ORGANIZATIONAL CULTURE IN AUSTRALIAN
ANGLICAN SECONDARY SCHOOLS: AN
EMPIRICAL ANALYSIS OF STAFF EXPERIENCE
OF RELIGION AND SCHOOL CULTURE

Ruth M. Edwards

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

The University of Sydney
March, 2011
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The production of this thesis has been a long process over almost a decade with several detours and stops along the way. It has, however, been relatively painless and on the whole enjoyable, and through it I have discovered new skills and interests.

Several people have contributed to this positive experience. First and foremost I thank my husband, Trevor, who has continually encouraged me, told me the research was my first priority and pointed out the benefits I have gained by doing it. Trevor has practised what he preaches and loved me as Christ loves the church (Ephesians 5:25). He has also immersed me in Anglicanism and generously shared his library which has been a major resource for this aspect of my topic.

I wish to thank my four sons, William, Gareth, Robin and Owen and their families. They have kept my heart warmed through their support, interest, love and kindnesses when I have needed an extra hug or a listening ear. They have kept my mind stimulated and my interests broad through sharing their own intelligent insights about their chosen fields of Law, Geography and Water Management, Philosophy, Linguistics and Tolaki. For this project I acknowledge a special collegiality with Gareth who has walked his own doctoral journey in tandem with me and beat me to the finishing line! His meticulous proof reading of the draft thesis alerted me to many areas for revision. Any remaining awkwardness in expression or obscurities in meaning are entirely the result of my own decisions. With Sumudu, Gareth has opened his home to me when studies brought me to Sydney and I thank them both for that hospitality.

I also acknowledge a huge debt to my parents, both very intelligent people, who at the age of 92, still take an interest in my studies and are proud of their “little girl”. They have always modelled interest in life and learning. They have demonstrated that Christian faith can be both rational and passionate.

I acknowledge a great debt of gratitude to the principals of the three site study schools. If this research triggers greater understanding among Anglican educators it is due above all to these people who took the risk of opening their schools to me. Despite great differences in personality, churchmanship and leadership style, they are united in having shared with me their challenges, vulnerabilities and visions, and in having sought to make Anglican faith in their schools worthwhile and relevant. As well, they allowed me access to their staff, making possible the series of interviews which are at the heart of this research. I express much
appreciation to all those who participated. Without exception each person contributed to my understanding and to the final theory.

I thank Kevin Laws, my supervisor, very warmly. His hand has been light but his directing impeccable, as he has reliably pinpointed those aspects of my work needing improvement and has unerringly alerted me to particular books or articles which were just what was needed at any given time. He also took all the anxiety out of negotiating the upgrading of this research to doctoral status.

Finally, despite the inadequacies of the Christian Church and the ambiguities of Anglican schools, I honour God in Christ Jesus, who can be seen to work in unexpected ways with unexpected people and who in the end gives meaning to everything.
ABSTRACT

The central purpose of this research is to understand the nature of culture in Australian Anglican Secondary schools and determine whether they share any commonalities in their organisational culture. The study is situated in the theoretical framework of organisational culture and uses the qualitative methodology of Grounded Theory to derive meanings from empirical data and to generate theory in an under-researched area. This research has concentrated on staff perceptions and experience of school culture with a special focus on the religious dimension. The major research tool was in-depth interviews of over seventy practitioners in three case study schools. Additional standard methods of data collection were also used to strengthen validity.

The design of the project incorporates the diversity within the Anglican Church. Case studies occurred in schools in three different Anglican dioceses in three different cities and states. The churchmanship in each school represented different strands within Anglicanism. A breadth of educational variables was also represented: one school was long-established, two more recent; one was single-sex, two were co-educational; two were totally independent, one was part of a school system. Theoretical sensitivity was heightened through incorporation of historical and sociological writings on Anglicanism which helped interpret the emerging theory.

The theory developed progressively using the Grounded Theory principle of constant comparison. This was applied both within sites and across sites. On the first level of conceptualisation, the culture in each individual site was analysed and described. On the second level, common themes relevant to understanding the religious factor were identified across all sites. Initially five conceptual categories for generic Anglican school culture were identified. These were later refined to two controlling ones, those of Tension and Anglicanism. These were shown to interrelate with three subsidiary categories: Perceptions, Independent Schooling and Leadership. A theory is proposed that organizational culture in Anglican schools is typically characterised by a range of tensions relating to their dual educational and religious roles, and to differing social and spiritual interpretations of Christian faith.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

## CHAPTER 1

**Background, rationale and theoretical framework**

1.1 Research aims ................................................. 1  
1.2. Rationale: The position of Anglican schools in Australia .... 2  
1.3. Anglican diversity ............................................. 5  
1.4. Conceptual and philosophical framework ......................... 7  
  1.4.1 Ontology .................................................. 7  
  1.4.2 Epistemology ............................................... 8  
  1.4.3 Methodology ............................................... 9  
1.5. Research questions and design .................................. 10  
1.6. Chapter overview ............................................ 11

## CHAPTER 2

**True meanings: A search. A review of relevant literature**

### Part 1: Culture and meanings

2.1. Introduction: defining culture .................................. 13  
2.2. Organizational culture .......................................... 16  
2.3. Emotions, relationships and cultural meanings ................... 22  
2.4. Schools, culture and effectiveness .............................. 24  

### Part 2: Society and schools in the twenty-first century

2.5. Accountability and marketization ................................ 28  
2.6. Independent education .......................................... 30  
2.7 The work of teachers ............................................. 33  
  2.7.1 Motivation to teach ......................................... 33  
  2.7.2 Teachers and stress ......................................... 35  
2.8. School Leadership ............................................... 37  
  2.8.1 Leadership and management ................................. 37  
  2.8.2 The principalship .......................................... 40  

### Part 3: Anglicanism and contested meanings

2.9. The Church of England ........................................... 43  
2.10. The Anglican Church in Australia .............................. 45  
2.11. Anglican schools ............................................... 49  
2.12. Religion in contemporary society: Secularism and faith ....... 53  
2.13. Faith schools in the secular context ........................... 57  
2.14. Conclusion ..................................................... 59
CHAPTER 5
The site study schools and their cultures. Part 2.
Organizational culture at HAS (Happy Angican School)_______ 110
5.1. Context____________________________________________________ 110
5.2. Culture_____________________________________________________ 112
   5.2.1 Social class and independence___________________________ 112
   5.2.2 Traditional and conservative___________________________ 113
   5.2.3. Professional__________________________________________ 115
   5.2.4. Workload and sport____________________________________ 115
   5.2.5. Gentlemen’s agreements and business imperatives______ 117
      5.2.5.a Gentleman’s culture & the psychological contract 118
      5.2.5.b. External forces____________________________________ 119
      5.2.5.c. Internal problems: Communication___________________ 120
      5.2.5.d. Conclusion_______________________________________ 121
   5.2.6. A happy school________________________________________ 122
   5.2.7. Leadership____________________________________________ 122
   5.2.8. Community____________________________________________ 123
   5.2.9. Chapel and faith________________________________________ 124
5.3. Concepts___________________________________________________ 126
   5.3.1 Generating concepts____________________________________ 126
   5.3.2. Interrelationships_______________________________________ 127
   5.3.3. Conclusion____________________________________________ 128

CHAPTER 6
The site study schools and their cultures. Part 3.
Organizational culture at DAS (Divided Anglican School)_________ 129
6.1. Context____________________________________________________ 129
6.2. Culture_____________________________________________________ 131
   6.2.1 External cordiality, internal division_________________________ 131
      6.2.1.a. A comfortable community?___________________________ 132
      6.2.1.b. Reverberations from restructuring______________________ 133
   6.2.2. Old echoes: New leadership______________________________ 134
8.3 Anglican values

8.3.1 Introduction: Anglican cultural assumptions

8.3.2 The Anglican spirit seen in its schools

8.3.2a Incarnational: Low key

8.3.2b. Incarnational: Moralism and class

8.3.2c. Inclusive

8.3.2d. Intellectual

8.3.2e. Conclusion

8.4. Meanings

8.4.1 An ambiguous role

8.4.2 Social class and independence

8.5. Meanings in the context of secularism

8.5.1. Credal Christianity

8.5.2. Secularism and Anglican schools

8.5.3. The disjunction between social Anglicanism & secularism

CHAPTER 9
A Grounded Theory

The dilemma of Anglican schools: God or money?

9.1. Introduction

9.2. A Theory

9.3. Interrelationships and meanings

9.3.1. Social tradition and spiritual commitment

9.3.2. Independence, social class and social tradition

9.3.3. Independence, leadership and perspectives

9.4. Conclusion: Reflections and possibilities

REFERENCES

APPENDICES

Appendix 1. Information Sheet distributed to staff in site study schools

Appendix 2. Information sheet distributed with surveys

Appendix 3. Survey for EAS

Appendix 4. Survey for HAS & DAS

Appendix 5. Participant consent form

Appendix 6. Informants at EAS

Appendix 7. Informants at HAS

Appendix 8. Informants at DAS

Appendix 9. Schools Beyond the Site Study Schools
CHAPTER 1
BACKGROUND, RATIONALE AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Prelude: Divergent Meanings
The majority of our students and staff have a very heavy enculturation into a materialistic culture where they pay grudging allegiance to the Christian ethos….but in practical terms find it difficult to relate to the spiritual heritage. (EI17) ¹

The religious bit gives a framework by which we can hang generally agreed values like honesty, care, environmental responsibility. (HI13)

I think we see Christian values in the modelling of the chaplains…they say things which are quite contentious. They feel their duties to Christian values outweigh their duty to be not political… (EI11)

Anglican is a brand that imputes safety – no great demands or public demonstration of faith. (EI14)

But there is a tradition within Anglicanism that is very open to inquiry…and to investigating new ideas…. [Also] there’s this nexus between Anglican schools and the big end of town. (DI21)

It’s a chance to communicate the gospel and show that Jesus is more than a character or a caricature. (HI2)

1.1 Research aims
Anglican schools are an important sector within Australian education, but there is very little research about them as a distinct group. The above statements represent just a sample of the voices of teachers in Anglican schools reflecting on the meaning of the schools’ religious identity. They show great diversity both in concepts and in beliefs about religion. This diversity goes to the heart of the subject of this research. The differing meanings and focal points of these teachers’ comments on Anglicanism in their schools indicates the wide range of expressions of Anglicanism and the heterogeneity of perspectives among teaching

¹ Referencing of primary data: The first letter represents the school (E = EAS, H = HAS, D = DAS); the second letter either Interview, Conversation or Survey; the number is the individual identifier of that informant for each school. Therefore EI17 means school EAS, Interview 17.
The aim of this project was to explore this diversity with a view to seeing if there was any underlying common culture to be expected in the typical Anglican school and if so, how it might be related to denominational identity. Plainly Anglican schools are founded by Anglican bodies: in terms of history or governance they are connected in some way with the Anglican Church, but the question of interest has been whether this is expressed in the everyday life of the school. Therefore what is on view in this report is the shared organizational character of Anglican schools as institutions, not particular student demographics or classroom pedagogies. The concept of organizational culture will be fully explored in a subsequent chapter, so here it is simply noted that how staff experience a school and the meanings that they attribute to these experiences are the essence of organizational culture.

This report analyses in-depth the organizational culture of three Anglican schools, selected to represent as much diversity as possible. They are referred to throughout the report by pseudonyms, which highlight a significant aspect of each unique culture. The pilot site study was of EAS (Exacting Anglican school). The second study was of HAS (Happy Anglican school) and the final, confirming study was of DAS (Divided Anglican School). Beyond the core site studies, the project also draws on insights from over seventy teachers about all of the Anglican schools with which they have had connections. There were two layers to the research. First was the study of the unique ethos of each school. However, more central to the concern of the project has been the second layer, which was the synthesis of these findings to identify common themes revealed, or referred to, in all the sites. On this basis a provisional theory as to a shared character in Australian Anglican secondary schools is proposed.

1.2. Rationale: The position of Anglican schools in Australia

In Australia three educational sectors are distinguished by the Australian Bureau of Statistics: government schools, Roman Catholic schools and independent schools. There has been an exponential growth in the independent sector. Taking figures only for secondary enrolments, these had grown by 9.4% in the 16 years from 1993 to 2009, while government school enrolments had dropped by over 7%, with a small growth in the Catholic sector of 1.8%. The result is that now 17.6% of Australian secondary students are in non-government, non-Catholic schools, and of this sector, Anglican schools comprise the largest group, representing approximately 5% of all schools. (ABS, 2010, p18; Campbell, Proctor & Sherington, 2009, pp. 58-59; Laurence, 2008). Moreover, Anglican schools are overrepresented among the most prestigious corporate schools.
According to Bonnor (2011), the My School Website shows high fee private schools (many of which are Anglican) at the top of the social hierarchy followed by other Anglican schools. In addition, some dioceses in New South Wales, Queensland and Western Australia have established systems of Anglican schools to proactively develop new schools with lower fee structures. Anglican schools, therefore, are an important and influential market segment, often highly sought after by clients.

Surprisingly, there has been very little sociological or educational research on Australian Anglican schools. There are a large number of writings from the Catholic tradition, a significant number of which seek to define the cultures associated with specific spiritualities and charisms. In 1993 Marcellin Flynn published a seminal and impressively comprehensive work on the culture of Catholic schools in Australia. Flynn defined key Catholic theological positions, and then developed research instruments to ascertain to what extent these were upheld in the life of Catholic schools and how that influenced the students. The particular subject of Flynn’s research was Year 12 students, 6000 of whom were surveyed for the final phase of what is a longitudinal study. While his definition of culture was very similar to that used in my project, its focus and objectives were rather different. Flynn explicitly warned against extrapolating results at student levels to the level of the organization (p. 73-75). In addition, his research was quantitative in methodology, and, as he explicitly noted, it was a “mapping” exercise not a “sociological analysis of culture at work” (p. 398). Therefore, it contrasts directly with this investigation of Anglican schools, which is an attempt to analyse culture at work. Moreover, Flynn’s statistically neat and positivist methodological paradigm based on a survey with 350 items, is somewhat questionable in the light of more recent postmodern and fragmentation interpretations of culture which emphasise ambiguity of meanings.

Several theses on Catholic school cultures using qualitative approaches were consulted with interest. For example, Green (1997) used grounded theory approaches to analyse the culture of Marist secondary schools, finding that they exhibited the qualities of strong, functional cultures and some clear and pervasive characteristics derived from their founder. Hayes (2006) investigated Australian Jesuit schools. He explored the nature of Ignatian pedagogy through critical document study of relevant Jesuit historical and educational material and then sought to understand how well the aims aligned with teachers’ perceptions of implementing Ignatian pedagogy. This second phase of investigation used grounded theory empirical data collection, with interviews of teachers and other educationalists expert in the area. While not explicitly a cultural study, the
investigation of core values and practices dealt with cultural material. Crotty’s (2002) study concentrated on leadership and core religious values. This is an issue of relevance for school culture although that was not Crotty’s central interest. She evaluated the role and impact of Religious Education Co-ordinators in Sydney, using in-depth interviews and grounded theory data analysis, finding ambivalence in the Catholic educational community about the role (p. 14). These dissertations yielded helpful insights into methodology and into varied conceptions of school culture and its components, but, naturally, nothing on the substantive issue of Anglican schools.

By contrast with literature on Catholic education, that on Anglican schools is quite limited. There are a fair number of school histories, particularly of the long-established foundations. Otherwise, educational studies either have used Anglican schools as sites for investigation of essentially educational categories such as teacher leadership (Sly, 2008) or are concerned with structural issues such as foundations and amalgamations (Campbell, 1987; Godden, 1996; Melville, 2006). Little could be found that sought to look generically at a distinctive Anglican ethos or culture. Two recent theses touching on the area were exceptions. Foord (2008) investigated the role and dilemmas of Anglican school chaplains in the Diocese of Sydney, particularly the tension of being accountable to both Principal and Archbishop. This was primarily a study of ministry in the school context, and overlaps with the topic of this dissertation only in the one area. Superficially of more direct relevance to the dissertation topic was the research of Scott (1998) who investigated the transmission of culture at Anglican Church Grammar School in Brisbane. The central idea in this study was indeed culture. It deliberately included representatives of the main stake-holder groups, staff, parents, students and ex-students, using largely quantitative techniques of random sampling and a scaled survey instrument. However this study was really about the culture of this one school with no particular recognition of its Anglican character. Of over 120 closed response survey questions only six covered anything explicitly religious. The actual focus of the survey was about how culture was passed on, not what it meant.

Books and journals on Australian Anglicanism are likewise short on articles about school education, and when it is considered, it is from a theological perspective rather than an empirical, sociological one. There is some material from the United Kingdom in response to the 2001 Church Schools Review report, *The Way Ahead*, but again the interest is in purposes and strategies for developing the religious dimension of the schools in the British context, not on research-based analysis of
their ethos. Christian educational journals like *The Journal of Christian Education* major on Christian pedagogy and philosophies of education which are instructive but, again, marginal to understanding the realities of life in Anglican schools. Some such articles will be reviewed in relation to religious mission in schools.

The gap in research may be connected to the long-time deficit in deep thinking about Australian Anglicanism, an issue examined historically and theologically in the thesis of Nolan (2008). For whatever reason, the research question that this project explored, was breaking new ground.

1.3. Anglican diversity

Since regional separatism marks Australian Anglicanism, this research project was also innovative in crossing diocesan boundaries, which are both geographical and spiritual, in its quest for common markers of Anglican identity in schools. The concept of identity is central to Australian Anglicanism and its schools, and will be considered in Chapter 2. At this point, however, it is helpful to define some key terminology.

The term “Anglican” is used to refer globally to those churches which have descended historically from the Church of England. Although the Archbishop of Canterbury is a symbolic figurehead, actual governance is devolved and national churches and large geographically-based church networks, known as provinces, are autonomous and self-determining. What they have in common is a history and some degree of shared cultural heritage expressed in liturgy, episcopacy and consultation, although this is increasingly disputed (Avis, 2007, pp. 8-9). In Australia, the institution previously known as the Church of England has been called the Anglican Church of Australia since adoption of a national church constitution in 1962.

The major strands of Anglican churchmanship need to be defined at the outset. As will be explained later, the Church is a compromise standing at the intersection of the two great movements of European Christianity, and claiming to be both Catholic and Reformed (Davie, 1994, p. 181). As Adam (1997, p. 176-7) notes, differences of churchmanship within Anglicanism are essentially differences of theological foundation, the historical antecedents of which will be considered later.

i. In the nineteenth century the movement for church renewal known as Tractarianism was initiated by John Henry Newman and developed into the Oxford Movement. It gave renewed emphasis to continuity with the historic Catholic Church and was most marked externally by a revival of ritual and
ceremony, and a pre-Reformation approach to the Sacraments. In the twenty-first century this form of Anglicanism, in its most extreme expression, is known as Anglo-Catholicism, and its more moderate wing, as High Church Anglicanism.

ii. Also in the nineteenth century Liberal Anglicanism was spawned in response to the ascendancy of scientific knowledge, which led to increasing questioning of traditional interpretations of Christianity, stripping it of much of its supernatural dogma (Knight, 2004). Contemporary Liberal Anglicanism tends to stress intellectual and aesthetic religion and engagement with social justice (Frame, 2009, p. 47f.; Hilliard, 1997; Kaye, 1995, p. 23; HI16).

iii. Evangelicals are those on the most protestant wing of the church. Their characteristic emphasis is on the supremacy of Scripture and on individual salvation and relationship to God. This strand has always been present within Anglicanism and would claim it represents the authentic interpretation of the Reformation Church as enshrined in the 1662 Prayer Book and Thirty-Nine articles which are constitutionally the standard of doctrine for the Australian Church (Kaye, 1995, p. 58). Only a minority of Australian Dioceses are evangelical, but their number includes the largest, wealthiest and most influential in the Diocese of Sydney. The Diocese of Melbourne, also, has a long history of evangelical churchmen, although in recent times they have not dominated (Holden, 2000).

iv. Continuing on from a very long history of integrating and holding diversity in balance is the tradition of Broad Churchmanship, which seeks to take a middle path of unity and social engagement while maintaining a spiritual impulse (Nolan, 2008).

Given this diversity, perhaps it is not surprising that researchers have not previously engaged in the daunting task of seeking to find some commonalities within Australian Anglican schools, where both educational and social factors add to the complexity. However, it is an important challenge, from both religious and social perspectives. As Kaye (2006b, p. 292) writes, “Schools are in direct contact with society. For their own operational reasons they need to have a vivid sense of where and how their Anglican tradition relates to the educational ...environment.” For the educational consumer and policy-maker Anglican schools are one of the most important areas where the Anglican Church engages with public life (Frame, 2007, p. 249). Recognising their distinct identity can only bring greater understanding to educational discourse.
1.4. Conceptual and philosophical framework

This research dealt with the social world of schools, and developed theory from a sociological and educational standpoint. The nature of social reality is much debated, with conflicting views in the philosophical areas of ontology (what constitutes the social world), epistemology (what can be known about it) and theorizing (how it should be investigated). Therefore, clarifying the position of this research in respect to these questions is a first priority.

It is inevitable that a researcher makes sense of the social world according to some schema and philosophy (Eisner, 1991, pp. 180, 230). Christians (2000, p. 149) sums it up in these words:

> Questions of method are secondary to questions of paradigm which we define as the basic worldview that guides the investigator not only in choices of method but in ontologically and epistemologically fundamental ways.

Neuman (2003, p. 70f.) describes three fundamental approaches to social science: positivism, interpretivism and critical social science. Denzin and Lincoln (2000) add postpositivism as a modification of positivism and prefer the terminology of constructivism to interpretivism. In addition there are postmodern approaches to social science which claim social reality is only a series of signifiers and therefore is essentially unknowable (A Hargreaves, 1994, chapt. 3). This research did not fit neatly into any of the broad categories. It inclined towards a positivist view of reality, an interpretivist view of methodology and a reasonably strong critical view of epistemology. In other words, it was synthetic, being reluctant to become tied in absolutist philosophical knots, while being inclined towards bridging some of the conceptual divisions in the cause of understanding and action. In this sense it probably identified best with a mild form of critical social science, which, according to Neumann’s categorization, “adopts a realist position …and tries to bridge the object-subject gap” (pp.82, 85). It recognized inherent value positions and it hoped for knowledge that would contribute to growth and improvement (Lincoln & Guba, 2000; Eisner, 1991, chapt. 5).

1.4.1. Ontology

The position taken in this report is that of ontological realism. That is, it claims that there is a social reality which exists independently of the interpretations of either participants or observers (Sayer, 1984, p.77). However it denies naïve realism, with its strict separation of knower and known, and of human from natural phenomena, and it denies classic empiricism with its uncompromising belief that neutral, objective knowledge-generation is realisable and is the only
valid scientific truth (Locke, 2001, p. 7). Such a hardline form of positivism has increasingly come under attack, even in the physical sciences (Williams & May, 1996, chapt. 2). Rather, the position in this research is that known as postpositivism, or critical realism, which is much more nuanced. Contrary to the constructivist idea of reality being entirely contingent on context and meanings created through social interactions (Wright, 2008), critical realism claims that there is an actual reality and that interpretations of it can be wrong. There is an essential ambivalence in a completely constructivist view of reality and its attendant research paradigms because of the problem of evaluating their worth if there is no unproblematic reality against which they can be measured (Pidgeon & Henwood, 2004). Critical realism recognises the complexity of reality and incorporates this into its metaphysic. It maintains the paradox that there are a multiplicity of subjective interpretations and that these are a significant aspect of objective reality, indeed that they contribute to a multi-faceted and meaning-laden reality, but that reality is not wholly constituted by them.

1.4.2. Epistemology
An epistemological position depends on the metaphysical one. Positivist science assumed that external reality could be known, tested and replicated through objective research uncontaminated by human bias. At the opposite polarity, interpretivist paradigms of epistemology claim that knowledge is socially constructed by the knower, and that all that can really be known are the subjective perceptions of the observer (Jaffe & Miller, 1994; Charmaz, 2009). Contrary to both, the approach here is that of Eisner (1991), who explains that truth is a problem because it is ultimately unprovable in the positivist sense. Even the most tight scientific theory can be falsified when new evidence is found, according to the classic scientific method. Along with a critical realist position on reality, goes a sense that knowledge is “probable”; it is found at the intersection of knower and reality, and between the objective and subjective (Eisner 1991, p. 52). The simplest way of explaining this epistemological position is to use Eisner’s (p. 55) legal analogy: what we “know” is what is “beyond reasonable doubt”, based on corroboration and validity strategies. I agree with Sayer (1984, p. 203) when he states that meanings and interpretations can be wrong. Reality is more than just experiences. A researcher has to use the weight of evidence to assess interpretations and also to critique his or her own meanings. This position allows for meaning and interpretation to be highly significant, which is the central concern of interpretivists, but avoids the postmodern philosophical inconsistency described by A. Hargreaves (1994, p. 40) that “to deny the existence of foundational knowledge, one needs foundational knowledge about its lack of
existence.” In addition, and consistent with a critical social science perspective, this research report strongly acknowledges that knowledge is shaped by values and is used for moral purposes. It recognises that object and subject are not clearly distinct and that obtaining knowledge beyond reasonable doubt involves rigorous evaluation of all interpretations including those of the researcher. When this occurs some degree of distance from subjective bias is attainable (Neuman, 2003, p. 86; Sayer, 1984, p. 201-203; Turner, 1988, p. 116).

1.4.3. Methodology
As summarised by Miller and Fredericks (1996, p. 12) “epistemological concerns ultimately determine the methodological preferences one chooses and the types of claims one makes about social phenomena.” Since this project was concerned with generating theory in an under-researched area, and since it took a critical realist and probabilistic view of knowledge, the methodology of grounded theory was used. Grounded theory is committed to empirically-based and evidence-laden approaches, which combine the positivist belief in an external reality with provision for giving prominence to insider perspectives and interpretation of meanings. How grounded theory has been used in this project will be properly explained in Chapter 3. Here the point is only to relate the research to a general philosophical framework. The work of social philosopher, Sayer (1984), was found very helpful in explaining the complexities of the social world from a realist perspective. He emphasises that meaning is central to social science, and explains that actions in society are given meaning through their social context and through language and concepts growing out of social interaction (pp. 33-4). His writing also critiques the simplistic dualism of subjectivity/objectivity, allowing for a more complex, integrative approach.

In this particular project the focus was not on the participant-informants as such and the individual meanings they attributed to their situation. Its interest was, therefore, not the same as the classic symbolic interactionist interest in the centrality of the participant’s experience (Denzin, 1992; Locke, 2001). The perceptions of participant-informants in the school cultures studied have been considered as indicators of a holistic reality which encompasses and yet transcends their individual value. Individual meanings were taken together, tested against each other, critiqued in the light of observational and documentary evidence and then interpreted in the light of the researcher’s own understanding (Turner, 1988, p. 115; Shah & Corley, 2006, p1823). The importance of meaning and interpretation was central, but related more to the researcher making sense of information, only some of which was clearly the subjective experience of
participants. It is also acknowledged that it is necessarily the case that a researcher’s own experience, in the words of Eisner (1991, p193), is the “instrument through which meaning is made and interpretation expressed.” Interpretivists are right in denying a neutral, value-free basis for social research. It follows that theory is taken, not so much to create knowledge, but certainly to systematise it and certainly to represent only one version of reality through targeting what appears meaningful and significant to the researcher at a particular moment in time (cf. Sayer, 1984, Chapt. 9). Theory, therefore, may reconstitute our vision of reality by viewing it through a different lens, and it may alert us to matters requiring responsive action.

1.5. Research questions and design

The preceding philosophical basis provided the framework for theory development. In line with grounded theory principles, this occurred through an unfolding interactive process of data collection, reflection and conceptualisation, consideration of literature pertinent to ideas generated by the data, refinement of concepts, cross-testing of concepts on the basis of further data collection and further modification and enrichment of conceptual categories to develop a theory that was consistent with the empirical data.

The purpose of theorizing has been to understand the nature of culture in Australian Anglican schools based on three sites as primary sources of data. These research questions guided this process:

1. What qualities characterise the organizational culture at each school site?
2. What, if any, common Anglican school culture is indicated across school sites?

These two major questions relate to the two levels of investigation already referred to: firstly, the unique culture in each school and secondly, the comparative analysis which evaluated the feasibility of determining common themes for Anglican schools.

A set of supplementary questions helped direct attention to interrelationships between general organizational culture and the schools’ Anglican identity:

a. Where do staff perceive that religion impacts on school life?
b. How do staff interpret the religious dimension of the school?
c. What correlations can be discerned between the history and ethos of the Anglican Church and any common cultural characteristics in Anglican schools?
The full research design will be described in Chapter 3. In this introduction it is only to be noted that three schools representing different Anglican traditions were studied in depth, with a major emphasis on semi-structured interviews to yield information in answer to questions (a) and (b). Triangulation of data and constant comparison were used within sites and across sites as major tools of verification. Each site deepened insights resulting in progressive development of the final theory, with key ideas being tested and refined through relevant literature. Question (c) was tackled through the researcher’s synthesis of all the material. Full analysis of data from each school enabled a descriptive report to be submitted to the principal of each school, who provided further validation. These individual school culture analyses provided a firm basis for then generalising a well-supported theory in response to the major research problem expressed in Question 2.

1.6. Chapter overview

This introductory chapter has sought to explain the concepts and definitions which are foundational for understanding the social and methodological context for the rest of this dissertation. These ideas establish the basis for the process of investigation and theory generation and the subsequent chapters build on this basis.

Chapter 2 is a comprehensive review of all the literature which informed understanding, and which was consulted progressively in response to issues and puzzles raised by the data. It necessarily covers several domains: the primary one of organizational culture, which is interwoven with the domains of schooling within its contemporary context and with religion and Anglicanism in Australia. The theme of meaning as a synthesis of interior thought and exterior action runs through this presentation, picking up the interpretive strand of social science research.

Chapter 3 explains the methodology and research design. The nature of qualitative research and the qualities of grounded theory which made it an appropriate tool are considered. How this approach was applied in the research design and its execution are then described.

Chapters 4 – 6 immerse us in the life of each of the actual schools in turn, describing the specific context of each school, its unique organizational culture and the concepts emerging at that school which were relevant to developing theory about the second research question. Taken together these chapters provide a
comparative analysis of culture at the site study schools with some preliminary description of the relationship between Anglican identity and other cultural features.

Chapters 7 - 8 are at the heart of the research topic. They respond directly to the major research question in a search for common cultural attributes around the central dimension of Anglicanism. Chapter 7 is a detailed comparative description of five shared artefacts generally identified with religion in Anglican schools. Data is analysed in relation to key theoretical concepts and meanings. Chapter 8 focuses on attitudinal dimensions of culture related to the schools’ religious identity. It considers crucial characteristics of the Anglican spirit, and explains how data and key theoretical concepts and meanings are related.

Chapter 9 synthesises the preceding material to present a grounded theory as to the nature of Anglican schools as experienced by their staff. The interrelationships between the conceptual categories from which the theory is constructed is explained. The dissertation concludes with some reflections on the significance of the findings and what they suggest about possible areas for further research.
CHAPTER 2
TRUE MEANINGS: A SEARCH
A REVIEW OF RELEVANT LITERATURE

Culture is a web of meanings we ourselves have spun. (Classic sociologist, Max Weber)

Culture is an informal understanding of ‘how we do things around here’. (Deal & Kennedy, 1983, p. 14).

Shared perceptions of daily practices should be considered the core of an organization’s culture. (Hofstede, 2005, p. 286)

PART 1: CULTURE AND MEANINGS
2.1. Introduction: defining culture
Because the focus of this project is on understanding the human realm of culture, it uses the qualitative methodology of grounded theory. This approach works on two levels. While its primary emphasis is on empirical data collection with simultaneous comparative analysis, it also requires “theoretical sensitivity” (Strauss & Corbin, 1998b, p. 173-4). This refers to the investigator’s awareness of the concepts and issues which impact on the area of investigation. The substance of this project presumes understanding in several overlapping domains. Exploration of these entailed a double hermeneutic. On one hand the empirical data drove the emergence of grounded theory through within-site and across-site comparison. Parallel to this the conceptual framework also developed as definitions and applications of core concepts were interrogated and deepened. These substantive concepts and the conceptual categories emerging from data collection interacted to interpret each other. The data was therefore explained and given contextual depth through interplay with historical, theological and sociological perspectives. This chapter considers literature in the fields of culture, contemporary schools, the work of teachers, school leadership, Anglicanism in Australia and secularism and faith in contemporary Australia. Insights from all these domains fed into interpretation of the field data.

Investigation in the social sciences is embedded in a context of debate. By its very nature it is study of humans by other humans by means of some form of social interaction, so the distinction between the subject and object of investigation is blurred (e.g. Jaffe & Miller, 1994). As Greenfield (1986, p. 144)
expresses it, “Social science alone deals with the reality of individuals who know and know that they know.” This issue has resulted in much heart-searching among sociologists although increasingly it is now recognized that the assumed neutrality of physical scientific investigation is almost as much an illusion as the now discarded objectivity of positivism in the social sciences (Charmaz, 2009, pp. 128-131; Williams & May, 1996; Wright, 2008). There is possibly no area of greater contention than that of culture which is the selected area of this study.

This is because culture is pre-eminently defined by the meanings attributed by those who belong within any specific culture. Clifford Geertz’s highly influential book, The Interpretation of Cultures (1973) argues that cultural investigation is essentially a semiotic study, whereby the researcher seeks to understand the signs so as to learn what the inhabitants of that culture are saying (p. 14). He also stresses that culture is a public phenomenon because meaning necessarily occurs between people and is communicated through “socially established structures” (p. 12). Applying such an idea to organizations leads Greenfield (1986, p. 150) to see them as “founded in meanings and human intentions.” Since meaning is so central, it is worth pausing to consider what the term denotes. Etymologically it is cognate with the word “mind”; this is helpful in indicating that meaning is “in the mind”. Although meaning has exterior representations and culture can be considered an important example of these, meaning is essentially interior. Cultural researchers therefore seek to uncover what is in people’s minds as they participate in social phenomena.

This points to the crux of the dilemma of cultural studies and the central metaphysical question with which any researcher in the area must grapple: namely, although signs and behaviour are public, meaning cannot be directly accessed. Grappling with the relationship of the social and the interior, Foucault (1972, p. 49) claims that discourses form “objects” such as meanings. From this Ball (1990, p. 2) explains meanings as arising from practices in institutions, especially power relations of the people enmeshed in them. Meaning is private or interior, even though it occurs in social settings and through them. The dilemma impacts not only on the meanings held by those studied in a social science investigation, but also on the meanings the researcher attributes through his/her interactions with the subjects and through the choice of methodology. This is interpretations of interpretations (Geertz, 1973, p. 15; Greenfield, 1986, p. 151). Sociology unavoidably implicates researchers as participants as they synthesise findings about meaning through their own minds (Eisner, 1991, p. 43f.; Giddens, 2001, p. 7; Sayer, 1984, p. 26).
In these contested issues this project takes the position that it is the fundamental nature of human beings to relate to other humans. In other words, that humans are essentially and necessarily social beings with the consequence that interior meanings are expressed in social interaction. This entails the ontological position that human reality consists of a constant interplay in which interior meaning is expressed socially, and social events modify interior meaning. Philosophically consistent with this view is the stance that it is misleading to operate with a dichotomy between subjectivism and objectivism. Sayer (1984, p. 201) points out that “the dualism of subjective and objective is itself highly ambiguous and suspect.” In cultural studies such a dualism tends to manifest itself as an opposition between constructivist views, whereby all meaning is created at two levels, that of participants and that of researcher (Wright, 2008, p. 7), and between positivist views which claim an independent social reality (Martin, 1992, p168-9; Schein, 1992). The position in this dissertation is synthetic, in that it asserts social reality occurs externally at the intersection of private interpretations with the meaning-making of others in response to material events.

Therefore this dissertation deviates from full alignment with Geertz’s symbolic-interpretivism, while endorsing his view that human nature cannot be independent of culture (p. 49). The exterior/interior paradox also has a correspondence to the central empirical finding of the research, which is that Anglican schools are characterised by tension and ambiguity between a conceptualization of religion as social tradition and a conceptualization of religion as personal spirituality.

Although it was recognized at the inception of the research that defining culture is complex, it transpired that in all domains itemised in the dissertation title multiple meanings were manifest. Dealing with this complexity, therefore, became the central problematic of the project. In order to develop theory as to the nature of Anglican schools, it had to explore the meaning of schools as organizations, the character and context of teachers’ work, sociological and theological understandings of religion and the contested and ambiguous meanings of Anglicanism as a religious movement. So the material not only wrestled with the vexed issue of the nature of culture and the influences upon it, but also with meaning in all of the related conceptual areas. Culture has been defined memorably by Max Weber as “a web of meanings we ourselves have spun” (as cited in Geertz, 1973, p. 5; Greenfield, 1986, p. 158; Hatch, 2006, pp. 185, 194). The complexity of meanings in the interconnecting domains that impinged on Anglican school culture may be represented by expanding Weber’s “web” into an image of a colony of spiders spinning individual webs in each domain, where each
strand represents meanings within that domain, and all of the smaller webs connect together into one large edifice, supporting and illuminating the character of Anglican schools in Australia. Webs are transparent and insubstantial or even invisible until they are pressed upon or until they are illuminated from a precise angle. So it is also with the interior worlds of meanings. The task of this project has been to probe and question them and to shine light upon them. Therefore this chapter canvasses research in these domains which has helped in the process of illuminating the data.

2.2. Organizational culture
Since the focus of the study was the staff experience of Anglican schools, the topic was approached through the theoretical framework of organizational culture, a generic term needing further explanation. Although studies were undertaken at specific sites, this is only one level of culture (Alvesson, 1993, p. 75 – 9). Bell and Kent (2010) argue strongly for the importance of external forces in shaping site level culture, especially focusing on what students bring to the equation. Kondra and Hurst (2009, p. 43) usefully describe the concept of the “nesting” of one culture within another. Applying these concepts to the study involves recognition that any Anglican school is situated within its local social demographic, which in turn is nested within the broad societal culture of the twenty-first century, a view supported by Greenfield (1986, p. 148) who claims that organizations are manifestations of the culture in which they are embedded. It also needs to include another strand of nesting: namely that such a school is situated within the sector of independent education which in turn participates in the institution of schooling, and, moreover, as a third parallel cultural strand, that an Anglican school is a sub-institution of the Anglican church which itself is nested within the domain of religious cultures. These layers all have their own cultures, and these are shaped within the domains previously noted: schooling, teachers’ work, religion and Anglicanism.

Clarification of this complicated set of interconnections and its impact on the site study data begins with the central issue of culture within modern Western organizations. Culture has become increasingly central in organizational analysis (Alvesson & Sveningsson, 2008, p. 3; Fineman, 1999, p. 151f.; Hatch, 2004, p. 190; Hofstede, 2005, p. 281f.; Owens, 1995, p. 80; Prosser, 1999, chapt. 1; Vardi & Weitz, 2004, p. 184) but the concept of culture is inherently problematic. Different writers bring varied assumptions as to its meaning and significance. There is therefore still no agreed upon definition of organizational culture, and
researchers’ usage reflects their disciplines and philosophies (Kondra & Hurst, 2009, p. 41).

