivate students' characters. Even so, teachers said that they wanted to develop the whole child and often believed that they were doing so despite many of the barriers discussed above. However, teachers tended to focus on performance-related virtues when asked specifically about students' character strengths, referring especially to persistence and self-discipline (they were more likely to say these were lacking than prominent). This may reflect the dominance of testing and assessment in many UK schools.

5 Interpretation and Discussion of Findings

This section considers the findings in the light of the four main research questions stated at the beginning of the report. Research question one has already been covered in the literature review, conducted in the early stages of the research; research question two is tackled first below; and research questions three and four are combined thereafter.

5.1 HOW MORALLY DEVELOPED ARE BRITISH STUDENTS, PARTICULARLY THOSE IN YEAR 10? WHAT ARE THE STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES OF STUDENTS' CHARACTERS?

5.1.1 Students' self-reports
When students were asked about their own character strengths, a number of clear patterns emerged. The VIA results for students suggested that they are less developed with respect to character strengths of 'temperance' (eg, perseverance, prudence, and self-regulation) than 'other-directed' strengths (eg, teamwork, kindness, humility and bravery). In-between these two, they also indicated that they were more 'transcendent' (disposed to gratitude, humour, zest, etc.) than 'intellectual' (possessing curiosity, creativity). These themes are based on the four-factor structure of the VIA-Youth subscales (Park and Peterson, 2006). Typically, mean scores for VIA surveys vary only slightly between strengths (Linley *et al.*, 2007); this was also the case for the triangulated sample discussed in this report. The results generally matched international ones for (the longer) VIA Youth Survey, showing that most common among youth were gratitude, humour and love; and least common were prudence, forgiveness, religiousness (or spirituality) and self-regulation (Park and Peterson, 2006). Differences were negligible between boys and girls, consistent with small gender differences reported in most other studies that used this survey.

5.1.2 Teachers' assessments
When asked about the students, based on the same 24 strengths, teachers also rated the students low for perseverance and self-regulation, but focused on intellectual strengths (eg, curiosity and creativity) as most prominent, as well as humour. In contrast,

students reported these as neither especially present nor absent in themselves, relative to other strengths. This finding may reflect the requirement for teachers to emphasise the intellectual development of students, although when teachers were asked directly about the children and what positive character traits they would like to see cultivated in children, their responses were much more likely to champion moral virtues, such as respect, kindness, honesty and empathy. A possible explanation for this contrast is that the teachers did *want* to develop the whole child and often believed that they were doing so, but when forced to choose a focus, their default was towards strengths of intellect and persistence[17]. This would be understandable, in light of curriculum and academic demands. A similar dynamic was found among American parents who said that they valued qualities of care in their children over achievement, but whose children indicated they were instead receiving the message that achievement mattered more (Weissbourd and Jones, 2014).

5.1.3 Moral dilemmas
Students responding to the moral dilemmas were asked to decide what protagonists should do in a range of scenarios. Many of the UK students, whose responses were farthest away from expert panel judgements, were likely approaching the moral dilemmas predominantly from the perspective of their self-interests, whereas some of the more high-scoring participants may have been answering in line with social norms. There were a few students who selected options highly compatible with the expert panel, which indicates 'post-conventional' moral thinking. These interpretations of the results are justified because Ad-ICM is underpinned by a long history of Defining Issue Test (DIT) research and comparisons between the two measures (Thoma, Derryberry and Crowson, 2013). These comparisons have shown that participants who had a concern for their own 'personal interests' (as measured by DIT) also did poorly on the ICM; and those guided by social convention ('maintaining norms') did better on the ICM, but not as well as they might have if they had been operating from a 'post-conventional' (or universal principle-based) moral schema.

International comparisons also help shed light on the moral dilemmas results. On average, the surveyed students achieved higher total Ad-ICM (UK) scores than students from Macedonia, lower scores than USA high school samples and scores quite a lot lower than those of Taiwanese students of the same age. Although some of the samples cannot be matched exactly, these are important comparisons indicating that the year 10 UK students did not score as highly as some of their international counterparts. The sizeable difference between the British and Taiwanese samples presents important questions of *why* this might be the case. Taiwan has a distinctive history of character education and of Confucian philosophy, and an ongoing conflict between Western culture and its own. One possible explanation for the higher Ad-ICM (UK) scores in Taiwan is the existence of its current (non-compulsory) Moral and Character Education Improvement Program (MCEIP) (Lee, 2012), together with the influence of Confucian philosophy. The latter's communitarian and collectivist perspective is likely to generate higher ICM scores, given the association between low scores and 'personal interests' schemas. Previous research has confirmed that Taiwan is much more a 'collectivistic' than an 'individualistic' country. In Hofstede's (2001) cross-cultural research, Taiwan scored 17, compared to 89 for the UK and 91 for the USA (high scores represent more individualistic cultures). Higher ICM-scores cannot be completely explained in terms of a collectivistic culture, however, as the USA sample scored higher on the Ad-ICM than the UK sample, and the USA is arguably even more individualistic than the UK.

Age and gender were important factors, too. In the 'all-ages' sample, which provided contextualisation for the core study, students aged 14 and 15 performed less well than both younger and older students, suggesting a possible dip in moral development during these years of the kind witnessed by Kohlberg (Kohlberg and Kramer, 1969). It is not clear, from an academic point of view, why this might occur. Yet, anecdotally, it may not be news to many parents and teachers of adolescents that their moral compass loses some direction

and they may question traditional values during early-adolescent hormonal turmoil. As for gender, girls in the triangulated sample outperformed boys on the Ad-ICM (UK) in all possible ways. Although research on moral judgment has failed to confirm Carol Gilligan's (1982) thesis regarding gender differences at the basis of moral judgments, a growing number of empirical studies show that females outperform males in various tests of moral development. Posing the question 'are women more ethical?', White (1999) found that female Coast Guards achieved higher DIT results than men; Sparks (2014) found that females showed greater moral sensitivity on moral dilemma tests than their male counterparts; both Malti (2010) and Nunner-Winkler (2007) found adolescent girls to be more inclined towards moral motivation; and for Van der Graaf *et al.* (2014) adolescent girls showed higher levels of perspective-taking and empathic concern than boys. Similarly, in a meta-analysis reviewing measurements of ethical judgements, Pan and Sparks (2012:85) concluded that 'women apply stricter ethical standards than men'. Explanations for these kinds of gender differences include those that emphasise different roles, socialisation towards gendered qualities, such as competition versus care (Pan and Sparks, 2012) and the role of identity or self-concept (Nunner-Winkler, 2007). It is difficult to pinpoint what underlies these differences in our study, but one hypothesis is that perhaps the girls were more concerned than the boys to take care to select options in the Ad-ICM (UK) that they deemed would be endorsed by adults (ie, social desirability). Gender differences, however, were much less marked when the students reported on their own characters in the VIA; one possible explanation for this is that the boys were over-estimating their character strengths.

Two clear findings, replicated in other Ad-ICM research (USA, Macedonia and Taiwan), stood out when examining the component parts of the moral dilemmas. First, students were better able to say *what* the protagonist should do than *why* they should do it, and second, students were more successful at selecting best actions and justifications than worst. To our knowledge, this is the first finding of its kind in the UK context, especially involving so many schools and students. Knowing what to do, more than being able to say why, seems a likely reality among many young people who are conceivably 'habituated' to some extent in the ways of good character, but whose moral understanding lags behind their habituated perceptions or judgments. Both of these 'weaknesses' identified by the moral dilemmas pertain to immaturity or deficiencies of 'practical wisdom' (Schwartz and Sharpe, 2010). Determining how to improve these weaknesses will require careful thought if one accepts the Aristotelian premise that virtues are predominantly cultivated through experience.

Responses to individual dilemmas, each targeting a virtue of honesty, courage or self-discipline, have also been analysed separately. Students matched expert panel judgements most for self-discipline and least for honesty with courage in-between. Students in the 'all-ages' sample performed better than the triangulated (year 10) sample for honesty and less well for self-discipline and courage. Results for honesty were particularly low and some caution is required when interpreting this result in case this is an effect of the measure. The story in question could be seen to bring two virtues into conflict, forcing respondents to choose in this dilemma between honesty and loyalty to peers. The general implication,

however, is that mostly, the students were more morally developed with respect to self-discipline than courage and honesty, although the extent to which responses to moral dilemmas reflect actual character in real life remains moot.

5.1.4 Triangulation

A key feature of the study has been the use of three different methods. A weak positive correlation was found between the moral dilemmas and students' self-reports in general but this coexisted with notable discrepancies (see section 4.1.5). In particular, when asked to comment on the students, teachers *focused* more on performance virtues than on moral ones, unless they were asked directly about the latter virtues or about character in general. For example, in response to a direct question, teachers generally claimed that courage and honesty were qualities in good supply among their students, but when choosing from 24 character strengths, they hardly focused on these virtues and referred instead to performance virtues – identifying self-regulation and perseverance as least prominent. Out of all possible selections (for the teachers), self-regulation and perseverance were both singled out as least prominent by a third of secondary school teachers. This was remarkable, especially considering that there were 22 other options besides these. In the VIA Youth Survey, self-discipline emerged as the students' weakest character attribute except for one, meaning both teachers and students suggested self-discipline was lacking. This, however, was contradicted by responses to the moral dilemma targeting self-discipline.