Cultural studies originated in anthropological and ethnographic investigations of alien or primitive people groups, such as those described by Geertz. Hatch (2006, pp. 180, 191 – 4) describes the impact of symbolic-interpretivist and ethnographical methodologies on organizational studies and notes the subjectivist ontology that normally accompanies it. She goes a step back by relating the culture metaphor to the human cultivation of crops, in other words to humans deliberately shaping and manipulating their environment (p. 178). Given this background, it makes sense that a significant group of theorists see culture as everything in the organization that is human (Meek, 1988, p. 453-4). In the constructivist terms of Martin (1992, p. 12 & chapt. 10) culture is not as a set of empirical facts but a paradigm through which meaning is made. Indeed Meyerson and Martin (1997, p. 31) embrace the whole organization by the term, claiming that “Organizations are cultures.” In such a view all human aspects of the organization are covered by the umbrella of culture which Alvesson (1993, p. 13f., p. 112) calls a “root metaphor” of the organization. However, while it is acknowledged that cultural expression is intrinsic to humanness, such definitions are too broad to be useful, a position made by Meek who criticizes over-simplified social anthropologies and points out that social structures are every bit as foundational as culture. Moreover, a totally constructivist view blurs any distinction between right and wrong interpretations (Sayer, 1984, p. 203) and therefore relativises truth so that research becomes an undiscriminating “thick description” where analysis of meaning becomes secondary. It needs fine balance to maintain both the exteriority of social reality and also its intertwining in interior understandings but taking either position to its logical absolute ends up being misleading.

An organizational culture study such as the present one has to modify Geertz’s (1973, p. 24) assumption that the central challenge is to gain access to an unknown conceptual world. For organizational culture the question is what the organization means to those within it and to those investigating it. Writers have given many answers. One of the seminal definitions of culture has been that of Edgar Schein (1992, p. 12): “A pattern of shared basic assumptions that the group learned as it solved its problems of external adaptation and internal integration.” Other organizational theorists typically either draw on this or react against it. Examples are the minimal rewording of the line by Wood et al. (2006, p. 310) as “the system of shared beliefs and values that develops within an organization and
guides the behaviour of its members”, or that of Lewis (2001, p. 123) as “basic assumptions that people in an organization hold and share about that organization. Those assumptions are implied in their shared feelings, beliefs and values and embodied in symbols, processes, forms and some aspects of patterned group behaviour.” Owens (1995, p. 81) explains and expands the core concepts: “Culture is a system of shared values and beliefs that interact with an organization’s people, organizational structures, and control systems to produce behavioural norms. In practical terms, ‘shared values’ means ‘what is important’; ‘beliefs’ means ‘what we think is true’; and ‘behavioural norms’ means ‘how we do things around here’.” There are several aspects of these definitions which bear scrutiny, each paralleling Schein’s three levels of culture, namely assumptions, values and artefacts.

The first matter to explore is the stress Schein (1992) puts on deep but unconscious assumptions (e.g. pp. 16, 22, 16, 90). This is pivotal to his exposition of culture. He presents these as the essence of culture and as drivers of a relentless striving towards patterning and integration (p. 11). He develops the idea of “artefacts”, those visible behaviours and processes which are justified by espoused values but which are inspired by hidden assumptions (p. 16). Although many theorists reject Schein’s sociological functionalism and there are problems with his assumption of a normative strong, cohesive culture and of managerial control of it, his insistence on looking beneath the surface for the essence of culture is enlightening and normally acceded to by academic researchers, if not by populist culture engineers, such as those shown up in Alvesson and Sveningsson’s (2008) thorough empirical case study research on cultural change programs. Alvesson’s (1993, chapt. 3) earlier work gives critical focus to the ‘taken-for-granted’ patterns of meaning and the “confusion of management ideology with culture”, which is developed in his later study (Alvesson & Sveningsson, 2008), which explores different referents for culture and uses the term “hyperculture” for ideology. “Hyperculture” is similar to Schein’s “espoused values”. It is contrasted to “anthropological culture” (Alvesson and Sveningsson, 2008, chapt. 9, 10) and this is a key distinction to be grasped in the Anglican schools project. Alvesson and Sveningsson directly link anthropological culture in organizations to its origins in ethnography and remark that it is what is “given” (p. 137). This points to the fact that underlying assumptions of anthropological culture are unexamined and unproblematic. On the other hand, often what is referred to as “culture” is hyperculture which they describe as “broadly shared and easily accessible espoused ideals, not so much what is really believed in” (p. 129). One challenge of researching Anglican school culture was to
get beneath the hyperculture of mission statements and motherhood remarks about community and friendly relations, and to problematize and unearth the ‘real’ culture which staff experienced and which drove their actions, a task for which the methodology of grounded theory proved to be well suited.

Secondly all descriptions of culture operate in some way with the concept of what is “shared” among group members. However what exactly is shared is subject to much discussion. The assumption of functionalist theorists is that it is values and beliefs which are shared and which thus issue in common types of behaviour. But this is highly debatable. As Meyerson and Martin (1997) point out in their summary article and as Martin (1992) explores at length in an empirical setting, there are three competing views on this matter. What they call the “integration” view is that of Schein who describes a strong culture dominated by visionary leadership. However they also draw attention to a “differentiation” perspective which draws on the evidence for competing subcultures in organizations and they even more strongly advocate recognition of ambiguity and flux, where participants do not have permanent assumptions in common but operate in changing coalitions with individual meanings deriving from the person’s multiple identities beyond the organization. The leadership-centric view, especially the American emphasis on corporate heroes, is critiqued by Hofstede (2005, p. 286). There is plenty of evidence that all people in any given organization do not have the same values. The developing area of Organizational Misbehaviour sheds light on this, raising questions about how normative is Schein’s “strong cohesive culture”. Ackroyd and Thompson’s (1999) study of organizational misbehaviour points to non-compliance due to conflicting interests and alternative identities among employees. Vardi and Weitz (2004) describe both the ubiquity of organizational misbehaviour and how it was long ignored by researchers. They define it in terms of defiance of norms and as “value-breaking” (p. 32). Heterogeneity is also attested by all the studies which major in subcultures (e.g. Ball, 1993; Bell & Kent, 2010, p. 24; de Brabander, 1993; Siskin, 1994) and, in the form of subject or year level balkanization, its ubiquity in schools is demonstrated by A. Hargreaves (1992, 1994). The role of individual interests is suggested by information about bullying of teachers (Riley, Duncan & Edwards, 2009). Those who query the validity of shared values suggest that what is in common is orientation to specific issues or they draw on Weber’s concept of the web of meanings to highlight social interconnectedness in constructing significance (Martin, 1992, p. 152f.). A recent study which attempts to synthesise these approaches is that of Kondra and Hurst (2009) with its analysis of how culture is maintained through isomorphic, mimetic and normative processes.
Thirdly, what is much more open to investigation is actual behaviour, and the family of definitions following Schein focus on the idea of patterned actions. Culture is seen when humans bring order and regularity to their group life. Behaviour is behind some more generic definitions of culture such as Hatch’s (2006, p. 177) “particular way of life among a people or community” and the laconic but unforgettable definition used by Deal and Kennedy (1983, p. 14) that “culture is an informal understanding of ‘the way we do things around here’.” Here the key word is ‘do’, supported by an interior ‘understanding’. Patterns of observable behaviour, including rituals and symbols, are the most concrete indicators of culture, but their meaning is notoriously difficult to ascertain and there is confusion over whether culture is the behaviour or is inferred from it (Lewis, 2001, p. 122; Schein, 1992, p. 18). This issue brings one right back to the relationship between interior meanings and their social expression. In terms of explaining this relationship, there are some interesting social psychological theories, such as that of Lakomski (2001) who claims that cultural pattern-making can be attributed to cognitive processes whereby the brain creates schemas from the regular occurrences in life. The idea is echoed and reversed in the definition of culture as “mental phenomena...[that] guide behaviour rather than the behaviour as such” (Alvesson & Sveningsson, 2008, p. 36). In his classic comparative analysis of dimensions of culture, Hofstede (2005) calls this “software of the mind” and links inner beliefs and outer actions through this definition: “Culture ...is a set of likely reactions of citizens with a common mental programming” (p. 167). The link between beliefs, meaning and behaviour is even supported by the classical organizational theorist and sociological positivist, Weick (1969, p. 28 – 29), although he cautions against too much attention to the interior phenomena and not enough to description of the actual behaviours.

The constructivist position shies away from reducing culture simply to actions. Actions undoubtedly do depend on beliefs, but the position of this paper would endorse Hatch’s (2006, p. 210 - 11) point that this is not sequential but circular, whereby each influences the other. The key point is that the observable social reality, even if one takes the realist position that it exists independently of interpreters’ understandings, is nevertheless inextricably bound up in human meanings. As Alvesson and Sveningsson (2008, p. 121) express it, humans “do something with it.” The idea of patterned actions as definitive of culture is most strongly contested by those with a postmodern perspective such as those embracing fiction to enhance understanding of the “complex problematics of organizational life” (Lilley & McKinlay, 2009, p. 130) and those such as Martin (1992) who emphasise its ambiguity and fragmentation, or A. Hargreaves (1994)
who uses the term “moving mosaic” to indicate the unpredictability of the postmodern condition of contemporary schooling. Weick’s (1969, p. 15) comment that several research traditions all bear evidence that “persons continually vacillate between uniting with and disbanding from associates” reinforces such an ambiguity. In describing her three basic perspectives Martin notes that all have a “tautological problem” in that they fail to see what does not confirm them (pp.65, 157). Thus, researchers’ interpretation of actions may be framed by their preconceptions. This is a warning heeded in the current project where primacy was given to theory generation through responsiveness to empirical data.

If one concentrates on the purportedly shared meanings behind any behavioural regularities, discovering where these are located is fraught with difficulty. Patterns of behaviour are not self-evidently due to shared underlying assumptions, values or meanings. Weick (1969, p. 43) in fact defines an organization in terms of “interlocked behaviours” without any reference to motivating meanings, while Hofstede (2005, p. 286) claims organizational culture is distinguished not by shared values but by common practices. Patterned behaviour can be due to enforcement by power-holders. For example Fleming (2009) emphasises the dominance of control even in the supposedly contemporary “fun culture” of “being yourself” and uses the definition of an organization as “an ordered arrangement of individual human interactions” (p. 17). The weight of an institution’s norms and the force of external agencies also pattern behaviour. School examples would be the secondary school structure of lesson periods and the timetables of bus companies which regularly determine hours of attendance. Bennett (1997) notes that teachers themselves have quite conflicting ways of thinking about their work and concludes that differentiated subcultures in schools may be more the norm than cohesive ones. All of the open systems theory points to the interdependence of the organization with external systems and processes (Bell & Kent, 2010; Hanna, 1997; A. Hargreaves, 1992; Martin, 1992; Millett, 2001, p. 116f.; Sarason, 1982, chapt. 1; Sayer, 1984, p. 112-121; Weick, 1969, pp. 25-27). Hatch (2004, pp. 193, 199 - 200) describes various theoretical interpretations of how both external and internal processes produce cultural change; with schools, in particular, government regulation and market forces determine their parameters of operation (Gough, 2009; Power & Whitty, 1999; Reid, 2009). Shared values prove slippery as foundations for culture.
2.3. Emotions, relationships and cultural meanings

One aspect of culture that is given only fleeting reference in the standard analyses is that of feelings. It could be argued that feelings are the emotional expression of meanings. Feelings also illustrate the circular personal-social interaction in that they are normally triggered by external events, experienced internally and then expressed externally. Because of bureaucratic and depersonalised norms of organizational behaviour, the significance of feelings is often not recognized, although the literature on the experience of work makes them more overt (Day & Bakioglu, 1996; Fleming, 2009; Hammersley, 1999; A. Hargreaves, 1992, pp. 223-226; A. Hargreaves, 2003, p. 114; McLaughlin, 1993; Vandenberghe & Huberman, 1999).

The present concern is to apply cultural theory to give a definition of culture appropriate to the research project so comment will be limited to Fineman’s (2000) anthology on emotion. Of particular interest is the chapter by Sandelands and Boudens which demonstrates the group nature of feelings. When they evaluate their workplace, people invariably focus on their relationships with others. This was certainly borne out in interviews with teachers in the current project, where the primacy of the student – teacher relationship was very clear. Other chapters deal with feelings that were very significant in interviewees’ experience. Harlos and Pinder describe how fear and anger accompany perceived injustice, creating what some interviewees in one Anglican school designated a “culture of fear”, a phrase which clearly links emotion and cultural meanings at least in the eyes of members. Its opposite would be a “culture of trust” (Fullan, 2005, pp. 60, 72). These more positive emotions are explored in the chapter, Narratives of Compassion in Organizations, where the authors (Frost, Dutton, Worline & Wilson, p. 26) note that “organizations create an emotional ecology where care and human connection are enabled or disabled”. Here the term “emotional ecology” directs attention to the cultural significance of human emotion. Fineman’s (p. 13) own description of emotions in organizations correlates well with Martin’s (1992) fragmentation perspective on culture. Fineman describes organizational emotional ecology as “negotiative” and changing, subject to political influence, shaped by memories in both groups and individuals, often fleeting and inchoate, blurring the distinction between public and private. The potential for emotion to shape underlying assumptions is captured in the words of Waldron (2000, p. 69) “[Emotion] is a lingering residue, a buzz, sometimes a contagion that spreads through an organization in a chain of interaction until it finally fades from public view.” And having been submerged, one could postulate that it then becomes one of the hidden currents of “givens”
that support culture. As predicted by Sandelands and Boudens (p. 53f.) and Wood et al. (2006, p. 314) interviewees regularly expressed feelings through stories, and especially in the case of DAS, they constructed narratives that reflected deep emotions of insecurity and fear, which shaped a culture of division and suspicion.

Specific consideration has been given to emotion since the site study research suggests that this area provides an entry point for refining and clarifying the traditional descriptions of organizational culture. The central tension of culture is to understand how the interior dimension of meanings and the exterior dimension of behaviour are linked. Attentiveness to feelings yields insights in two areas. Firstly, feelings revealed by participants in a culture, particularly when they are strong, are a window into the hidden world of assumptions and values. Feelings of outrage indicate important values that have been violated, and feelings of commitment, loyalty and compassion indicate what people judge to be important and with whom they are allied. Feelings of frustration are often pointers to what cannot be changed, the “givens” – that is, underlying operating assumptions. Secondly, feelings are invariably person-directed; they coalesce around people or the actions of certain people, and therefore point to another significant factor of culture, namely its relationship orientation. In the preceding definitions the use of the word, “shared”, hints at this, but does not explicate the continual dynamic of personal relationships within the workplace.

This dissertation will work with a definition of culture that gives greater prominence to relationships and feelings. This stance is supported by the findings of Geijsel, Meijers and Wardekker (2007) who emphasize the emotional and relationship dimensions of leadership. In doing this, the paper moves somewhat from the functionalist emphasis, while retaining some very helpful categories derived from these theorists, particularly the stress on hidden assumptions. While it does not go so far as total constructivism wherein all reality resides in the sense-makers, it agrees that the essence of culture does lie in meanings, meanings probably created individually but modified and expressed socially, so that individuals’ separate meanings come together through their relationships in the organization, and, using Martin’s (1992, p. 153) explanation of the ambiguity paradigm, are triggered by specific common issues. As Geertz (1973) claims, this gives meanings a public dimension in the space between people. Since relationships are rarely static, a relationship orientation to culture recognises that it is formed in a continually fluctuating milieu where cultural values are both transmitted and questioned and which is a location also for the testing of interior meaning construction in the external realm of society. This follows the ontology of
social philosopher, Sayer (1984, pp. 33 – 57, 77, 213) who maintains the independence of subject and object while simultaneously acknowledging the ongoing construction of meaning through social contexts and the consequent inherent incompleteness of social explanations. This approach to culture highlights the essential interdependence of interior meaning and social expression of it while rejecting the position that culture is only constituted by interpretation. This is consistent with Greenfield’s (1986) view of organizations as non-natural expressions of human will and with McKenna’s (2001) concept that the social world of work provides meaning for personal identity. It also has synergetic consistency with the project’s methodology, since the essence of grounded theory is meaning which is tightly tied into empirical data (Stern, 2009, p. 57-8).

Thus culture is not premised on shared values driving integration, but on the social negotiation of compatible meanings which issue in common behaviours in response to institutional “givens”. These are continually renegotiated in the light of organizational relationships and many non-cultural factors that impact on them. Entailed in this definition is the fact that if assumptions change as to what is given, or behaviour changes such that relationships undergo serious realignment, culture also will change. The degree of cultural homogeneity, differentiation or ambiguity within any organization will depend largely on human relationships and the depth of emotion triggered by particular people, processes or beliefs.

2.4. Schools, culture and effectiveness

Cultural change is, in fact, one area of great interest to theorists, and an area which highlights an important philosophical divergence between what Alvesson (1996) calls positivist-functionalist sociologists and subjectivist-interpretivist theorists. The object of the former is to understand culture with the instrumental purpose of enabling managers to manipulate it to increase productivity, while the central concern of subjectivist-interpretivists is meaning and the underlying messages about human nature and society inherent in culture. Caldwell & Spinks (1992), Deal & Kennedy (1983), Fullan (2005), Kondra & Hurst (2009), Lewis (2001), Schein (1992) and Wood et al. (2006) fall into the former category, while Alvesson (1996, 2002, 2008), Fineman (2000), Geertz (1973), Greenfield (1986) and Meek (1988) belong more in the latter. Fleming (2009) is one writer who strikingly critiques instrumentalism by describing examples of artificial manipulation of culture to encourage the display of ersatz personal “authenticity” among employees. According to Greenfield’s (1986) analysis, the positivists assume there is an order to society governed by a natural law that can be uncovered and applied globally. They usually reduce cultural complexity to
prescriptive programs and taxonomies which deal with “hyperculture” and ignore the interior cultural foundation and the unseen drivers of actions and attitudes which are deeply embedded in the organizational psyche. As is pointed out by several theorists, it is extremely hard to establish a link between culture and performance (e.g. Lewis, 2001, p. 125).

The areas of performance and change will be covered more briefly than the central concept of culture since they are of more secondary interest to this study, although awareness of the tensions revealed through the data implies intentional action. As Prosser (1999, p. 7) notes, current research on culture usually occurs in association with something else. In the case of schools, the largest body of literature gravitates around concepts of school effectiveness and its corollary, school improvement, and insights from such studies have contributed to understanding of the institutional context in which the individual sites were nested. A relevant example is that of Stoll (1999), whose concern with school effectiveness and improvement leads to explicit examination of school culture. The article discusses examples of innovations which have failed due to cultural influences. Stoll records some useful typologies of school cultures and draws attention to the distinct institutional culture of schooling, noting, for instance, the significance of a school’s local and societal contexts, pupil demographic and level of schooling. On the last point, teachers in the Anglican schools in the research project regularly commented that the culture in the primary department was different to that at secondary level. Stoll’s chapter also neatly summarises the shaping factors as “history, context and people” (p. 33), themes which recurred in the Anglican schools studied.

Understandings of school effectiveness vary. In the contemporary environment of marketization and accountability (Power and Whitty, 1999) which are important for independent schools, effectiveness is frequently defined as performing well in testing regimes. This has exploded in the contemporary Australian context with the federal government’s publication in 2010 of school achievement data based on NAPLAN literacy and numeracy testing. The validity of this measure of school effectiveness has been widely questioned by educators such as the Chief Executive Officer of AHISA, Shaw (2009) and Caro and Donnelly (2010), principals of schools (e.g. Collier, 2010) and Education Unions who for a time threatened not to administer the tests (Patty, 2010). The contemporary debate parallels earlier concepts such as Sarason’s (1982) premise that effective school culture would facilitate externally driven change, particularly curriculum revision, and that of Deal and Kennedy (1983, p. 15) who talk in terms of strong school cultures
“improving educational productivity”. On view here is an essentially instrumental view of culture which is able to be manipulated by school leaders for effectiveness.

The school effectiveness studies remind us that the core task of schools is learning. As Alvesson (1993, p. 66) argues, too many cultural studies neglect the central task of the organization in their descriptions of rituals and values, yet the task is critical. Certainly in the site study schools, teachers’ focus on student learning was continually reiterated and indeed negative cultural features were brushed aside if this core business could be accomplished. David Hargreaves (1999, p. 63), writing to school leaders, stresses that the “core of school improvement” lies in the classroom, where leaders actually have the least influence. He also applies within an educational setting the dual interior and exterior dimensions to culture. Concrete features such as physical environment and social structures of power and status are critical for any cultural change, and D. Hargreaves, (1999, p. 62) makes a key claim that changing behaviour comes first and “attitudes follow suit.” This assertion is based on arguing that inner beliefs are very resistant to change. David Hargreaves (1995, p. 25) also stresses the importance of “maintaining good social relationships” to have positive cultures, thus reinforcing the centrality of relationships, as already argued earlier in this chapter. More nuanced than some functionalist models, the article notes that school culture may be a cause, an object or an effect of school improvement (D. Hargreaves, 1995, p. 41). For the purposes of the current study, school effectiveness and improvement studies such as these alert us to considering whether the culture of Anglican schools enhances or detracts from their religious identity and mission. As later chapters will argue, the evidence suggests that the dominant culture is formed by the mores of independent schooling rather than of religious values, producing paradox and ambiguity.

School cultural studies parallel wider organizational studies in showing two emphases: some are concerned with culture as an instrument for improvement, while more interpretivist studies focus on meaning and on the complexity of the social world of the school. The interpretivist approach is particularly relevant for Anglican school culture. For instance Andy Hargreaves’ extensive writings about the work and culture of teachers help define the social context which impacted on the site study schools where there were pressures to conform to business goals and to demanding workloads. He discusses the changes to schools and teachers when a modernist school system confronts the complex conditions of postmodernity (A. Hargreaves, 1994, p. 29). He describes one response to this as a retreat into the familiarity of modernity, of which the Australian Federal

Andy Hargreaves distinguishes between the content of culture and its “form”, which he defines as “patterns of relationships and forms of association between members of the culture” (A. Hargreaves, 1992, p. 219), providing another instance where a relationship orientation to culture is emphasised. One of his most important contributions has been in describing generic cultures of teaching, particularly forms of collaborative culture and the concept of contrived collegiality, whereby collaboration is enforced through formal structured consultation and administrative control, rather than being a genuine relationship-based sharing and support network. Responding to these ideas, Cavanagh (2004, p. 31) helpfully distinguishes collaboration (interactions based on sharing instructional information) and collegiality (inter-personal relationships which support colleagues) while Fielding (1999, p. 16) defines collaboration as “instrumental” and collegiality as “communal”. These explanations connect to ideas already previously described: collaboration is task centred while collegiality is relationship centred. In terms of this paper’s conceptualisation of culture as an interdependence of the external and the internal, collaboration corresponds to external behaviour and collegiality corresponds to inner meanings expressed in social relationships.

In the first part of this chapter the point was made that Anglican schools are nested within the institution of schooling and within societal culture. A. Hargreaves’ work (1994, 2003) is particularly valuable in delineating key issues in these arenas such as the intensification of teachers’ work, the construction of “time” in the school and values like collaboration and trust. Other literature also concentrates on the meanings embedded in school cultures. Handy and Aitken’s (1986) much-quoted book, Understanding Schools as Organizations defines four possible leadership cultures for schools: club, role, task or person-centred cultures. These were helpful models. Hoyle (1982) introduced the concept of micropolitics in educational organizations, a concept extensively explored by Ball
(1993). Although culture is not the explicit focus of Ball’s book, it identifies some significant factors which affect culture, such as ideology, conflict, leadership, foci on pastoral or academic goals and relational allegiances. Micropolitics is often central to the meaning-making of teachers interpreting their culture. The school effectiveness literature was particularly valuable in clarifying such institutional contexts.

PART 2: SOCIETY AND SCHOOLS IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

As already mentioned, in understanding culture and its meanings, it is important to consider the key activities of the organization. As site studies were carried out, interviews directed increasing attention to the core rationale of schools, the task of teaching and learning. All teachers interviewed saw the relationship to their students as absolutely central. However other factors and attitudes were impinging on this. Two were particularly significant. At HAS and implicitly at DAS the issue of corporatisation was a defining theme. At EAS participants repeatedly raised the issue of teacher workload, also of some concern at HAS. These two issues have implications in two major areas. The first is the relationship between individual schools and the external cultures in which they are situated or “nested” to use Kondra & Hurst’s (2009) term. The second is various conceptualisations and expectations that the teachers take towards the actual work of teaching. Both of these contribute to organizational culture at the site level.

2.5. Accountability and marketization

First to be considered is the significance of societal trends in shaping and limiting possibilities within any school site. There are two major factors here which impact Anglican schools. First is the common character they share with all sectors of schooling which not only have a common task, but are accountable to government for their fulfilment of that task. Second, within the institution of schooling, Anglican schools lie in the independent sector. Consequently they are shaped by business and market imperatives much more directly than their state counterparts. Wilkins (2002, p. 122) claims that school autonomy is a “mirage” since increased intervention by governments is changing the shape of teachers’ work, often causing conflict between professional values and national policies. Although Wilkins wrote in the British context, this appears to be a global phenomenon of the twenty-first century. Such tensions are very evident in Australia and are behind the shift towards more corporate cultures in the Anglican schools studied.
Schooling has changed. The work required of teachers has changed and some of the substantial body of literature documenting this will be summarised shortly. What it means is that any school or system is located in a broader educational environment which shapes culture fully as much as any local or ideological influences. That is, several levels of influence combine to construct culture in any given school. The changes have been coming for a long time and are a response to general social trends in an era which Hunt (2001, p. 3-4) describes as a transition period between “the industrial age and the information era.” Fifteen years ago Robertson (1996) analysed the maelstrom of restructuring and reconceptualisation affecting Australian teachers and showed how these were driven by economic and political forces. Starratt (1993b) had already noted that government and industry saw schools as being there to serve state and economic interests. Increasingly this impetus has snowballed to take control of the agenda of schooling. Robertson describes how an image of the productive worker contributing to a strong national economy has become the dominating goal of education, with a concomitant removal of both ideological and technical control from teachers and greatly intensified work expectations. The pattern described by Robertson is part of a global trend (Goodson & Hargreaves, 1996; Vandenberghe & Huberman, 1999). Indeed Marshall & Ball (1999, p. 82) can claim that “increasingly teachers’ energies...must be invested not in the work of teaching itself but in accounting for the work of teaching.”

Locally the trend had culminated by 2010 in a mandated Australian curriculum and in the first draft of National Professional Standards for Teachers. The potentially negative impact of measuring teacher competency in this way has been canvassed at length by teacher professionals (e.g. Professional Educator, 2011). Such policies make teachers accountable to deliver government objectives, a point accentuated by the publication of comparative data on schools in the My School Website with its competitive orientation. There is also active discussion of performance related pay. These changes have elicited controversial comment as educators have fought back, advocating more educational and less pragmatic values for schools. For example Kemmis (2010) claims there is "a day-to-day struggle between education and schooling" and urges teachers to take time to ignore the official agendas and focus on connecting to their students and changing their lives and their horizons. Reid’s (2009) analysis of the Rudd government’s National Agenda gives strong evidence for how external political forces impact on schools. He explains the mixed public and private goals of education and the recent shift to an economic purpose overriding both. He also gives examples of how governments use funding to pursue specific educational agendas and is
scathing about the mismatch between the societal challenges identified in the National Curriculum document and a curriculum itself which is a “reprise of the past” (p. 7). Based on research evidence he strongly refutes the use of high stakes testing to ensure accountability, and summarises the underlying philosophy as that of the competitive marketplace. Gough (2009), using the motif of anxiety, lists a series of recent government actions which are negative for education and he explores the concept of complexity reduction in the national educational documents. He quotes Kenneth Davidson’s article in *The Age* in November, 2008 that publication of comparative rating data “is toxic when it is applied to the Australian system of education apartheid that allows the middle class to avoid its responsibilities to public education and provides a financial incentive to do so.” Such comments are significant for Anglican schools which are embedded within middle class independent education. Subsequent remarks will examine this positioning more closely.

Shaw (2009), addressing an independent school audience, clearly links education in general to its nested subculture of independent schooling. He criticises the narrowness of the criteria being used by government to assess school performance and argues that school climate is a better indicator of school effectiveness as it measures a broad range of factors. Sometimes the term “climate” is used interchangeably with “culture”, but both Shaw and this dissertation use it more tightly. Lewis (2001, p. 124) defines organizational climate as a “measure of job satisfaction”; transferring this idea to schools would direct attention in addition to measures of student and family well-being. Vardi and Weitz (2004) specify the existence of “ethical climate” as a subset of the overall culture. Mackenzie (2007) shows the connections between teacher working conditions, teacher morale and climate. School climate specifically refers to the level of congeniality and positive commitment within the school community, especially the quality of relationships (Gunbayi, 2007), and closely related to this is good communication which Olekalns (2001, p. 205) defines as the “lifeblood of organizations”. Shaw explicitly relates climate to the market environment of independent schools, claiming that they invest in climate because it adds value to students and can even be related to higher tertiary entrance points. Good school climate on this reckoning is a selling point, and an alternative way of envisaging effectiveness.

2.6. Independent education

So while the preceding remarks refer to the general context of schooling in contemporary Australia where an accountability agenda puts all schools in competition, such a perspective has a particular edge when applied to the level of
independent education in which Anglican schools are situated, and it shifts the emphasis directly to the realm of corporate marketing. If as Shaw suggests, good school climate, especially positive relationships, is what attracts clients, the implication is that the indisputable growth of the independent sector is testimony to its promotion of positive climates. The characteristics of independent schooling would prove highly significant in placing Anglican schools and defining their culture as the data in this project unfolded, so examining that level of schooling is important. The growth of the sector is well-documented. For example Donnelly (Caro & Donnelly, 2009) claims that in the decade 1998 to 2008 non-government sector enrolments grew by a massive 21.9% compared to only 1.1% for government school enrolments. The large-scale Staff in Australian School Survey (McKenzie, Kos, Walker & Hong, 2008) gives statistical evidence supporting the growth of the independent sector. In examining the social composition of student cohorts and the clear connection between high socio-economic status and good school climate and outcomes, Perry (2007) notes that Australia has one-third of students in non-state schools, most of them belonging to the higher social classes, and therefore helping to shape positive academic climates in these schools. Proctor’s (2008) study focuses on the choices of teachers as parents. She uses census data to show that the move to independent schooling was most marked among middle class families and she shows that not only are more teachers employed in non-government education than in the past, but that the non-Catholic independent sector registers the most dramatic growth, more than doubling its market share over the last thirty years of the twentieth century.

A significant text in analysing this trend is that of Campbell, Proctor and Sherington (2008) who used mixed methodologies to examine changes in educational consumption and reasons for parents choosing particular schools or sectors of education. They deliberately use the term “corporate” to denote the established independent schools. The book overviews the shifts between 1976 and 2001 revealed in the census data, commenting on the very different social worlds of these eras (p. 60). It places the current marketization of education in its historical context, and testifies to the continuing power of the English public school tradition and its ideals of character formation in influencing educational consumers in an era of school choice (pp. 43, 55). The book categorises middle class educational consumers, using qualitative data to interpret the values, family traditions and religious influences which guide parents in choosing schools. It catalogues how anxiety about government school resources, undisciplined students, academically unmotivated peers or incompatible ethnic groups, combined with aspirations to retain or develop social capital, have driven a trend.
away from state comprehensive high schools, towards either selective highs or

The title of Campbell, Proctor and Sherington’s book, *School Choice*, indicates a

The theme of marketization and choice is repeated in much other scholarly literature not to

The Christian schooling movement a process of gentrification whereby the spiritual

the Anglican schools studied in

It indicates a transformation in the fundamental meaning of education from interpreting it as a public good which is controlled by professional teachers, to seeing it as a consumable product regulated by the market and by political priorities. A recent study which further examined parental choice using the concept of the brand image of different sectors is that of Goh (2007), whose results confirm those of Campbell et al. that government schools have a poor image, thus fuelling private sector enrolments. Further evidence is provided by data such as the ACT government School Movement Survey (2007, p. 3) which reports that quality of education (65%) and school culture (63%) were the outstanding reasons given for moving children to an ACT non-government school. It would appear that Shaw is correct in his assertion that good climate, sometimes conceptualised as “cultural capital”, “positive values” or “individualised options” is
the significant drawcard for independent schooling, and one they must promote in a competitive market.

The literature on independent schooling in contemporary Australia unequivocally testifies to the importance of social meanings in shaping their character. Not only are they situated within the context of early third millennium schooling with its accountability and performance agendas (English, 2009) but they are positioned there as schools deliberately chosen to mark the social and ideological identity of their clients and their teachers. This is a dimension which will be picked up further in exploring the problem of the religious identity of Anglican independent schools, but first the effects on the actual task of teaching and the expectations of teachers in the era of accountability need to be evaluated. These are significant forces which contribute to the experience of teachers within particular schools and which therefore shape the emotions, meanings and relationships in which they engage and from which culture is constructed.

2.7 The work of teachers
2.7.1 Motivation to teach
One online survey of staff in Australian schools (McKenzie et al., 2008, p. 34) found that 82% of secondary school teachers had joined the profession for reasons of personal fulfilment and 92% because they enjoyed their subject discipline. The authors point out that such intrinsic motivations are well-attested in international literature, despite the contemporary interest in using remuneration to attract teachers. In an article exploring this concept, Patrickson (2001) quotes evidence of the dubiousness of claims that good teaching can be bought by good pay. A. Hargreaves (1999, p. 87) bluntly states that “teachers don’t teach for money” and in Huberman’s (1993a, pp. 114, 252) sample, financial rewards did not even rate, with teachers nominating their greatest rewards coming from wonderful classes

Information like this directs attention to the core task of teaching and teachers’ conception of their role and how that influences school cultures. Both the exterior strand of social forces and also the interior strand of teachers’ own understandings of their role interact reflexively to modify each other in the creation of cultural meaning (Hatch, 2006, p. 210). As stated earlier in this review, these matters became part of the interpretive dilemma of the research when interviewees reported preoccupations with workload and with corporatisation in their daily professional experiences. Examination of the task of teaching moves this review into what A. Hargreaves (1992) calls “cultures of teaching” where the spotlight is
on actual classroom practice and on the psychological, and perhaps spiritual, experience of teaching. Each affects relationships, emotions, values and behaviours. In other words, each affects meanings, which in turn construct culture. Teachers conceptualise their task in different ways, so they may live in different “assumptive worlds” (Bennett, 1997, p. 48). They belong to multiple educational communities which influence their identity and the meanings they contribute to the culture of a particular school (Talbert and McLaughlin, 1996). In particular, for secondary teachers the subject department is central (Ball, 1981; Siskin, 1994). Despite the passage of time since these studies, they are seminal in defining an area which continues to be critical for how individual secondary teachers understand their school’s culture, as was evident in my conversations in Anglican schools.

As the research progressed it became clear that external market and accountability agendas were intruding on an older vision of the teacher’s role as student-centred and knowledge-based. This is in full accord with all research on teacher motivation and with overseas studies showing loss of morale caused by mandated changes (e.g. Huberman, 1989). A highly significant area that emerged in relationship to motivation and reward was that of the psychological contract. McKenna (2001, p. 43) defines this as “an open-ended agreement concerned with the social and emotional aspects of exchange between the employer and employee … founded on trust.” When this trust is violated, perhaps by external forces such as government interventions, typically employees withdraw commitment and may even engage in aggression or undermining behaviour (Vardi & Weitz, 2004; Marchant, 2001). Leiter (1999, p. 203) refers to the psychological contract as “a set of assumptions and expectations between individuals and the organizations within which they work. Changes in today’s social context have altered the meaning of work.” Current economic rationalist approaches clash with teachers’ value-driven objectives. Likewise Sergiovanni (1999) distinguishes two broad school cultures, one defined by market priorities and one defined by community values. In the latter case virtue is the controlling mental framework but he sadly concludes that “when market values invade community settings, they drive virtue away” (p. 265). The psychological contract is closely related to intrinsic motivation, which, in the form of personal satisfaction, has already been mentioned as being of prime significance for contemporary Australian teachers. Intrinsic motivation is explored by Patrickson (2001, p. 25) who, significantly for this dissertation’s concept of culture being negotiated through organizational relationships, describes intrinsic rewards as “inner experiences of well-being which are mediated through interpersonal interaction.” For Sergiovanni (1992,
pp. 24 – 27) the ultimate motivator is the action coming from a moral commitment. Moreover as Cerit (2009, pp. 605-6) shows in his review of recent literature, intrinsic and relational rewards promote better teaching and therefore better student outcomes. However, both the psychological contract and intrinsic motivation and reward are increasingly under threat in the context of contemporary schooling.

2.7.2 Teachers and stress

A fascinating resource and a goldmine for understanding the changing psychological experience of teaching is Vandenberghe and Huberman’s (1999) compilation of writings, which uses data from America, Britain and several European countries to analyse issues of teacher stress and burnout globally. These chapters document how teachers’ vision of meaning has been undermined causing stress, loss of morale and lowered commitment. They deal with issues such as role conflict and reduced autonomy and burnout caused by National Curriculum and assessments in England (Smylie, 1999; Woods, 1999); the effect of a sense of inconsequentiality (Farber, 1999); erosion of relationship-based culture (Nias, 1999) and extra demands and pressure in Holland, Belgium and the USA (De Hues and Diekstra, 1999; Kelchtermans, 1999; Miller, 1999; Sleegers, 1999). A couple of aspects covered in Vandenberghe and Huberman’s book were particularly illuminating. The first was the core topic of stress, covering the continuum between minor stress to complete burnout and its effect on teachers’ performance. Most writers use Maslach and Jackson’s (1986) conception of burnout as composed of the three components of emotional exhaustion, depersonalization and reduced personal accomplishment. Leiter (1999) particularly applies this to teachers, and among those interviewed at the three Anglican schools were certainly those displaying these symptoms.

The other aspect relevant to analysis of school culture is research which considers the causal links between institutional environment, including culture, and teachers’ wellbeing or stress. Maslach’s model itself incorporates organizational characteristics. Byrne’s (1999) review of research on teacher burnout identifies key ones as being role conflict, ambiguity, time and class structures, student management policies, decision-making potential and external educational forces. Woods (1999) usefully distinguishes the micro, meso and macro factors that combine to affect teacher stress. Micro refers to the individual’s personal psychology, meso to the specific school and macro to global and societal trends. In terms of the wider social context, he quotes Apple (1986) who early on drew attention to the growing intensification of teachers’ work. Apple writes of the
growth of administrative tasks and the breakdown of the nexus between policy-making and execution. This is a classic Marxist conception of the alienation of workers in the production process, and leads to the conclusion that teachers are increasingly being made technicians, not professionals. There is indeed a whole debate in literature dealing with teacher professionalism. A recent article by McLennan (2009) presents evidence for a decline in educational quality as good teachers exodus schools, stressed by curriculum change, reporting schedules, rapidly changing technologies and inclusion policies. Several writers stress the importance of teacher control of their work in giving them a sense of well-being or, where it is lacking, of stress (Farber, 1999; Helsby & McCulloch, 1996; Huberman, 1989; Nias, 1999; Schwarzer & Greenglas, 1999), while a recent preliminary study of over one hundred middle school teachers in Hong Kong, confirmed that the emotional intelligence and relational ability of immediate supervisors appeared significant in teachers’ job satisfaction (Wong, Wong & Peng, 2010).