One possible explanation is the results-focused climate in schools. Teachers are required to facilitate good performance and achievement among their students, which could be to the detriment of the development of moral qualities. If self-discipline and perseverance are consistently demanded from students, might they be predisposed to develop negative views of themselves in this regard, even if they are at least reasonably strong in this area? Caution is necessary here, because self-discipline and perseverance seem to be more easily demonstrated in moral dilemma tests than they are in life. Moreover, it must be borne in mind that the VIA and teacher-reports were about virtues as *general traits*. The moral dilemmas, on the other hand, were about *specific situations*. To relate this point to a well-known fact about general personality research, a person may well possess the general trait of agreeableness, while there are particular instances in which she/he acts in a disagreeable way. What cannot be ignored is that there was potentially something about the individual dilemmas in the Ad-ICM that made participants react 'out of character'.

5.1.5 Influencing factors

A number of factors significantly influenced Ad-ICM (UK) results. It is important to bear in mind that these are correlations and not causal connections. For example, we do not know if charity work improves moral development or if students who are already high on moral development are more likely to take up charity work. There were signs that some socio-economic factors influenced the results. Having parents who did not go to university, going to a school with a higher percentage of FSM eligibility or in an area with a high unemployment rate, all made small but significant negative impacts on Ad-ICM (UK) results. This is important to highlight because structural factors, although not the main focus of this research, should not be forgotten in terms of the impact they can have on children's moral lives.

Religiosity (and practising religion) also influenced results. Those that were self-acclaimed as practising tended to have higher Ad-ICM (UK) results, which confirmed other claims made regarding the relationship between faith schools, or faith generally, and the development or teaching of virtue (Arthur, 2010; Pike, 2010, 2011). The Jubilee Centre's *Knightly Virtues* report (Arthur *et al.*, 2014) described the greater likelihood that students in faith (rather than non-faith) schools had, before beginning an intervention, a firmer grasp of virtue language. It could be the case that religion is operating for some students in much the same way as a 'maintaining norms' moral schema might. In other words, a religious

effect among students of this age could occur due to a 'system-wide' religious perspective (religious norms), rather than so much a moral choice unique to an individual and the situation or dilemma. A more cautious interpretation of the religion-moral-development-link is, however, provided by Pan and Sparks (2012) who pointed to other work showing no such relationship, and to studies where the relationship becomes insignificant when controlled for other factors.

Students claiming to do charity work, music/choir or drama, or art/photography, were also, on average, more likely to achieve higher Ad-ICM scores. This link has been observed and explained in other studies of charity work (Hill, Russell and Brewis, 2009; Arthur, 2010; Liesa *et al.*, 2012), music (Adderley, Kennedy and Berz, 2003; Campbell, Connell and Beegle, 2007; Carr, 2008), and drama (Bouchard, 2002). By contrast, a correlation between self-declared participation in sport and moral dilemma results was not found. Despite a widely held public belief that sport builds character, this is not always supported in the philosophical (French, 2004; Carr, 2010) and empirical literature. Arguments *against* sport as a character builder take the line that sport is a neutral domain, and qualities developed from this do not necessarily transfer to other domains. Researchers have also pointed to much negative behaviour involved in sport (Omar-Fauzee *et al.*, 2012). All of this is not to say that sport cannot be used to build character, but it can only if coaches and parents etc., work together to ensure positive character building in sport (see also Doty, 2006). Shields and Bredemeier (2008:512) recommended seven steps to ensure a 'quality, character-nurturing sports program'. In order to explore sport's potential to help young people build character (Arnold, 1994; 1999), a further question could be: 'what are these qualities and how might sport be used for the development of good moral and performance virtues among young people?'

5.1.6 Moral development by schools

Much has been written in and outside the UK about the development of character and social and emotional learning in schools (Lickona, 1992; Berkowitz and Bier, 2006; Arthur, 2010; Durlak *et al.*, 2011; Seider, 2012; Kristjánsson, 2013; Walker, Roberts and Kristjánsson, 2015), but less is known about the strengths and weakness of students' moral development across a range of different *types* of school located in a variety of geographic and economic circumstances, especially in a UK context.

Findings showed that the school results differed substantially on their average total

Ad-ICM (UK) scores and that this also corresponded, to some extent, to how the students viewed themselves at these schools when average VIA results were compared. Most striking, however, was the variety of schools in both the top and bottom groups when the schools were ranked by total Ad-ICM (UK). These included state and independent; faith and non-faith; rural and city; north and south; and schools in affluent and poor areas, and more. Countering received wisdom, independent schools did not necessarily score higher than state schools. Of course, it is not easy to determine why students at one school might achieve higher Ad-ICM (UK) results than students at another, but this is exactly the kind of information that needs to be gathered if improvements are to be made in the ways that all schools cultivate character among children. Perhaps most importantly, this finding conveys the encouraging message that schools of all kinds are, in principle, equipped to implement character education; indeed, all schools can develop character.

Drawing on teachers' interviews was one way of identifying differences between the groups of schools by Ad-ICM (UK) results, particularly questions asked of their school and its attempts to develop character. Three differences of this kind stood out and were suggestive of a different climate in those schools: First, top schools placed a higher priority on moral teaching; second, teachers in top schools felt they could deviate from the standard curriculum without permission; and third, teachers in top schools felt that they had the time and flexibility to deal with moral issues as they arose. The biggest difference, though, was that teachers in top schools said that they could rely on a greater proportion of their students' families to develop good character than did those in bottom schools. This reminds us of the family's significance in developing character.

We know from previous research that implementation is crucial to the effectiveness of character education programmes (Berkowitz and Bier, 2006). Effective implementation requires a consistent and dogged determination to get things right at the level of delivery. It is not enough to have well written plans and ordered curriculum, nor is it sufficient to teach character in specific lessons alone. Character education needs to take place within supportive, encouraging and informative relationships that reach all features of school life (Seider, 2012) and it needs to include not only relations between teachers and their students, but also relations between students (Berkowitz, 2011). Beyond the exceptional general ambience of those schools with the very highest Ad-ICM (UK) results, the notable

presence of at least one leading teacher who was especially passionate and knowledgeable about the development of the whole child stood out to researchers during their visits. This exceptional person displayed key personal qualities, such as: a passion for developing the whole child; a personal drive towards these ends; and a 'hands-on role' in the school. Importantly, such a teacher was personally and practically involved in efforts to develop character and acted as a model not only to students but probably to other teachers as well, inspiring them with their passion to develop good character (cf. Colby and Damon, 1992).

5.2 HOW DO UK PRIMARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOL TEACHERS UNDERSTAND THEIR ROLE IN STUDENTS' MORAL AND CHARACTER EDUCATION? WHAT DO THEY THINK HELPS OR HINDERS THE DEVELOPMENT OF CHILDREN'S CHARACTERS?

5.2.1 Teachers – primary and secondary schools

Most of the teachers taught a subject relating explicitly to the development of the whole child (eg, citizenship or PSHE), but less than half had received specific training in moral or character education. A whole school approach towards character building was declared by half of the teachers (mixed responses were found within schools as well as between schools) with most claiming that they could choose themselves how to develop character in their students, not always seeking the advice or guidance of their peers. Such a combination of findings implies an unsystematic and unplanned approach to character education in many schools. These are difficulties also highlighted by Sockett and LePage (2002), and Willemse, Lunenberg and Korthagen (2008), suggesting that teachers lack professional knowledge and language for

addressing the moral dimension of teaching (see also Sanger and Ogusthrope, 2013b).

More positively, almost all teachers said they wanted to attend character education training, saw the moral dimensions as important (see also Klaassen, 2002; Arthur, 2011; Sanger and Ogusthrope, 2013a) and said the point of their own teaching was to help students find happiness, become good people, and have positive relationships in their lives. Teachers were also optimistic about their capacity to develop character in students, although we need to be cautious about this claim, given that this confidence may not always be justified. A Populus poll commissioned by the Jubilee Centre (2014) indicated that the general British public may in fact lack confidence in teachers' competence in this area: only slightly more than half of the respondents agreed that 'teachers are generally competent to develop good character in children'.