The research of Huberman (1989, 1993a) is informative on the generic experience of teaching, providing a framework to interpret the narratives of the individual teachers interviewed and the meanings they attributed to their experiences. His studies of Swiss teachers are particularly valuable in describing their personal and professional life cycles, thus enabling the researcher to place interviewees’ interpretations within these. Some examples that appeared in the site study schools were a sense of work overload especially among newer teachers, an energetic commitment to participation among early career teachers and the centrality of the teacher-student relationship combined with its unpredictable nature. Two books which make some of the unstated cultural assumptions of the teaching environment explicit are Hammersley’s (1999) collection of ethnographic studies and a definitive study, Teachers’ Work, (Little and McLaughlin, 1993). For example, the norm of privacy and individualism in the classroom is explored and the high professional demands on beginning teachers (A. Hargreaves, 1993; McLaughlin, 1993). Further evidence is provided by Huntly’s (2008) study of beginning teachers in Queensland where their own concept of competence covered six demanding categories, indicating the complexity of the task right from the commencement of a teaching career. Of particular relevance is Metz’s (1993) consideration of the social class of students as a variable affecting their engagement and consequentially their teachers’ sense of efficacy. This reality has specific application to Anglican schools situated within the independent sector where the socio-economic demographic is very powerful in shaping the culture of the school and teachers’ classroom experiences.
Finally, in concluding this overview of the forces which interact to shape teachers’ relationships, feelings, behaviours and meanings and therefore the resulting cultures in schools, the specific role and influence of school leaders must be considered.

2.8. School Leadership
The impact of a leader on culture is controversial but data in this study revealed it to be a very significant category in terms of the unique culture of any given Anglican school. Teachers regularly referred to leaders’ attributes in defining not only the climate and culture of their school, but also in explaining its religious expression.

Like the concepts of culture and the sociology of teaching already reviewed, studies of school leadership present either a mainly functionalist or a mainly interpretivist interest. However, using insights from both strands is most productive in understanding the meaning of leadership for organizational culture and particularly for its religious dimension. Although the writings on leadership in schools almost exclusively focuses on the principalship, it is significant that this is not the only leadership role influencing the school cultures studied in this project, since the chaplaincy was also significant.

2.8.1 Leadership and management
Much of the literature about school leadership is positioned within the school improvement/effectiveness discourse. Even when they take a more interpretivist bent, writers often assume the context of their writings is that of effective leadership for better schools (e.g. Cerit; 2009; Dinham, 2009; English and Hill, 1990; Fullan, 1991, 2005; Greenfield, 1986; Morford, 2002; Morrison, 2010; Sergiovanni, 1990, 1992; Starratt, 1993a, 1993b; Watson, 2009; Weiss, 1995). Such writings are applied studies, but much can also be learnt from more generic or pure theories of leadership. One of the most seminal thinkers in this area was Burns (1978) who clearly articulated the idea of transformational leadership, a concept taken up by a string of writers in the 1980s and 1990s, the ideas of whom continue to reverberate in the contemporary discussion, although some of the terminology as well as the educational context has changed. This summary of material on leadership will consider the material in terms of three themes: different types of leadership, actions of leadership and the influence of principals. Interwoven through all is the question of how leadership behaviour shapes cultural meanings.
Burns’ (1978) classic text introduced some major distinctions to the discourse on leadership. To begin with, he distinguishes between simple power wielding, where subordinates are subject to the decision and motives of the power-holder, and leadership, which he explains as necessarily entailing the willing engagement of followers, through appeal to a shared purpose and common motivation. Thus he highlights the concept of “followership”, a term which Sergiovanni (1990) makes central to his argument. Burns next distinguishes between what he sees as two fundamentally different forms of leadership. Transactional leadership is when negotiation between persons occurs to fulfil shared purposes and needs but with no ongoing bonding. Applied to the school setting, a transactional principal would ensure an environment whereby teachers can apply their pedagogical skills to instruct students. Transforming leadership, however, inspires followers to a moral purpose; it is value-driven and dedicated to what he calls “end-values” such as liberty, justice or equality (p. 426). In a school, a transforming leader would be inspiring teacher-followers to educate for the emancipation of students from social conformity and for creativity. It should be immediately evident that such a vision of leadership is consistent with those analyses of school life which prioritise value-laden ideas like community, positive commitment, intrinsic rewards and relationships. The continued currency of these ideas was reinforced during the research by the poignant comment of the principal of DAS, who had told staff that although in his heart he’d like to be a transformational leader, a lot of the time he was forced into being a transactional leader (DI2).

They also demonstrate the connotations associated with each definition of leadership, connotations which have been challenged in subsequent analyses. Much writing collapses the idea of transactional leadership into that of management, where processes, production and task are central at the expense of vision and values. This dichotomy is nicely epitomized by Fullan (1991, p. 158) in the words, “Leaders do the right thing; managers do things right.” He goes on to point out that management is therefore presented as routine and less meaningful. He challenges the validity of the dichotomy, claiming that successful school leaders exercise both management and leadership functions.

A particularly insightful discussion of this issue is that of Parry (2001). Parry claims that setting leadership against management is a category error. Rather, he says, leadership is an ability and style while management is a set of functions. He proposes an alternate pairing to clarify the categories, whereby “managership” is set against leadership. “Managership” refers to a style of management which is production-centred and task-orientated while leadership is a style of management
which is people-centred and ethically driven. Thus according to this categorisation both styles fulfil management functions, in that planning, organising, leading and controlling occur, but leadership, and this does follow Burns’ conceptualization, produces improved motivation, commitment, integrity and satisfaction. However Parry also notes that it improves the “bottom line”. These observations are consistent with the concepts of school culture, climate and teacher motivation already discussed: a leadership style will enhance their positive meanings.

A range of other writings offer important perceptions on the nature of leadership. Starratt and Sergiovanni were two educational thinkers whose writings advanced the idea of inspirational, transformational leaders who would initiate changes in schools to deal with increasingly complex educational and social worlds. In *Value-added Leadership* Sergiovanni (1990) explained the idea of a shared covenant or bonding between leader and follower, both motivated by passion for a governing idea. The “value-added” in his title particularly refers to the use of symbols, collegiality and motivation to enhance meaning. In *Moral Leadership* Sergiovanni (1992) applies Burns’ concept in the school setting, and gives it a specifically spiritual dimension, claiming that leadership authority can be based in secular and rationalistic values or in sacred ones where the school becomes a community, rather than just a modernist organization. He inverts the idea of “followership”, in that such a transforming leader is a follower of ideals and he expounds the idea of servant leadership, which has a fundamentally Christian foundation (Cf. Matthew 20:26,27, Luke 22:27). Starratt (1993b) explicitly addresses spiritual and secular conceptions of values and how religious ideas promote a shared purpose. He calls for a shared vision that unites leaders and followers. Of particular relevance to the broader debate within cultural studies is his unequivocal articulation of the centrality of meanings. He declares that “Leadership is rooted in meanings” (1993b, p. 41). “A charismatic leader offers a deeper understanding of life and work….The real power of the leader is the power of the meanings and values central to human life” (1993a, p. 54). People want to be “united to the meaning and purpose of the cosmos” (1993a, p.47). This thinking is particularly helpful in analysing the spiritual identity of Anglican schools, an issue which was a central paradox in theorizing their nature. Moreover, always implicit in discussion about transformational leadership, is leaders’ ability to change culture.

These ideas continue to circulate as is attested by studies such as that of Cerit (2009) who used the core indicators of servant leadership from such writing to evaluate its impact on teachers’ job satisfaction and performance in primary schools in Turkey; that of Watson (2009) who evaluates transformational
leadership against instructional and distributed leadership styles in achieving good student outcomes in Australia; that of Fullan (2005) who puts the microscope on various forms of leadership in relation to sustaining change and futures orientation, finding that charismatic leaders and pacesetters may be wanting in achieving sustained improvement; and that of Morrison (2010) who endorses Fullan’s view of the ethical nature of school leadership in his application to it of complexity theory.

Gronn (1996) is another who takes up Burns’ central idea in an overview of theories of leadership but he denies that there has been a real paradigm shift in practice, quoting research evidence showing that supposed changes in school culture driven by transforming principals to meet new effectiveness agendas are simply rhetoric. Like the others quoted, Gronn emphasises the moral quality of leadership, and he also advocates giving primacy to “followership”, since it is followers who give leaders their validity. He uses J. R. Darling’s vision for Timbertop as a campus of Geelong Grammar as an example of a leader aligning his vision to the context of both school and society and thereby utilising culture as a source of legitimacy and an anchor for renewal. The article fits into the interpretivist approach to culture in that he sees leadership as “a socially constructed process” (p. 21) and culture as “the institutional embodiment of purpose” (p. 23). The latter phrase picks up a key idea in some of the writings, that of intentionality or purpose as a critical attribute of effective leaders. For instance, Vaill’s (1984) thesis is that clear purpose coming from the leader is fundamental to every high-performing system and Greenfield (1986, p. 164) claims that leaders are the “embodiment of the central purpose of the organization and commit others [to it].” As the discussion now moves into a summary of the actions and influence of schools leaders specifically, it is worth remarking that many of the functions described in the leadership literature use relationship terminology and are applied in contexts of change management for increased effectiveness. In terms of the research into the Anglican schools, purposeful, moral leadership which inspires followership is central to effecting any religious mission.

2.8.2 The principalship

Descriptions of the principalship cover a range of behaviours that go with effective execution of the role, which is usually assumed to be ability to “move and improve schools”, to quote Dinham’s (2009) recent book title. In an era of rapid social and educational change and when rhetoric elevates humane values but politics imposes accountability and economic productivity, the dilemma of leadership or
managership is highlighted by Morrison’s (2010, pp. 383 – 384) juxtaposition of two descriptions. On one hand the “stock-in-trade” of school leaders is efficiency and immediate problem solving, on the other, he says, that at heart school leadership is ethical and humanistic. Other research reflects this tension. Certain skills are listed: generalist curriculum knowledge and instructional leadership (Dinham, 2009; English and Hill, 1990; Watson, 2009), ability to mediate between school and wider policy and social context (Morrison, 2010; Wilkins, 2002), control of the school through knowledge, resources, positional power or personal charisma (Handy and Aitken, 1986), oral persuasion (Ford, 1992), management of people through “talk as work” (Gronn, 1988), navigation of political processes, legal compliance, media and marketing (Duignan, 1989). Attributes of character and understanding are also enumerated, sometimes by the same writers: empathy and people skills such as engendering trust and collegiality (Dinham, 2009; Geijsel, Meijers & Wardekker, 2007; Sergiovanni, 1990; Vaill, 1984; Watson, 2009), intuitive understanding of patterns, significance and complexity (Duignan, 1989; Ford, 1992; Fullan, 2005) and ability to embody the ethos of the school (Greenfield, 1986; Gronn, 1996; Grummel, Devine & Lynch, 2009; Starratt, 1993a). This is just a sample of the many complex activities expected of school leaders in inspiring collective enterprise both to educate students, and also to keep up with incessant accountability demands. An additional paradox is that although the more progressive, transformational style of leadership is attuned to female leaders, the contemporary market-driven, competitive climate preferences masculine practices such as managerialism and workaholic loyalty to the job (Grummell, Devine & Lynch, 2009; McTavish & Miller, 2009; Shakeshaft, 1987). Although gender issues were not central to the research and there is not space to examine them in detail, they were certainly significant to the female principal, who referred to them several times in respect to her selection and to her having to make “tough decisions” which were not expected of a woman.

It is assumed in the above literature that school leaders will have a major influence on the shape of the school, particularly in renewing and invigorating its culture to meet a complex array of demands. Caldwell & Spinks (1992, p. 161) specify the leader’s goal as “transforming the culture of the school.” Much research demonstrates leaders’ key role in innovation, including collaborative organizational learning, (e.g. Fullan, 1991; Geijsel, Meijers & Wardekker, 2007; Johnson & Caldwell, 2001; Sergiovanni, 1990, 1992; Starratt, 1993a; Weiss, 1995) and in engendering a good climate and positive job satisfaction among staff (e.g. Cerit, 2009; Mackenzie, 2007; Rudow, 1999). Indeed, based on his summary of research evidence Watson (2009) concludes that leadership is second
only to teaching in affecting student learning. However, despite the prominence given to leaders by positivist adherents of Schein’s integrated culture model, the extent of their influence is questioned in the same way that the centrality of culture is criticised by those who explore the complex web of factors constituting any organization. In a specific consideration of school culture Bell and Kent (2010) reject the uni-dimensional focus on teachers and investigate the views of the largest group within the school, the students. Their model suggests a complex set of factors which shape culture, only one of which is the school leader, whose role interlocks with various subcultures, the external societal culture and the values of students. Interestingly, some of the students in that study explicitly denied any overriding influence from the head-teacher (p. 25). Morford’s (2002) study of American rural principals is another which questions the uncontested influence of the leader. It showed important factors that socialised principals into their schools, rather than vice versa, and concluded that socialisation leads many principals to focus on maintaining organizational stability. These findings were specifically supported in Anglican school EAS, by the wry comment of the deputy that the incoming principal “learned to adjust to the culture” (EI6), a comment of some significance given the dynamism of this individual. Some studies also consider the personal experiences of principals. For instance Day and Bakioglu (1996) report research which shows parallels between principals’ stage of life and the career cycles defined by Huberman, and which also notes the frustrations of implementing government policies with which leaders disagree. Watson (2009) documents how such matters, as well as the sheer volume of work, increase the stress levels of principals, and Morrison (2010) uses complexity theory analysis to show that despite the expectation of principals giving visionary direction they cannot predict an unknown future.

Thus far this review of knowledge pertinent to school culture has looked at four major areas where different meanings and interpretations are evident. In broad brush, consideration of culture can take technicist and instrumental views or be orientated towards meaning and complexity. Within culture generally is nested school organizational culture, where the focus may be on control and effectiveness or on understanding and meaning. Similarly, the central task of teaching is subject to accountability and efficiency requirements but can also be viewed in terms of personal satisfaction and humane, relationship orientations. Finally, leadership in schools can be studied in terms of management and control or of transforming, value-laden leadership. The former of each pair concentrates on the external while the second concentrates on the interior and on sense-making. The
two orientations are symbiotically related, and together constitute the social reality of life in schools.

PART 3: ANGLICANISM AND CONTESTED MEANINGS

In this final section the focus shifts to that other institution which is married to the institution of the school in this project, that is, to Australian Anglicanism. Here, too, social and personal orientations are intrinsically interwoven. Consideration of the character of the Anglican church directs attention to the historical, social and theological forces which have shaped it and continue to do so. In understanding these, the data gathered empirically is given context and reference, so that the final grounded theory is able to represent the meaning of Anglican education in contemporary Australia.

2.9. The Church of England

The meaning of the Anglican Church cannot be separated from its history as a reformation church, a state church and a compromise church. Its Australian branches bear the mark of each of these as well as of Australian colonial history and Australia’s progression towards nationhood and autonomy. Anglicanism is a subset of Western Christianity, and so its history and sociology also intersect with that of religion in the modern world, particularly with the rise of secularism. European Australia was founded with largely godless social outcasts. Its foundation occurred in a period when Enlightenment rationalism was gaining ascendancy and atheism was becoming acceptable. The country’s formation as a nation coincided with the challenging of traditional Christian theologies through alternative philosophies, especially the paradigm-breaking worldview of evolutionary science (Blackler, 1997; Frame, 2009; Knight, 2004). Australian Anglican schools were established in this social milieu and, as this chapter has already shown, contemporary social and intellectual forces inevitably continue to impact upon them. Congruent with research literature on schools and culture, writings concerned with religion also show two broad orientations, that of description of what is external such as social and political processes and that of exploration of interior meanings. Indeed theologian, Avis (2007, p. 24) says Anglican identity is presented as either material content or as spirit. The following overview covers central characteristics of the parent Church of England, their specific out-workings when transplanted to Australia and the place of schools within the Australian Anglican Church. It considers how this background reveals a ferment of contested and contradictory meanings both within the church and in its interactions with society.
There are two major contemporary writers to whom we are indebted for academic analysis of Anglicanism in Australia: Bruce Kaye who was Secretary of the Anglican General Synod from 1994 – 2004, and historian Professor Tom Frame, previously Bishop to the Australian Defence Forces and currently Director of St Mark’s National Theological Centre for Charles Sturt University. In a string of books and articles they, together with academic colleagues, have explored the history and nature of Australian Anglicanism, starting with Bruce Kaye’s foundational work, *A Church without Walls* (1995). The central premise of this book is that Anglicanism is characterised by permeability with society; by an “emphasis of the presence of God in the world”; it is “essentially a church in society” (pp. 6, 7). To appreciate why this is so, the foundations of the Anglican Church in the Reformation Church of England needs some brief elucidation.

Although its theological antecedents went back first to John Wyclif and then to the sixteenth century continental reformers and its political genesis occurred with the break from Rome by Henry VIII, the Church of England was fundamentally shaped in the time of Elizabeth I. As attested by historians of Anglicanism, Kaye (1995), Frame (2007, Chapt. 1) and Neill (1977) as well as by a host of general histories of the period (e.g. Alexander, 1968; Bindoff, 1950; Dickens, 1967), the protestant Church of England was established through the Act of Supremacy and Act of Uniformity in 1559 which together are known as the Elizabethan Settlement. Church and state were united on the presumption that all Englishmen belonged to this church. One prayer book with its accompanying doctrinal stance was imposed as the only form of worship. This Elizabethan Prayer Book was largely based on the 1552 one authorised by the protestant boy monarch, Edward VI. The two key principles of this English reformation were, first, that of being an independent national church with no allegiance to the pope, and second, that of embracing reformed, anti-papal Calvinist doctrine while maintaining a claim to continuity with the ancient apostolic and catholic church founded by Christ. Elizabeth’s church was a state church which was subject to the law of the land and whose governor was the monarch. It was also a compromise church, a *via media*, which maintained as much Catholic ritual and tradition as was compatible with Scripture alongside its reformed theology (Alexander, 1968; Kaye, 1995, p. 96f; Morris, 1963). These qualities continue to echo through its subsequent history and have force still in the ethos of its schools in Australia.

From its beginning Elizabeth’s Church of England was contested. Although the monarch herself was inclined to only moderate Protestantism, her parliament had a strong reformist lobby group. Continually in her reign her church settlement
was threatened internally by the strong movement for a more “pure” reformation, and externally by Catholic Europe (Alexander, 1968, pt. 2; Neill, 1977, chapt. 5; Ryrie, 2009). Thorough consideration of the “Puritan” impact on English society is given in Collinson’s (1967) magisterial account of how they contested the via media. The Puritans developed their own national organization and promoted their representatives in universities and in parliament. Kaufman (2005) reviews the literature growing from Collinson’s insights, which confirms both the pervasiveness of Puritanism and the vigorous factional debate within the Elizabethan Church. Ultimately the movement was to culminate in the English Civil War a century later, which was resolved in the Glorious Revolution of 1688. With respect to the twenty-first century context, the heirs of Puritan theology and, some would argue, of Puritan methods, are the ultra-conservative evangelicals of Sydney Diocese (McGillion, 2005; M. Porter, 2006), whose interpretation of the meaning of Anglican schooling contrasts quite vividly with that of other Anglicans.

Of ongoing significance for mainstream Anglican thought, has been the Elizabethan theologian, Richard Hooker, whose work, Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity, was first published in 1593. It has become the classic reference for what is distinctive about Anglican theology (Neill, 1977, p120f.; Rayner, 2006). Hooker gave a learned defence against the extremes of Puritanism and a positive manifesto for the Church of England as a state church. He sought to synthesise its disparate strands by the concept of balancing three sources for the knowledge of God: scripture, which is primary, tradition, which is the insights and practices of the historic church, and reason, which is the light of God in the human mind to discern natural laws of the universe. (Hooker, 1963, Book I). Gibbs (2002) is a recent scholar whose analysis of Hooker’s argument endorses his reputation as the founder of classic Anglican theology with his work clearly “represent[ing] a distinctive via media” (p. 227), while Avis (2007, p. 186) claims that Hooker “has enriched Anglican theology for four centuries.” However, despite his theological synthesis and the unity-in-diversity idealism of broad church Anglicans, in actuality factionalism and conflict continued to mark the compromise church and have done so ever since, not least in its Australian branches, a matter of no small importance for constructing a theory of commonalities among Anglican schools.

2.10. The Anglican Church in Australia

To reiterate the initial stance articulated at the beginning of this chapter, the project is concerned with a search for meaning which is necessarily mediated socially. A meaning for Anglican school culture is to be found in the convergence of the meaning of being Anglican with the meanings derived from participants’
reports of their experiences in Anglican schools. So the focus now shifts to the meaning of being Anglican and how the inheritance just outlined applies to Australian Anglicanism and to its schools. It is salutary to be reminded of Weber’s definition of culture – “a web of meanings we ourselves have spun” – since consideration of writings in this area is effectively an attempt to grasp the essence of Anglican culture, and then to see how this interprets the empirical data of the site study schools. Culture, history and theology are inextricably bound together. As Pickard (2006, p. 132fn.) observes, a historical mode has dominated Anglican theology, and Kaye (2003b, p. 121) comments on the ongoing impact of the Reformation documents on Anglican ecclesiology, which is why the preceding description of the Elizabethan church is foundational. Two great interrelated themes repeatedly appear in the literature on Anglicanism: identity and division. Each are interwoven with both social and theological meanings.

The Church of England came to Australia with the first chaplain, Richard Johnson, who was sponsored by the evangelicals in England and whose role, not very successfully achieved, was seen as tempering a criminal colony with the Gospel and Christian morality. As Frame (2009) records, colonial society was fairly godless. Johnson was followed by other Church of England chaplains, whose education and social status placed them among the rulers of the colonies. They were often magistrates. Indeed, the first Bishop of Adelaide, Short, was ranked second only to the governor (Cuthoys, 2002). Moreover, in the late 1820s, under Archdeacon Scott in New South Wales, education came under the church’s auspices with the establishment of the Church and School Corporation (Fletcher, 2002), although any more general oversight of education became impossible as the population grew and eventually disappeared with the Education Acts in 1872 and 1880 (Kaye, 1995). So, from the beginning, a spiritual mission was intertwined with both Erastian-motivated morality and social class (Fletcher, 2008, p. 46; Hilliard, 1997). Frame (2009, p. 41) highlights that Johnson’s successor, the controversial Samuel Marsden, epitomized in his own life the clash between state and faith. The colonial church was clearly that of the educated and powerful in society. Many writers refer to this fact and the concomitant consequence that those few schools continuing from a nineteenth century foundation had the purpose of educating upper class citizens to be rulers (Blackler, 1997; Dickey, 2002; Fletcher, 2008; Frappell, 2002; Kaye, 2003b; B. Porter, 2007; Whiteley, 2006, p390-1). Therefore, when the church-state nexus inherited from the Elizabethan Settlement was broken constitutionally, the social and intellectual nexus with establishment was maintained.
Anglicans continually puzzle over their identity, since any distinctive beliefs are not at all self-evident. This issue is explored at length from a theological perspective by Avis (2007) whose book is shot through with the difficulty of defining Anglicanism. Looking globally at the Anglican Communion, he points out that the very self-designation as “communion” is indicative of a shared fellowship, an ethos, a spirit, perhaps a way of doing theology, rather than doctrinal content or organizational structures. Nevertheless, he does describe common beliefs and particularly considers the Anglican paradox of being both Catholic and Reformed, a position which Davie (1994, p. 181) calls “straddling a very deep divide in Christendom.” Avis also notes the nineteenth century development both of Anglo-Catholicism which grew out of the Oxford Movement and also of liberal Catholicism which responded to new philosophies and scientific advances. These theological innovations exacerbated existing factionalism. The Anglican Church, he concludes, was never a synthesis, but a compromise characterised by tension around paradoxical polarities (pp. 23, 29, 83) or, in the words of Blackler, (1997, p. 119), “Anglicanly paradoxical”. A parallel consideration of the complexity of Anglican identity within the specifically Australian context is that of Kaye (2003b, p. 32), who develops the idea of Anglicanism as a tradition, which he defines as “a pattern of ideas, relationships, habits and actions persisting through time”, weaving its way in unceasing theological disputation from Hooker through the subsequent centuries and across geographical frontiers (Frame, 2007, p. 206).

In Australia, Anglican identity had a legal dimension. Although the Church in Australia acted like an established state church for most of the nineteenth century, any such position had been undermined from 1836 when Governor Bourke created a formula for government assistance to all denominations equally (Fletcher, 2002, p. 18; Kaye, 2003b, p. 63). There were landmark legal decisions in the 1860s which denied that bishops of the, by then self-governing, Australian colonies enjoyed crown authority as in England (Dickey, 2002; Rayner, 2006). As a result, much church energy was spent in seeking to develop governance structures resulting in early introduction of an effective system of democratic synodical government. However this did not translate into unity. Each diocese was completely independent of the others, and although moves started early for some form of federating constitution, it was only in 1962 that this was actually achieved. Even so, in Kaye’s (1995, p. 53f.) analysis, the separate diocesan constitutions are the underlying basis for the national Anglican constitution and the dioceses retain the final authority.
As is the case overseas, Anglican identity is interwoven with the wide range of interpretations of faith and order which coalesce around Anglican factions. However these aspects have particular manifestations in the Australian context. Unlike in England, where dioceses evidence mixed churchmanship, the Australian Anglican dioceses were shaped by the churchmanship of strong episcopal leaders, so that churchmanship has become institutionalized along diocesan lines (Frame, 2006, pp. 162-3; Hilliard, 2006; Judd and Cable, 1987, p. 248; Rayner, 2006). Diocesanism was obvious in each school studied, influencing assumptions and values. This, with accompanying contested identities, are constant threads in Australian Anglican history. The moves to an Australian Anglican constitution were continually sabotaged by diocesan territorialism in defence of cherished theological positions. Sometimes there were bitter political disputes, as in the 1926 Constitutional Convention when conservatives from Sydney and Melbourne Dioceses blocked moves for autonomy from England because of fears of liberal Anglo-Catholics gaining centralised power (Fletcher, 2008, p112f.; Frame, 2007, Chapt. 3; Hilliard, 2006; Judd & Cable, 1987, p. 248). Even the location of diversity is debated. While Kaye (2003b) and contributors to Wonderful and Confessedly Strange (Kaye, 2006a) investigate the ecclesiological implications of Anglican diversity, Adam (1997) highlights disputation as being about the authoritative source for theology and Lawton (2002) argues that Christology and scripture are the central issues in contemporary Anglican debates. The latter were certainly evident in data collected in the schools. Whereas a liberal high church chaplain could say his aim was to “keep the rumour of God alive” (HCE), a school leader in an evangelical diocese defined faith as “that sense that Jesus is our creator, sustainer and saviour” (DI9).

Anglican diversity has increasingly become polemical and acrimonious (Fletcher, 2008, p. 257; M. Porter, 2006). Hilliard (2006, p. 81) describes the shift metaphorically: “Despite differences in dialect, [Anglicans] spoke the same religious language. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, these psychological and cultural bonds appear to be unravelling.” So Frame (2006, p. 141) can ask, “How much diversity can be accommodated...before there is nothing of substance to unite its members?”, a question he attempts to answer in the provocatively titled “A House Divided? The Quest for Unity within Anglicanism” (2010). While Nolan (2008) presents a comprehensive analysis of the relationship of Anglican and Australian identity, arguing for a Broad Church tradition of “unity-in-tension” (p. 307) as the basis of authentic engagement with society, such a vision has yet to be realised. The conflicting meanings of being Anglican present a
large challenge to this project’s ambition of identifying commonalities in Anglican school culture.

The three eastern Australian dioceses in which site-study schools were situated have quite contrary perspectives on Anglican identity. The Diocese of Sydney stands out, not only in Australia but worldwide, for embracing an exclusivist, ultra-protestant interpretation of Anglicanism (Fletcher, 2006, p. 26; Frame, 2007; Kaye, 1995; McGillion, 2005; Miley, 2002). It is closely aligned with the form of Protestantism expounded by Presbyterian, Murray (2000). In many ways Sydney Diocese is the direct successor of the Elizabethan Puritans. Indeed, Muriel Porter (2006) devotes an entire book to this thesis. However, the diocese also stands in succession to the eighteenth century evangelicals, as against non-Calvinist strands such as liberal Catholicism and post-Tractarianism, which were superimposed on Anglican Reformed Catholicism in the formative period of Australian history (Kaye, 2003b). The Diocese of Canberra-Goulburn has a strong liberal tradition combined with social radicalism (Fletcher, 2008, pp 158-9, 168; Frame, 2007, p. 238), but also a harmonious acceptance of different church parties, while the Diocese of Melbourne, originally evangelical under Archbishop Perry (Kaye, 1995, p. 43-4) is now very mixed with strong liberal Catholic groups, going back to Archbishops Moorhouse and Lowther Clarke, who espoused urbane and intellectual approaches in the Federation period and Archbishop Woods in more recent times (Grant, 1997; Hilliard, 1997; Holden, 2000; B. Porter, 2007). Reflecting this diversity, interior meanings of externally similar Anglican school structures were very different.

2.11 Anglican schools

The diversity among the dioceses has produced diverse patterns of relationships between schools and the specific diocese. The diocesan flavour has contributed to the character of individual schools and has had a degree of cumulative effect on the shape of Anglican schools within particular dioceses. Within dioceses there have also been differing formative influences.

As explained in the rationale for this project, specific literature on Anglican schools as a class is fairly thin and it tends to be either historical or theological in import. For example, there are published histories of many of the longer established corporate schools, but such works are by their nature not cross-institutional comparisons and are usually written for the cultural insider rather than analysing sociological phenomena. An example would be that of Newth (1980), who oversaw the development of St Andrew’s Cathedral School from a tiny
establishment during the Second World War to a thriving modern institution in the 1970s. Some schools were founded by churchmen, some by synods and some by private individuals and then subsequently affiliated with, or taken over by, the Anglican Church.

What a brief overview of the history of school foundations does demonstrate is their great diversity. From school websites, as well as specific historical narratives, important variation in governance and relationships to the institutional church can be established. The longer established schools were often founded in the late nineteenth or early twentieth century by private owners. Some well-known examples are Abbotsleigh, Sydney and Melbourne Girls’ Grammar as well as Barker College, Sydney and Geelong Grammar which were both founded by prominent Anglican clerics, respectively the Rev Henry Plume and Archdeacon Stretch of Geelong². On the other hand some of the religious orders growing out of the Oxford Movement were also active in school foundations – particularly the Community of the Sisters of the Church (Canberra Girls’ Grammar; St Peter’s Collegiate Girls School, Adelaide; Perth College; St Michaels’ Collegiate School, Hobart). Active church leaders were responsible for some foundations, and in this case the influence of the diocesan churchmanship was particularly important. In Sydney Bishop Barry played such a role, and his “liberal” evangelicalism and profound intellectualism was undoubtedly important for the tone of early Sydney Anglican schools (Judd and Cable, 1987, p. 125 - 130). His counterpart in Melbourne was Archbishop Lowther Clarke.

Newer schools have tended to be founded by groups of parents or concerned citizens, often using church facilities, until the schools grew to the point of developing their own sites. For instance Trinity College, Gawler in South Australian was founded to provide a “liberal and Christian tradition”, the two words reflecting the nexus between Anglicanism and traditional educational values, while Radford College, ACT was founded through the efforts of individuals who eventually won the support of Bishop Warren (Murphy, 2004).

Judd and Cable’s classic text, Sydney Anglicans (1987) explains some of the social forces in the church which led to changes in the schools. Of particular interest is how the expansion of the church following World War 1 swept many of the private school establishments into Sydney diocesan ownership while a rash of additional Anglican schools were also established to match the growth of the metropolis.

² The school websites are the most accessible means of ascertaining this information. See reference list for school web addresses and also Anglicans Online.
The pattern of diocesan intervention was confirmed with the establishment of the Council for the Promotion of Church Schools as a committee of the diocesan synod in 1947. In 1992 the Council was reconstituted as the Sydney Anglicans Schools Corporation and increasingly took an active role in acquiring and founding new schools which would promote the dominant evangelical ideology (SASC, 1999, p. 3). By 1988 the Sydney Diocesan Synod Resolution 35/88 had also laid down guidelines for composition and regulation of those school councils where the diocese had a controlling interest, in addition to its active control of the Corporation schools.

For Melbourne Diocese the comparative text had been Porter’s *Melbourne Anglicans* (1997) which gives an excellent sense of the particular tone of that diocese, much less brash and more urbane than its Sydney counterpart. More recently Holden (2000) has recorded some of the formative influences that resulted in there being greater moderation among Melbournian evangelicalism by contrast with the vigorous conservatism which became entrenched in Sydney with Archbishop Mowll (Holden, 2000, p. 8; Judd and Cable, 1987, p. 230f.). In 2010 Grant published his comprehensive history of Melbourne Anglican Diocese. This records the waning of evangelical dominance after the premature death of Archbishop Penman in 1989. Some of the distinctive themes which impacted on schools in that diocese were the emphasis on education given by the liberal churchman, Archbishop Lowther Clarke, in the first decades of the twentieth century (pp. 125 – 127) with a consequent liberalism in the ethos of such schools, the financial pressures on schools in the 1920s which led to increased decentralisation in their management (pp. 168 – 9) and the decline in the Depression era which meant that “each Anglican school went its own way” (p. 198). In Melbourne, diocesan control has been vigorously resisted, so that the Diocese of Melbourne and Anglican School Guidelines can only define their collectivity as being “recognition as Anglican schools” (2004, p. 1).

Thus, in general, Sydney Diocese has exercised a centralising function with respect to Anglican schools, and defined them in terms of their governance structures, while Melbourne Diocese has eschewed direct control, except for a small minority, and has defined Anglican schools in terms of historical connectedness leading to their recognition by the diocese. The much smaller number of schools in the Diocese of Canberra-Goulburn are split between those with some Anglican synodical representatives and those fully controlled by the Diocesan Schools Council as an Anglican system. These differences in governance and diocesan ethos make the research focus of this topic even more pertinent in

---

Chapter 2 51
attempting to circumvent the structural differences and establish cultural commonalities.

Historically Anglican schools have been identified with the social elite. Fletcher (2002, p. 18) describes the foundation of Australia’s oldest independent school, The King’s School at Parramatta, in 1831 by Bishop Broughton as “offering the sons of affluent parents, a classical, scientific and religious education.” Blackler (1997, p. 108) records that schools like Geelong Grammar were deliberately modelled on the great English public schools with a vision of producing “Christian gentlemen”, while the Rev Marsden (McPherson, 1997, p. 50) made the telling comment that “nothing can pave the way for the Gospel but civilization”, an idea picked up by revered former headmaster of Trinity Grammar in Sydney, Roderick West (2003), who in an address to a conference of Anglican schools in Canberra in 2003 stated that “Education is for civilization.” On one hand educational social elitism has been reinforced by some church leaders, such as Archbishop Woods in Melbourne who had close friendships with heads of the exclusive Geelong Grammar and Melbourne Grammar; on the other hand it has continually been challenged by social justice forces within church synods (Blackler, 1997; Kaye, 2003b, p. 72; B. Porter, 2007, pp.73, 115).

By contrast with sociological commonalities, it is much more difficult to establish any shared awareness of theology. This partially reflects the different theological emphases of the dioceses but goes beyond churchmanship. Indeed it is often hard to establish anything distinctively theological at all within Anglican schools. Blackler (1997, p. 113) poses the question whether there is actually anything “‘Anglican’ at all about Anglican schools.” Cole (2006) is one who does seek to address the question of how Anglican schools may display Anglican “churchliness”. He comments on the variety of schools, and relates the issue directly to Anglican identity, diocesanism and lack of structural unity. He comments on the importance of strategic Christian leadership of both principal and chaplain and the ambiguous position of chaplains, who are responsible to both bishop and principal. The latter point is fully investigated in the thesis of Foord (2008), under the title of Serving Two Masters. Only Kaye has written and presented significantly on the theology of Australian Anglican schools. His key concepts, derived from the type of historical and theological analysis already canvassed, and expressed in an article called Being an Anglican School (Kaye, 1994) are that Anglican schools will reflect the traditions of Anglican ethos in being marked by reason and understanding, a focus on the incarnational, worship and involvement in society. In other papers he comments on the challenges for religious schools of the
marketisation of education (1997), the role of the Anglican principal (1998) and the significance of education at the interface of church and society (2003a) and he points out the consequent challenge of having an uncertain identity (Kaye 2006b).

In the United Kingdom, although the structure of Anglican education is different, there has been an upsurge of interest in the role of church schools since the publication of The Way Ahead (Church Schools Review Group, 2001) which identified church schools as standing at the centre of the Church’s mission and which recommended a minimal set of criteria for worship, religious education, Christian values and inclusive education, positions elaborated upon by Archbishop of Canterbury, Rowan Williams (2006), in his address to the 2006 National Anglican Schools Conference. Within Australia the deficit in theologically-grounded educational perspectives is currently being addressed by the Archbishop of Sydney with the establishment of an Anglican Education Fellowship (B. Cowling, personal communication, May 19, 2010).

2.12. Religion in contemporary society: Secularism and faith

The twin themes of identity and division are critical for Anglican schools in dealing with probably their biggest challenge. This is the dichotomy between their religious identity and ubiquitous secularism. The importance of this topic became increasingly clear as data indicated disparate views as to the meaning and value of religion and conflicting interpretations of how it should be presented to students. Secularism among both staff and students became a central concept in the developing theory about Anglican schools, so some understanding of this topic and its place within sociological thinking is helpful in refining analysis. Two themes are particularly pertinent to religion in schools. These are, firstly, the concepts of secularism and secularization, and secondly, two contrasting meanings given to religion: civil religion, which is social in orientation, and spirituality which is personal and transcendent. This final section will very briefly consider those issues in the sociology of religion relevant to understanding this central dynamic.

Secularism and secularization are related but distinct concepts. Secularism is a term for a worldview which espouses a non-religious attitude to life, a focus on the finite and material and the complete deinstitutionalisation of religion. It is in this sense that it is used in comments on Anglican schools and their clientele. The meaning of secularization, however, is ambiguous. Technically it refers to the separation of religion from established institutions (Davie, 2000, p. 27; Frame, 2009, p. 269); however, it has increasingly become used by sociologists to refer to the process by which religious influence in society is lost, with the accompanying
“secularization thesis” asserting that modernity, as epitomised in twentieth century Western societies, would lead to the decline and eventual disappearance of religion, that is, to secularism. There is a lively debate over the viability of this thesis because of the growth of new religious movements, the rise of Islam and the emergence of spirituality as a competitor with traditional institutionalised religion (Bouma, 2006; Davie, 2000; Fenn, 2001; Frame, 2009; Giddens, 2001; Thomas, 2005; Tacey, 2003).