What, then, is hindering teachers in their aspirations to develop the whole child? It is widely believed that education has shifted towards measurable output – ie, exam results, league tables, inspection reports etc. (Biesta and Miedema, 2002; Exley and Ball, 2014). Teachers in the study saw this too with over three quarters claiming that the 'modern student assessment system' hindered efforts to develop the whole child. Others complained that there was not enough time for character-related issues in lessons like PSHE and Citizenship either. Ofsted (2012) recognised that PSHE education was not yet good enough with respect to training/curriculum coherence. Another explanation is the lack of preparation to explore moral issues in the classroom. Many teachers felt that their initial teacher training had not prepared them well to do this. Instead, school-based experiences were essential in helping them to learn how to morally educate

students. When teachers were asked what single change they would make, they expressed the wish to have a less subject-laden and test-based curriculum, more time for extra-curricular activities and team building, and a stronger pedagogical relationship with children.

Generally, a higher level of optimism about character education was evident among primary school teachers than secondary school teachers. A higher percentage of primary school teachers said that there was a whole school approach towards character building in their schools and more than 90% of primary school teachers said that there was a 'high' or 'very high' priority in their school. In addition, almost all teachers were hopeful that they could influence good character development in most or all students.

These findings resonated with claims that primary school teachers (in the UK) tend to be more concerned with the social, emotional and physical wellbeing of their students than teachers in secondary schools (see Puurula et al., 2001). This may be partly explained by primary school teachers remaining with one class of children rather than teaching by subject, their tendency to have the whole child on their mind, and there being less formal academic assessment of students at primary school. Even so, the large majority of primary school teachers still believed that the modern student assessment system hindered the development of the whole child. Furthermore, only about a fifth said that teacher training had prepared them to explore and develop moral issues 'well' or 'very well', and few felt that they could rely on all families to develop character in the students, indicating that similar barriers do still exist within primary and secondary schools.

'VIRTUE IS BOLD, AND GOODNESS NEVER FEARFUL.'

William Shakespeare

6 Recommendations

In light of the findings outlined earlier, this section makes recommendations towards improving the development of character in schools. These recommendations should be of interest to politicians, practitioners, policy makers, and teachers who are charged with the development of young people. Of course, schools differ and a one-size-fits-all approach is not suggested.

6.1 MEMBERS OF SCHOOL STAFF SHOULD BE TRAINED IN DEVELOPING CHARACTER AND EACH SCHOOL SHOULD HAVE AT LEAST ONE TEACHER WHO IS ESPECIALLY PASSIONATE, KNOWLEDGEABLE AND DIRECTLY INVOLVED WITH THE IMPLEMENTATION OF CHARACTER EDUCATION

Most teachers are already motivated to develop students' characters, but character development should become a formal and accepted part of *all* subjects and *all* school activities involving every member of school staff. Further suggestions for teacher training are provided below:

- The school management should support and facilitate teachers who take initiatives to introduce or strengthen moral or character education in school.
- Teacher training should not only focus on how to deliver subject content, on classroom management, and on raising students' performances, but also on how educating the whole child can be integrated into this.
- Teacher training should give a higher priority to moral education, for example by making PSHE a compulsory module for all future teachers, and by organising more dialogue and reflection about real-life moral scenarios that they are likely to encounter.
- As teachers believe that they need classroom and life experience to become better character educators, colleagues are recommended to form professional learning communities to exchange experiences, ideas and tips.
- As many teachers were interested in additional training about character education, there should be opportunities for life-long on-going training. The Jubilee Centre is advised to continue to develop (online) 'character education' courses and offer advice to schools that want to implement a whole school approach.

6.2 SCHOOLS SHOULD HAVE A CHARACTER EDUCATION POLICY THAT WILL BE INFLUENTIAL ACROSS ALL STAFF

The development of the whole child is an obvious but sometimes only implicit fact of school life. We recommend that schools create an explicit and coherent character education policy, preferably centred on the development of virtue. A character education framework has been created by the Jubilee Centre and is publicly available online. A policy should provide teachers with the rationale to give character education its due emphasis as an important 'end' in its own right. School governors should be willing and able to explain and justify to Ofsted that character building matters as much for students' flourishing as their grades do.

A policy such as this would support teachers in taking time to address moral issues as and when they arise in their classrooms, even if this involves stepping away from the curriculum from time-to-time. It would mean that subjects such as PSHE and Citizenship could be taken more seriously by, for example, increasing the number of hours they are taught. The policy should also involve joining forces with colleagues, parents and other organisations (charities, sport clubs) so that character building activities at school, home and elsewhere do not contradict, and ideally would reinforce, each other.