Within this discussion two approaches to religion can be determined, one of which, civil Christianity, corresponds to exterior, social religion and one of which, voluntary committed faith, is internal and personal. This categorization is helpful in understanding what happens in Anglican schools, where there is typically implicit contestation between these approaches. Much sociological discussion of religious decline is about the public rituals of the institutional Church in Western society: what is commonly called civil religion and what Thomas (2005, p. 85f.) describes as essentially social tradition. The focus is on religious practice as an indicator of social religious norms and on degrees of identification with Christianity in the public sphere. Secularization has undermined the consensus which supports such civil religion, but whether this is considered as positive or not depends on the specific meaning given to Christianity. Fenn’s (2001) closely argued sociological analysis of civil religion claims that it is a form of idolatry which places the state as mediator and guardian of the Sacred. He goes so far as to claim that “at the heart of the Christian Gospel is a tendency toward radical secularity” (p. 160) and that secularization demolishes church control over individuals’ spirituality, breaking boundaries between the sacred and the profane. This is consistent with Davie’s (1994, p. 86) observation that “civil religion embodies a distinctly ambivalent relationship to Christian orthodoxy. [It] is not identical to Christianity but ...borrows legitimacy from [it].”

Those for whom religion is primarily a personal encounter with the transcendent, would tend to align with Fenn’s analysis, as indeed Frame does in his defence of “genuine secularism” and religious plurality (Frame, 2009, p. 284f.) Several books by Davie perceptively explore secularization in the British and European contexts, and are applicable to the Anglican schools project because of Australian Anglicanism’s heritage in the established Church of England. Particularly relevant is the shift away from established, civil forms of cultural Christianity. Davie describes a distinction between “contracting out” of the established Church of England and “contracting in” to personal evangelical commitment or to alternative religions, noting the significance of the lively growth of evangelicalism within the
Church of England (Davie, 1994, Chapters 3, 4). In a later book she turns attention to European societies, putting religious decline within its historical context, describing the loss of connection to institutional Christianity among the younger generations and evaluating the role of church schools, especially in the propagation of Christian values, when there is no consensus about alternatives (Davie, 2000). In a sequel Davie (2002) extends her analysis of the secularization debate with a comparison of secular Europe and modernist, but religious, North America. Davie’s analysis of contemporary society is supported by Frame’s description of unbelief in the Australian context. He not only chronicles an essentially unreligious society but also describes the high points of Christianity in Australia in terms of “cultural Christianity accompanied by high levels of devotional tokenism and social compliance” which have now collapsed into un-interest rather than antagonism, “a mere lifestyle option” (Frame, 2009, pp. 291, 294). The same point is made by Davie (1994), who defines the contemporary mode as “unchurched, rather than simply secular” (p. 13) and non-establishment religious activity as being seen as “a leisure pursuit” (p. 194).

This is, of course, of great significance for understanding the meaning adolescents give to religion and the attempts of school chaplains to engage them with it. Research undertaken by Savage, Collins-Mayo and Mayo (2006) into youth culture found that young Britons were ignorant rather than hostile to Christianity, but that they were guided by a worldview characterised by the assumption of the normalcy of happiness (what the authors call the “Happy Midi-narrative”) and by the centrality of relationships. Orthodox Christianity appeared irrelevant and the Happy Midi-narrative contrasted strongly with the Church’s traditional emphasis on ethical duty to an external authority. They describe the shaping context for Generation Y as consumerist, globalized and electronically mediated. This analysis is supported in the Australian context by Hughes (2000) who notes the clash between the structured worldview of the traditional church and the unstructured worldview of contemporary youth. These analyses raise critical questions for Anglican schools, and the data gathered in them suggests that there are strongly contested answers given to such questions.

This matter raises the issue of secularism and the future of religion from a different perspective. As already mentioned, secularization, or the growth of secularism as a normal worldview, is much disputed. Thomas (2005, p. 45), writing particularly in the context of international relations, bluntly states that the “postmodern world is turning out to be a post-secular world.” He critiques some common assumptions in this debate, and presents the idea that how we talk about
religion is largely a construct of modernist Western liberalism. In contention are the assumptions that modernization entails secularization, that religious freedom is essentially about personal conscience rather than public practice, that doctrinal belief rather than social tradition and community is its essence and that Enlightenment rationality necessarily involves the marginalisation of faith. Significantly, Thomas notes that interpretive theories operating from within such frameworks have difficulty in understanding the meaning of religion for its adherents (p. 73).

There are also two Australian sociologists who have extensively researched current trends in religion, especially among young people. Both deny the demise of religion, but do see it being relocated and transformed. Consistent with Fenn’s (2001) argument, Bouma (2006, p. 4) says that “in secular societies religion and spirituality have seeped out of the monopolistic control of formal organizations like churches”, while Tacey (2003, p. 75) who has taught popular courses in spirituality at La Trobe University and used his students as the basis of his theorizing, comments that “youth spirituality is growing in strength and full of diversity...but there is tremendous lack of fit between youth spirituality and religion.” Tacey’s central premise is that a “spirituality revolution” is under way, driven by the essentially universal religious nature of being human (p. 18). This youth spirituality focuses on experience, sacredness in nature, inner conscience and internally-directed mysticism. He describes journeys of personal spirituality in individual young people, and appeals for a new image of God expressed in language appropriate for a post-rationalist, postmodern era. Tacey (p. 80) comments that even students in religious schools are more influenced by secular society than by religious culture, so that even their “spirituality is modern and secular, not religious or traditional.” Tacey’s book can be interpreted as representing what it calls for – a contemporary spirituality, independent of traditional religion, although at times converging with it.

Although very different in tone, Bouma’s (2006) research is similar in its findings. Bouma, an Anglican priest, gives a more historical, demographic and statistical analysis. He also designates the current era as “post-secular”, saying that “secularity has given way to a great wash of spirituality... which is basically openness to the 'more than', the transcendent” (p. 101). His central thesis is that there is a distinctly Australian way of being religious, and he cites Manning Clark’s phrase, “a shy hope in the heart” (p. 2) to epitomise this. He describes the complex set of demographic variables that influence the degree to which people are religious (or spiritual), and attributes the decline in mainstream British-based
Protestantism to a major philosophical shift from rationality to experience (pp. 25, 65, 86, 90). He notes the significance of multiculturalism and religious diversity, which is rarely examined in conventional sociologies of religion (p. 116), and like Savage et al. talks of the consumerist context. Like those already cited, Bouma recognizes the significance of changed attitudes to civil Christianity: “Christendom, the era of ecclesiastical dominance of government, society and culture, has passed” (p. 142). Like Tacey, Bouma believes the spiritual impulse to be core to humanity, and he especially focuses on “hope” as constituting its essence (p. 18f.). Interestingly, he comments specifically on schools and believes that the rise of faith-based education in Australia is a major driver of growing religiosity among young people, quoting a marketing survey which found a 14% increase over the previous 28 years in youth claiming that religion was important to them (p. 207–9).

2.13. Faith schools in the secular context
The role of faith-based schools is the topic of detailed American research by Glenn (2000) under the significant title, The Ambiguous Embrace. While much of his concern is with the specific constitutional situation in the United States, he ranges broadly over the relationship of faith-based schools and government, including the models used in France and Holland. Glenn draws attention to several important points. When schools (and other social agencies) are regulated by government and when their staff is professionalised and therefore socialised into secular thought-forms, there is a loss both of moral obligation and responsibility to clients, and also of motivating and inspirational religious mission, a view consistent with Burns’ (1978) idea of the moral purpose of transformational leadership. Glenn quotes an example from France in the 1980s where it was proposed that government funding be tied to close conformity with public schools especially in employment of non-religiously affiliated staff (Chapt. 4). The issue of staff employment was significant in Anglican schools studied, with some controversy over whether non-practising Christians could adequately promote the religious mission. In the Dutch context, despite retention of religious identities, government oversight and regulation has left schools’ identity as only “residually religious” (Glenn, p. 143).

There is a whole Australian and international literature on the meaning and purpose of faith-based schools. A taste of this indicates the religious options and meanings which are possible. Two themes commonly explored are the nature of Christian education and the role of values in religious schools and Religious Education. An article which analyses literature from the USA, Holland and
Germany about Christian identity in faith-based schools is that of De Wolff, Miedema and De Ruyter (2002). They itemise six conceptions of identity for a Christian school and describe differing views about the extent to which Christian commitment should shape school life. Edlin (2007) writes in the Australian context of the drift towards secularisation in ostensibly religious schools and analyses this in terms of a typology of stages and ways whereby Christian schools challenge, engage with or conform to un-Christian society. The article also raises the contrast between official and operational curriculum and values and whether these actually are congruent with the Christian position of the school, an issue that reflects back to this chapter’s earlier discussion of contrasts between actual cultural norms and espoused hyperculture.

One indicator of Anglican schools repeatedly referred to by participants in them was Christian values. Although religious educators talk a lot about values, their distinctiveness and their philosophical or theological basis is problematic. In a comprehensive analysis of common values shared among Australian schools, Hill (1991) described many values that religious people claim as their own as being simply the democratic values of Australian society in general. He builds on this analysis in a more recent article (Hill, 2005), which unravels the generic motherhood ideas about values and challenges educators to examine the underlying belief systems which actually motivate moral behaviour. Cooling (2006) also asserts that values are dependent on an underlying framework of belief. He particularly explores how Christian values and frames of thinking can be embedded in curriculum, instead of it mimicking unexamined secularism. He gives attention to the Anglican context of inclusiveness with its incarnational theological emphasis. For Cooling, there are distinctively Christian presuppositions which go beyond common values. He writes, “Christian education is not simply regular education done better, but education reworked on a Christian basis” (p. 47). Others who develop philosophies and pedagogies of Christian education around values include Fallding (2007) who responds to humanist claims that Christian dogma is unnecessary for a moral life, Smith (2008) who advocates ways of teaching ethics using the concepts of Kohlberg, Habermas and Gilligan, and Lovat (2002) who explores different models of Religious Education. Many of these articles come from non-Anglican denominations and reflect different theological presuppositions. However, given the fluidity of Anglican theology and its ambiguous positioning as both Reformed and Catholic, such ideas were alive within Anglican schools seeking to clarify their mission and purposes. There are also those such as Law (2006) who question the validity of faith-based education, suggesting it indoctrinates through traditional religious authoritarianism,
submitting unquestionably to dogma and sacred texts. Law’s major position is that liberal critical thinking is essential for education. In view of the Anglican emphasis on reason, it is interesting that he believes that critical evaluation of religious dogma and texts is essential in good Religious Education. Law demolishes arguments that religious frameworks are necessary for clear and critical thinking or that they are the only bulwark against relativism.

The preceding overview of those major themes in the sociology of religion which are pertinent to the research topic indicates the highly complex nature of analysis of religion and the range of factors, both social and spiritual, which bear on it. These interlock with the other domains impinging on Anglican school culture: organizations, schools, teachers’ work, leadership, Anglican history and Australian Anglicanism.

2.14. Conclusion
A search for true meanings in the interpretation of Anglican education involves exploration of a complex set of interrelated concepts and disciplines. The starting point for the research project was school culture as a subset of organizational culture. Defining culture led into evaluating divergent approaches, especially conflicts between constructivism and realism, with a synthesis being offered: that internal meanings are given shape in social action and in relationships and are then renegotiated to produce cultural norms through continuous interaction of internal and external realities around shared issues, tasks and sites. The concept of cultural nesting meant that several major subcultures needed to be understood: that of the school and its relationship to the contemporary societal culture within which it sits, and also specific cultures of schooling and teaching. Within this were the important aspects of teachers’ own interpretations of their work and of school leadership which both affects culture and is affected by it. However Anglican schools are not only nested within societal and educational cultures, they also nested within religious culture and ethos. Understanding this meant exploration of the history and theology of Anglicanism and the meanings of this for Anglican schools. On one level this directed attention to social functions of religion, especially that of civil religion. On the more personal or interior level, it entailed consideration of the meaning and propagation of faith in an apparently secularized society. Anglicanism, with a history grounded in political compromise and with a paradoxical theology, exemplifies quintessentially the interplay of external social relations with internal meaning-making in the production of culture.
Durkheim once postulated that societies exist only in the minds of individuals, and that it is through collective imagination that reality is attributed to the social order (Fenn, 2001, p. 132). This research seeks to balance this tension in developing theory about organizational culture in Australian Anglican secondary schools. The concurrent collection and analysis of the empirical data from those schools according to grounded theory methodology has driven examination of much of the literature reviewed. This process of constant comparison against a backdrop of theoretical sensitivity progressively revealed concepts germane to the topic. How this methodology was applied is the subject of the next chapter.
CHAPTER 3
METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH DESIGN: MEANINGS AND TRUTH

Glaser and Strauss brought together two contrasting philosophical and methodological traditions: Columbia University positivism and University of Chicago pragmatism respectively. The positivist tradition emphasizes “the scientific method” and assumes an external world...... Pragmatist tradition views reality as consisting of fluid, somewhat indeterminate processes. Pragmatism also acknowledges multiple perspectives.... (Charmaz, 2009, p. 128)

Grounded theory is a way of thinking...as long as you have theoretical sampling, constant comparison, ask some sort of questions, how you actually do it is individual. (Corbin, 2009, p. 236)

[Darwin’s theory of natural selection] is not a rigorous law of nature, but a statistical one, telling us what is most likely...Statistical laws are more of a trend, though they can be refined by evidence, inductively. (Knight, 2004, pp. 141-142)

PART 1: METHODOLOGY
3.1. Truth, knowledge and research paradigms
The fundamental challenge of all research is to establish what is true. Yet worthwhile knowledge goes beyond simply presenting what is analytically and factually true. It draws out significance in the discoveries made. How any researcher defines what is true and what is significant will guide both the conceptualisation and also the design of the research.

Modern scientific inquiry was built on the assumption that the regularity and complexity observed in nature is intrinsic to an objective reality, which derives from the purposeful and meaningful design of a deity who is the ultimate ground of being (Knight, 2004, chapt. 3; Popkin and Stroll, 1956, p. 144). From this sprang the positivist paradigm of research, where nature is held to be real and independent of the human inquirer. Entailed in the whole Enlightenment enterprise was also the belief that reality can be known and that genuine scientific knowledge is predictable and replicable. In discussing postmodernism, Connor (2004, p. 7) uses Latour’s idea that modernity is characterised by its separation of scientific knowledge about nature and political knowledge about people. Positivist
science had a well-established route to evaluate truth, through predictive hypothesis followed by experiment to confirm or falsify it, and there were clear criteria for success in the concepts of replication and validity (Williams & May, 1996, chapt. 2). However, with the development of disciplines such as sociology and anthropology which focused on the study of humans rather than the study of nature, the inadequacy of this paradigm for understanding human interactions became increasingly evident (Goulding, 2002, chapt. 1). Hypothesis-testing could not sensibly be applied to the complex social world, where variables are multitudinous and uncontrollable and where experiments are usually neither ethically nor practically possible. As Sayer (1984, chapt. 4) observes, regularity and reliability in causality are dependent on having a closed system where there is no variation in either the agent or external conditions, while social systems are necessarily open. When the classic scientific method is applied to theorizing about culture it tends to lock it into predetermined categories, typically stereotyping both culture and religion as results, rather than causes, of social phenomena (Thomas, 2005, pp. 61-62).

Awareness of the inadequacy of positivist models for defining the complexity of human interactions led to the employment of methods of investigation known as qualitative. By contrast with the quantitative scientific paradigm, qualitative research does not seek to predict and measure but to understand and explain meanings of human behaviour (Miller & Fredericks, 1996, p. 25; Locke, 2001, pp. 4-9). Qualitative research particularly takes account of the volitional character of its human subjects and it recognises that values and presuppositions are embedded in both researchers and their subjects. Its interpretivist strands give centrality to the interpretations and meaning-making of participants (Jaffe & Miller, 1994).

As the nineteenth century progressed, the dominant philosophical paradigm shifted from deism to humanism, with a consequent metaphysical shift by which the knower became the definer and, eventually, the creator of reality. This led to constructivist models of investigation. As constructivist grounded theorist, Charmaz (2009, p. 130-131), writes: “A real world exists but is never separate from the viewer...We exist in a world that is acted upon and interpreted by our research participants and by us [researchers].” Full blown constructivism denies that there is any objectively knowable external reality; instead it asserts that only multiple experiences, interpretations and perspectives of participants can be known. Therefore, its interest is in the subjective character of social knowledge and how it is constructed within specific situations, cultures and ideologies, not in
establishing generalisable principles of causation. Consequently, it seeks thick
description that reveals the meaning attributed by participants, not information
reducible to numbers. It studies natural settings to see what happens in real-life.
Its logic is theoretical not statistical (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; George & Bennett,
2005; Goulding, 2002, p. 17; Marvasti, 2004; Neuman, 2003; Shah & Corley,

While an interpretivist approach to social research makes meaning central, it
confronts a major problem in demonstrating the truth of its assertions. This was
particularly so at the height of scientific positivism in the twentieth century
(Goulding, 2002, p. 41), when social science was expected to fit the models of
natural science, where the supposedly objective criteria of reliability and validity
are used as the measure of truth. Reliability was understood as consistency,
whereby the same results could be replicated by other independent investigators.
Validity refers to a provable match between data and theoretical construct
(Neuman, 2003). However establishment of validity is problematic in terms of
qualitative data and replication of social situations cannot be created in a
laboratory (Bloor, 1997, p. 37).

Qualitative philosophers and researchers have dealt with this through describing a
range of techniques which establish the truthfulness of their conclusions. A central
one is that of triangulation where different methods of data collection coalesce to
indicate the same interpretation. Corroboration by participants who verify the
consistency of the analysis with their own experience is another. Open discussion
and coherent explanation of negative cases using previous studies or theoretical
reasoning is also an indicator of validity, as is authentic and unbiased
representation of the multi-vocality of social contexts. Clearly evident separation
of raw data from analysis is another indicator (Bloor, 1997; Dingwall, 1997).
Explanation of how different concepts have been used to cross-check strengthens
validity. So does analysis of mechanisms of change which substitutes for
experimentally provable causation (Sayer, 1984). For case studies, Bryman
(1988) argues that “cogent theoretical reasoning” and “analytic generalization”
necessarily replace statistical generalization, while Lincoln and Guba’s (2000)
chapter which is devoted to comparing traditional and postmodern paradigms,
defends the meaning-making of the researcher, and focuses on authenticity shown
in the processes of interpretation and on plausible reasoning which is validated by
community consent. Lincoln and Guba are also the originators of a snappy four-
Credibility, Transferability, Dependability, Confirmability. Miller and Fredericks
(1996) comprehensively analyse how qualitative findings can be confirmed. They
develop an argument about rules of evidence for a qualitative hypothesis and
consider it confirmed if data is positive in its favour, there is no contradiction
between forms of evidence or if the majority of the evidence is confirmatory, and
if the evidence entails the hypothesis. They also put much weight on consistency
of methods with research questions, the type of theory claimed and
epistemological assumptions (See esp. pp. 41-50, 66-67). The difficulty of
verification for social research is highlighted by Locke (2001, p. 125) who
comments on the increasing proportion of space in research articles which is
devoted to explaining methodology in order to justify the validity of the research.
Indeed the current dissertation may be considered an example of this
phenomenon.

As this summary indicates, truthfulness in qualitative research comes down to the
suggests that trustworthiness can be evaluated against the three criteria of
engagement with the data, analysis of emergent issues and checking of data with
their sources. Silverman (1989, p. 72) defines validity as ability to withstand
plausible rival interpretations. The idea of validity as trustworthiness is developed
by Tashakkori and Teddlie (1998), who itemise transferability, dependability of the
inquiry process, confirmability and explicit critical researcher reflection as criteria
for trustworthiness in qualitative work. Unlike many methodologists, Tashakkori
and Teddlie also note that personal and un-systematized knowledge is a valid tool
for the interpretation of data and should be explicitly acknowledged. Eisner claims
the “truth tests” for qualitative inquiry are coherence, consensus and instrumental
utility; he compares corroboration tests like those itemised above, to the
circumstantial evidence used in legal judgments. Truth in qualitative research is
seen as “probable” (Eisner, 1991, pp. 55-58, 109). Indeed realistic evaluation of
even naturalistic hypotheses, indicates that all knowledge is ultimately probable,
as the litter of discarded eighteenth and nineteenth century scientific theories
demonstrates (Knight, 2004, p. 193).

On the issue of truthfulness, founding grounded theorist, Strauss (with Corbin,
1998b), rejects positivist views and affirms that the probabilist nature of theories
deriving from researcher interpretations does not nullify their value. Researchers
are situated in specific times and places, and theories may be revised as social
conditions change, but nevertheless prove useful in their historical time, and as a
basis for further understanding. The current research project is therefore a
qualitative one, since only qualitative methodologies can open the possibility of understanding meaning and significance of social data.

3.2. The place of Grounded Theory in qualitative research

The qualitative methodology selected was grounded theory. According to Pidgeon and Henwood (2004, p. 627), grounded theory "exemplifies some of the core strategies of qualitative inquiry" and particularly the prominence given to theory development, which Goulding (2002, p. 20) characterises as central to qualitative research. Grounded theory was considered appropriate for investigating Anglican school culture for two major reasons. Firstly, the aim of the study is the development of theory on a topic in which there is little pre-existing research. It is not testing existing social theory nor presenting abstract speculation. Its purpose is not the same as classic cultural studies with their ethnographic focus on the psychosocial experiences and processes of sense-making of participants, using researcher immersion in that world (Marvasti, 2004, chapt. 3). Grounded theory has a definitive concern with theory generation and on these grounds alone is exceptionally suitable for the goals of this research. Secondly, this methodology pre-eminently captures the tension between a realist ontology, so often reduced to figures in quantitative work, and a search for human meaning, the central concern of interpretivist social science. Grounded theory can be characterised as a middle way, perhaps inherently ambivalent in its approach to verification, but doggedly concentrated on empiricism, data evaluation and usefulness (Dey, 1999, p. 213f.).

It also has strong links with traditional cultural studies, since a major formative influence on its development was symbolic interactionism, which has subsets such as the symbolic interpretive approach used in Geertz’s (1973) seminal work, The Interpretation of Cultures. Denzin (1992) outlines the history and development of symbolic interactionism. It began in psychological studies and its interest continues to be on the individual’s consciousness and the sense-making of the human subject. The role of communication is pivotal because interpretation and meaning are seen as embedded in the various modes and social contexts of signification. From this foundation two sociologists with contrasting backgrounds, Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss, combined forces during the 1960s to develop a new approach which drew on both the positivist scientific training of Glaser and the critical American pragmatist school which had shaped Strauss (Goulding, 2002, p. 40f.; Strauss & Corbin, 1998a, p. 9f.). In 1967 their book, The Discovery of Grounded Theory, articulated the insights derived from these disparate traditions. From positivism grounded theory gained its realist ontology and its strongly empiricist orientation, entailing an inductive approach to theory.
generation. As Dey (1999, p. 17) notes, the originators of the methodology came close to positing an external reality unaltered by the observer’s presence. The very title of their work, *The Discovery of Grounded Theory* (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), implicitly accepts that the ideas generated were there for the finding, as many commentators have noted. Glaser continued to hold firm to the idea that theory is embedded in the data while Strauss and his followers would explicitly reject the notion of truth being positivist (Corbin and Holt, 2006, p. 49; Strauss & Corbin, 1998b, p. 171).

At the same time the method incorporates the philosophy of critical pragmatism; one facet of this, which grounded theory takes up, is the view that truth is centred on what works, what is verifiable and what gives satisfactory solutions to the presenting problem (Denzin, 1992, p. 6). As Goulding (2002, p. 41) so succinctly explains, grounded theory tried to “bridge the gap between theoretically ‘uniformed’ empirical research and empirically ‘uninformed’ theory by grounding theory in data.”

When Glaser and Strauss introduced the concepts of grounded theory, their major concern was to inject the same type of rigour into qualitative social research as scientists claimed for the natural sciences. In social research there was a perceived need for empirical evidence which would also have explanatory power (Pidgeon & Henwood, 2004, p. 626). Grounded theory was an innovative approach which sought to address this need and give credibility to qualitative inquiry in an era of sharp dichotomies between quantitative positivist research and qualitative interpretivist forms of inquiry. These qualitative approaches were increasingly predominating in the social sciences, particularly in the health sciences. However, in a context where the dominant paradigm was constituted of positivist assumptions, such studies were considered second-class by the academic establishment. Grounded theory was an attempt to present an equally respectable research base with legitimate processes of verification, but better fitted for the nature of social and human studies (Strauss & Corbin, 1998b).

Over the following four decades there were significant shifts in the understanding, applications and locations of grounded theory investigations. Perhaps unsurprisingly given it was a ground-breaking reconceptualization of research methodology, inconsistencies and lack of clarity were identified in some of the formulations of the founders, as Dey (1999) has systematically described. In addition, a major and acrimonious division occurred between the two founders, Glaser and Strauss.
A plethora of approaches identifying themselves as grounded theory have appeared in these years, as grounded theory has proved itself very amenable to adaptation, since the original text was concerned with fundamental principles, not methods. Variety in methods followed the variety of meanings held by researchers inspired by the ideas (Corbin and Holt, 2006, p. 50). Although he details some very systematic schemas for coding and theory development, Strauss put at the head of his book a definition of methodology as “a way of thinking about and studying social reality” (Strauss & Corbin, 1998a), a statement closely echoed several times by second generation grounded theorists more than a decade later in their report on the current state of the methodology (Morse et al., 2009). Thus grounded theory can be considered as a conceptualization more than a tightly defined set of research activities. It is very much a methodology in flux (Corbin & Holt, 2005, p. 50). As Charmaz (2009, p. 136) writes, “Grounded theory is a method in process...[It is not] fixed and static...it has shifted over the years.” To some extent any qualitative research claiming rigour and empirical validity has appealed to the methodology as the model for systematic, field-based investigation. The result has been the development of a series of grounded theory families, rather than a monolithic approach (Strauss & Corbin, 1998b).

Therefore it is unhelpful to characterise the present research as a straightforward grounded theory study. Rather it only purports to use some of the insights of grounded theory in a version modified for the particularities of this research question. Since the concepts of grounded theory are the organising methodology, the use of this framework will be better appreciated in the context of some explanation of the ways of thinking about research and of approaching data which are characteristic of grounded theory.

3.3. Core elements of Grounded Theory

3.3.1 Theory building

“Most attempts to find general cultural conceptions displayed in particular social contexts are content be merely evocative...The scholar who wishes to avoid this sort of perfected impressionism has thus to build his theoretical scaffold at the same time that he conducts his analysis,” writes Geertz in his classic text (1973, p. 312). Two points can be taken up from this quotation. Firstly, the danger that confronts interpretivist approaches to analysis is that the final product, while rich and dense in data will be poor in more general explanatory power. This is a concern considered exhaustively in the field of the philosophy of science (e.g. Dey, 1999; George & Bennett, 2005; Sayer, 1984). But secondly Geertz is suggesting
that an appropriate response to that challenge is to build theory alongside analysis. Both of these issues are central to grounded theory thinking.

While the dominant assumption of interpretivist social science is that meanings are the central concern because social reality can only be known subjectively, grounded theory is focused on the collection of empirical data as the basis of social theorizing. Probably its most distinctive claim is that analysis and theory development should be interwoven with data collection to ensure that abstractions are tightly “grounded” in concrete information. This, of course, echoes Geertz’s words quoted above. It is well-suited to the postpositivist position taken by this dissertation in its search for cultural meaning.

Glaser and Strauss’ writings show both realist, modernist concerns and also language and interests stemming from their heritage in American pragmatism and symbolic interactionism. They juxtapose two sociological philosophies. There is an emphasis on issues of verification and replicability and an assumption of realist ontology. There is also, especially in later writings, the interpretivist preoccupation with meanings and a social world constructed through human agency, with a view of usefulness as the criterion for judging good theory (Glaser, 1994, p. 282; Locke, 2001, pp. 12, 21, 59). Strauss and Corbin (1998b, p. 160) insist that theirs is “interpretive work… [which] must include the perspectives and voices of those studied.” As explained retrospectively by Strauss, the three major aims of his landmark book were to promote theory development tied to empirical data sources, rather than philosophic speculation, to suggest a grounded theory logic and to “legitimate careful qualitative research.” He also avows its explicit pragmatic orientation. “Usefulness” was the key to its worth (Strauss and Corbin, 1998b, pp. 162, 171).

Despite its diversity there are some non-negotiable qualities of grounded theory which are repeatedly stressed by its proponents. Foundationally, as a qualitative enterprise, it is concerned with generating theory, not testing existing theory, and grounded theories definitionally do this through starting with empirical data. The central term of “theory” needs clarification. While its general usage is helpfully defined in the Shorter Oxford English Dictionary (2002) as “a system of ideas or statements explaining something; a hypothesis that…is accepted as accounting for known facts”, grounded theorists emphasize relationships among concepts. Corbin & Holt (2005, p. 49) use the definition of “a set of concepts that are integrated through a series of relational statements”, while Strauss and Corbin (1998a, p. 22) expand the idea into “well-developed categories that are
systematically interrelated through statements of relationship to form a theoretical framework that explains some relevant phenomenon. The statements of relationship explain who, what, when, where, why, how and with what consequences an event occurs.” They explain it more concisely (Strauss & Corbin, 1998b, pp. 168, 170) as “systematic statements of plausible relationships among concepts.” In summary, good theory is an abstraction, relating concepts together in order to explain observable phenomena.

3.3.2 Other fundamental principles
As well as the central concern with theory generation, grounded theorists are unanimous in emphasising three other defining qualities of the method. These are the asking of questions, not only of the basic research question, but continuous questioning as the definitive mode of operation, constant comparison and theoretical sampling (Shah & Corley, 2006, pp. 1827-8). These are essential and fundamental principles by which any research claiming the designation grounded theory must abide. Thus in Basics of Qualitative Research, in a context of enumerating variety in strategies, the authors write: “Procedures of making comparison, asking questions and sampling based on evolving theoretical concepts are essential features of the methodology” (Strauss & Corbin, 1998a, p. 46); and eleven years later, in a book richly chronicling many branches of the methodology (Morse et al., 2009, p. 145), Corbin echoes her original words: “As long as you have theoretical sampling, constant comparison, ask some sort of questions, how you actually do it is individual.”

In terms of questioning as the central modus operandi, grounded theory requires researchers to interrogate the data at every point, seeking out the interpretations of participants and scrutinizing their words to open up awareness of possible meanings and contexts. (Strauss & Corbin, 1998a, chapt. 5) Emerging theoretical concepts are continually revised through questioning their meaning and relationship to new data, while deviant cases force higher levels of questioning to elicit more abstract theorizing. Rather than simply one or two questions being asked and then tested as in classic deductive scientific research, the grounded theory researcher must work on several fronts simultaneously, inducing concepts and critiquing his or her own analytic constructions. Since theory generation is fore-grounded, such research is inherently occupied with revealing new ideas and concepts (Shah & Corley, 2006). And, as the definitions of theory suggest, questions as to the relationships between different conceptual elements must be asked and answered to link them into a whole (Locke, 2001, p. 51). Theory generation requires that the objectivist paradigm be reversed, so that direct
exposure to the data is not for the purposes of verification but is the source of theory which is self-verifying through its mode of collection and analysis.

This mode which is so critical to the validity of the methodology is that of constant comparison, which itself is a manifestation of a way of thinking steeped in questioning. Constant comparison, or “the activity of comparing and giving a name” as it is designated by Locke (2001, p. 64), is the procedure by which, simultaneously with its collection, each data instance is continuously compared to its predecessors and coded according to its relevance to theory generation (Glaser, 1994, Chapt. 9). Thus analysis occurs as data is gathered, and so theory is also developed progressively, being modified and refined through its inextricable connection to the field of inquiry. When all sources of information converge repeatedly to give the same theoretical meaning and no new evidence of relevance to theoretical insight is forthcoming, “saturation” is said to have occurred (Glaser, 1994, p. 190; Goulding, 2002, p. 70; Pidgeon & Henwood, 2004, p. 642; Strauss & Corbin, 1998a, p 212). The lack of disconfirming examples is taken as demonstrating the validity of the theory.

While apparently simple, problems with constant comparison as a means of verification have been raised in the literature. Dey (1999, pp. 232-3) identifies some ambiguities in the originators’ explanations, in that they may mean that the resultant theory is verified necessarily through induction from the empirical evidence, or, alternatively, that further evidence may be needed to confirm the generalizations so produced. Also, since disconfirming instances can be treated as springboards for greater sophistication of theorizing, determining the point of saturation and the weighting of differing pieces of data further problematizes this apparently straightforward logic (Locke, 2001, p. 84; Miller & Fredericks, 1996, pp. 1, 2, 31). Such arguments indicate the potential for refining and reapplying the methodology more than they negate its value. While any simple numeric formula is vigorously rejected by grounded theorists, the parallel of constant comparison with positivist probability concepts makes it clearly comprehensible, and further strengthens the links with realism.

Constant comparison is the pivotal tool of grounded theory analysis. According to Strauss and Corbin (1998a, p.13), “Analysis is the interplay between researchers and data. It is both science and art.” As an art, its success depends on what Eisner (1991) calls “connoisseurship”, which is the ability to make nuanced distinctions among complex and subtle qualities and to discern relationships among emergent concepts. While symbolic interactionism focuses on meaning-
grounded theory analysis is centred on conceptualization, not description. The aim is what Strauss and Corbin call “conceptual density” (1998b, p. 161). Glaser (1994, pp. 279-80) gives a more expansive explanation of this in relation to formal theory. He discusses how properties are conceptual elements of categories which in turn are conceptual elements of theory, so that conceptualization occurs on several levels, and the more a theory is integrated with all conceptualizations to increase abstraction, the more dense it can be considered. Relationships between concepts are clearly critical.

The major adjunct to constant comparison is the selection of objects or events for analysis. Qualitative research disdains random sampling, espousing purposive sampling, with the intention of gaining understanding through selection of appropriate voices or events. The grounded theory version of purposive sampling is known as “theoretical sampling”, the name indicating the subservience of the examples to finding theory. That is, samples are selected on site as the study progresses on the basis of their effectiveness in exploring emerging theory (Glaser, 1994, p. 276f.; Pidgeon & Henwood, 2004, p. 630; Goulding, 2002, pp. 66-7).

3.3.3 Debates within Grounded Theory

It is in the related areas of sampling and analytic coding, that two distinct schools of grounded theory have clearly diverged from the common heritage, each of them being identified with one of the founders. In order to systematise analysis of the complexity of relationships between concepts, Strauss developed a matrix of different coding strategies. Initial open coding, where common themes are linked and used to guide future sampling, is followed by axial and selective coding. A very thorough set of procedures is enunciated for identifying and distinguishing properties and dimensions of a concept and there is an emphasis on having guiding questions early in the process (Strauss & Corbin, 1998a, Part 2; Corbin and Holt, 2006, p. 50). There is some opaqueness in Strauss’s definitions of categories, properties and dimensions and Dey (1999, p. 258) proposes alternative options to such coding, including the use of descriptive summaries.

Glaser himself criticised Strauss’s model as foreign to the original intent of allowing theory to emerge, rather than forcing data to fit preconceived systems or questions. He saw it as unnecessarily prescriptive, technical and rigid. He felt that axial coding better fitted with hypothesis verification than data-driven discovery (Dey, 1999, p. 260; Goulding, 2002, pp. 47, 158f.; Locke, 2001, p. 83;
Pidgeon & Henwood, 2004). Glaser’s own model of analysis first requires open coding of categories, followed by tabulation of their common properties through which two perspectives, that of the participants and that of the researcher, become distinguished. As this occurs, the researcher is able to compare on an increasingly conceptual level, and come to the point of “delimiting the theory”. Glaser uses this term to mean reducing the initial concepts constituting substantive theory (grounded in the specific situation) to being fewer in number and simultaneously higher in abstraction, thus moving closer to “formal theory”, characterised by parsimony of variables and breadth of scope (Glaser, 1994, pp. 185-190, 270). Glaser’s approach has been more influential in this project because of its greater simplicity in viewing the research question through the positivist end of the grounded theory spectrum, since the analysis is not concentrating on the intricacies of informants’ interpretations.

Part of this debate is located in the bigger issue of the validity of qualitative inquiry. At stake are matters such as whether it is concerned with establishing causation or only historical description and correlations, and what is the place of prior disciplinary knowledge and frameworks (Pidgeon & Henwood, 2004, p. 633f.) Reference has already been made to the fact that the clear-cut dichotomy between quantitative and qualitative paradigms which prevailed at the time that grounded theory was originally proposed, is not so tenable in an era of postmodern research and social constructivist critiques of the objectivity of science (Heise, 2004). In this respect it must be noted that there is linguistic ambiguity in the usage of terms such as hypothesis, research question and theory. For example, Miller and Fredericks (1996, p. 41), in formulating some rules for qualitative evidence, talk of “the posing of clear research questions and/or hypotheses”, thus collapsing together two of the supposedly key differentials in qualitative and quantitative approaches. Conversely Bassey (2002, p. 116) does make a neat distinction between “a research hypothesis” which is “a conjecture to be tested” and “a research issue” which is “an area for inquiry where no hypotheses have yet clearly been expressed”, but in the practice of constant comparison where theory is evolving through testing, such a distinction has little practical utility. According to Tashakkori and Teddlie (1998, p. 32) “it is not even clear that the two research prototypes are different from one another if you make one major assumption: that the purposes of both quantitative and qualitative research include answering how and why questions.” Dey (1999, chpts. 10, 11), writing specifically about grounded theory, notes a bias towards naturalistic inquiry in the construction of analysis in terms of categories. He explores how conditions provide some predictability in social situations and argues for the
inherently numerical nature of recognising regular patterns, even going so far as to claim categories have been “drafted in to serve as a bridge between the rich interpretive language of naturalistic inquiry and the formal concepts of quantitative analysis” (p. 27). Surely conditions and categories are in the same class as variables, and qualitative terms like “weight of evidence” or “saturation”, through their use of arithmetic concepts of mass and number of instances, are not as completely different to statistical evidence as is sometimes assumed.

One matter which arises from these methodological ambiguities and which is not often discussed specifically in grounded theory literature is the place of causal theories. This needed consideration in analysing Anglican schools when connections between Anglican church ethos and Anglican school ethos became clearer: does the central research question, What, if any, common Anglican school culture is indicated across school sites?, imply a subsidiary question as to what causes any common culture? This issue is implied too in Shah & Corley’s, (2006, p 1821) definition of a theory as “explaining why empirical patterns are observed or expected” and in Eisner’s (1991, pp. 198-201) discussion of generalization as being the recognition of similarity in situations and transference of learning, so that theory is what explains why generalizations work. Although explanatory description is the natural mode of qualitative theorizing, this begs the question as to whether explanation entails description of causation. Sayer (1984) gives a detailed analysis of this problem, showing that explanations of causation for regularities are dependent on an object having causal powers which operate within stable internal and external conditions, a context extremely unlikely in most social investigations where conditions (which also can be equated to variables) are multitudinous. So when correlation can be shown, it is a notorious logical fallacy to derive causation from this. Sayer also separates causal explanations from predictions, a helpful distinction in looking at the two institutions of church and schools which experience ongoing change over time so that those forces which have had causal power historically may no longer be operative. Likewise George and Bennett (2005, pp. 21f.), in their discussion of case study research, deal with the relationship between causal mechanisms and historical explanations, noting that good descriptions of the latter may preclude generalizations applicable to broad populations. This book is an interesting methodological example in that it uses the language of positivism to analyse interpretive historical and social research.

This example of methodological crossover returns us to some final comments about how specifically grounded theory approaches deal with one of these
paradoxes, namely the place of prior disciplinary knowledge, when one is seeking to generate innovative theory driven by data and uncontaminated by prior frameworks. Grounded theory uses the term “theoretical sensitivity” to refer to existing knowledge, both formal and informal, which the researcher brings to the task. Strauss and Corbin (1998b, p. 167), for instance, comment that the researcher may carry “explicit theories” into their research “that might be useful if played against systematically gathered data.” Locke (2001, p. 89) talks of the value of “parallel personal experiences”. Goulding (2002, p. 75) itemises prior conditions for grounded theory research as “an existing perspective, awareness of substantive issues in the discipline, a school of thought and a degree of personal experience.” Such comments seem to indicate that it becomes a fine point to differentiate sensitising as a form of induction which aids formulating a research question, from the conventional quantitative process of inducing a hypothesis from empirical experience and then testing it. Pidgeon and Henwood (2004, p. 628) emphasize that theoretical sensitivity is a tool for vision-creation and hermeneutic awareness. The previous chapter reviewing literature demonstrated that understanding some very substantive areas was necessary to make sense of the concrete empirical data offered by participants about their schools. The role of theoretical sensitivity is awareness raising. Literature and disciplinary information are part of what Stern (2009) calls a “conglomerate of data.” While no one model or idea from the literature is being tested, there is constant interplay between those ideas and the empirical evidence in interpreting meaning and fleshing out concepts. The paradox is resolved in the practice of the method. To quote Stern again: “I was the instrument and my worldview went into the mix, but I didn’t find what I expected to before beginning the study because I had to respect the data” (p. 58, emphasis in original).

Stern’s experience was also very much that of this researcher in the investigation of Anglican schools. In the next section the practical application of grounded theory thinking and research design to this project will be described.

**PART 2: RESEARCH DESIGN AND IMPLEMENTATION OF GROUNDED THEORY**

3.4. Overall research strategy

The research on Australian Anglican schools began where the previous section ended, namely with theoretical sensitivity and prior knowledge. The topic suggested itself because of my extensive professional exposure to many different types of schools in both public and private sectors. These included Anglican, Catholic systemic and Catholic independent, other Protestant, Christian Community schools and non-denominational ones. Awareness of both the
common life worlds of teachers and also of the differences in the micro-cultures across different educational institutions resulted. Concurrently I had intensive experience of Anglican churches. In neither area, however, had I critically analysed their cultures before embarking on this research, where these two areas of personal knowledge converge.

The central research problem was to ascertain whether there is evidence of a common culture shared by different Australian Anglican schools. Since understanding culture necessitates giving serious attention to the interpretations of participants in the culture, it was logical to use qualitative data from site studies of Anglican schools as the basis for grounded theorizing. Once the focus on common Anglican culture was confirmed, it was clear that the research design would have to incorporate the heterogeneity evident within Anglicanism, particularly its diocesan location. While one in-depth study using immersion in the culture would undoubtedly yield rich data about that school and its religious life, it was felt that it would be susceptible to the criticisms regularly levelled at single case research, that it provides only limited grounds for generalisation to the whole class to which the case belongs (Bryman, 1988; George & Bennett, 2005). Therefore, from the outset sites were chosen according to the principles of theoretical sampling (Locke, 2001, p.15 – 17). This meant that schools were selected from contrasting dioceses and that the individual schools incorporated contrasting educational, social and religious variable to maximise their representativeness of diversity in all areas. Within this research framework, contingent opportunities were utilised. Site studies took place consecutively, allowing constant comparison between sites to refine the theoretical categories which emerged from the data.

As already stated, there were two levels to the research, reflecting the two guiding questions. The first level focused on answering the question, *What qualities characterise the organizational culture at this site?*. This entailed an in-depth cultural study of each site which elicited concrete data on the school’s unique culture, with particular consciousness of supplementary research questions (a) and (b) (*Where do staff perceive that religion impacts on school life? How do staff interpret the religious dimension of the school?*). Data was analysed according to significant themes which derived both from the interests of participants in the culture and also from the core emphasis of the research as encapsulated in questions (a) and (b). The information was then written up in the form of thick description of the organizational culture, highlighting significant analytic themes and categories, and presented in a report to each principal. This procedure
provided one source of validation. One school had undergone another external review within the previous year and the principal commented specifically that the two analyses cohered, while at the other sites the reports were distributed within the school or treated as accurate resources for further discussion. In two of the schools follow up consultations occurred with the researcher presenting findings and engaging in discussion with staff.

The second level of analysis was founded on the first but dealt with the more central and theoretically interesting question of *What, if any, common Anglican school culture is indicated across school sites?* The cultural themes which emerged at the first level were interrogated in terms of information and concepts gained from readings in the related disciplines of Anglicanism, sociology of religion and contemporary education and leadership. Simultaneously, comparison with each successive site study drove conceptual categories to more abstract levels, especially through consideration of differences in the properties within key categories. The third site study provided particular challenges in this regard, as some of the key categories revealed themselves in different spheres of school life, and the critical area of religion presented with significantly different emphases. Feeding into this across-site level of analysis was also some empirical data going beyond the case study cultures. In every school the teachers interviewed were asked to make their own comparisons with other schools where they had taught. As the seventy-four interviewees reflected on their experiences of other Anglican and non-Anglican schools and provided insights as to their own interpretations of commonalities and differences, the scope of the comparative data broadened beyond the three sites and reached into other states and dioceses.

The first site was treated as a pilot study which would explore the research area and the methodology, and provide the foundation for further case studies by generating initial concepts. It is designated EAS (Exacting Anglican School) because, as will be explained when its culture is described, the dominant distinguishing cultural characteristic was revealed as a sense of frenetic activity and high demands on staff. It was chosen as representative of the mainstream of schools in that diocese, and because it appeared to be typical of the substantial number of middle range Anglican schools; it was not among the most exclusive and wealthy nor among those newer lower fee Anglican schools deliberately seeking less traditional and lower socio-economic clients, such as the Sydney Anglican Schools Corporations institutions in the western suburbs or schools of the Western Australia Anglican Schools Commission which aims to “support low fee
paying Anglican systemic schools” (WAASC Website). EAS represented the wave of independent schools founded in the last quarter of the twentieth century.

Access was possible because it was close to the researcher’s residence and, when the principal was approached he was open to admitting her into the school, having had a superficial prior acquaintance and having an interest in educational research. Other factors which made this a good starting point in terms of typicality and variety was that EAS was a co-educational school, so gender would not be a dominant shaper of its culture, and it was also clearly an Anglican school with its governance structurally linked to the local Anglican diocese. EAS was studied over an eight month period in 2006 – 2007, with frequent visits to the school and targeted interviewing according to the principles of constant comparison and theoretical sampling.

The second site was in a different state and diocese and required air travel to visit it, making the leisurely approach taken at EAS impossible. When I met its principal at a professional conference and listened to a seminar where he described his school, it was plain that this school represented some very different Anglican factors to that of EAS, and the opportunity was taken to request access for the research. The pseudonym HAS is used for this second case, representing Happy Anglican School, again referring to a striking cultural characteristic. HAS is single-sex and was established in the last quarter of the nineteenth century by a private owner as is typical of many schools of that era. Subsequently it was sold and taken over by an independent company. Its connections with the Anglican church are more personal than formal although there is a very close relationship with the local Anglican parish and three board members are elected by its parish council. There is no structural connection with its diocese, although the school, like similar ones in this state, identifies as Anglican, has Anglican chaplains and participates in joint Anglican diocesan events. Thus governance structures, diocesan educational context, gender, social positioning and length of establishment were different to EAS. HAS was studied in two visits in 2008. The initial two day visit was an introduction to the school and to key personnel. Some interviews took place and analysis of these before returning to the field allowed theoretically informed structuring of interview questions in the subsequent intensive visit over five days.

While the first two schools were completely independent ones in that their governance was through incorporated councils, to be truly representative of current Anglican schools in Australia it was determined to use a school with
connections to an Anglican system as the final case, so as to approach some
degree of maximum variation sampling at the case study level. DAS met this
criterion. There were several possible options for a systemic Anglican school, but
the opportunity arose to utilise DAS when the researcher exploited a meeting with
its principal, with whom she had had slight contact previously, at an Anglican
Schools Network Conference and raised the possibility of research there, on the
basis that DAS met the essential criteria of belonging to an Anglican system and
representing a third diocese with a quite different theological emphasis.

DAS is co-educational. It has a background of restructuring in several campuses
and history going back over fifty years. However, it was not until 2009 that the
research actually occurred, which proved significant, because events occurred in
the intervening time which were critical for the culture at the time of investigation.
DAS received its acronym because it was a Divided Anglican School. It proved a
fascinating representative of the opposite polarity to HAS, where there was
harmony and cohesion. DAS, like HAS, was not within easy travelling distance so
a similar process was repeated. There were two intensive visits with concurrent
analysis. In the first three day visit, planned observations of school events
occurred, there was an introduction of the researcher to staff and half the
interviews occurred. In the intervening three weeks some interviews were
transcribed and all were reviewed. As a result approaches were made by email to
specific staff to be informants and the questioning in the second set of interviews
deliberately addressed gaps and themes significant for theory development in
accordance with theoretical sampling.

It needs to be acknowledged that in the real world of social research, there is
much that is contingent and uncontrollable in working in the field. In his
introduction to *Doing Research in organizations* (1988, pp. 1, 9), Bryman talks of
“messiness”, “quirkiness”, “luck” and “serendipity”. This applies as much to the
selection of cases as it does to the quality of interviews or to the match between
the researcher and the personnel she deals with. While the selection of the cases
described above was guided by the research question and methodological
considerations, it was a fortuitous eventuality that the sites covered such variety
in their histories, structures and societal contexts as well as in the deliberately
chosen variables of churchmanship and diocese.

3.5. Research methods and data collection

In all sites the same processes and qualitative methods of data collection were
used and these will be described with comments on variations used to
accommodate specific contexts. Sensitisation to each context was gained initially through scanning web pages and other public documents, and targeted examination of relevant documents occurred contemporaneously with observation and interviews. In each case a survey was distributed to staff; its value depended on the particular site and in no cases were enough returned to be statistically significant. Observation of as much of school life as possible took place. It was considered a priority to at least attend assemblies and chapel services and there were a variety of other formal and informal opportunities at each school, depending very much on the attitude of individual personnel and indeed on the school culture itself, as will be explained in context. As explained in Chapter 2, cultural studies must give significant weight to the interpretations of insiders, so it was appropriate for the major tool of data collection to be in-depth interviews of staff, mostly professional teachers although technical aides and administrative staff also contributed.

3.5.1. Ethical considerations

This form of qualitative research raises ethical issues because those being interviewed and observed are the carriers of ethical rights. The dilemma of social studies is that of balancing the information given to participants with the benefits of observing and questioning without biasing their responses. Neuman (2003) summarizes the possible violation of participants where physical danger, psychological damage, legal harm or career detriment results. In this study the important area was the potential political effects on informants of their interpretations of cultural and organizational material. There were occasions in the research process when interviewees explicitly referred to the need to protect their identity. Confidentiality therefore was imperative. Principles laid down by Ethics Committees cover obvious social norms such as honesty, accuracy and legality and these were carefully followed. Specifically the Human Research Ethics Committee of Sydney University approved the research process and the information sheets, participant consent forms and surveys which were distributed, and which can be found in Appendices 1 – 5. The principles required are based on respect for the human subject, and in this case for the reputation of participating organizations. They include rejection of any coercion of people to participate and maintenance of anonymity unless disclosure has been approved.

However, there is necessarily a degree of discretionary judgement in applying principles in the field (Burgess, 1989, p. 8). Some of these problems are the issue of covert observation and difficulty of ascertaining to what extent consent can be realistically obtained in contingent situations (Burgess, 1989; Busher, 2002). For
instance, informal observations or invitations into a staff room or to observe a small committee could not be covered by an explicit request for consent without influencing the participants’ behaviour. In these cases recordings were not made, and extensive field notes were taken as soon as possible. Other decisions had to be made about dissemination of findings, especially in view of the political nature of knowledge (Riddell, 1989); and how to present findings which are necessarily evaluative and value-laden, while respecting the values of those participating. This was of paramount importance in writing reports for the schools, and required careful presentation of all viewpoints and explicit acknowledgement of the causal factors for any negative qualities.

In the current research there were several decisions made in order to protect the anonymity of both schools and individual participants. Since gender was not central to the emerging theory but was a clear identifier of schools, all principals have been presented as males, although in fact they were of both sexes. At times terminology which was specific to particular institutions has been replaced by more generic terms. Pseudonyms have been used for all participants and a few details which were potentially distinguishing but were not germane to theory development have been presented in equivocal ways.

This brief overview of ethical issues provides background to the following description of the methods applied to generate grounded theory.

3.5.2. Interviews
Since culture itself is such a diffuse area and is constituted in the continual negotiation and renegotiation of shared meanings within the organizational environment, validity in defining it is dependent on perspectives coming from a broad base. Although the perspectives themselves may be divergent because of individuals’ positioning, they will converge as indicators of common domains or cultural themes at the level of the researcher’s synthetic interpretation of data. Grounded theorizing is seen as validated when the emerging theory can take account of all this information and demonstrate its internal consistency. This is the point of “saturation”. While quantitative approaches avoid bias through random sampling of large populations, by definition qualitative in-depth interviewing cannot do this. Nor can a researcher command participation. Instead, selection of informants in qualitative work uses purposive sampling, the grounded theory version of which is theoretical sampling, where selection is governed by what advances theory development.
Of course, in the pilot study, sampling at first was not governed by any prior theoretical concepts. Rather it used what Locke (2001, p. 83) calls an “open sampling strategy”, where informants were selected to represent diverse roles and professional experience with particular attention given to including those with an interest in the core area of religion. To ensure that the whole culture rather than a biased subculture was on view, various techniques were applied strategically. Pidgeon and Henwood (2004, p. 635) itemise types of sampling that can be utilised in grounded theory. This study proceeded largely through three of these types.

Typical case sampling searches for normal representative members of the organization, while maximum variation sampling ensures that the range of possible roles is represented. In practice achieving this range can be challenging. As Crompton and Jones (1988) note, access to organizations is difficult and it is essential not to be limited to the interpretations of managers. In this study both first year out teachers and also the other extreme of highly experienced senior managers were intentionally sought out as well as those teaching at different levels of the school and in differing subject disciplines. Although it could not be controlled for, the gender balance in each school ended up being represented appropriately. Informants were found in varying ways in each school. At all schools executive staff, who had been informed of the research by their principals, were happy to contribute. Likewise every school produced some volunteers who responded to the request at the end of the survey. This was particularly successful at HAS. At EAS the chaplains initially recommended appropriate ordinary teachers. At HAS there was a mood of interest and co-operation (which of course also fed directly into analysis of its culture) and many interview contacts were made directly through asking those with whom the researcher mingled in the staff areas. To a lesser degree this occurred also at both other schools. At DAS the political situation was inhibiting, and it was found that the chain technique recommended by Martin (1992, p. 23), where each interviewee is asked to suggest someone else with similar or different perspectives, was very fruitful. At this school a fortunate early contact with a middle manager resulted in her showing the researcher around the school and introducing her to staff, some of whom were booked up on the spot. Rich response sampling was used as a form of theoretical sampling especially in the later interviews at each site. This is the selection of informants who may be able to provide the richest explanatory information. People interviewed in this category largely consisted of those whom the researcher had discovered through careful listening and observing would have a conscious interest in the religious dimension of the school or had experience in
particular conceptual areas emerging through interviews. All principals were interviewed twice because of their central role in influencing culture, with the second interview occurring near the end of the study and interrogating the principal on issues and facts that had emerged as significant and which required his perspective or unique knowledge for understanding.

Once contact had been established with potential interviewees, a similar approach to the actual interview was taken in each school. To maximise rapport and cooperation, interviews were held at times and places nominated by the interviewees. Most interviews lasted for about fifty minutes, the length of a secondary school period. All were held in private, except one follow up interview with two informants who shared some joint experiences in the same subject department. Interviewees signed a participant consent form and only two refused to be recorded. (In addition two people asked for the recorder to be turned off briefly at a sensitive point.) Written notes were taken during all interviews. The tables in Appendices 6 - 8 list those who participated in formal interviews and informal conversations (which were not recorded), and give some basic information about their organizational roles, professional experience, gender, religious position and personal qualities. Ages are estimated on the basis of information given. Names have been coded to protect identities. Interviews are referenced in the text according to this formula: Letter for school, I for interview, number as unique identifier.

The form of the interviews was very fluid. A guiding set of questions for a semi-structured approach was used, but it quickly became plain that careful listening led to responding to participants’ preoccupations and to do so was, in fact, central in becoming alert to the issues significant to those within the organization. In analysing interviews this was given prominence by writing them up with one section dedicated to what interviewees chose to talk about or expand on. Such sensitivity is fundamental to both grounded theory generation and to cross-cultural studies. As Geertz (1973, p. 13) notes, social anthropologists need “familiarity with the imaginative universe” which is the context of those studied. Bearing in mind this flexibility, most interviews included the following material.

3.5.2.a. Professional and religious background
Normally the first questions were about the informant’s professional background. This established rapport and understanding in a non-threatening manner. It also enabled the researcher to know the knowledge base of the person about the site study school and other schools he or she might compare it with. The theoretical
sensitivity of the researcher both to religious positions and to educational attitudes was a key tool in putting informants at ease and in drawing out ideas. As Stern (2009) says, the qualitative researcher is the instrument and the more refined that instrument is, the more sophisticated the data that will be collected. Interpretation was an active ingredient of all interviews as they occurred and provided the first stage of comparative analysis. Religious position was deduced through tangential comments and sensitivity to certain verbal expressions, although actually most informants were quite unthreatened in describing their particular religious convictions or lack of them, a telling point in itself, although the researcher also worked hard to identify with the perspectives presented. It became increasingly clear that the emergent theory would need to incorporate the religious position of the informants in understanding their views.

3.5.2.b. General experience of the school
Informants were asked to describe their school’s characteristics and what it was like teaching there. Questions directed attention to staff preoccupations, activities and relationships. Informants were encouraged to tell anecdotes, which would reveal the life of the organization (Gubrium & Holstein, 1995, p. 47f.; Polyani, 1981). Such story-telling is an interviewing technique which facilitates the provision of rich and concrete data in the tradition of symbolic-interactionism, and is, of course, essential for theory which claims to be grounded in the social world being studied. Interviewees were encouraged to probe the meaning of their experiences through comparing the school to other schools where applicable, or to different time periods in this school. Such broad discussion facilitated understanding and provided strong comparative data that helped to identify distinctive characteristics relevant to both levels of the research topic, that is, the local site and generic Anglican culture.

3.5.2.c. Distinctive qualities of this school
In order to focus on cultural qualities most interviewees were asked: “What would you say is the essence of this school? What is the main thing you notice about teaching here?” This question elicited some definitions of the nature of the school, which could be related to religious aspects or other cultural features. It helped to establish some identifying themes and to double check on how homogenous staff experiences were.

3.5.2.d. Comparison with other schools
Where relevant, informants were asked to make comparisons and contrasts with other Anglican schools, with schools identified with other denominations and with
government schools in which they had taught. Informants drew on experience of forty Anglican schools and forty-seven non-Anglican independent schools. Fourteen teachers also referred to government schools. In making such comparisons they were asked to look for processes and attitudes which they recognized as distinctive or as similar, particularly in relation to religious practices or behaviours related to values or school priorities. This technique could be considered a type of constant comparison by extension. There were some very thoughtful responses which helped identify some core conceptual categories.

3.5.2.e. Discussion about religion
At some point discussion was deliberately narrowed to request information about where and how religion was evident to the interviewee. The definition of “religion” or “Anglican” was left open to be filled by the respondent according to their own understanding, avoiding leading questions, so as to “build theory grounded in the voices, actions and experiences of those studied” (Goulding, 2002, p. 106). Responses provided information not only about religious activities in the school’s life but about the meanings and significance attributed to them by the individual. This topic fed directly into supplementary research questions (a) and (b) and yielded rich data in the generation of the theory.

3.5.3 Comments on qualitative interviews
The collection of data through interviews is not unproblematic, especially in a cultural study using interviews in the service of critical realism. An interview is not neutral but is a social construct in itself, which sets up certain expectations and where participants can be concerned to play by the rules and bring off the event to their credit (Dingwall, 1997; Ribbins et al., 1988). This was evident in the comments of several respondents as to whether their answer was “what was wanted.” For instance, Lewis at EAS commented, “I know I don’t hit the nail on the head sometimes.” Therefore what Holstein and Gubrium (1995) term “active interviewing”, which recognises that responses are shaped through the interaction of interviewer and interviewee and acknowledges these perspectives, was required. In addition, not all interviews are equally productive. As Huberman (1993a, p. 32) comments, and as my interviews endorsed, interviewees range from the perceptive to the banal in their understanding and self-awareness. Also interviewee accounts of events and interpretations need to be cross-checked against each other and against other data, taking into consideration people’s personal and professional positions (Ribbins et al., 1988). While this dissertation does not analyse the respondents as its ethnographical subject, it takes seriously

3 See Appendix 9.
their subjectivity and they are not considered as receptacles of “facts” uncontaminated by personal interest. In fact, interviewees’ perspectival understanding of Anglicanism became a significant conceptual category.

In addition, special attention was given to the two organizational roles of principal and chaplain. Although the impact of leaders is debated in organizational literature, it was very significant in the comments of interviewees who regularly referred to the attitude and decisions of their principals, and mostly commenced remarks on religion with chapel or chaplains. Interviews with these people tended to be longer and more expansive, and it was notable that as playmakers in the religious culture, both principals and chaplains had different perspectives to other staff, providing a form of deviant case sampling, where personal motivation was a significant dimension. Such diversity in data enables sophistication in conceptual categories in grounded theorizing and conventionally is important in claims of validity.

Preliminary analysis of interviews occurred as they took place in accordance with principles of constant comparison. Wragg (2002) makes the point that not committing to transcribing every interview allows more to be undertaken and increases reliability. This approach was followed. As soon as feasible after they occurred, interviews were audited and data arranged thematically with analytic memos. In addition, after each phase, a representative sample, which included, but was not limited to, those that appeared to be rich theoretically, were fully transcribed, forcing attention to detail. In the end, full transcriptions were made of seventeen out of twenty five at EAS, eleven out of twenty five at HAS and ten out of twenty eight at DAS. Constant comparative analysis and progressive development of conceptual categories sharpened awareness of incoming data and gave direction to ongoing theoretical sampling. Pidgeon and Henwood (2004, p. 638) quote from Glaser’s original work to explain how memo writing is a central activity. “The bedrock of theory generation, its true product is the writing of theoretical memos...[which] are the theorizing write-up of ideas about codes and their relationships as they strike the analyst.” This was the major tool for analysis in the data collection phase and incorporated data collected from all sources. The supplementary sources will now be described.

3.5.4. Surveys
Appendices 3 - 4 contain the surveys that were distributed to staff when the researcher was introduced to them. After the pilot study the survey was modified to better elicit theoretically relevant answers. Surveys returned were nine at EAS,
fourteen at HAS, of which five were people also interviewed, and twelve at DAS. This low response rate was unsurprising in that there was no immediate benefit for teachers in completing them and there was little opportunity for reminders and follow up. Any statistical evaluation of surveys would have been meaningless, so they were treated as brief anonymous interviews, which added to that data set. Where they were most valuable was in providing some more bluntly negative comments than the interviews. A couple of responses were very thoughtful analyses which provided additional insights and perspectives. Coding for surveys follows the pattern of this example: ES2 = EAS + Survey + number 2.

3.5.5. Observations

Observation was historically the primary instrument of traditional cultural studies (Silverman, 1993, p. 31). It provides knowledge unmediated by the personal interests or blind spots of individual informants and is a standard method of triangulating qualitative data. Dingwall (1997) strongly makes the point that observation, in contrast to interviews, is unconstructed data. On the other hand, observational interpretation is captive to the researcher’s frame of reference. Yet if the latter is also informed by insiders’ views, directly observed events can be a powerful source of information, and there were certainly occasions they proved very revealing. Observational evidence shed light on the personalities and methods of operation of the principal actors, giving a context and external perspective by which their own interpretations could be evaluated. Observations also encompassed those on the sidelines and took account of implicit attitudes demonstrated through unselfconscious behaviour and the demeanour of students. An important artefact accessible through observation is what Prosser and Warburton (1999) refer to as visual sociology, that is, what spatial and architectural features reveal about social relations. In such situations the researcher attempted to use the technique described by Silverman (1993) of being open to new meanings by making the familiar strange through attention to mundane and taken-for-granted details.

There were some discrepancies in the options for observations at each school, and in line with Bryman’s (1988) comments on “serendipity”, the most was made of whatever opportunities presented themselves. At EAS the researcher was made very welcome in the school and was able to attend a wide range of public occasions, staff briefings and a Staff Welfare Committee meeting by special invitation, all of which showed the values of the school in operation and complemented informants’ remarks about school relationships. Regular presence at the school, while in no way an immersion in the field, facilitated several
significant informal conversations. At HAS during the research timeframe the only accessible public events were two different chapel services, but the researcher could wander around the school, was welcome in the staff common areas, related to teachers over lunch and attended staff briefings and also an after school in-service presentation. At DAS, much less freedom of movement around the campus was permitted but attendance at assemblies and a couple of chapels occurred, she accompanied the principal on some rounds and she was able to visit the staff area at lunchtimes and during staff briefings.

3.5.6. Document study
The third strategy for data collection used in this study was that of perusal of documents. This played a subsidiary but important role. This method provided clarity in understanding the norms of the school’s organizational life and evidence of implicit operating values and assumptions (Schein, 1992, pp. 24-6). It allowed for exploration of the congruence between rhetoric and reality when set against informants views, enabling the researcher to go beyond the voices of participants and take responsibility for the overarching interpretation which generates theory (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 60).

Documents in the public arena which were used were: strategic plans, newsletters to parents, school mission statements, prospectuses, regular weekly newsletters, annual magazines, advertisements for staff and webpage material which covered school events, curriculum, community and co-curricular programs and principals’ reflections. Each school shared its Religious Education curriculum documents; in one school the chaplain had written several papers reflecting on Anglican education and in another school he shared his creative writing on philosophy of religion. Other more confidential documents that were made available included an Equal Opportunity for Women Compliance Report, student exit surveys, the personal organizational role profile of one principal, a draft vision/values statement and a pastoral care program.

3.6. Analysis: Integrating through categorization and comparison
All of this information was brought together to inform understanding at the two levels indicated by the two major research questions. The tension between the exterior world and interior meanings which hovers over cultural studies and sociological methodologies and which is paradoxically embedded in grounded theorizing, was synthesised in the act of analysis and theory building. Theorizing required a continuous interplay between “hard data” and human sense-making,
what the classic sociologist, C Wright Mills (1959) called the “sociological imagination” and what Eisner (1991) calls “the enlightened eye”.

At this point, brief comments will be made on the specifics of analysis only to demonstrate how this occurred. Analysis was very much a cumulative and iterative process, where the first tentative ideas generated in the pilot study at EAS were modified and developed to incorporate incoming data and insights from the substantive literature. When the report for EAS was written for the principal, it provided a very solid description of the concrete school culture, based on coding of properties, but it had limited conceptualisation at the second level of generalisation about common Anglican school culture. At this stage four concepts related to this second level were tentatively proffered. These were personal predispositions, contention about religion, the importance of independent sector identity and general tension. These sketchy potential conceptual categories were unclearly related together and the only general proposition suggested was that Anglicanism in schools was an empty category filled according to how conditions shaped by leaders, diocese, clients and local context were met. Clarification of these ideas through further theoretical analysis resulted in suggesting four conceptual categories based on these but renamed perspectives, tensions, independent education and leadership. Each of these was then related to Anglicanism.

As constant comparison across sites progressed, different contexts highlighted some of these concepts and introduced new ones so that a hierarchy of conceptual categories could be established and the relationships between them fleshed out. Through the study at HAS the emphasis shifted significantly with the introduction of the concept of civil religion, implicit in data from EAS, but an unforeseen theme when the research began. This could clearly be related to the parent institution of the Anglican Church, which now became a controlling category in its own right, with a fuller elaboration of its shaping historical context and with a preliminary definition of the relationship between it and independent education. The original category of tensions was also elevated to primary significance, so that previous instances of tension were delimited into a central one, that of tension between social tradition and spiritual commitment within Anglicanism in schools. Analysis then concentrated on the relationships between these conceptual categories in order to integrate them within a parsimonious theory according to Glaser’s (1994) principles.
The validity of the tentative theory so generated was tested in the very different environment of DAS, which superficially appeared almost like a negative case since both churchmanship and organizational politics contrasted sharply with the preceding sites. In this site what grounded theorists call the "properties" of the concepts, that is the more concrete instances, were very different to the preceding two sites, with the issue of staff employment being raised for the first time as a property of religious contention, for example. Likewise the weighting of social tradition and spiritual commitment was different, and some specific political tensions overshadowed the more generic category of tension formulated from the previous sites. Nevertheless, a thread of continuity runs through these sequential analyses and retrospectively it can be seen that the discovery process began from the first move into the field, although the theoretical significance only surfaced as the researcher interacted with the rich mine of data. The initial four categories retained a significant place in the final theory, but the interplay with contrasting micro-cultures progressively led to greater abstraction and different emphases in the developed theorizing, which will be described in its proper place as the culmination of the second level analysis of common Anglican culture which is founded on the prior descriptions of the cultures at each site. These two levels of the research topic parallel two levels of meaning. On one hand the meanings experienced by participants at each site directly informed understanding of the local culture. On the other hand, synthesising the data across sites informed the more abstract meanings assigned by the researcher in generating a theory about Anglican schools in general.

While, when I embarked on this project, it was very unclear what findings might be revealed, having competed it, what is crystal clear, is that the discoveries that emerged were in completely unanticipated areas, given my prior frames of thinking. It was very much an experience akin to that of Stern: “....I didn’t find what I expected before beginning the study because I had to respect the data.” I started looking for positive indicators of Anglicanism in schools; I moved through an intermediate set of largely negative identifiers, to finally formulate a theory which recognises a creative, positive dynamism characterising Anglican education. This theory can claim both truthfulness according to the benchmarks for trustworthiness in qualitative inquiry and also practical utility for stakeholders who can use its insights to reinforce, modify or reform their schools.

The following chapters describe the substantive findings at each school and the meanings these indicate for Anglican school culture.
CHAPTER 4
THE SITE STUDY SCHOOLS AND THEIR CULTURES. PART 1.
ORGANIZATIONAL CULTURE AT EAS (EXACTING/ENERGETIC ANGLICAN SCHOOL)

Because I thought I was leaving I was very honest... I told them that their school was a great place for kids but it simply wasn’t a nice place to work, I saw so many people burnt out.... (Greta, commenting on the huge expectations upon teachers)

This isn’t my quote but I thought it was a really interesting observation: ‘EAS is the best school for students’ and by omission that it, perhaps, it looks after the interests of the students very well but I think there’s a perception that it doesn’t look after its staff. (Genevieve, reflecting on core characteristics of the school, uses Greta’s comment from two months earlier)  

4.1. Introduction
The next three chapters will consider the three site study schools sequentially, concentrating on the first level analysis of their unique cultures and seeking to answer the first research question: What qualities characterise the organizational culture at each school site? Consideration of each school is arranged under three major themes: context, culture and concepts. Commencing with a description of context acknowledges the great significance of people and place in shaping the organizational culture. As Martin (1992, p. 111) writes, “In many ways an organization is a microcosm of the surrounding societal culture. Many external cultural influences will therefore permeate the organization’s boundary.” In the case of schools, the key one is probably the character of the students and their families (Westoby, 1988, p. xv; Stoll, 1999, p. 34). From context, the centre of attention turns to the dominant features of the culture experienced by teachers. Description of the culture is interwoven with commentary on the meaning and significance of data for both participants’ understanding of their culture and also for the meta-interpretation required for responding to the research question. The final section on each site examines the major methodological and theoretical concepts that emerge from the data and indicates how theory progressively developed. This provides the background for the intensive comparative analysis of the core category of religion in the subsequent chapter, which is the basis of the second level of theorizing.

4 Appendix 6 gives a list of interviewees at EAS with a brief individual profile.
4.2. Context

The first site study took place at EAS during 2006 and 2007 when twenty-one members of staff were interviewed in depth and extensive observations of the school in action occurred. The pseudonym, EAS, points to one key distinctive characteristic of staff culture, as epitomized in the two quotations. This was an exacting school, a place of high energy, continual activity – and very high demands on teachers.

EAS, like the other schools studied, is located in a capital city. It is a reasonably large co-educational Anglican school with a non-selective intake and had about 1,180 students in the Middle and Secondary Sections on which the study focused. It was founded in the 1980s in order to expand limited independent schooling in the area. Its establishment had a pioneering flavour, and the present principal remarked that when he commenced there was still a strong desire that its community spirit and anti-elite image be retained in contradistinction to nearby long-established Anglican schools (EI20). However, by 2006 EAS had climbed the social ladder and was highly sought after, not only because of its relatively lower fees, but because it had earned a reputation for academic excellence, being one of three regional schools vying for top tertiary entrance ranking. EAS is located in a professional area, and parents expected traditional academic teaching and individual attention to students’ learning, along with an enriched co-curricular program. EAS had already gained a very strong reputation for music and creative arts, while maintaining a traditional suite of sporting options. EAS was growing and restructuring, with the most recent addition at the time of study being a middle school. It was also in a state of continual change and development, perhaps due to the vigorous personality of the current principal, who admitted he was an ideas person, always looking towards the next project.

EAS is located on a sizable property and the school spreads itself over the site with the hub for senior students at one end and an Early Learning Centre at the other. Its facilities are modern with new specialist buildings having been opened nearly every year in recent times. There are extensive playing fields. Prosser and Warburton (1999), using the term “visual sociology” for examination of architecture and layout in understanding culture, note that such artefacts both reflect previous cultural patterns and shape present ones. So, for example, one demand on teachers at EAS was very simply correlated to the site: they had to walk long distances between classes and this could significantly affect other structures, such as the very limited time on task in tutor groups. Another example was that chapel services happened in year groups simply because the chapel could
only accommodate that number, and this flowed on to shape timetabling and pastoral care (EI12, EI19).

Students at EAS came from “fairly affluent backgrounds” (EI16), were from an “upper middle class parent body” (EI14) and had “privileges of birth” (EI9). Teachers considered them to be generally pleasant, co-operative and positive about school. Harry made the point that in a very active co-educational playground with a lot of “rough games”, he had never seen it get out of hand and only knew of two fights in five years. Lewis contrasted students at EAS with a neighbouring Catholic school where he had taught, defining them as “pretty nice; the kids here are a little more trusting in terms of, okay, that’s the way we do it and, yes, I’m happy to do it.” This view was confirmed by a swathe of similar comments, including many which emphasised good relationships between students and staff (e.g. EI10, EI11, EI2, EI3, EI4, EI5, EI6, EI8, EI22). Winifred specifically made contrasts with the more elite nearby Anglican girls’ school, observing that teachers at EAS had better relationships with students because “Here it’s more like the teachers’ background fits with the students’ and parents’ background.” This is not to give the impression that all were compliant and there were no management or social issues. Ian, Frank, Rose and Greta were among those who talked of student discipline concerns, although Lester’s perspective as a senior manager was that EAS was “calm” in dealing with misbehaviour and “most kids come round.” School leaders were cognisant of a range of familial pressures on students, some of whom Gail designated as “troubled” and Mark, the principal, described one extreme example of sexual abuse which produced negative behaviour at school. Such instances, however, did not dominate school life. Quite a few public events such as assemblies, chapels and graduations were observed by the researcher and students were orderly, quiet when proceedings were under way, joined in with interest, took leadership roles responsibly and capably and showed positive personal interactions with staff.

There were some conflicting views as to how demanding parents were. Gail said that parents valued education and expected a lot of communication from teachers, which was confirmed by several others such as Greta, in her second year of teaching and her first at EAS, who felt beleaguered by time spent emailing parents who contested marks or requested extra feedback. Greta also expressed amazement at “how well teachers already know the parents and have close contact with families.” The senior managers tended to see parents as reasonable and positive. Bella, for example, said, “On the whole here they are very good, nice middle class families [with] both parents working to pay fees, none [with]
important jobs, but mind you we’re actually finding much more [those] with prestigious jobs...I suspect that is because of our academic reputation.” She did admit that some, to use the words of Frank, saw education as “purchasing a product”, an idea echoed by Rose who had pastoral care responsibilities: “You do get demanding parents and those who say they pay fees and I demand this.” For teachers on the ground like Greta the major issue was demand on their time, so Frank, for instance, felt appalled that one parent thought it appropriate to take 45 minutes complaining to him about his fourteen year old child being “bored.” Two informants told stories of feeling unsupported by leaders who sided with parents, in one case leaving a new teacher to be “hung out to dry” while the maths department stuck together in “dodging the bullets” (EI1, EI7). As noted in Chapter 2, the strong emotions attaching to these comments indicate a disparity between institutional rhetoric and actual cultural norms, an issue that will be further explored in revealing the culture at EAS.

4.3. Culture
When interviews at EAS were first transcribed and analysed, principles of open coding were used. One coding category was simply what people chose to talk about. This coding category provided a structure for foregrounding the perceptions and preoccupations of participants in the culture. The method applied the principle that grounded theory is generated from the field; it also applied the position stated in Chapter 2, that the essence of culture lies in the meanings of participants.

There were several themes which recurred in interviewees’ remarks and based on constant comparison across all sources of data collection, these have been structured in the following categories for discussing the organizational culture at EAS:

i. its character as an independent school;
ii. the high workload experienced by teachers;
iii. its contested sense of community; and
iv. its religious dimension, especially a commitment to Christian values and a set of tensions surrounding its religious life.

It should be noted at the outset that these categories are strongly inter-related, and together form a matrix for interpreting the site level culture.

4.3.1 Independence
What became the category of Independent Schooling arose originally through the comments of informants on the importance of clients and their expectations. A
constellation of other ideas related to independence gradually cohered to generate this category. Once it was identified, Independence became a core category confirmed by data from the other schools. In many ways the previous contextual profile of EAS is dominated by characteristics of independent education as described by Campbell et al. (2009, Chapt. 1 & p. 28), whereby parents invest much money in schooling as the major strategy to pass on cultural capital and they seek to influence schools in the perceived interests of their children. Very early in data collection it became clear that independent education would prove to be a major force in shaping Anglican school cultures. Symbolically, in the very first interview, Ian articulated this theme. In response to a question about how he saw the school’s essence, he contrasted EAS with his state school experience. He defined the essence of EAS as “the real sense of being a professional.” At least fourteen informants directly raised matters like this which they connected to the school’s independent status.

As Chapter 2 explained, the themes of choice and marketization are centrally define independent schooling. In a free market where parents are paying clients, their requirements drive the priorities which such schools must demonstrate to retain enrolments. Lester remarked that “parental expectations are absolutely critical.” School Choice (Campbell, et al., 2009) provides a fascinating account of parents’ motivations. They perceive religious schools as exemplifying particular values rather than teaching doctrinal beliefs. As Winifred said, “[In this city] Anglican schools are just seen by the wider public to be really independent schools...that Christianity will be something they will pay lip service to.” Parents want values which develop students as individuals and as citizens (Campbell, et al., Chapter 8; Shaw, 2009). As will be described, at EAS a values discourse was very prominent, and frequently religion was elided into democratic values of decency and social responsibility, the significance of which will be considered later.