6.3 CHARACTER EDUCATION SHOULD FOCUS MORE ON HELPING STUDENTS TO IDENTIFY THE INTERESTS OF OTHERS WHO ARE INVOLVED IN THEIR ACTIONS, TO IDENTIFY MORALLY BAD CHOICES, AND TO THINK ABOUT THE JUSTIFICATIONS FOR ACTIONS

- Character education should help students move from motives of self-interest towards personal moral orientations concerned with others. Learning to consider and care about a wider picture beyond our own interests in situations in life is a habit that takes time and conscious effort to develop. Responses to the moral dilemmas show that many students responded to them from a position of personal interest, or from the perspective of not getting involved in a situation if they could act as if it was not happening.

- Character education should give more weight to students' reasons (justifications) for acting rather than just acting. Most students appeared to know more readily *what* to do rather than *why* to do it. Reasons and justifications for taking actions in life ought to be developed in schools so that students can learn to understand the reasons for morally-justifiable actions – understanding *why* as well as *what* is an integral feature of good character, as is acting always for the right reasons and not for selfish or devious motives. Teachers are recommended to ask students to justify their judgments when discussing moral issues in the classroom.

- Students ought to be exposed to the effects of making poor choices in life and what constitutes a poor choice. Results showed that, overall, the students struggled to identify poor actions and poor justifications. This is a difficult and controversial recommendation to achieve, which will require further research, although it is clear that teachers should not only compliment good behaviour, but identify, discuss and correct bad actions too.

6.4 SCHOOLS SHOULD OBJECTIVELY ASSESS THEIR OWN EFFORTS TOWARDS THE DEVELOPMENT OF STUDENTS' CHARACTERS

Character and virtue are complicated personal qualities, which are difficult to assess. This study has used a triangulated approach, gathering information from a number of different sources. This approach has also been applied to the development of another measure of virtue. The School Virtue Measure (SVM) is intended for use by schools themselves. It collects information from students, teachers and parents about the school ethos, the students' performance on virtue-based moral dilemmas and the students' assessments of their own characters. Because this is done at a group rather than individual level, it provides the sort of information that schools need in order to assess how they are influencing their students' characters and how and where improvements can be made.

Students should also become involved in assessments of their own characters (using self-reporting measures for example) to help them gain a better understanding of their strengths (and weaknesses). This kind of student-involvement in questions of character proved successful in our sub-research study; during focus groups with students in primary schools, researchers used an open design for students to discuss ideas about themes pertaining to character. The students enjoyed and engaged with this peer-to-peer exercise, which brought out a surprisingly high level of moral language, understanding and moral subtlety[18]. This provided evidence that primary schools can engage in this type of exercise with success, just as well as secondary schools can.

6.5 EXTRA-CURRICULAR ACTIVITIES SHOULD BE ENCOURAGED BUT FURTHER RESEARCHED FOR THE ACTUAL CONTRIBUTION THEY (DO AND COULD) MAKE TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF CHARACTER

Extra-curricular activities such as drama, sport and music are central to many schools' efforts to develop their students. Although, there is little doubt that these activities are extremely valuable, this research has found varying relationships between extra-curricular activities and performance on moral dilemmas and does not enable us to determine the causal role of the activities in promoting character development. Working out more accurately how character is affected by these activities will be important for ensuring that these activities are as successful as they can be for a variety of different students. Even so, it is clear that schools should make more time for extra-curricular character building activities such as drama, music and service learning.

6.6 POLITICIANS AND POLICY MAKERS SHOULD RECOGNISE THAT MORAL VIRTUES SUCH AS HONESTY, KINDNESS AND COURAGE ARE JUST AS IMPORTANT AS PERFORMANCE VIRTUES SUCH AS RESILIENCE, SELF-CONFIDENCE AND GRIT

Teachers see the purpose of education as not so much to enable students to achieve high grades and find a job, but to prepare them for life. They see the true aim of education as preparing students to lead a fulfilling and 'good life' with others in a just society. This report endorses their understanding of education and recommends that 'character' not be equated exclusively with performance virtues. Moral and civic virtues are no less important to a flourishing life and society, and character education should embrace them wholeheartedly.

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[18]   This will be published separately.

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$$\frac{1}{2}Mv^2 + \frac{1}{2}Iw^2.$$

$$K = \frac{1}{2}MR^2$$

$$= \frac{1}{2}(MR^2 + I)$$

Appendices

Appendix 1: Example of a Moral Dilemma – Courage

Madison, a year 10 student, was asked to represent her school in a gymnastics competition. A year 10 student has never been chosen to represent the school in gymnastics before so she was surprised at the opportunity. Madison realised this could have an incredible impact on her goal of becoming a professional athlete. However, after the first competition, she realised that she is not comfortable because the coach has been using the girls' good looks to get attention for the team from TV and newspapers. This includes photographs of just the girls wearing their gymnastic outfits. She realised that using pictures of girls like this for publicity goes against her own values and beliefs. Madison talked with her best friend about her concerns. He stated that if she misses all the publicity events then the coach would not take her seriously as a gymnast. Madison knows the importance of this opportunity. She has been told that if she does not take part in all team activities she will not be allowed to compete or develop her talent with the coach. However, she has always taken pride in her beliefs and in the examples that she has set, and if she lets the coach use her good looks in this way, she will promote behaviours and values that she feels are very wrong.