Several informants at EAS reflected about the parents’ goals. Like Winifred, Ryan explicitly commented on the lack of religious interest. He contrasted EAS with Roman Catholic schools and gave this explanation: “In Catholic schools they send them to let the school take care of the religious side of things...[but here] they send them for academic, co-curricular, it’s a fantastic community and has a great reputation within the community. It goes back to that well-roundedness of the child. Pastoral care is often touted from parents.” Bella summarised the choice of EAS as residing in its academic, pastoral and co-curricular offerings. Mark, the principal, had a clear idea of what parents, whom he described as “unchurched”, wanted: “The expectations of most parents is still, get them a good UAI and good
discipline... I’d say the three things they want is good results, good discipline and that the kids are happy and safe.” Fulfilling these parental expectations was fundamental for the shape of culture at the school and nearly every teacher commented in one way or another on them.

4.3.1.a. Academic achievement
Several interviewees were explicit about both the parental desire for academic success and also its competitive edge. One long-term teacher felt that a recent emphasis on academic achievement was part of a “glossier image” which put the school on an equal footing with its two main competitors, while another specifically said that parents “all the time make comparisons with [those schools]” (EI14, EI23). The imperative to deliver good academic results entailed long hours of preparation and marking, developing resources with limited finances, devoting lunchtimes to individualised tuition, teaching to a very high standard and continual revision of programs (EI2, EI4, EI8, EI9, EI11, EI14, EI21). Moreover there was an “assumption that it must be the teacher’s fault if the kid is not performing...This is very different to the public school where I felt valued” (EI7). Genevieve, as Director of Curriculum, was concerned at a lack of imagination and innovation in much of the teaching, but this had a different slant when commented upon by Greta: “One of the preoccupations of teachers in this school, I see it in others too, you become quite afraid of being insuffici ently prepared for all of these really knowledgeable and critical sometimes, kids ....And now I notice that sometimes in thinking of a lesson I catch myself thinking I just want to get by, I’m not actually putting the students needs first ... which is odd for me because I started out as such an idealistic teacher.” This comment was corroborated by Lester who noted that although staff wanted holistic approaches, parents were focused on academic achievement. Lewis felt that the academic success grew out of commitment to holistic development, while Boyd called the school community “excessively cerebral, at times overly intellectual and very, very quick to mock and belittle ideas and processes.” This sort of client body was a potent force influencing cultural norms.

4.3.1.b. Pastoral care
As an independent school EAS was concerned with much more than simply delivering a traditional subject-based curriculum. Mark felt that parents also expected that children would be “happy and safe”, so the school prided itself on its attention to the pastoral care of students. Hannah commented that the school had a “desire to look after the whole student, more than just the academic side.” At times this involved remedying defects from the home (EI8, EI15). Rose, a
middle manager with pastoral care responsibilities, volunteered that she had left the state system partly because of its lack of adequate structures for caring for students. She herself had an open door policy and revelled in constant contact with her year group. Gail, too, contrasted independent schools with state schools in this respect. She said that care for individual students was “paramount; a lot of time goes into talking about individual students and their needs. Teachers are expected to do a lot more, not just time-wise but emotionally as well.” Emotional pressure was illustrated by Warwick’s story of a recent event when a parent abused staff, accusing them of making the child suicidal. Individualised attention was seen when the principal defined the prime role of senior managers to be “to know every kid.” Sometimes teachers experienced the pastoral care aspects of their role as very demanding. Ian felt that there was “far too much pressure put on us as tutors to deal with things, [I] did not even teach the students” (and therefore he did not know them very well). Others commented on the administrative demands of tracking students and writing tutor reports on top of subject reports. Bella had worked hard on pastoral care and developed resources for the tutor group program. She commented on the structural and time constraints of doing this well, and described a very effective pastoral care program at another independent Anglican school.

4.3.1.c. Co-curricular programs
The third prominent feature of independent schooling is the provision of co-curricular opportunities. There had been some explicit debate at EAS about co-curricular allocations, which were obligatory on everyone. For the principal, teacher involvement was a corollary of developing pastoral and caring relationships with students. Warwick took pride in the camping programs he had nurtured over many years in the school and claimed “it is really part of the pastoral care system.” However, others found it all too much. Winifred rejected any pastoral benefit in her presence at music sessions or sports coaching where all she did was mark the roll and comply with duty of care requirements. Overwhelmed by teaching new material to several senior classes, Greta had almost resigned, and negotiated a temporary remission of co-curricular duties as a concession. Co-curricular supervision entailed early starts or late afternoons. It required many hours on weekends for many of the staff. A music teacher reported that fulfilling such duties had meant he had been on the school property for fifty consecutive days. While co-curricular programs enhanced relationships with students and were a significant aspect of their positive school experiences, they came at a cost to teachers and were accompanied by contention. The words of rugby enthusiast, Ryan, very well summed up this debate: “Some staff will
argue co-curricular is the backbone of the school, others will say it’s a necessary evil, others will just say it’s an evil.”

4.3.1.d. Business and money
Alongside these student-centred markers of independent education is the fact that by definition independent schools are private business enterprises, albeit in the not-for-profit sector. As literature canvassed in Chapter 2 suggests, meeting parents’ expectations and projecting a positive brand image is necessary to maintain enrolments, which in turn are necessary to maintain financial viability. Moreover, in a market context, the market determines fees. EAS had positioned itself as a middle level school, with a policy of keeping fees to approximately 70% of its longer established competitors (EI2). The balancing act of maintaining high levels of service without pricing oneself out of the market\(^5\) was squeezing EAS. Warwick, who had joined the school soon after its foundation and described a long-time habit of prudent garnering of resources, said that currently there was a sense of “champagne tastes with a beer income.” Several others felt that the school management was preoccupied with money and the business bottom line, to the detriment of education and personnel (EI3, EI14, EI21). Mark noted that his chief responsibility to the Governing Board was to negotiate a budget and live within it. The consequence was that there was little space to give teachers time off or to provide extra support for beginning teachers. Therefore, situations like that of Hannah were common. She was in her first year out, teaching outside her preferred subject discipline and struggling with preparation and marking for three tertiary entrance senior classes.

Interwoven through the above description is a sense of tension between ideals of independent education and the pragmatics of the situation. For the researcher interpreting these personal interpretations (Geertz, 1973; Eisner, 1991; Corbin, 2009) the idea of tension became a controlling category. It was manifested particularly in informants’ references to workload and to community. These areas were closely inter-related with independent education, and tensions within them went on to flow into the core interest area of religion. Field data on these topics will now be summarised.

4.3.2 Workload
Workload was a key aspect of culture. Heavy workload was accompanied by a ubiquitous sense of stress. It was arguably a subset of independent education at EAS because it was a direct consequence of how services were delivered. Many of

\(^5\) This problem was clearly explained by the principal of the second site study school, HAS.
the facets documented in the literature were evident at EAS, such as the high demands on beginning teachers (Huberman, 1993a; Huntly, 2008), which was the experience of Hannah and Greta, or the different levels of macro, meso and micro forces in production of stress (Woods, 1999). Genevieve strongly made the point that teachers might not distinguish the source of demands made on them: “There is perception that it’s the organization because unless you’re in positions of management it becomes very hard to understand what is required as a legislative requirement and what is the demands of the principal.” Gail also raised the issue discussed in Chapter 2, that the teaching profession itself has become more demanding: “The profession in general is under stress but I do find this school is the most stressed school I’ve been in.” Prior to the field work the researcher had no premonition of the importance of this issue, which dominated in the data. Of the nine surveys returned, five commented on workload, in terms such as “[The main preoccupation of teachers is] work taking over” (ES3), “Trying to survive the workload” (ES5) or the laconic one-word response of “workload” (ES6). There was quite a high turnover of staff, which leaders attributed to lack of commitment among Gen Y teachers (EI9), but the teachers themselves felt was due to lack of work life balance (EI17, EI21, EI23). Nearly every individual interview brought up the matter in one form or another. Even Rose, who was happy and contented, remarked that others had expressed surprise that she could possible spare time for an interview. The culture at EAS was pressured and the demands were heavy, as the following are sample of the comments illustrates.

Bill: “I see a lot of staff here who are stressed to the max... I really do believe that people are overstretched ....There’s this notion that staff can’t – it’s not an obvious thing – be trusted to have extra time, everything’s got to be filled....The people at the top end are...possibly workaholics....”

Greta: “All of this is expected to happen in your own time. [It’s a] very rare moment to sit down. So many free periods are taken up, [you’re] expected to be available to senior classes about their assessment. There are times when I cannot go to the bathroom for perhaps three days when at school because I have so many kids approaching me about their assignments.....”

Lewis: “We’re worked very hard...When I start getting out of this place before 5 o’clock on a regular basis and not doing a whole lot of work at home, then.....”
Hannah: “The timing of demands is hard with one thing after another...The English Department had a meeting [with management][but] it was not productive.”

Ryan: “We’re incredibly busy already, especially when you compare [us] to other independent schools or the government sector.”

Harry: “Workload is something that is a constant issue when we talk to the staff.”

Boyd: “I also think there is a tiredness at school. I think staff are weary with all the busyness.”

Ian: “This is the most time-demanding job I’ve ever had... We do too much.”

Warwick: “The school has very high expectations and these are driven by staff, driven by conscientious people.”

Several reasons for this high workload were proffered by staff. A macro level managerialism which diminishes the humanity of staff was blamed by one older teacher. The continual change at the school was an important causal factor, which could be related to independent schooling or to the personality of the principal. Ian felt that the “independent school boys’ club” drove faddish change such as the middle school restructure, and Warwick noted the need to keep up with technology with limited money. Lester, Harry and Bill, while admiring the principal, all alluded to his high energy levels and the consequent hyperactivity of the school community. Others criticised leaders more generally for lack of understanding of what it was like on the ground. Although the school leadership was aware of these issues, as was obvious in a long discussion with Genevieve (ECE), their attempts to encourage self-care were not perceived as practical by other teachers. The normative character of this pattern of behaviour is illustrated by deputy principal, Lester, a drily unemotional person, who, in comments on staff selection, said that the type of very good teachers who still would not fit into EAS were those who could not accept long hours, had strong union affiliation or rejected religious affiliation. It was notable that both chaplains were concerned pastorally about staff well-being, and that the perceived stressful work conditions overlapped with two other defining aspects of the organizational culture, namely a strongly articulated sense of cohesive community and an explicit commitment to some core values which were attributed to the schools’ religious foundation.

4.3.3. A contested sense of community

EAS was proud of its sense of community. The book chronicling its foundation, which had been commissioned by the current principal to reinforce a community
ethos (EI20), described the struggles to get the school established and the resultant solidarity among its supporters, such that the first formal meeting of the Parents and Friends’ Association had 350 attendees. The founding chairman had written in one annual report, “[EAS] had to be a school in and of the community.” When asked to identify the essence of the school four people used the word community, and another seven talked of positive relationships, while three others specified care for the students. Thus in terms of its explicit ideology, its “hyperculture” (Alvesson & Sveningsson, 2008), community was very prominent.

When the meaning and context of such remarks was examined more closely, it became clear that the sense of community referred mainly to staff – student relationships, and to a welcoming attitude to parents. For instance the light-hearted banter at assemblies and the warmth of students’ responses to their teachers at the Year 12 graduation provided complementary evidence of these positive relationships. “Community” discourse flowed naturally from students’ lips, as when one Year 12 boy was heard to tell his parent, “You’re part of the EAS community.” On the other hand, there was strong evidence that the organizational culture experienced by staff, the “anthropological culture”, was only ambiguously communitarian. Uncovering this paradox was dependent on careful attention to interviewees’ implicit meanings, rather than their explicit statements. The technique is an example of how cultural meaning is established at the interface of investigator and informant (Eisner, 1991, Wright, 2008) and of how theory emerges through simultaneous collection and analysis of empirical data (e.g. Strauss & Corbin, 1998b).

There was a great deal of emotion, sometimes suppressed, in certain interviewees’ remarks about workload and relationships with management, which, as explained in Chapter 2, alerts us to hidden cultural assumptions. These conversations often implied negative relationships or lack of community. This dimension is best highlighted initially by some specific remarks. Ian talked directly of a “lack of community”; a new teacher described “a funny sort of staff culture” in which he didn’t really know people, and found himself criticised when trying to get information about school results6; Warwick conceded there were some “toxic prep. rooms”, an indication of both negativity and also balkanization; the latter was confirmed by Greta, Hannah and Helen who said they did not know many staff members beyond their faculty area; Winifred said staff meetings were just where you sat and listened, while Ian described them as “hard and cynical” where people did not show even normal courtesy to presenters.

6 Field notes, 8/5/2007 based on an unscripted conversation at a public event.
A breakdown in community is also revealed more obliquely. The fact that the principal and his executive felt the need to deliberately try to encourage staff social gatherings implies relational cohesion was under threat (EI23, EI25). Warwick, although he could give a quick answer on the shared values of the community, hesitated in trying to explain how staff were supported. His judgement that some people were “just a little bit prim at times”, implied some partisanship, especially in the context of talking of the “prudence” of the long-time staff members carefully building up resources, an attitude not shared by newer ones. Rose talked about friction between faculties which “perceive their subject as being more important than others”, and indeed attempts by the principal to broker remission of “extras” for English teachers in recognition of their heavy marking regimen were thwarted by other subject areas (EI21). There were tense relationships between the Senior School and the newer Middle School, with the Head of the latter fighting for resources, Middle School teachers elevating their pedagogy and denigrating others (ECC) and the Middle School teachers seeing themselves as a separate “tight-knit group” (EI22). Bill talked of a “managerial view of schooling” from the macro context playing out in relationships at EAS, and Frank endorsed this view with stories about petty regulations in the name of “business”. Staff welfare structures were described as “tokenistic” (EI11), while Helen felt that overworked new staff would have little sense of “a cohesive school” since Heads of Department had no time or energy to care for them or induct them properly. The usually empty staff common room also indicated that cross-faculty collegiality was rare.

Thus, there was a disjunction between the rhetoric of community going back to small school and pioneering days, and implicitly Christian in orientation, and the daily experience of staff. The theme intersected with high workload, which in turn was closely related to independence. It also intersected with Christian values, the final category to be considered in delineating the site level culture at EAS. The ambiguities and contradictions in all these areas aggregated to provide the foundation for the theoretical concept of tension whereby Anglicanism itself in schools was marked by paradox and division.

4.3.4. Values and religion

The focus question of this research is whether there is any common Anglican school culture across schools identified by an Anglican denominational affiliation. Therefore, data collection in the sites was purposeful in targeting the religious dimension. Yet, if specific questions had not been asked about such matters, it is
doubtful if any interviewees at EAS, apart from the chaplains, would have made more than the most cursory reference to the school’s religious life. In response to questioning, some teachers emphasised that Anglicanism at EAS was very understated (EI2, EI5, EI10, EI13); in Bella’s experience, EAS was the “lowest key” school in terms of religion. While such remarks were explicit, implicitly all the evidence converged to indicate that, contrary to the researcher’s initial expectation, consciousness of religion was minimal in the core business of education. It was tightly confined to a few traditional structures, with one important exception, the area of Christian values.

As described in Chapter 2, culture is constituted both of observable behaviours and of internal assumptions or beliefs, each influencing the other in circular relationships. At EAS these two aspects roughly corresponded to religion being sited in four exterior structural locations and in three interior, non-material locations. The structural dimensions were the chaplaincy, chapel services, the charity awareness raising program (henceforth called CAR) and Religious Education classes. The attitudinal dimensions were the developing mission statement of the school, the modelling of the principal and a commitment to Christian values. Separating these out like this serves an analytic purpose for clarification but it must be stated that all dimensions were inter-related, and that the personnel involved and their relationships were absolutely intrinsic to all aspects of religious life. However when the organizational culture is on view, it was only in the final area mentioned, a set of shared values, that participants located the impact of religion. Fifteen out of the twenty-one interviewees made explicit statements to this effect, with a further four implying it more tangentially. The theme of values, therefore, is the fourth dimension to staff culture at EAS.

The explanation of Beverley raises three major components of the values discourse at EAS:

“...What makes it different to a state school..... it was a big shock not just to have different sorts of children but different sorts of people to be working with, and some of them were quite overtly agin [sic] religion of any kind and totally without it and their ethics mirrored that....In a church school it’s a different working climate, because at least staff are sympathetic to a religious kind of ethic and will treat each other in a different way and have a different outlook. ...In terms of kids..... in pastoral issues, you were very aware of not pushing your line of things because that would not be acceptable ... Whereas here
that line would be different and they would expect to hear that from you…”

What Beverley identifies are: firstly, an organizational norm of particular values shared by all employees, secondly, that these are public, being applied to and accepted by the students, and thirdly, that the values are grounded in the religious identity of the school.

In terms of the first of these, shared values are considered by functionalist cultural theorists to be an essential underpinning of a cohesive, strong culture (Schein, 1992). The ubiquitous reference to values by interviewees, corroborated by observations, suggests that values gave the culture a strong, common reference point for negotiating relationships and meanings. Despite balkanization, there was solid evidence that respect, cooperation and care marked collegial relationships, although most people primarily located values in pastoral care of students. The particular values were cited by some informants: care, respect, honesty, loyalty, trust, support for people with difficulties, truth, morality, fairness, humility, being forgiving, social justice, a strong work ethic and high academic standards. Community service and CAR programs for students exemplified these values, and several people stressed that students picked up these attitudes and applied them in relationships with peers and with staff and even beyond the school. Executive teachers also demonstrated these values, for instance in consultative industrial negotiations, caring for teachers in need, and even taking on some extra duties to relieve one individual’s workload (EI6, EI10, EI11, EI19, EI20). Beverley highlighted the importance of the leader in setting the tone. “Staff members nearly always get a feel for the values of the school by seeing what the principal does, and that’s where [interstate Anglican school] came unstuck…Here it’s not unstuck.”

Although the values consistently shaped culture, there was some contestation about how they related to religion. For most teachers values equalled Christianity. They seemed unaware of other aspects to religion, such as doctrine or worship. Indeed Genevieve re-defined “true Christianity” as “participating with [believers] in social service.” On the other hand, some explicitly rejected identifying the school’s value set uniquely with Christianity. Winifred described the service activities and then noted, “but these are not intrinsically Christian”, Gail said that even most non-denominational schools have Christian values underlying them”, Hannah commented that “there is looking out for each other, but I’d be hesitant to

---

7 See Chapter 2, Section 3.
ascribe it to the religious underpinning” and the principal, Mark, explicitly noted
that the spiritual, not the moral, dimension was the hard aspect of Christianity to
implement. Hill (2004) lists a set of “democratic values” which are accessible to
all citizens. Most of the values cited at EAS belonged in this category, and were
not clearly grounded in uniquely Christian beliefs. Hannah, who was non-religious,
commented that “it is very hard to take offense at these principles.” A religious
meaning was fore-grounded because both chaplains had a strong social justice
emphasis, and because Boyd was immersed in embedding values into a renewed
school mission statement. Conversations with him were dominated by this
undertaking. However, for Frank, a practising Christian, the social justice talk was
“white middle class politics of gesture”; he strongly regretted a lack of genuine,
sacrificial Christian care for the disadvantaged. So the philosophical basis of the
core values was problematic. In addition, there was an underlying tension with
the apparent lack of effective care for overworked staff.

A full examination of religion at EAS belongs to a later chapter. In this description
of the staff culture the main point is that, apart from shared values, religion did
not exercise a prominent influence. This section will be concluded with some brief
reference to the dimensions of religion noted earlier. The chaplains were well liked
and exercised pastoral roles with staff. Occasionally they presented their ideas at
staff meetings, but teachers mainly experienced them through the arguably
political statements they made at assemblies and in the school newsletter. Unless
rostered on, teachers did not attend chapel services, so although these were
identified as a core structure of Anglicanism, chapel had no discernible effect on
staff thinking. Except for those who taught it, only one or two indicated some
limited knowledge of the content of Religious Education programs. Staff were
involved with and supportive of the community service and charity programs
(“CAR”), but these were subsumed into the organizational culture as the
embodiment of the core values already discussed. The two other dimensions of
religion were modelling of the principal and the mission statement. The latter was
very much still being developed and had not so far permeated school life as Boyd
planned. The modelling of the principal was an important and visible dimension to
religious life to be considered in the next section in relation to the central concept
of leadership.

On balance staff culture at EAS was very positive. Transparency was evident and
the researcher was warmly welcomed. Many people expressed pleasure in
working there and the rhetoric of community was supported at least in terms of
good staff-student relationships. Commitment to the core values, whether or not
one defines them as Christian, was genuine, despite some lapses in implementation. Conversely, though, it was not difficult to establish theoretical saturation for the theme of work stress. This was strongly correlated with the characteristics of independent schooling. As the quotation at the beginning of this chapter indicates, there was an irony in that the culture of care for students only ambiguously translated into care for teachers. This sort of implicit tension became of major significance in developing conceptual categories beyond straightforward description. The next section begins to address this level of theorizing.

4.4. Concepts
Grounded theory is concerned with going beyond description of themes to develop inter-related conceptual categories which will generate theory that explains empirical phenomena (Shah & Corley, 2006). The preceding account has concentrated on the context and culture of EAS. In this section, the second level of cultural analysis, that of determining defining characteristics of Anglican schools, will be considered in terms of what this pilot study at EAS contributed to the progressive development of theory. It will be recalled that data included practitioners’ reflections about where EAS fitted in comparison with other schools, and Beverley’s comments illustrate this type of data operating on the two levels. Theory development occurs at the interface of participants’ information and meanings and the researcher’s interest and interpretations (Eisner, 1991, Sayer, 1984, Stern, 2009; Strauss & Corbin, 1998b). How this occurred is now explained.

4.4.1. Developing concepts from data analysis
Because EAS was a pilot study there was nothing to compare it with, so the first sweep of data gathering could only ensure some maximum variation sampling and then respond to the information through concurrent analysis. Since the research question focused on religious identity, initial questioning of interviewees targeted this and re-listening to the first few interviews reveals the existing assumptions of the researcher as she pushed for certain lines of information. Alongside memo-taking, annotations of apparently significant issues arising in each interview were made. Coding commenced with these simple summaries and then progressed to seven coding categories representing those themes that had emerged repeatedly by about halfway through the data collection phase. These categories were:

i. What is s/he talking about? (This very open code highlighted informant generated ideas.)

ii. What definition of Anglicanism is given?

iii. How is the essence of the school defined?
iv. What is the interviewee’s personal background and predispositions?
v. What is the interviewee’s religious position?
vi. What (if any) areas of tension are alluded to?
vii. What is said about independent education?

These categories largely reflected the semi-structured interview schedule but the final two grew directly out of the data and represent a revision of initial assumptions. At this point it was unclear what material belonged purely to the site level culture and what was derived from more generic qualities of Anglicanism in schools. The data was rearranged in several ways and tables were made comparing responses to key cultural themes, such as the perceived essence of the school, explicit references to religious dimensions and workload. A list of research surprises, unexpected phenomena which point to deeper levels of culture (Schein, 1992), also helped keep the emphasis on empirical data.

Then locations for religion as experienced by staff were coded and people’s comments were compared. These codes were:
i. chapel
ii. chaplains
iii. the principal
iv. community service and charity activities
v. RE curriculum
vi. a low key ethos

Cross-referencing properties within both these sets of substantive categories led to the emergence of four conceptual categories for second level theorizing which were:
i. the role of personal predispositions in evaluating and shaping religion;
ii. the influence of independent school ethos;
iii. the significance of leadership for religion;
iv. tensions, some of which were religious.

4.4.2. The concept of leadership

This conceptual analysis led to specific consideration of leadership for Anglican schools, so interviewees’ comments were reinterrogated, tabulated and compared. So far in the description of the culture of EAS, leadership has not been considered, since initially it was taken for granted as a fundamental rather than a distinctive factor (Dinham, 2009; Fullan, 2005, Sergiovanni, 1992; Starratt, 1993a, 1993b). But when interviewees continually referred to their principal as shaping religious
life, it became plain that leadership was a defining concept for Anglicanism in schools. The concept was expanded to the role of chaplains, but it was clear that, although chaplains were very vibrant and influential at EAS, the principal’s role was primary, because he chose chaplains and defined their sphere of influence. As well as being a dynamic and visionary school leader, the principal at EAS had deliberately upgraded religious life through initiating the building of a new chapel, employing creative and spiritually passionate chaplains, supporting them even against criticism of their outspokenness, introducing prayers at staff meetings and reworking the mission statement to emphasise the school’s Christian foundation. It was of great importance that his personal demeanour was consistent with the Christian values he espoused and which the school promoted. For example, he was merciful to offending students (EI20) he did not recriminate against opposing viewpoints and he helped those who struggled (EI11, EI19). Three quarters of interviewees specifically alluded to the principal’s positive religious modelling and the researcher’s own conversations with him confirmed his active Christian interest and intentional shaping of the school’s religious life.

4.4.3. The concept of Anglicanism
Analysis of data instances relevant to religion led to a list of over twenty properties, which were reduced through the process known as delimiting the theory\(^8\) to five areas:

i. Anglicanism as problematic to define;
ii. Anglicanism as displaying tensions and polarities;
iii. locations for religion
   - as a social construct
   - in structures
   - in relationships
   - in theology
   - in worship
   - in values
   - in terms of personal appropriation;
iv. the idea of the “open community”, i.e. the inclusive nature of Anglicanism;
v. dichotomy between chaplaincy and other staff.

These were compared to the other tentative conceptual categories – personal predispositions, independent schooling, leadership, tensions – and relationships among them were analysed. Targeted readings on Anglicanism which took place alongside the empirical analysis informed interpretation. Several features of

\(^8\) See Chapter 3, Section 3.3.3.
Anglicanism at EAS were evident: it was viewed from various conflicting perspectives; its character was contested practically and ideologically in school life and this matched the institutional history of this church; its expression depended on the leadership of principal and chaplains; finally, religious life was overshadowed by the characteristics of independent education. Conceptualization of the relationship between Anglicanism and independence was only embryonic. An early annotation to EI10 recognized a “dual purpose of Anglican schools – social and religious; i.e. client purpose and foundation purpose.” This idea would become critical with further comparison. In summary, when a report on EAS was written at the conclusion of the study, theorization about the general characteristics of Anglicanism in schools explored these concepts, most of which would ultimately prove to be important for the final theory. However there was no synthesis of positive qualities. It appeared that Anglicanism in schools was a chameleon marked by tensions and paradoxes.

4.4.4. The concept of tension
The description of the site level of culture at EAS has already described several tensions, mostly implicit paradoxes rather than open conflicts: opposing views on parental demands; clashes between ideals and pragmatics of independent schooling, contradiction between pastoral care of students and workload pressures on staff; a contested sense of community, friction between High School and Middle School, ambiguity about the meaning of organizational values; incongruities between the school’s public religious identity and its understated implementation. No hierarchy among these tensions, nor connections between tensions relating to Anglicanism and those specific to the local political context were defined initially. Some of the above tensions could easily be interpreted as the inevitable disagreements typical in any large organization. Tension was clearly an important cultural attribute but just where it belonged in the developing matrix of conceptual categories was unclear.

4.4.5. Conclusion
Relating concepts together is the essence of generating grounded theory (Strauss & Corbin, 1998a, 1998b). At the site level the thematic categories yielded the designation of this school’s culture as “exacting” and “energetic”. At the second level, determining concepts relevant to the Anglican identity and relating these was much more complex. At the conclusion of this site study four conceptual categories had been created through applying Glaser’s (1994) principles for developing greater abstraction and parsimony of variables. These categories were Personal Perspectives, Tensions, Independent Education and Leadership. Each of
these had its own linear relationship with the conceptual category of Anglicanism. A tentative theory was articulated that Anglican school culture was an empty category, which would be filled in specific sites according to differing factors affecting each of the conceptual categories. The validity of this would be tested in the subsequent studies at two very different Anglican schools.
CHAPTER 5
THE SITE STUDY SCHOOLS AND THEIR CULTURES. PART 2
ORGANIZATIONAL CULTURE AT HAS (HAPPY ANGLICAN SCHOOL)

There’s probably the attitude, well, I use the term ‘gentleman’s agreement’....if you need personal time away from the place as [the principal] would say, you just have to ask......
Without the tradition we haven’t got anything...The traditions we hold are probably based on values and attitudes. (Hugo, talking about the essence of HAS)

There’s a special bond between boys and staff that’s really important, and between parents and staff, it’s close. It’s a cliché, but it’s a family school....[Professional teaching values are about] the whole boy, which includes significant pastoral care, empathy, and understanding the boys and his parents ....We resist, we just ignore [the business manager]. (Seymour, reflecting on the school’s values and the new corporate drive)

Wonderful goodwill between the staff and the administration of this school, has been one of the strongest points. [It’s] now under threat. If people receive contracts, they’re going simply to say, okay I will do this, and those other things I’ve been doing gratis for years, they can forget about them....Goodwill is risked by that. ....The culture of the school’s going to be changed...It’s a loss of something, I think, that was very precious, very special.
(Martin, talking about changes in the culture)⁹

5.1. Context
Stepping into HAS was moving into a very different world to that of EAS. Direct observation began with the finale to a chapel service in a soaring building with first class organ music. This event would prove to be emblematic of this school, which was traditional, conservative, privileged and proud of its heritage. Chapel services dominated its religious life. HAS was an all boys school, and it deliberately gave this a high profile.

HAS had been founded by a private owner in the late nineteenth century. Its founder was a prominent member of the local Anglican parish, and when ownership passed to a corporate body after World War 1, the ensuing governance

⁹ Appendix 7 gives a list of interviewees at HAS with a brief individual profile.
structure incorporated election of a quarter of the Board members by the parish. In addition, the parish church was sited close by and functioned as the school’s chapel. In return, the school provided scholarships to maintain the parish choral groups. Although there were no structural links with the Anglican diocese, HAS’s Anglican identity was unquestionable, largely because of dedicated and capable chaplains and principals who were committed and active churchmen. Indeed, two incumbencies back the Head had been ordained.

The district in which HAS was located was a distinct geographical entity not far from the centre of a major capital city. A substantial majority of students came from this narrow local drawing area, and not only studied together but played and socialised together out of school (HCA, HI1, HI11, HI13, HI19). This had been the case for several generations and Old Boys continued to be a potent force in school life. The extensive alumni webpage with regular reunions of year groups testified to this, and their active involvement with current students strengthened this sense of community according to newcomer, Neville. Community spirit was frequently cited as a cultural characteristic of HAS, but it had different connotations to its usage at EAS; at HAS community referred very clearly to the local geographical area and a homogenous social network consisting not only of students, but of their families and of staff, many of whom also lived locally and a fair proportion of whom were Old Boys. Charles characterised the essence of the school as this local identity: “HAS is the school of [this suburb], community-centred....It means if you walk down the street you see parents and kids all the time.”

The district had steadily increased in wealth and prestige and with it HAS had gained status, until, at the time of the study, it was a member of the most elite group of independent schools in the city, a status reinforced by its membership of the exclusive private schools sporting competition. Parents were materialistic and sometimes displayed the crassness of the *nouveau riche* (HI6, HI7). They had high expectations that the school would both ensure educational success and give moral direction to life (HI1, HI21). They could be very demanding and while they claimed they wanted the order and discipline the school stood for, some were not so keen that it be applied to their own sons. Indeed, some staff testified to occasions when parents were outright rude (HI1, HI5, HI11, HI7, HI18). Although there were some very capable students and also ex-students who had made significant marks in public life, the current student body was not top rank academically. More prestigious schools closer to the CBD tended to draw those families, while HAS was valued for its proximity to home and local friendships and its high quality sporting program with the opportunities this presented for local
boys to gain selectors’ attention (HI7). Therefore, although students were considered easy to teach and were variously described as “delightful”, “friendly and respectful”, having “a lot of respect for the staff”, “pretty much do what they are told”, “kind, considerate, thoughtful”, “very polite”, “incredibly easy to handle and responsive”, they also lacked motivation and initiative in their studies, needing lots of support and direction (HI2, HI4, HI6, HI7, HI10, HI19, HI20, HI21, HI25). Comments from Philip, Rebecca and Charles indicated that unmotivated or incapable students were necessary to maintain enrolments, necessitating extra work for teachers in devising individualised programs and giving additional mentoring. Vince, the principal, emphasised that as a business HAS did not have the luxury of refusing more difficult students.

HAS was a fairly small school of about 1,200 students, the vast majority of Anglo-Saxon ethnicity although there were a growing number of full fee-paying Asians (HI4). It was structured in three sections, Junior, Middle and Secondary Schools, each with its distinct campus in the same suburban complex with extensive playing fields between sections. The secondary school was contained within one building complex centred on a quadrangle. Spatial proximity enhanced relationships within each campus, although there was little interaction across campuses, a fact mourned by Old Boy, Karl. The edifices of the secondary section, although updated for twenty-first century use, still bore prominent marks of the school’s nineteenth century imperial heritage, and exuded a sense of stability and dignity. Each classroom bore the name of its teacher engraved on a plate, which, according to Charles, “after [being here] only a year, feels kinda cool… It’s certainly saying we want you to stay.”

5.2. Culture
5.2.1. Social class and independence
This background sets the scene for understanding HAS, the culture of which was overwhelmingly shaped by its position as a long-established, high ranking independent school catering to wealthy clients. HAS displayed an upper middle class educational culture epitomized in the term “gentleman”. The values and behavioural norms were those of this social class, where courtesy in relationships, honour in fulfilling obligations and responsibility as citizens prevailed. As at EAS care and kindness were enumerated among the values that HAS stood for, but there was a subtle difference in that character-forming values with a more noblesse oblige flavour also registered significantly: work ethic, good deeds, being a good citizen, although students did not always practise these ideals (HI3, HI5, HI12, HI4, HI7, HI11, HI13, HI14, HI18). Good personal presentation is also

Chapter 5
significant to this class. So, for instance, after both Senior and Middle School chapels, lectures were given about neatness, order and uniform. At her independent girls’ school Lesley had carried around make-up remover and hair ties to fix up students’ appearance, while she laughed that at a boys’ school it was safety pins for broken zips. It is interesting to contrast such values to those associated with government schools, where egalitarianism, liberty, creativity and diversity feature in parents’ perceptions (Campbell, Proctor and Sherington, 2009, esp. chapt. 8).

Social class is a powerful force. Upper and aspirational middle class attributes are manifest in “private schooling”. Study of HAS confirmed that the independent school paradigm subsumes all other factors in shaping the character of Anglican schools. Campbell et al. (2009, pp. 25, 30, 43) describe the mindset of the “old middle class” which saw its members as moral leaders of society and its schools as character-forming institutions to equip young men for that leadership role in the tradition of the great English public schools (also Fletcher, 2008, p. 39). Blackler (1997, p. 108), writing of the foundation of Geelong Grammar, says that the inspiration was the ideal of the “Christian gentleman”, language echoed in the Foundation Charter of Shore School, Sydney, which states: “It is the aim that all boys should leave the School with a clear understanding of the obligations expected of a Christian gentleman” (Shore Website). At HAS, one of the part-time chaplains, Paul, who had served in Anglican schools in several states over a long career, explicitly remarked that the prestigious Australian church schools were modelled on the English ones. This was the group with which HAS was identified. How it manifested independent school culture will now be described.

5.2.2. Traditional and conservative
A general conservatism was a strong feature of life at HAS. The word “conservative” indicates preservation of what is valued from the past, and the active presence of Old Boys was one factor reinforcing long-standing values. As the quotation from Hugo at the head of this chapter indicates, traditions based in agreed values lay at the heart of the school. Unwittingly Hugo has given an almost classic definition of culture. Lesley had spent much of her career at an Anglican girls’ school and expressed the link between values and behaviour like this: “Both schools reek of Christian tradition, it is part of the deal...There’s a values package you buy when you come [here] which has all the wonderful traditions of 125 years all rolled into one.” Although she automatically used the term “Christian”, on further reflection she also added that the values package

---

10 See Chapter 2. For example Deal & Kennedy, 1983; Lewis, 2001; Owens, 1995; Schein, 1992.
“fitted neatly under the Anglican umbrella...but a lot of people out there...would be trying to imbue the same values outside of a Christian position.” This raises exactly the same issue about the origin of independent school values as occurred at EAS, and which is directly explored by Campbell et al. (2009). What was plain at HAS was that, regardless of the historical impulse behind the espoused values, they were inextricably bound up with social class. Patterns of behaviour reflected upper middle class attitudes.

Conservatism and respect for tradition were immediately evident to an observer. Academic dress was still worn at assemblies and full hood and gown required for chapel. Chapel hymns were traditional and the service followed formal liturgy without deviation. Ubiquitous dark business suits were a powerful symbol of the values of the culture. Charles was under the impression that a jacket was required by his contract and Janine noted the obligation to “wear nice suits.” Likewise, the one specific misdemeanour of boys repeatedly mentioned was offending the hairstyle regulations. Among staff there was a general socio-political conservatism that was manifested obliquely in comments such as when the head dissociated himself from the Labor Party during the interview. Conservative broadsheets figured prominently in lunchtime reading. Classrooms were orderly and traditional in layout. Physical decoration lacked colour and creativity, a fact criticised by Janine who called it “dry”. The deputy bemoaned the introduction of some business subjects that diverted uptake from traditional academic subjects. Music expressed classical excellence, and a Jewish staff member commented that attending chapel was like having a free weekly concert and it had inspired him to buy Baroque CDs.

Several people commented explicitly traditions at the school. While Stephen commended the “solidity” of unvarying church services, Lesley felt that some school routines occurred only because they were the tradition. Philip defined the essence of the school as “a rich tradition seeking to be educationally diverse and responsive.” There had been only two headships in the fifty four years preceding the present principal, whose immediate predecessor was still a living memory. According to Luke, his attitude had been “This is my school and I run it my way.” Seymour, who had taught at HAS for thirty two years himself, reminisced on his formal demeanour and his autocratic decision making. Under the new regime it had taken some teachers twelve months to be able to address the current headmaster, Vince, by his first name. There was a consensus that Vince had lowered the formality and introduced a consultative approach, but he himself acknowledged that he liked the traditions, and he had not challenged the overall
ethos. He commented that Gen Y teachers did not appreciate the importance of loyalty to an organization. This loyalty was rewarded at HAS, where older staff were valued, given relief from sports duties at the age of sixty, and longevity of service was recognized on an honour board. This mass of “old guard” personnel was highly important in maintaining the school’s class-based traditionalism.

5.2.3. Professional
Along with upper middle class conservatism went professionalism, which was also a characteristic teachers at EAS had identified with its independent status. Teachers were free to concentrate on their core business of educating and nurturing students, because difficult cases were handled through the structures of pastoral care and by people in senior positions. Good resourcing of programs meant they ran smoothly (HI5, HI12, HI21). The Head of Middle School explained that staff selection was based on employees having compatible values and being good role models and he praised the professionalism of his team, while regretting the increasing demands upon them. The Middle School Chaplain, Philip, also felt teachers worked too hard and he commented on their perfectionism, dedication and the thirteen hour days regularly worked. Quite a few people explicitly commented on expectations to work to a high standard and the pre-eminence of professional but friendly relationships. Long-serving teachers talked of a culture where people simply accepted extra tasks as part of a deal by which teachers expressed their personal commitment to the school and to serving the students. For example, over decades the Head of English had given long hours during holidays to producing the annual journal. Professionalism was seen in mentoring of new teachers, as described by Bradley. Even one survey respondent who castigated management for “exploitation” also said the essence of the school was “a high level of professionalism amongst staff which has a positive effect on my own attitude and sense of commitment.” Such statements indicate that recruitment decisions had worked well in matching employees with the school’s priorities. It does, however, need to be noted that in, fulfilling their professional roles, a significant proportion of staff felt under great pressure.

5.2.4. Workload and sport
The increasing intensification of teachers’ work is well-documented (e.g. A. Hargreaves, 1994; Smith, 1990; McLennan, 2009) and is partly located in a macro trend for accountability as considered in Chapter 2. At the meso level (Woods, 1999), for teachers in independent schools, the demands are further augmented by the imperative to provide what HAS’s website called “broad, well-balanced...
education with emphasis not only on the academic, but on a well-rounded education which includes spiritual, social, aesthetic and physical development.”

Vince candidly admitted that the main criterion for employment after passion and capacity for teaching was willingness and capability to contribute to the extra-curricular program through which such holistic education was delivered. Although there was also a lively program of debating, music, drama and cadets, the primary location of extra-curriculum at HAS lay in its sporting tradition which was fundamental to its independent school identity.

Teachers at HAS, like those at EAS, felt pressure to be continuously available, respond immediately to parental requests, meet personal needs of students, implement mandated curriculum updates and ensure engaging and differentiated pedagogies for students with attention spans reduced by a multi-media world; but at HAS, unlike EAS, talk about work demands overwhelmingly focused on sport, which usually required a couple of afternoons each week for training plus Saturday fixtures for most of the year. In the words of Karl, HAS was a “sports mad school” and families valued the sports program as highly, if not more so, than the academic one. Sport was the subject of many informal staffroom conversations witnessed by the researcher. Whether they enjoyed their coaching duties or not, teachers fairly uniformly recognised that the goal of all-round personal development behind the extra-curricular program was a worthy one and most interviewees embraced it in the spirit of enhancing relationships with students. Nevertheless, this set of assumptions was under threat. Vince dreaded the time when he would have to choose between an average teacher willing to take sport, and an excellent one who was unwilling. Over half the interviewees referred in some way to work pressure, usually in the context of these extra duties.

However, the tone of comments was different to those at EAS where there was a sense of frenetic change and unsustainability producing high stress levels. Stability, the traditional rhythms of the school year, courtesy, communitarianism, a habit of giving generous support and trust to staff, and their consequent acceptance of underlying assumptions and values seemed to offset workload stress at HAS. This was different to EAS, which lacked long traditions and had a much younger staff with different ideas about lifestyle and institutional loyalty. Undoubtedly there had been crisis points and there were dissenters. For instance Theresa, Nicole and Seymour all referred to people leaving the year before the study due to stress, although whether this was home or school-induced was debated. Moreover, there was a subtle but significant difference in how work pressures were conceptualised. While at EAS the term “workload” was universally

Chapter 5 116
used, the preferred term at HAS was a strong “work ethic”. This gave hard work a moral value, while at EAS it was seen more as an administrative imposition. Socialisation into this value set could also be related to the longevity of staff who passed on the attitude to newcomers. The generational cycle is seen in the comments of three teachers. Stephen joined the school thirty-three years before and recalled his job interview: “The gentleman said, ‘when term starts, you’re married to the school.’” James was an Old Boy of the school and coach of its premier rugby team. He had worked at HAS for fourteen years and said, “Some people told me when I came here, well it’s good that you’re married because a lot of people come here unmarried and stay unmarried. I took it that [you don’t have time to meet anyone].” Charles was in his fourth year of teaching and his second year at HAS. He thought of the school term “a bit like shift work, ‘cause you’re out on an oil rig for a couple of months and then you’ve got a couple of weeks off... It works for me.”

There were high demands on teachers at HAS, and those demands were directly due to its status as an independent school committed to delivering holistic education and to maintaining its proud sporting tradition. This was very closely connected to its boys-only identity. Karl, who had moved into teaching after other occupations, exclaimed, “I’ve not worked as hard in any other job as this...we work pretty damned hard.” But Theresa rejected criticisms that the demands came from managers at HAS: “It is the world we live in. When we were having a big whinge, people were saying ‘it is not like this elsewhere’, and I was thinking, ‘Yes, it is’. Because I do speak to a variety of people...it’s the same wherever you go.”

Although work pressure was a significant dimension to the culture it was not the dominating issue it was at EAS. Its significance was ameliorated by two other factors. Firstly, there was a direct challenge to traditionalism at HAS through the rise of a new corporatization, and it was here that significant contestation occurred. This matter was also fuelled by imperatives of independent schooling. Secondly, HAS had a predominantly happy climate, which seemed due partly to its traditions, partly to its leadership and partly to its community spirit.

5.2.5. Gentlemen’s agreements and business imperatives
All Anglican schools are independent. Few now are “private”, in the sense of being privately owned, as had been the origins of HAS (Campbell et al., 2009, p. 10). However, they are run as not-for-profit businesses for which students’ families pay fees, which are supplemented by government funding. Much political rhetoric has been expended on defending parents’ rights to choose schooling and on the justice
of partial government funding of independent schools. The point is that any money from the public purse is supplementary and that independent schools must make their way in a competitive market environment without any public sector safety net. Vince made this point quite strongly in talking about compliance requirements. “Actually our accountability is as hard-edged as any business because if your service isn’t good enough, people won’t buy the service. That’s language teachers hate! We’ve always had that level of accountability to the client.”

The increased importance of accountability and of neoliberal forces on education was considered in Chapter 2, Section 2.5. At HAS these were critical issues, since the contemporary business face of independent education directly collided with the traditional gentleman’s culture. A clash of cultures had been precipitated by the employment twelve months earlier of a Human Resource Manager, whose arrival coincided with that of a new business manager. Vince returned several times to the dilemmas the accountability and business agendas caused in his school. “Customers buy our product...You need enrolments for jobs...Teachers are a bit distant from the real world; you need to have policies for these things while teachers want a gentleman’s handshake.” The words “policies” and “gentleman” are key to understanding this area where real tension existed at HAS.

5.2.5.a Gentleman’s culture and the psychological contract

The term “gentleman” will be used to represent the old culture, since it was used by several different informants and since it is particularly evocative in representing a way of life based on relationships and courtesy. Both these concepts figured prominently in the culture of this school. As the quotations at the beginning of this chapter indicate, the gentleman’s culture was highly valued by all the long-term and older members of the staff. It was a relationship-based culture. It operated as a psychological contract, as defined by Millett and Wiesner (2001, p. 42) whose explanation exactly matched the experiences of these teachers: “The psychological contract constitutes an open-ended agreement concerned with the social and emotional aspects of exchange between the employer and the employee. Above all, a psychological contract is founded on trust.” When Martin talked about people doing things “gratis” he was explicitly affirming relationships of trust and commitment, and when he said this was threatened, his words illustrate Millett and Wiesner’s (p. 43) point that, “The employee sees these changes as violations … and responds by decreasing his own contribution to the organization. These responses … perhaps are really because of the effect of organizational decisions on the sense of self.” This is further illustrated by the
meaning Martin gave to the introduction of contracts for the co-ordinating role he had long exercised. He was hurt that it gave no recognition to his prior service nor provided for automatic reappointment for a job well done. The emotion attendant on the changes was powerfully illustrated by Stephen. When asked about the HR Manager, he asked that the tape be turned off and then exclaimed: “Bloody disaster! She has come in and everything has to be a policy. She has upset a lot of people. HAS was a comfortable place but she likes to hit some staff with a big stick...She keeps saying ‘regulations’.” As previously remarked, strong emotion like this indicates the violation of core values.12

Seymour illustrated this clash clearly in comments on appointing staff to his department. In the past he had handpicked practicum students whom he felt fitted the school ethos without going through any formal process. Now job applications went first to the HR Manager who weeded people out on the basis of qualifications. In the past the Head would offer special terms to stop valued teachers being lured elsewhere. Organizational life was governed not so much by policies as by norms passed on by word of mouth to incoming members. In the past, Theresa said, people “were treated with honour ... and you put in 110% ...you took pride in saying I’ve only had five days sick leave...[now] we have become less and less people and more and more economic units...some staff are phenomenally rude, which just didn’t happen when I first came.” The gentleman’s culture was close to what Handy and Aitken (1986) classically designate as a “club culture” centred on the personal influence of key leaders (HI9, HI10, HI9).

As the previous section on traditions demonstrated, the gentleman’s culture was by no means eradicated. The new corporate culture was actively contested and at times it was undermined, as Seymour’s words suggest. Yet for all the “precious” aspects of the gentleman’s culture13, there were also strong indications that change was needed, both because of impinging social forces from without and because of internal implications of operating in this mode.

5.2.5.b. External forces
From without came the increasing encroachment of government regulations requiring expert legal, industrial and financial knowledge going beyond gentlemanly decency. The principal, Vince, had employed the HR Manager because he needed policies on matters like Occupational Health and Safety, Equal Opportunities for Women, workplace harassment and a range of compliance

---

12 Chapter 2, Section 1.3
13 See quotation from Martin leading into this chapter.
documentation. Early on she had needed to instigate dismissals which had given her a bad press, but Vince felt that “being professional and meticulous is protecting the rights of employees as much as the employer.” Vince was pastorally orientated and not a confrontational person, and although that was very positive for many aspects of school life, there were those who felt frustrated by the handling of some matters. One person, who had been active in taking issues of work conditions to the HR Manager, bluntly claimed that the HR Manager was necessary to “compensate for Vince’s inadequacies.” Yet this very person was named a “bully” by Martin, indicating the different meanings that can be given to the same situations.

The other dimension to the shift from relationship-based approaches was financial. Comments in both surveys and interviews indicated that Vince was correct when he said that staff would talk over their pay and conditions with colleagues from other schools, and a strong subsection of staff was lobbying for an enterprise agreement with written conditions. Because of its high socio-economic status, HAS received minimal government funding, so there was relentless pressure to win clients. Vince said, “For the consumer you can’t just stand still, you have to continue to improve.” However improvements cost money, and he noted that just adding to the fees could price the school out of the market. Thus, efficient business practices were necessary. There was evidence of some way to go in this respect. For instance, Godfrey who had managerial responsibilities found it “quite bizarre” that the decision to spend often preceded an examination of the budget.

5.2.5.c. Internal problems: Communication

From within the school, a major driver for change was poor communication. One corollary of a club culture is that those not in the inner circle can be excluded and communication breakdowns may occur since there is no backup for those not in the loop. Indeed such failure was the most common criticism cited at HAS. The physical layout of the school contributed. Space constraints meant teachers’ offices were scattered around the site. While new teachers based in the large central common staffroom attested to immediate support, those located elsewhere could have a difficult time orienting themselves and finding people to guide them (HI12). The distances between the three campuses were not conducive to disseminating information either. Janine spoke quite passionately about always planning for problems caused by last minute dissemination of senior school information which impinged on the Middle School. Charles felt that “a fair bit of things happen through osmosis, as a small school there’s not the same level of organization, [which] frustrates some people.” There was an unusual paucity of
general or department meetings, which reinforced the centrality of personal networks for finding out things. A series of examples of inadequate communication were enumerated where decisions taken at executive level were not communicated to those affected simply because no-one thought to do so. According to Luke, there was often a “lack of full process.” It appeared that good practices could be rather ad hoc. Much of this was the outworking of a “club culture” which was no longer effective in a changed environment.

5.2.5.d. Conclusion

Corporatization was most visible to staff in advertising drives and in talks by the business manager, whose use of jargon jarred on older teachers, although a newcomer, Neville, was impressed by the explanations of marketing directions. Overall the staff recognised the need for more corporate practices but were simultaneously uneasy about them. One survey (HS3) commented that “exploitation is probably the key issue but some staff have nothing to compare it with so they accept it as the norm.” Interviewees did not express any sense of exploitation, but they did have divergent views about whether the norms of a gentleman or the norms of a business should set the tone. Karl had worked in industry for many years, yet his comment was that, “if the school looks at itself purely in business terms, it loses a lot.” Bradley was young and positive. His comment was that, “The business side of things is … recognised by staff generally as a necessary component [but] it detracts from the actual teaching which is what we’re here for. Advertising people … try and interact and understand where we’re coming from … But I feel teachers do not view it as a business so much as a school.”

The clash of these two approaches at HAS illustrates the general point made by Sergiovanni (1999, p. 265): “Gesellschaft cultures are dominated by market values and contracts, while values of virtue dominate in gemeinschaft cultures, which also emphasise commitment. Problems arise when market values become the basis for action in community settings where virtue should be the governing variable. If schools should be communities then theories of action based on virtue are appropriate. When market values invade community settings, however, they drive virtue away.” These academic words echo the more homely quotations with which this chapter began. They summarise an important issue which is derived directly from HAS’s positioning as an independent school, and is indicated in the principal’s repeated phrase, “schools like this”.

Chapter 5 121
5.2.6. A happy school

Despite unease, there was no militancy at HAS and this was because it was essentially a happy place (HI10, HI15). Thirteen interviewees explicitly volunteered that it was a place where teachers cared for and supported each other. Some typical remarks were those of Nicole that “there’s not much nastiness”; Martin that “it’s a very happy place, you don’t hear grumpiness” and Godfrey that “it’s unique [in my experience] in the co-operative approach that is part of the culture.” Charles mentioned that people were “welcoming and easy to get to know”. People from different departments related well, with Karl and Lesley noting that, “No-one owns a chair in the common room.” Rebecca enjoyed the good-natured teasing among staff. Support for colleagues who had suffered bereavement or misfortune was both talked of and demonstrated by participants’ actions. Ben astutely observed that, “the more discontented people are, the more they talk shop out of school” but that this did not happen at HAS. The strong relationship emphasis of the headmaster undoubtedly contributed to this ethos, although he himself had been surprised at the warm and caring environment he first encountered. Newcomers Neville and Philip had also both been surprised at the warmth of their reception. As researcher, I also found HAS the most open and welcoming of the three schools. Staff included me in common room conversations and were interested in participating, some giving very generously of their time. Conversations overheard indicated that disagreeable aspects such as an overlong and perhaps irrelevant in-service session were treated as irritations rather than triggers for antagonism. There appeared to be a good tone to most staff working relationships, although the sociability of the past had largely been replaced by good professional relationships, due to increasing work demands (HI3, HI14, HI15, HS5).

5.2.7. Leadership

The Headmaster was well-respected by his staff with very few dissenting voices. He fitted the ethos of the school well and had deliberately reduced formality and made relationships central. His strong pastoral orientation was appreciated by his staff who predominantly commented that he was approachable, accessible and affable. He delegated well to his senior team, the members of which felt comfortable expressing their own opinions even when divergent; he was “fair and forgiving”; he joined staff in social occasions and was able to relate well to them informally, for instance by “talking footy”. He perpetuated the gentleman’s culture of giving unconditional help to those with personal needs. He encouraged teachers to have a voice through reinvigorating the staff association and encouraging consultation. In addition, his clear identification with Christianity by
contributing to chapel, teaching students and modelling values was also recognised by his staff. Karl summed his role up well: “He walks the fine line with being one of the boys and still manager of the school rather well” (HI4, HI6, HI8, HI9, HI11, HI15, HI18, HI19, HI21). These professional and personal characteristics must be understood as being very significant in the happy character of the school since the leadership style of the Head is fundamental to shaping staff culture (Beare, Caldwell, & Millikan, 1989, chap. 5; Cerit, 2009; Duignan, 1989, p. 7; Fullan, 1991, pp. 156-159; Greenfield, 1986, pp. 158-163; Mackenzie, 2007).

5.2.8. Community
The community values at HAS have already been noted and were important in contributing to its positive climate. Participants in its culture regularly highlighted three aspects: its size, its local character, and its single-sex character. HAS was quite a small school relative to its type; the importance of this was reiterated explicitly by many informants (HS6, HS12, HI7, HI17, HI19, HI24). It meant that most staff could know most students and the importance of the staff-student bond was commented upon frequently. For instance, Seymour said, “At the end of the holidays, I say, ‘It’s school tomorrow, urgh! But then I think, okay, I’m going to see Marcus and Sam and George and they’re going to lift me and they do!'” It was at times difficult for the interviewer to get teachers to focus on aspects other than student relationships, a positive indicator of their passion, and empirical confirmation of the primacy of relationships in teacher motivation (A. Hargreaves, 1999; Huberman, 1993a). While relationships with students were primary, as at EAS, there were also generally harmonious relationships among staff, as indicated above, the one exception being a particular subject department where a couple of teachers claimed the manager was dysfunctional (HI7, HI9).

The second aspect was the school’s immersion in its local community. It was repeated by many participants that the school gained its flavour from being, in the words of Stephen, “that nice little school down in [district].” Its drawing area was narrow and concentrated in four adjacent suburbs. A significant effect was that boys studied and played in the same groups. This produced a very tight-knit community, with the corollary that academic study could take a subsidiary role to social networks. For teachers, it enhanced their own sense of belonging to a community and facilitated holistic connections with students. Members of the Governing Board were, with the exception of Head, Deputy and one other, either Old Boys or parents. In this setting extra-curricular sport became an extension of established relationships. The tight links between school and parish church were
also an expression of this geographical community so that church worship was valued as much for its communal role as for its religious meaning.

The third defining feature of the HAS community was its single-sex character, with 33% of informants explicitly referring to this as fundamental to its identity. When other regional schools had gone co-educational, it had responded by carving for itself a market niche as a boys only school. This feature played into the emphasis on sports. With respect to staff culture, as well as adjusting pedagogy and being bound by the sports requirements, this also produced a certain “blokey-ness”. Martin was typical of some male staff who, while claiming to welcome women teachers, still felt that there could be some pettiness in the female approach and that they did not have the same commitment to sport. Actually the female teachers interviewed were all quite positive about extra-curricular duties and embraced the opportunities afforded for developing relationships. James, himself an Old Boy, recalled a completely male staff in a previous era, but felt that now the gender balance was about right, with there still being enough good male role models for boys. Overall, the school was a masculine environment and there was certainly a diversity of masculinities for boys to learn from (HI1, HI13, HI19, HI20).

5.2.9. Chapel and faith
Whereas at EAS staff interpreted its religious identity largely through the interior attitudes of its purportedly Christian values, at HAS the exterior organizational structure of weekly chapel services dominated religious meaning. This difference corresponded to the emphasis of the respective chaplains: at EAS they were busy trying to formally integrate Christian values into structures, whereas at HAS, they focused on church services. Several times Barnabas stated that HAS was the most “churchy” school he had served in. Paul declaimed that it was “proudly a church school…The week by week experience is central to the organizational structure of the school…The beautiful church setting has an osmosis effect, aesthetically, culturally, environmentally as the whole school gathers.” When asked about religion, Seymour immediately responded: “I push the Anglican…I push chapel…Our charter says we are a church school, so it has to be [significant].” The long tradition of association with the parish church had embedded chapel services in the psyche of the school. Every interview except two (one of which was cut short) raised and explored the chapel experience to some extent, so its theoretical saturation as a theme was incontestable. For teachers chapel was the religious face of the school, since they attended every week.
The type of experience they were exposed to was a very high form of Anglicanism reinforced by the traditionalism of the school itself. Chapel was the most formal event of the week, when full academic dress was still worn (HI1, HI9, HI10, HI11). Worship was liturgical using classic hymns and slightly shortened Prayer Book services read from a school chapel book. There were all the formal rituals of High Anglicanism such as a procession with candle-bearers and crucifer. Content of sermons reflected a liberal high church tradition and preachers maintained a fairly distant manner.

As will be developed in Chapter 7 about religion, both the formality and the churchmanship were contested, not least because of the dominant secularism of both staff and students. It was evident that the main role of staff in the chapel setting was to tone down the students' behaviour and promote an outwardly worshipful demeanour. However many teachers felt, like the students, that it was a waste of time. The value of chapel that teachers did repeatedly assert was the social one of its symbolic power in bringing the whole school together in celebration of its history and traditions. This is the area where chapel influenced staff culture, as the previous quotation from Lesley illustrates superbly\(^ {14} \). The social function of religion is illustrated quite dramatically in the liturgies which the chaplain developed for stages of school life, such as liturgical celebrations for the end of Year 12, for commencement and conclusion of terms and for Old Boys reunions (HCA). Chapel also provided a focal point for the civic morality of the school. Neville expressed this very well: “It is the only exposure to religion that most kids get these days. Religion gives a framework to look at morality which promotes social cohesion.” Bradley’s remarks used almost exactly the same language. Comments such as these introduce one of the most important concepts for Anglican school identity which emerged from the data at HAS, namely the role of religion as social tradition. This will be analysed in the final section of this chapter. Neville’s words allude to another major issue, implicit in the data from EAS, that Australian society is largely secular. As Bradley said, “The community is quite secular; [I’m] not sure of the relevance to the majority of students or parents. One enrols a student for educational purposes, not religious purposes.”

Other locations of religious activity were conventional. As at EAS, the values foundation of the school was attributed to Christianity, and, as at EAS, this was also contested. While Bob claimed that “the good values of the Anglican church underpin the whole school”, Bradley felt that “to be a teacher you already have to have that disposition of caring and duty.” Staff unequivocally endorsed the charity

\(^ {14} \) See Traditional and Conservative, Section 5.2.2.
drives which they administered and which they generally interpreted as the outworking of the Christian values. The chaplains appeared to make little impact apart from their role in chapel, perhaps due to personal reserve (HI11). The final location for religion was the compulsory subject of Religious Education. The Principal himself taught RE, thus overtly identifying himself with Christianity. His own Christian example was confirmed as significant for religious expression and his leadership for the ultimate shape of organizational culture.

However, by contrast to the pervasive influence of independence, Anglicanism played only a minor part in teachers’ experience. Anglicanism was arguably a subset of independence, providing the historic foundation for the school and continuing to exert influence primarily in ceremonial and social roles. Yet even here, its explicit manifestations were open to conflicting interpretations and it was directly challenged by the secularism of both staff and students and by the meanings they gave to it.

5.3. Concepts
5.3.1 Generating concepts
HAS was deliberately selected to provide a divergent case to that of EAS. At the level of cross-site comparison, analysis of its culture brought to the fore two important concepts which profoundly shaped theorization. The first of these was the social importance of religious ritual for the ethos of this school. In his consideration of the role of religion in contemporary international society, Thomas (2005, pp. 85–89) draws on MacIntyre’s analysis of the relationship of virtue ethics and religion to develop the idea that religion can be interpreted as a social tradition marked by internal debate about how its community defines what is good. In the English tradition, in which HAS was deeply immersed and which is the historical context for Anglicanism, society derived its values from Christian morality. An interpretation of Anglican religion as embodying social tradition is a version of Christianity as civil religion, which reigned supreme in Europe from the time of Constantine’s conversion (MacCulloch, 2009, Chapt. 6) and into the modern era of the nation state. Before it was anything else, Anglicanism was the national religion of the English.

This interpretation of Anglicanism was fore-grounded at HAS because of its social conservatism. Analysis of responses about religion at HAS generated the crucial insight that embedded within Anglicanism are two disparate meanings of religion. One is that of religion as social tradition, as a communal expression of shared values reified in religious rituals. The other meaning is that of religion as spiritual
commitment, a personal experience of the transcendental. An embryonic conception of this duality had arisen at EAS but its importance was only recognized after exposure to the culture of HAS.

The second concept that became central was that of Australian secularity. In my preliminary conversations with the chaplains at EAS, they had stressed that they were seeking to challenge an unspiritual ethos and confided that doing this was “subversive work” (ECA). Later Bill expanded on this, saying that “basically the majority of our students and staff have had a very heavy enculturation into a materialistic culture...and find it difficult to relate to the spiritual heritage [of the school].” This idea came into much sharper focus at HAS because the disengagement of students from the major religious marker of the school, namely chapel services, was reiterated and because staff themselves manifested the same disengagement in their own attitudes.

Placing these two ideas at the centre of conceptualisation led to reorientating the category of tension, so that religious tension was interpreted in relationship firstly to the social and spiritual meanings given to religion, and secondly to conflict between religious ritual and the secular hegemony. Concurrent reading in the literature about Anglicanism led to discerning parallels with the historical functions of the church.

5.3.2. Interrelationships

Emergence of these important theoretical concepts occurred through the following process. Codes for the data about the specific school level culture of HAS were generated from the comments of interviewees corroborated by other data sources. The arrangement of subsections in the previous description of the culture of HAS was based on systematizing these repeated local themes. The coding categories for inter-school comparison were derived from the five conceptual categories already proposed at the first site. The focus here was the central research question: *What, if any, common Anglican school culture is indicated across sites?*

As the description of HAS demonstrates, the most important factor in cultural formation was that of independent schooling. This was in common across both sites. While its concrete properties differed, at the conceptual level there was convergence because differences could be interpreted as responses to the unique contexts. Conservatism at HAS was an appropriate reflection of its long tradition of independent education, just as the vigorous innovation at EAS was a reflection of its establishment phase as an independent school. Two other conceptual
categories identified at EAS were leadership and perspectives. With these, too, different properties pointed to the same concept. This can be illustrated in the category of leadership. While the styles and activities of principal and chaplains differed in each school, still both principals had a fundamental role in supporting religion and in both schools the chaplains’ perspectives and priorities determined the particular shape taken by religion.

It was from examining the two categories where there seemed to be conceptual discrepancies, namely tension and Anglicanism, that new insights came. This is in line with the grounded theory process of using disconfirming instances as springboards for greater sophistication of theorizing until the theory explains all divergent evidence satisfactorily.

5.3.3. Conclusion

Constant comparison led to simultaneously simplifying the concepts and making them more abstract – the process of delimitation. Analysis of HAS retained the five conceptual categories from the pilot study but reorganised them into a hierarchy, whereby Anglicanism was seen as an active and dynamic force rather than an empty category, with tension as its most significant characteristic. The other conceptual categories were secondary, influencing specific properties, but not the essential environment. Anglicanism itself was defined in terms of a tension between social and spiritual identities which were reflected in its schools. Data from HAS suggested that the dominant category of independent education itself grew out of the social tradition dimension to Anglicanism, which had been the civil religion of the classes which patronise private schools. At DAS, the third site study, the emerging theory would be tested in an environment where the importance of the social and spiritual was reversed and where the political context contrasted sharply with the happy and cohesive culture of HAS.
CHAPTER 6
THE SITE STUDY SCHOOLS AND THEIR CULTURES. PART 3
ORGANIZATIONAL CULTURE AT DAS (DIVIDED ANGLICAN SCHOOL)

I think we’re quite distinct. On the scale of Christian education you’ve got your parent-controlled hard-core schools at one end and at the other end you’ve sort of got, at some point the church donated their land or they’ve got a chapel or something, ... but it doesn’t impact. I think we’re neither of those...It’s a really good middle ground... It’s not a pompous school culturally, very easy going....It’s that sweet spot on the graph; it’s where people want the independent school culture and ethos and delivery and care and academic standards but they don’t want necessarily the old school tie package. (Don)

For some of these individuals ... they’ve got a mindset and whatever a person is going to say, it’s going to reinforce their mindset, unfortunately.... I think there’s definitely within the staffing, there’s certain political divisions and alliances...And as a new person, when you walk in, [pause] you know, it depends what department you’re in...[but] the impression I’ve got is there is a fair amount of rumblings and discontent...I know there’s some unhappy people, and I think there is some disempowerment with choices and decisions made. (Leanna)¹⁵

6.1. Context
In two respects DAS was very similar to HAS: it was very much a local school, situated within a clearly recognised geographical district; and, like HAS, this shaped the strong community of the school which reflected the social norms and interests of a homogenous demographic. However in most other respects the two schools were poles apart. Whereas HAS was marked by solidity, wealth and the weight of tradition, DAS had been shaped by financial tenuousness, institutional instability and cultural lightness. While co-curricular sport was at the heart of the HAS community, the DAS community was marked by individualism and eschewed mandated team activities. While some degree of academic success was taken for granted at HAS and energy was focused elsewhere, at DAS academic success was the breath of its survival. While the primary meaning for religion at HAS was as a social tradition, its emphasis at DAS was informal, personal and spiritual. Whereas the organizational culture at HAS was cohesive and harmonious, at DAS it was divided and discordant.

¹⁵ Appendix 8 gives a list of interviewees at DAS with a brief individual profile.
Like EAS, DAS was a co-educational school, but it was about half the size, and even smaller than HAS. There were about 550 students in the Middle and Secondary sections at the time of the study. It was located in the outer suburbs of a large metropolis. The geographical ambience was as different as possible from EAS with its spacious lateral spread. DAS’s site was very restricted with Junior, Middle and Senior schools together on one block, sharing library and hall facilities. Financial problems more than a decade earlier had driven the consolidation of campuses into close proximity, but the old divisions still lingered, especially between Junior and Secondary, which were distinct entities with different cultures. Through astute management by the immediate past principal, the straightened circumstances had largely been overcome and several impressive new buildings had been developed (DI10), so that Charlotte could say that now “you feel proud to show people round the school”.

Many teachers referred to the regional character and its reputation for being informal, non-competitive and ethnically homogenous. No more than five percent of students were from a non-Anglo background (School Report, 2009). With few exceptions parents were “nice without being unrealistically demanding” (DI14). Teachers at DAS rarely referred to the sort of pressures experienced at EAS and HAS (DI9, DI18, DI19, DI25). Rather, some were surprised at parents’ informal dress and casual approach to academic requirements (DI2, DI9, DI11). Student attitudes reflected the local culture. The consensus was that they were pleasant and easy to manage, with teachers using terms like: “just gorgeous”, “no horrible types”, “delightful”, “lovely kids, management is easy”, “respectful, lovely manner, easy to get on with”, “kind and co-operative”, “not many kids push the boundaries”; there were “very nice relationships between kids and staff”, and a “lovely tone, friendly, respectful, polite students, no discipline problems”. The extremes of student misbehaviour amounted to arguing with teachers, occasional swearing, graffiti on desks and some minor computer infringements (DI4, DI6, DI10, DI12, DI13, DI14, DI15, DI20, DI25). Historically, students had come from successful small business and artistic families, but there was now a shift towards old wealth, with increasing numbers of professional families who valued DAS’s proximity to home but who themselves had experienced traditional independent schooling (DI2, DI23, DI27). This change highlighted some tensions between long-term staff, who assumed that the area’s “happy-go-lucky kids” would not rise to the same high academic levels as their peers in established high socio-economic suburbs, and the new executive, for whom gaining the edge in a highly competitive environment was essential for the viability of the school (DI2, D14). This significant issue will be further explored.
Although DAS was an independent school, it was also under the auspices of a diocesan school system. Its governance was two-tiered. A diocesan company, elected through the Anglican Synod, oversaw the whole system, gave direction about the religious mission, appointed the principal and set regulations for policy and financial administration. A school board grounded locally was responsible for day-to-day governance. The diocesan layer complicated Anglican expression; at times it provided an influential model for its religious mission and at times it blurred its educational one. Sixteen years earlier the diocesan company had imposed a major restructure for financial reasons, an event which had continuing implications for the present culture of HAS.

6.2. Culture

6.2.1 External cordiality, internal division

Superficially DAS was a pleasant environment where pleasant students were reasonably responsive to pleasant teachers. However, as was explained in Chapter 2, culture is not what appears on the surface (e.g. Alvesson & Sveningsson, 2008; Hofstede, 2005; Schein, 1992. The meaning behind actions is culture’s essence; these meanings are created through a circular interplay of interior personal understanding with social expression. Another perspective on this is to describe culture as the interplay between feelings and social relationships (Fineman, 2000; Geijsel et al., 2007, p. 138).

It became evident early on in interviewing people at DAS that some held some rather strong negative feelings about their workplace. In his very first informal conversation with the researcher, the principal, Ray, spoke of a discontented staff clique inhabiting the common room, and referred to two subject co-ordinators who were upset about certain decisions. In the first formal interview Don alluded to a staff restructure whereby he gained his current position and “some staff got their noses out of joint about that.” The theme of division came out again when the chaplain was interviewed, and by the fourth interview the informant warned me that “everyone will be petrified to say too much”. “Disgruntlement, restlessness, insecurity”, “uncomfortable”, “culture of conflict”, “anguish [at restructuring], “difficult, insecure”, “a bit of a bunker mentality” were samples of descriptors of the staff climate. Sometimes the depth of feelings was expressed in quite personal terms. For instance, Patsy exclaimed, “Another problem is the communication….There is none!…I mean the poor bloke next door was told…by the way, you might like to look for another job!” Sharon said, “People felt, if he can do that … we are all dead meat….everyone’s watching their backs, that’s why we’re sitting in this room.” Such strong feelings indicate that dearly held values
were violated. However it became plain that actually there were conflicting values and conflicting meanings existing at DAS, producing a culture marked by division rather than cohesion (cf. Owens, 1995, p. 81; Schein, 1992, p. 12; Alvesson, 2002, p. 3-4; Hargreaves, 1992, p. 219). This was its predominant distinguishing cultural characteristic.

6.2.1.a. A comfortable community?
Historically DAS had a long-standing reputation for pastoral care. Many participants testified to a continuing pattern of personal attention to students and the warm bonding between students, families and school (DI5, DI9, DI13, DI15, DI17, DI24, DS9). Yet this comfortable community atmosphere seemed under threat to some, because market competition was forcing concentration on high academic attainment. For instance Odelia claimed, “I feel there is a shift away from that reputation of caring for individual students.” Similarly, Leanna wondered if the school was losing its habit of being nurturing and looking after those needing extra care. Ball (1993, p. 55-57) found there were competing definitions of school around pastoral and academic perspectives. Louisa linked the two: “DAS is trying to situate itself as a prime educational provider and also hang onto the pastoral.”

The pleasantness of the students, the sense of community and the long-standing pride in pastoral care helped to produce a staff culture which its members claimed to be warm, kind and collegial. The comfort of teaching at DAS and its compatibility with an easy-going societal culture set the tone in many interviews, and there was little talk of professional striving. But beneath the motherhood statements less commendable undercurrents sometimes surfaced. One survey respondent stated bluntly that the school was “not special” (DS8). Two teachers explicitly testified to bullying behaviour by their peers (DI18, DI25) and one staff member felt she had been humiliated in public by an administrative assistant (DI8). It was observed that middle managers “did not know how to talk to each other” in their meetings (DI11). Phyllis described a move to a more business orientation where “just jumping in to help is now seen as a bit of a weakness” and Leanna observed that despite all the talk, she “didn’t see a lot of compassionate care” in action, such as encouraging sick teachers to go home. The incoming principal did not think pastoral care was outstanding and commented on much slackness in responding to parents and in matters of documentation and confidentiality. The comments quoted above indicate discrepancy between the espoused culture and actual values and actions, so it was not surprising that the hidden culture at DAS was marked by suspicion and division since cohesion depends on common values (Alvesson & Sveningsson, 2008; Schein, 1992).
6.2.1.b. Reverberations from restructuring

Sixteen years earlier a new principal had been appointed and the school had undergone a major restructure involving sale of some land, consolidation of resources on one smallish site and multiple redundancies. Quite a few of those who had experienced this upheaval were still on the staff of DAS. It had been a traumatic time. The process, which was overseen by the diocesan company, was remembered for its inadequacies, and for the pain caused by unexpected and seemingly random staff redundancies. The result was a deep sense of insecurity and suspicion so that almost two decades later a fairly new staff member could comment that he had been surprised at “how deeply the feelings ran with the restructure” (DI9). The handling of the event set a tone of mistrust in the school management and a pattern of forming power groups under the patronage of those leaders who were still in place. One of these, Graeme, was deputy principal for many years. Interviewees gave examples of the ensuing culture in operation: balkanisation, selective sharing of knowledge, special deals about duties and lobbying over management decisions (DI1, DI2, DI7, DI12, DI14, DI27). Over successive years new staff were socialised into this way of operating, so that Marie, only new to the school, could say that, “The disaffected have infected the general culture of the school”.

The principal at the time of the restructure had retired five years earlier. Two events from near the end of his incumbency were described by informants as having reignited the historical insecurities and divisions. Against the custom of the school, he made extra-curricular sport supervision compulsory, causing a great deal of conflict in which it was claimed one teacher “was bullied out” and by which young male teachers keen on sport were preferenced (DI6, DI14). Secondly, the appointment process for the new principal left a sour taste for the deputy, Graeme, and those whom he had protected through turbulent times. He was well-loved and seen as a caring pastoral leader by staff (DI4, DI6, DI20, DI24, DI26, DI27), yet his application for the principalship was brushed aside and he was not even interviewed for the job. It needs to be noted that this action came from the diocesan company. This background put the incoming principal “under a cloud” (DI14) on two accounts, both as having supplanted an internal applicant who continued in the school with the concomitant accompanying tension, and also as being suspected as having been appointed on the basis of diocesan connections rather than on intrinsic merit (DI8).
6.2.2. Old echoes: New leadership

6.2.2.a. Actions

Into this rather fragile culture came Ray. He had been principal for five years, having had a rapid rise through leadership roles in several other Anglican schools, including experience of very prestigious traditional ones. Ray was very aware of the market in which DAS was positioned. He observed client families paying high fees and expecting the school to live up to the image of high performing independent schools. He contrasted this with laid back educational approaches and unprofessional standards of personal presentation. He observed unstructured and disorderly chapel services which were like “Friday night fellowship for four hundred kids.” Moreover Ray was reserved and task-focused. He commented that he didn’t expect to be thanked when he worked hard, because he was just doing his job. He transferred such attitudes to his staff relationships, needing mentoring to learn to deliberately encourage others. As already mentioned, Graeme, deputy for over a decade, was still in place, and nursing resentment at his non-promotion. According to Ray, Graeme undermined his decisions and gave favours to his own support group. After several years trying to make this dysfunctional executive work, to quote Ray’s own words: “I just got to the point where I thought, I can’t do this, work with a deputy like this” (DI27). Therefore, two years before this study, he undertook a major executive restructure which meant Graeme’s position was redundant. At the same time, convinced that the existing chaplain, Alan, was burnt out, he moved him sideways to focus on his outdoor education responsibilities and appointed a new chaplain.

These moves, though justifiable from the principal’s perspective, simply reinforced existing insecurities and divisions. Nearly everybody testified to the huge upset and loss experienced. People were described as “being in mourning”; it caused “terrible ructions” and “strained peer relations.” Ray’s relational awkwardness is suggested by opinions that the restructure was without warning and was preceded by covert grooming of a successor. It was thought Graeme was targeted because he was not “a yes-man”. “High feeling” persisted and there was disgruntlement at the elevation of a new brigade of favoured young males. Olivia, who had not served under the previous principal and who spoke of Ray’s kindness to her personally, summed up the situation thus: “After this Ray lost a lot of people” (DI1, DI4, DI6, DI10, DI14, DI15, DI24, DI26). Moreover, because of the close friendship and long collegial relationship of the deputy and chaplain, the redeployment of the latter was interpreted as being a veiled threat to his own tenure, with various stories circulating that he had been warned for standing up for Graeme (DI12, DI14, DI18, DI20).
Other actions of Ray further antagonized staff. There had been a problematic redundancy of a library assistant. Two new middle managers had been employed on the basis of their Christian faith but proved to be inadequate for the role. There was resentment that others serving competently in the school were passed over and that departmental co-ordinators’ recommendations for appointments were overruled (DI1, DI4, DI10, DI12, DI13, DI14, DI20, DI27). Helena summed up the malaise succinctly: “Even those worthy of appointment will be viewed through the prism of ‘what’s the agenda here, what connections did they have?’.”