Action choices	Justifications
Madison should quit the team competitions after explaining to everyone her reasons.	It is just some photographs and TV shots.
Madison should compete but make sure everyone knows she does not agree with the photographs of just the girls for newspaper and TV publicity.	It is a great opportunity that could have a positive impact on her athletic career.
Madison should do what her parents think is best.	It would compromise her values and beliefs, which would make her unhappy.
Madison should talk to the coach and try to convince him to let her stay out of the photographs and media attention.	She would not be successful in gymnastics if she does not feel comfortable with the media.
Before she decides, Madison should think further about how her decision would impact her future.	She will be better off in the long run if she doesn't compromise her beliefs.
Madison should consider what would have the most impact on her friends.	She must believe that others know what's best for her.
Madison should see if changes could be made to the team publicity and photography arrangements.	Similar issues are likely to happen again so she has to figure out a way of dealing with them now.
A place on the team is an opportunity she can't pass up.	If she quits, the place on the team will be filled by someone else anyway.
	By competing in the competitions now, Madison may be in a stronger position to argue for a more appropriate situation with the publicity later.
	By standing up for her beliefs, Madison strengthens them through sacrifice.
	Beliefs come and go, but opportunities like this are rare.

'CHILDREN AREN'T BORN WITH GOOD CHARACTER – IT DEVELOPS OVER TIME. BUT THEY ARE HARD-WIRED TO LEARN, AND THEIR CAPACITY FOR CHARACTER IS UNLIMITED.'

Barbara Gruener

Appendix 2 – Schools Taking Part in the Research

Secondary schools	Region	Type	Co-educational?	Faith	FSM (% eligible)	Ofsted	% Achieving 5 A*-C GCSE/ Level 4	Additional students 'all ages' survey
S1	West Midlands	Academy Converter	Co-educational	None	72.7	1	75	-
S2	Bedfordshire	Foundation		None	30.8	3	45	-
S3	Derbyshire	Academy Converter		Christian	14.3	3	67	-
S4	Hampshire	Independent		None	n/a	n/a	95	-
S6	Staffordshire	Academy Converter		Roman Catholic	13.3	1	81	-
S7	Fife	State Funded		None	21.1	n/a	78	52
S8	Yorkshire	Independent		Christian	n/a	n/a	98	-
S9	Sussex	Independent		Christian	n/a	n/a	94	-
S10	Aberdeenshire	State Funded		None	3.6	n/a	88	121
S11	Cheshire	Voluntary Aided		Roman Catholic	17.0	1	85	42
S12	Herefordshire	Community School		None	18.1	2	46	-
S13	Sussex	Academy Converter		None	21.6	2	63	134
S14	Dundee	State Funded		None	6.4	n/a	90	-
S15	Sussex	Voluntary Aided		Roman Catholic	12.7	3	59	-
S16	Aberdeenshire	State Funded		None	6.2	n/a	85	-
S17	Aberdeenshire	Academy Converter		None	8.3	n/a	81	-
S18	Aberdeenshire	Independent		None	7.5	n/a	97	-
S19	Aberdeenshire	State Funded		None	5.0	n/a	90	-
S20	Stirlingshire	State Funded		None	19.5	n/a	75	-
S21	Tayside	State Funded		None	4.3	n/a	93	-
S22	Ayrshire	State Funded		None	17.0	n/a	77	-
S23	Norfolk	Academy Sponsor Led		None	14.1	4	56	-
S24	Hertfordshire	Academy Converter		None	15.6	2	53	-
S25	London	Independent	Girls only	Roman Catholic	n/a	n/a	94	-
S26	Hampshire	Academy Converter	Co-educational	None	18.3	2	58	-
S27	Shropshire	Academy Sponsor Led		None	50.1	2	61	-
S28	Belfast	Voluntary Grammar		None	3.5	n/a	94	-
S29	South Wales Valleys	Comprehensive		None	34.6	3	43	-
S31	Berkshire	Academy Converter		None	12.9	1	95	-
S32	Durham	Academy Converter		None	26.5	2	66	148
S33	Lincolnshire	Foundation		None	34.7	3	57	-

Secondary schools 'all ages'	Region	Type	Co-educational?	Faith	FSM (%)	Ofsted	% 5 A*-C GCSE
W1	London	Selective Grammar		*None*	9.7	1	96
W2	Berkshire	Academy		*None*	10.4	1	82
W3	Leicestershire	Academy converter		*None*	32.1	2	n/a
W4	Yorkshire	Academy		Christian	46.6	2	42
W5	West Midlands	Alternative (independent special)	All co-educational	*None*	n/a	2	n/a
W6	Buckinghamshire	Academy		Catholic	10.4	2	56
W7	London	Academy		*None*	43.2	2	62
W8	London	State-funded		*None*	55.5	1	n/a

Secondary schools 'all ages'	Region	Type	Co-educational?	Faith	FSM (%)	Ofsted	% Achieving 5 A*-C GCSE/ Level 4
M1	Surrey	Voluntary aided state boarding		Christian	6.2	1	86
M2	Hertfordshire	Academy converter	Co-educational?	*None*	15.6	2	53
M3	West Midlands	Academy		Sikh	28.7	1	n/a
M4	Greater Manchester	Academy		*None*	23.5	2	70
M5	West Midlands	Independent	Boys only	Church of England	n/a	n/a	n/a
M6	West Midlands	Foundation	Co-educational	*None*	48.8	1	64

Primary schools	Region	Type	Co-ed	Faith	FSM (%)	Ofsted/ Estyn rating	Focus group (n)
P1	West Midlands	Free school		Sikh	12.6	3	
P2	London	Independent		Catholic	n/a	n/a	1
P3	West Midlands	State		*None*	9.1	2	
P4	Leicestershire	Voluntary aided		Catholic	6.9	2	
P5	West Midlands	Academy		*None*	n/a	3	2
P6	South Wales	State		*None*	n/a	2	
P7	Hertfordshire	Independent		*None*	n/a	n/a	
P8	Herefordshire	Community		*None*	10.2	2	1
P9	Wiltshire	State		*None*	12	1	
P10	Cornwall	State		*None*	10	2	2
P11	Cheshire	State		Roman Catholic	4.9	1	2
P12	West Midlands	State	All co-educational	*None*	22.9	1	1
P13	Sussex	Independent		Christian	n/a	n/a	1
P14	Cumbria	Community		*None*	44	2	1
P15	Staffordshire	State		*None*	46.7	2	2
P16	Gloucestershire	State		*None*	20.5	2	1
P17	Staffordshire	State		*None*	52.6	3	
P18	Worcestershire	State (middle school)		*None*	15.4	1	
P19	Derbyshire	Voluntary aided		Church of England	31.9	3	
P20	Warwickshire	Voluntary aided		Catholic	14.4	2	
P21	South Wales	State		Roman Catholic	n/a	2	
P22	South Wales	State		*None*	n/a	3	
P23	West Midlands	Academy		*None*	49	1	

Appendix 3 – Teacher Focus – Full Results

Character strength	Most prominent	Least prominent	Total
Humour	58	1	59
Curiosity	39	7	46
Persistence (perseverance)	15	31	46
Open-mindedness (judgement)	20	23	43
Fairness	35	2	37
Social Intelligence	18	17	35
Self-regulation	3	33	36
Creativity	27	7	34
Spirituality	3	27	30
Perspective	1	22	23
Humility and modesty	5	15	20
Leadership	6	17	23
Love of learning	7	13	20
Forgiveness and mercy	3	15	18
Appreciation of beauty and excellence	2	14	16
Gratitude	7	13	20
Bravery (courage)	6	11	17
Kindness	17	0	17
Hope	10	5	15
Vitality (zest)	9	4	13
Integrity (honesty)	10	3	13
Citizenship (teamwork)	2	10	12
Prudence	0	9	9
Love	3	1	4

'…THE PURPOSE OF OUR EXAMINATION IS NOT TO KNOW WHAT VIRTUE IS, BUT TO BECOME GOOD, SINCE OTHERWISE THE INQUIRY WOULD BE OF NO BENEFIT TO US.'

Aristotle

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Acknowledgements

'COURAGE, KINDNESS, FRIENDSHIP, CHARACTER. THESE ARE THE QUALITIES THAT DEFINE US AS HUMAN BEINGS, AND PROPEL US, ON OCCASION, TO GREATNESS.'

R.J.Palacio

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