The most recent crisis had occurred before the start of the current academic year when Ray sent a letter laying out clearly his expectations for professional standards of dress and attendance. This letter caused an uproar and a rash of union meetings. The timing so close to resumption of school was one issue. The tone appeared unnecessarily harsh and bureaucratic with no concessions for those with sick families or children to collect. People felt that all had been reproved for the failings of the few who should have been confronted privately. It is pertinent that dress code is one way “an organization defines what it stands for” (Wood et al. p. 317). Ray’s aim was to raise the bar so DAS would match older competitor schools. Yet even Olivia, whose actual habits already complied, commented that “the tone was such that even my hackles were going up....I think he had started to get people back, and that letter came and that was it!” Clearly there were divergent understandings of what DAS stood for.

6.2.2.b. Meanings

The situation at DAS was a classic case of the limited power of a principal to change culture (Bell & Kent, 2010; Morford, 2002, Morrison, 2010; Parry, 2001). It illustrates Meyerson and Martin’s (1997) “differentiation“ concept of culture whereby competing cultural meanings coexist within the same organization. Geijsel et al. (2007, p. 140 - 142) describe how leaders’ power over teachers in setting goals and structuring issues can be “answered“ by the staff either through cooperative sense-making or through repudiation of the leaders’ initiatives. They describe the prerequisites for positive outcomes as effectivity, transparency and respectability, this word denoting that teachers respect the decision and see it as reasonable. While Ray was effective, there was a breakdown in “respectability“ because of the totally different meanings existing staff gave to the set of relationships forming the culture. Ray came into an organization habituated to working on the basis of personal networks, the type defined as a “club culture“ by Handy and Aitken (1986, p. 83) using what Ball (1993, p. 87f.) calls “interpersonal leadership“ in his typology of four leadership styles. This clashed with the
approach of Ray, who seemed predisposed to a “managerial” style marked by formal procedures and use of an executive team. Parry (2001) calls this “managership”. It roughly corresponds to Burns’ (1978) “transactional leadership”. It was noticeable, for instance, that Ray and his executive always referred each other by their surnames and titles when talking to groups of teachers (an interesting contrast to Vince at HAS). Yet Ray explicitly stated that he felt pushed into transactional leadership by the context and culture, while yearning to be a transformational leader (DI2). In other words, his desires were constrained by the context.

Ray had become the focal point of cultural division, although the causes lay in divergent meanings rather than simply his leadership style and decisions. Conflicting stories were told about him. Some alluded to poor communication and awkward encounters. Although he invited people to talk individually, some saw this as a tactic to “divide and conquer”. He was criticised as being “top down” causing frustration for middle managers. Personal rivalries were seen in comments that personable young men were promoted; two interviewees felt they had been unjustly passed over. This was an interesting issue as it related to the religious position of the school. According to Don, some of these people lacked awareness that leaders at DAS needed to be practising Christians. Yet one interviewee explicitly noted that not belonging to the dominant protestant faith had not prevented her promotion to middle management. Leanna, as a newcomer, observed that many teachers did not like the principal, who himself was well-aware of this hostility (DI4, DI6, DI8, DI12, DI13, DI16, DI20, DI24).

Others were positive and acknowledged personal care and encouragement. Some tried to play down tensions by attributing Ray’s “mistakes” to inexperience or a Board-directed “bottom line”. Odelia believed that Ray’s focus on improving classroom practice was required at this stage of the school’s development. Marie recognised that heads have to make hard decisions and Don explicitly stated that schools are not democracies. Incoming teachers like Patrick and Belinda interpreted criticism as conservative resistance to change. Lillian, Olivia, Wendy and Louisa all stressed personal support they had received. Hilary went out of her way to note that she had found “the executive incredibly friendly and supportive”. The executive teachers interviewed unanimously noted that Christian care was a taken-for-granted aspect of all decisions. Harriet felt her subject was given greater support than in the past. Andros enjoyed Ray’s efficient decision-making and Wendy felt that Ray had responded appropriately to recent union concerns.
As informants on both sides recounted these events and constructed stories with “good” and “bad” characters according to their own allegiances, their remarks were shot through with emotion, whether it was Ray reflecting on institutionalised cronyism, power challenges and the unprofessionalism of teachers rushing out of the carpark to get home, or whether it was those who had loved Graeme or been pastored by Alan, and who expressed dislike for the more corporate drive at the school, or fear that they would lose favour and be themselves removed. The depth and pervasiveness of these emotions well illustrated how the pleasant hyperculture floated above a set of more negative assumptions, which created what Harlos and Pinder (2000) call a culture of injustice, characterized by “low supportiveness, low team orientation, tight control, high outcome orientation and low tolerance of conflict” (p. 264). All of these were evident in the data from DAS. In the words of Harlos and Pinder (p. 255), “issues of injustice are inherently perceptual and thus subjective”. Perceptions of injustice at DAS went back for almost twenty years and more recent leadership decisions, no matter how rational on objective evidence, had reinforced this mode of thinking, so that many people felt a need to band together, to hold management at a distance and to distrust both principal and governing board.

Apart from historical events and Ray’s own personal dispositions, there were two other factors that were crucial in the negotiation of meaning in the organizational culture at DAS. The first was intrinsic pressure derived from the positioning of the school in the independent sector. The second was a vision to have an authentically Christian and engaging expression of Anglicanism. These two factors correspond to conceptual categories already established for theorizing Anglican schools. Their influence on the culture experienced by teachers will now be explored.

6.2.3. Independence and competition

Not only did the habits of the established culture clash with Ray’s style, they also clashed with the market needs of the moment to which, like Vince at HAS, he was largely responding. In Chapter 2 the marketization of independent education was described (Campbell et al., 2008; English, 2009; Goh, 2007; Shaw, 2009). This imperative was particularly pertinent to DAS, which like HAS, had a long reputation as an intimate community but could no longer afford to rest on these laurels without also displaying cutting edge educational achievement.

DAS’s societal setting was individualistic and its history was much shorter than that of HAS. Yet Anglican education marked by the professionalism and
conservative values epitomized by HAS was becoming the measure of DAS’s success. This was because local professional people who were second time users of independent schooling were turning to DAS to provide that quality close to home. As Campbell et al. (2008) demonstrate, proximity to home is very significant in parental choice, and DAS, like HAS, was the local independent school *par excellence*, blending into its social and geographical communities. DAS had two major competitors: the traditional elite independent schools and an academically excellent state school with no fees at all. So while Vince at HAS could repeat the phrase, “schools like this”, indicating an established reputation, at DAS Ray talked of “the type of school it needs to be.” This short phrase encapsulates the heart of the tensions about meaning which were described in the previous section.

As at HAS, the reality of being a private business in a competitive market was driving cultural change. DAS was in a low funding category and so had to charge high fees, and it was important that clients saw they were getting something for this outlay. As Don said, “there is a sense, ‘we’re paying, we want back for the money’.” While most parents at DAS were not top echelon wealthy, some were rich and others worked two jobs to ensure their children received a good education. The growing significance of the business dimension was highlighted by the introduction of a business manager about the same time as Ray commenced. These business realities were important drivers of Ray’s push for professionalism and for raising academic achievement. Business decisions are always constrained by money, and although some teachers complained about reductions in allowances or in staffing, others recognised that, to use the words of Bradley, “When it comes down to it, the school is a business, you are working for that company which may mean we’ve got to cut costs.”

As a private business DAS had to brand itself in its market context. As the quotation from Don, the Deputy, at the head of this chapter indicates, DAS was positioned as a “middle ground” which would provide an academic pathway as good as the best selective school or the established elite independent ones, but also provide an enriched curriculum and the individualised pastoral care associated with Christian foundations. The importance of both of these as characteristics of independent education has already been highlighted at EAS and HAS. DAS needed to display the type of good school climate promoted by Shaw (2009) and itemised by Collier (2010) in terms of “pastoral care, extension of life opportunities, formation of values, creation of community”, that is, it should go the extra mile to serve students. Both Lillian and Hilary said that teachers in a “private school”
expected that they must be conscientious. Llewelyn noted that staff in independent schools have to perform, as they can be removed. While there was not the same preoccupation with workload as at EAS, teachers worked hard and some complained about high demands, especially the pressure to push pre-tertiary students.

The traditional independent school brand is identified with professionalism and civic leadership (Campbell et al., 2009, pp 25, 78). As Llewelyn, who had himself attended a traditional church school said, “There’s this nexus between Anglican schools and the big end of town”, and it was this nexus which motivated enrolments at DAS, not its religious identity, because, consistent with both EAS and HAS, school families were mainly secular and their laid-back materialism was at odds with Christian virtues. Independent school values were defined by DAS’s leaders in very similar ways to the other sites. “Good schools” had well-taught students, a traditional academic approach, extended opportunities, high professional standards in staff and good personal presentation, namely uniform, for students. To users of independent schools, image is important because it represents visually the good services they are paying for, and some of the negative attitudes to Ray arose because of his commitment to presenting the school as “smart” in both senses of the word. Good facilities are also a taken-for-granted feature of an independent school and these had burgeoned in recent times despite some difficulties with operating on a small site.

Contrasting with the prominence of compulsory sport at HAS and the pressures around co-curricular duties at EAS, there was as yet little display of school spirit or traditional sporting culture at DAS, where participation was optional. However, parental demand was leading to increased activity and consequent increased duties for teachers, which had triggered some resentment. Most energies went into basketball and several well-patronized outdoor education options, while the enrichment expected in independent schools was linked to its religious ethos through a highly valued program whereby students served a disadvantaged overseas school (DI5, DI6, DI7, DI9, DI10, DI16, DI19, DI21, DI26, DI27).

Above all, high stakes academic achievement marked DAS’s identity in the independent educational sector. DAS promoted itself in the market as the leading non-selective academic school in the district and had achieved impressive results (DI6, DI14, DI25). This was congruent with its Anglican identity, because, as argued elsewhere, intellectual openness and eschewal of dogmatism are hallmarks of the Anglican spirit (DI21, DI27). Where academic goals most affected the
teachers at DAS was in the requirement to achieve excellent Year 12 results, a pressure instigated by Ray’s predecessor but accelerated in recent times. Teachers were not all convinced that the “happy-go-lucky kids” attending DAS would put in the same effort as their peers coming from the higher socio-economic suburbs, and there was some feeling that teacher effectiveness was judged by the leadership, rather than student commitment (DI2, DI4, DI5, DI14, DI15, DI16, DI18, DI22, DI25).

The context was changing both externally and internally. Ray’s mission to raise the profile of the school led to conflict with a staff culture shaped by the need for self-protection and by personal, not professional, relationships. Acceptance of the new priorities was inhibited by existing interior assumptions which generated oppositional meanings to his actions and produced some strong emotional reactions (Alvesson & Sveningsson, 2008; Fineman, 2000; Hofstede, 2005; Martin, 1992). To add to the complexity, these divisions also became entangled with the meaning given to faith within the organizational culture at DAS. This staff experience of religion will now be examined.

6.2.4. Faith and politics

Despite differences in their form, chapel services, charitable works and caring values were common manifestations of religion in the three schools. DAS’s distinctive culture was located in two additional areas: the overlay of political tensions on its religious life and an ongoing debate about the employment of practising Christians. This section considers each of these five dimensions of religion in turn.

Like HAS, this school had a long immersion in Anglican culture with several principals having strong clerical connections. However, the form of Anglicanism was quite different to the formality at HAS. Here it reflected both the casual local culture and the diocesan focus on personal spirituality. Thus, in direct contrast to both of the other schools, DAS had no chapel building and did not seem to miss it. Anglican services were held weekly in the spacious assembly hall. Ray had asked the new chaplain, Warren, to ensure that students had some familiarity with conventional Anglican liturgical forms, and this was applied flexibly. The three chaplains led services; other practising Christians among the staff were encouraged to contribute and there were visiting speakers from time to time. Staff generally approved of the content of these services, again in contrast to HAS, as they were seen as being relevant to the students and varied in their liturgical shape and content. Contemporary “populist” music was used. Talks regularly
focused on the love of God, although traditional doctrines of hell and sin could also be addressed. Some people found the rather eccentric part-time chaplain, Llewelyn, confrontational at times while others admired his depth of knowledge. Helena defined Anglicanism based on her experience of DAS, and her words give a good sense of the personal spiritual commitment end of the Anglican religious continuum which predominated at DAS: “Catholic has an emphasis on what you can do for others; Anglican is on the individual benefit of a religious relationship with Jesus.”

Despite this remark there was actually also a lot of altruism and charitable work going on. Indeed Basil’s interpretation was that “a fundamental Christian understanding of life is giving to others.” Just as at the other schools, these activities were the aspect of faith which most impinged on teachers, along with their attendance at chapel services. Regular fund-raising events like Bike-for-Bibles were highlighted in school life. A major enterprise was a biennial trip to a disadvantaged third world country where students engaged in manual work to support that school and its students. This was viewed as a life-changing opportunity for Christian service. It was predicated on a wealthy enough student body to pay for the opportunity; this fact reinforces the upper social class clientele patronising Anglican schools as was also noted at HAS, a school which likewise exposed students to overseas humanitarian works. Hilary specifically linked the overseas program to raising students’ awareness of how lucky they were.

As at EAS and HAS, positive values were attributed to the school’s religious identity. Wendy said that “[charity] comes from the religious ethos [and has] a real sense of how can we help the community.” The typically Christian values of care and kindness were seen as characteristic of relationships between staff and students within the school, despite the negative undertones already discussed (DI4, DI5, DI6, DI9, DI11, DI19, DI24). Andros was emphatic that the religious dimension was effective with the students, saying, “they really seem good, quality kids, good values, polite, doing the right thing when they should”, and Ray, the principal, was convinced that the Christian prayer life of the school was behind the positive character of the student body. While Helena could summarise the essence of the school as a “will to kindness” she was one of several who also pointed out inconsistencies between Christian care and the experience of some staff, a theme that had emerged at EAS, but which was much more pointed in the highly politicised environment at DAS. The chaplain, Warren, made the perceptive comment that at DAS “Christianity is the establishment” and therefore any criticism of decisions could take the form of accusations that these were
“unchristian”. Indeed Helena’s interpretation of the values discourse at the school was couched in exactly these terms, while one survey (DS8) claimed that “The place is riddled with hypocrisy at the top. They don’t practise what they preach.”

Such phraseology sounds an alert as to the relationships between political divisions and religion at DAS. As at the other schools, the principal’s own position was very significant and he deliberately sought to raise the profile of faith, with some success according to senior managers. However, the action of making the deputy redundant and redeploying the former chaplain, Alan, had polarised religious allegiances sharply among teachers. Ray himself acknowledged that Alan was “deeply loved by the whole staff” and at least nine interviewees explicitly confirmed this interpretation. His redeployment and the forced redundancy of Graeme, who was also much loved, collapsed together in people’s minds to become facets of a single action. Therefore those who disagreed with Ray praised Alan and criticised the new chaplain, Warren. Alan was clearly a relational and pastoral person. He and Graeme together had developed the highly valued overseas programme. He continued to teach some Religious Studies classes and participated in chapels on a roster basis. His role in extra-curricular was highly regarded and was a very public expression of Christian values. The way political divisions were superimposed onto religion is encapsulated in the words of Survey 2: “Most staff would say that Alan really represents Jesus well but that the principal does not.” Newer members of staff were more inclined to give credit to the incoming chaplain, Warren, describing him as open and liberal, engaging and creative, effective, earning respect and having breadth of thinking and generosity (DI5, DI7, DI11, DI27).

The most distinctive purely religious issue raised at DAS concerned assumptions regarding the appointment of practising Protestant Christian staff. It was believed that only committed Christian people could authentically model faith. DAS’s overseeing diocesan company strongly promoted the desirability of employing only those whose religious position matched the diocesan norm (DI1, DI2, DI4, DI11, DI27). Ray stated that he had to justify contravening this policy to his Board but the long-time practice at DAS was flexible. Although all executive positions were filled by practising Christians, the majority of the staff were employed for their professional skills, not religious convictions. Harriet reported that Ray’s predecessor had taken “some brave decisions [to appoint] the applicant that had no alignment with the church” but that pressure about appointments continued in the present. Don commented that at diocesan Anglican conferences he found people were surprised by the staffing compromises permitted at DAS, while the
Head of Junior School noted the difficult “balance of finding staff who are Christian and good teachers, [or finding] ... good teachers who are going to be sympathetic to the Christian ethos”.

The openness at DAS was more congruent with the generality of Anglican schools than with its immediate diocesan context. Ray’s spirituality was in harmony with diocesan norms and initially he had tried to meet the staffing requirements by appointing only practising Christians, as already noted. He had quickly come to the realisation that in the factionalised climate at DAS, such actions would further undermine his own credibility (DI10, DI27). Ray had persuaded one to move on within months of appointment, and while the other was still in place, he was struggling to deal with his hostile subordinates and would leave shortly after the research visits.

Through such issues the external religious “meso” (Woods, 1999) context impinged on teachers’ daily lives. Both Harriet and Helena expressed regret that they had not gained promotion positions and undoubtedly their religious position had contributed to this. There seemed a diocesan expectation that its schools would move closer to the “Christian” nonconformist schools on such matters (DI7, DI13, DI17) and contrasting opinions were expressed about this. Marie, having experienced strong proselytizing tendencies in one newer Anglican school was quite distressed at what she called “a sense of exclusiveness,...a narrowing [which] doesn’t allow for diversity of thinking ... [There is] a preference for those who follow the faith to the exclusion of those who...educationally would be of greater benefit.” Although the staffing debate was unique to DAS among the schools studied in depth, it illustrated very sharply the typical Anglican tension between religion as social tradition and as spiritual commitment.

As revealed so strikingly at both HAS and EAS, the clientele and many of the teachers at DAS were secular. As at the previous sites there was low penetration of religion into the daily routines of teaching and learning, although the greater number of practising Christians and the accessibility of DAS’s spiritual expression made for greater sympathy with faith. Its emphasis on personal spirituality meant it was positioned between Protestant Christian schools and traditional establishment ones as the heading quotation indicates. This will be further explored in the comparative study of Anglicanism in the next chapter. Although the balance was different, faith still impacted teachers mainly through attending chapel services, through ritual use of prayer at public events, through humanitarian activities and through good values and pastoral relationships, all of
which have been documented from EAS and HAS. In addition the specific political tensions at DAS overlapped into religious life and there was an active dialogue about the role of religion in employment.

6.3. Concepts
The preceding description of DAS and summary of its religious artefacts indicates that the conceptualization of Anglican school culture generated from the previous site studies was confirmed at this third school, despite some very significant differences in its context, climate, churchmanship, history, structure and social demographic. Where DAS was a deviant case, the developing grounded theory was tested and refined, forcing it to the higher levels of abstraction which move theory from the substantive towards the formal (Glaser, 1994).

Conceptual coding built upon that used in the previous sites. The first round of interviews identified the unique categories of restructuring and political tensions. These were added to the coding system; otherwise data was coded according to the categories already established at DAS and HAS. The major ones were personal perspectives and background, independence and leadership. Codes about the nature of students and the perceived essence of the culture facilitated internal cross-referencing and contextual cross-comparison, while an open code for individuals’ interests and preoccupations was maintained. There were four codes for religious aspects which paralleled those at the other sites: (i) chaplaincy, (ii) values, (iii) curriculum, (iv) other comments. A fifth code for the diocesan dimension was added. Cross-site analysis incorporating the data from DAS yielded similarities in the three major categories of perspectives, independence and leadership. These will now be briefly described.

Like participants at HAS, those at DAS showed reasonable homogeneity in their religious perspectives, but it was of a different nature to the mild cynicism there. At DAS even the majority of secular staff supported the contemporary style with its mission for personal commitment. Students complied willingly, albeit rather unenthusiastically. The perspectives category was clarified through realising that, in all sites, it represented those interpretations brought into the school from outside, both external social forces and prior experiences. This was very evident in the issue of staff recruitment, where the meaning people attributed largely depended on their own religious position and on their understandings of Anglicanism and of educational priorities.
As already described, the independent school dimension had a similar dominant role in cultural formation as at EAS and HAS. Independent school values and priorities and the potency of parental expectations were shared across sites, although the specific substantive matters varied. At DAS it was manifested mainly through pressure on teachers to produce good academic results and to demonstrate professional standards equivalent to their competitors.

The tensions caused through DAS’s inevitable transition from a cosy community to a serious participant in the contemporary high-stakes educational market affected leadership. What the incoming principal saw as a necessary shake-up of personnel and concomitant improved professionalism exacerbated existing insecurities and internal division, producing active resistance. This contrasted with the popularity of the principals at the other schools. However, the importance of leadership in setting the school’s tone and especially defining its religious identity was confirmed, even though the outworking of leadership decisions was at the best ambivalent and perhaps negative. There was no doubt that Ray took an active role in shaping Anglicanism at DAS and in negotiating with staff, the school board and the diocesan company how it would be implemented.

From HAS two central concepts had come to prominence in interpreting the conceptual categories which constituted Anglican school culture. One was the importance of contemporary Australian secularism in defining the ideological context. The other was an understanding that the core of Anglican tension resides in simultaneous but contradictory pulls towards social tradition and towards spiritual commitment. Both secularism and Anglican tension were evident at DAS, although paradoxically in different ways. Although secular resistance to faith at the school was more muted than at either of the other sites, it was still clearly the dominant ideology. Most students complied with the religious dimension, but only a minority were actively interested, according to Alan. Most staff were secular and even those with religious convictions were primarily occupied with meeting the social and secular goals of schooling.

With respect to the opposed dualities of social tradition and personal spirituality, the form of Anglicanism at this third school was on the spiritual end of the spectrum, an interesting divergence from EAS and HAS. Chapel services and Religious Education classes sought to challenge traditions, rather than reinforce them and there was a premium given to encouraging active belief. Yet despite this and despite the genuine spiritual commitment of many teachers, there was real contention about its religious life, manifested in the factionalism surrounding
the two chaplains, accusations of hypocrisy against school leaders, tensions about staff appointments and opposing views about the best relationship between faith and education. Therefore, although religious tensions at DAS were subsumed under political ones, it was abundantly clear that tension was still the most significant concept marking Anglicanism. So while the categories of tension and Anglicanism each had a different shape here, their importance as controlling concepts for theorization was validated.

In short, the theoretical power of the five conceptual categories which first emerged at EAS and which were refined, filled with substantive content and weighted at HAS, was confirmed through the process of constant comparison at DAS. The next chapter will look in depth at the data about religion and ethos at the schools. It goes beyond the sketchy descriptions of the explicit effects of religion on staff to which the descriptions of each school’s culture have so far been limited. It focuses on giving close conceptual consideration at the level of cross-site comparative analysis to what the data indicates is a defensible answer to the major research question, What, if any, common Anglican school culture is indicates across school sites?
CHAPTER 7

DIVERSITY, TENSIONS AND LAYERS OF MEANING. PART 1.

STRUCTURAL ARTEFACTS OF ANGLICANISM

For the wider school community Anglicanism is a brand that imputes some sort of safety, nothing too extreme; there’s going to be no great demands or public demonstrations of faith required of anybody, a very non-threatening brand. (Frank at EAS)

My exposure to Anglican schools is that what it should be is more honoured in the breach than in the observance...Chaplains are overworked, a voice crying in the wilderness...There is a quiet desperation. (Barnabas Goulding, Chaplain at HAS)

Anglicanism is seen as the tradition that it is good for us to know about in spite of the fact that we don’t practise it any more. So there is a disconnect between school policy and parental and general societal expectation at this point. (DAS, Survey response, DS2).

7.1. Introduction: Finding common Anglican culture

This chapter will thoroughly explore the religious character of the schools, placing this within their context as institutions belonging within the Anglican branch of Christianity. While the preceding chapters have concentrated on the unique organizational culture of the three site study schools, this chapter isolates the strands in common among them and interprets these in the light of their shared Anglican identity. When the focus was on describing the staff experience of individual cultures, reference to specifically religious aspects was limited to those which staff saw impacting on culture. This approach is congruent with the definition of culture as residing in the meaning attributed by participants (Chapter 2; e.g. Foucault, 1972; Hofstede, 2005; Geertz, 1973; Greenfield, 1986), as argued at the beginning of Chapter 2 in the review of this literature.

However, when attention is turned to an overarching Anglican culture which transcends specific sites, the major location for meaning-making is in the researcher’s integration of data from the three sites and from beyond them, to reveal theoretical concepts applicable to Australian Anglican secondary schools in general. This chapter focuses on the cultural meanings attributed by the researcher and the bases of these in evidence from many Anglican schools. This focus is consistent with Wright’s (2008, p. 7) view of qualitative research, where
“meanings [are] constituted through the interactions of participants and researchers”, or in the words of Eisner (1991), on the researcher making sense of data through an “enlightened eye”. Such a meta-interpretation, particularly within the grounded theory paradigm, relies on hard data, so major objectives of this chapter are describing data from relevant sources and showing how the theoretical categories, on which the final grounded theory rests, were generated from this information.

7.1.1 An overview
This chapter starts with some material from other Anglican schools in order to show how site study data articulates into a more general cultural pattern of ambiguous meanings and tension between social tradition and spiritual commitment. The following extract from the Western Australian Anglican Schools Commission website is representative of other diocesan school mission statements. The WAASC is charged with establishing new low-fee systemic schools, supporting older established ones, recommending education policies to the Diocese of Perth and fostering relationships between Anglican schools and parishes. Its website claims these eight characteristics together constitute a distinctive Anglican educational package:

i. “Aiming for Excellence and the Development of the Whole Persons
ii. Providing a Thoughtful and Balanced Education
iii. Inclusive and Open - Valuing All Students
iv. Positively Affirming All that is Wholesome in Human Life
v. Maintaining Continuity with the Past but Thoughtfully Responsive to Education Innovation
vi. Pastoral Care of all Students Especially Those with Special Needs
vii. Providing Anglican Christian Studies and Promoting Anglican Christian Values
viii. Providing Stability and Reliability in Leadership and Teaching Staff.”

As this chapter unfolds it will be seen how these points echo the empirical evidence from the site studies, reinforcing the meta-interpretation.

The context of the quotation is a section of the website where “Christian Purpose” is emphasised. The Perth Diocesan schools are meant to bear witness to a Trinitarian Godhead, offer students opportunities to explore and develop Christian faith and provide education which is founded upon Christian beliefs, values and attitudes. In other words, education towards and within Anglican spirituality is
central to the aspirations of this diocese. Similar wording and aims can be seen in recent mission statements from the Canberra and Goulburn Diocesan Schools Council, the Sydney Anglican Schools Corporation, the Queensland Anglican Schools Office and the Diocese of Melbourne Guidelines (Diocese of Melbourne, 2004). In the last case the cautious wording acknowledges the strong history of autonomy among Melbourne Anglican schools, but it still states the centrality of students “hearing and responding to the Gospel”. These diocesan documents deliberately define their Christian identity in terms of spiritual commitment but their tenor suggests that there is an overpowering alternative.

That indeed there is a highly viable alternative is illustrated by the mission statement of Melbourne Grammar School, one of the most elite independent schools in the country. In several web pages extolling its offerings, Melbourne Grammar gives only four mentions to anything religious. The word “spiritual” is used three times. In its leading mission statement it claims that it “fosters the pursuit of excellence by offering an educational experience ranging across intellectual, social, cultural, spiritual and physical pursuits” (emphasis added), although the accompanying diagram of a positive sense of self does not include any such reference. The two other usages of the word are of similar comparative insignificance, while there is one reference to God in an extended exposition about the nature of leadership, where one phrase talks of it as “a God-given talent”. An even more extreme example of the invisibility of religion is that of Firbank Grammar, Brighton, which highlights its “commitment to the principles of Australian democracy” while mentioning “spirituality” only once as being among its eleven core values. According to one informant this school removed the word “Anglican” from its title and employs only one part-time Uniting Church chaplain. These are extreme examples of Anglicanism expressed purely as social tradition.

An interesting synthesis of the two polarities occurs in the Charter of the Sydney Church of England Grammar School, universally known as “Shore” from its position on the wealthy North Shore of Sydney Harbour. Shore is the Sydney counterpart to Melbourne Grammar School. Its website defines its foundational identity like this:

“This is a Church School. It was founded to give boys a good education based upon Christian practices and principles. These are constantly enunciated in every aspect of School life. The School expects that in their bearing and conduct boys will appreciate and live up to these concepts. It is the aim of all concerned with the administration of the School that all boys should leave
the School with a clear understanding of the obligations expected of a Christian gentleman. That which makes Shore different from many other schools is that it adheres to a Christian interpretation of life, and therefore seeks, as its primary purpose, to prepare boys for life in accordance with Christian teaching.”

The words in this quotation unite both social tradition and spiritual commitment. While emphasising that Christian “values and principles” lie at its heart, it also talks about “bearing and conduct ... expected of a Christian gentleman.” The phrase, “Christian gentleman”, clearly symbolises a blending of social aspiration and religious identity. While contemporary diocesan mission statements foreground a religious purpose, and while Melbourne Grammar is representative of many Anglican schools where social aims predominate, Shore School collapses both into the concept of noblesse oblige – a true gentleman will practise Christian principles.

Yet contrary to idealistic mission statements, the three quotations from informants on the ground which opened this chapter testify to a reality much less focused on the Christian Gospel: Anglicanism is experienced as a tradition where its spiritual basis has been emasculated and subordinated to social ends. Each points to a disjunction between faith and practice in Anglican schools, with DS2 expressing very clearly a conflict between a religious school identity and social norms. The central concerns of Chapters 7 and 8 are to describe the cultural behaviours and attitudes which demonstrate this paradox, offer some understanding of its relationship to core Anglican identity and show how it shapes religious life in Anglican schools, consequentially influencing the organizational culture.

Two dimensions of religious attributes across Anglican schools will be considered. Chapter 7 considers the first dimension, that of visible behaviours and structures. This structural dimension deals with exterior manifestations of interior cultural assumptions. Chapter 8 considers the second dimension, that of interior attitudes and nuanced cultural values. The attitudinal dimension views religious influence as it moves in the opposite direction, whereby more abstract ideas shape meaning-making and patterns of behaviour. These two angles correspond to two facets of religion, it being both an institution and a belief system. They also represent the two dimensions of culture which Schein (1992) defines in terms of artefacts and assumptions. This dissertation’s view of culture as produced by socially negotiated meaning-making depends on interrelating its exterior and interior dimensions (Geertz, 1973; Martin, 1992; Sayer, 1984).
7.1.2. Religious structures in Anglican schools

Two markers of Anglicanism were consistently cited by informants\(^{16}\) across all sites: chapel and values. In addition, a substantial group of teachers at both HAS and DAS included Religious Education as indicating the school’s Anglican identity, although, with rare exceptions, only those who actually taught it knew anything about it. Significantly, many fewer at EAS even thought to mention RE, and this reflected the much lower emphasis given to it by the chaplains. Chapel services, Chaplaincy and RE can be seen as conventional structures embodying institutional religion. In addition, each school ran some form of charity or community service program, and teachers also regularly referred to these as exemplifying the school’s religious values. The category of values is interesting because it bridges both external behaviours and internal beliefs. While the referent for values is primarily internal priorities and attitudes, participants in these schools saw values as being expressed in two structures – charity drives and student pastoral care – as well as in a range of relationships and ethical norms. In this chapter values will be considered in their structural manifestations and they will be further developed by considering attitudes and assumptions in Chapter 8. An additional structure will be analysed, namely the principalship, which was so taken-for-granted in cultural assumptions, that few brought it to the foreground of their thinking, yet leadership was crucial for the shape of religion in Anglican schools.

7.2. Chapel

This investigation of the structures of Anglicanism in schools commences with that most ubiquitous and incontrovertibly religious event, the school chapel service, in which the Anglican liturgy, or some derivative of it, is thrust into the routine organization of school life, whether centrally or marginally. The schools will be looked at sequentially according to the importance given to chapel.

7.2.1. HAS

As Chapter 5 explained, at HAS chapel was the event par excellence through which Anglicanism was expressed. Each of the Senior, Middle and Junior Schools had a weekly chapel service. The principal always attended the Senior Chapel and sat in a conspicuous place at the front, participating as a Bible reader, communion assistant and occasional preacher. He expected all staff to likewise attend, although they did not always do so nor did all support the religious tone of the occasion (HI6, HI10, HI22, HI24). The researcher directly observed two chapel services and the following description is based on a synthesis of the common and

\(^{16}\) Informants & their schools can be tracked in Appendices 6 – 8 through the pseudonyms used in the main text.
typical features. Chapel at HAS occurred in the neighbouring parish church and was considered as a strong agent in reinforcing the ties between school, church and community. The traditional church architecture was typical of the mid twentieth century with a large airy nave, traditional pews and a striking modern image of a Biblical story at the east end. Organ music similarly expressed high culture. Chapel was the most formal event of the week and the one occasion when staff still wore hoods and gowns, while students had to wear blazers. The boys filed in to a background of fine music and sat in form groups.

School leaders, chaplain and students servers in white surplices processed in with a crucifer and candle-bearer and sat in the chancel. Students followed the service in a school chapel book or service sheet which was a slightly shortened form of the Anglican Morning Prayer Service. The elements of the service were traditional: four hymns, mostly classic, a Bible reading, a general confession, petitionary prayers read by students and a talk given by a chaplain. Although the Middle School Chaplain, Philip, had a less formal style than Barnabas and spoke from the floor rather than the reading desk, the tone of both talks was similar, using narrative illustrations from life or literature, with a moral application and brief reference to thanking God for good things in life. The service concluded with a stirring organ postlude, and then students exited in an orderly manner. There was reasonable participation in the hymns by the senior school, but embarrassingly little among the Middle Schoolers who also were more visibly restless by the end of the service.

Interviews with staff sought their understanding of the meaning of this high profile Anglican event. Interpretations illustrate vividly the contested nature of Anglicanism in schools. For the chaplains it was the highpoint of their role. All of them remarked that church and chapel had much more importance at HAS than many another Anglican school. However disjunctions with the surrounding secular culture were obvious. After the service Philip commented on the dilemma he felt between chapel being intrinsically a worship service and student ignorance which forced him to insert educative explanations. Most students perceived chapel as irrelevant and they would prefer to sleep in, according to Carmen. When Eucharists occurred, few took communion. There had been attempts at student run and more contemporary chapels, which some designated as “evangelical”. While some of these had been better received, there was still a negative attitude among many students (HI11, HI22, HI14, HI23). Ben, who spent chapel time chasing truants and had taken HAS students overseas to serve in a mission school, was struck by the contrast in attitude: “There [they have] a genuine faith.
They just sit up and listen [to the priest] whereas our boys are fidgeting and…try and wag chapel.“

For most staff the chief value of chapel was the social one of bringing the school together in a ritual of cohesion and common purpose. The moral emphasis in homilies certainly reinforced the gentleman’s code of conduct which had traditionally defined the school’s culture. Teachers accepted, rather than endorsed, chapel, finding it a calming space and a breather in a hectic day (HI10, HI17). Seymour, a committed Anglican, felt “irritated by staff members who use chapel as a time to do admin and discount it.” Others who had an active personal faith were frustrated by the failure to connect with the real needs of students. James commented: “What hurts me is the absence of Jesus, and the boys just don’t know…”, while Hugo wanted to make chapel “genuine” by relating it to discussion about how faith affects our society. The principal himself expressed such concerns but found himself in a bind as to how far he should intrude in the chaplains’ domain. Reactions to chapel illustrated the heterogeneity of perspectives brought into the school environment. As Chapter 2 noted, the idea of common values producing conforming cultural behaviour is debated (Bell & Kent, 2010; Kondra & Hurst, 2009; Martin, 1992; Vardi & Weitz, 2004). In this case, there appeared to be no shared religious values or beliefs behind concurrence with the cultural artefact of chapel – what was shared was staff respect for not overtly challenging a tradition of the school which paid them.

7.2.2. EAS

At EAS too, chapel was the highpoint of the chaplains’ endeavours, especially for Boyd, who found it personally energizing. For Boyd, in contrast to Barnabas or Philip at HAS, chapel was a performance, not a role. He was highly gifted as a story-teller and led chapel energetically if somewhat idiosyncratically. His colleague, Bill, used his more intellectual gifts in their joint shaping of the challenging, creative and symbolic presentations distinguishing these chapel services. Several were observed by the researcher. They were marked by an unconventional and technologically innovative overlay upon the traditional liturgy. Unlike HAS, chapels at EAS occurred in year groups only once every eleven days, since the dedicated modern building could seat no more. Also in contrast, most staff did not attend and the principal appeared only to “drop in“, so although chapel was important to chaplains it made little impact on teachers. This was due to the timetable structure by which chapel was one rotating duty while classes in other year levels occurred concurrently. Thus it played no ritual role in cultural

17 See Chapter 5, Section 5.2.5.
cohesion (Schein, 1992). Its purpose was purely spiritual. Bill spoke of a clientele with “a long period of enculturation into materialism” and said that “the way we shape chapels is completely calibrated to the wavelength we think people are on.” His ultimate hope was that through helping people to tap into the spiritual side of their natures they would eventually move to “the higher order spiritual thinking where you…have an encounter with God through Jesus Christ.” So while church and ritual predominated at HAS, spirituality predominated at EAS. There was little indeed of conventional orthodox Christian tradition or even doctrine, which was almost entirely expressed symbolically and metaphorically, to the point where some Christians on the staff felt that students had no grasp of standard Christian stories (ECC, EI7, EI14). This probably reflected the predominant open Anglican liberalism of the diocese itself.

EAS was a school where music and drama were strong and both were well utilised in its chapel services. A range of instruments were played in meditative interludes and to accompany singing of contemporary, emotive, spiritual music, although observations confirmed Harry’s comment that there was little student engagement in singing. Each chapel service used some form of drama or dramatic narrative, and at one point in Boyd’s talk where he used a cardboard carton to represent the “logs” creating spiritual blindness, he inadvertently swiped a student on the face, creating some additional interest! Each service also exploited multi-media, using illustrative film clips or mood setting images. Students were encouraged to participate, not only in planned liturgical responses or Bible readings but in contributing off-the-cuff responses. There was copious use of poetry, symbolic objects and movement. The underlying Anglican liturgical structure could be discerned through the use of prayers, most of which were modern and creative, the Lord’s Prayer, congregational responses, a Bible reading and a talk. Chaplains also dressed in traditional vestments.

Although chapel services at EAS were lively and contemporary it was hard to discern their impact. In the Middle School, Religious Education lessons were integrated with the chapel theme and with thematic curriculum units, so some of the ideas were taken up there, but Rose noted that senior school tutor groups could not capitalise on chapel input since most tutors were not present. Several staff said they did not know what happened at chapel (e.g. EI3, EI16) and chaplains were disappointed that more executive staff were not proactively supportive. Where staff did have exposure to the chaplains’ style was in the chaplain’s spot at assemblies and in brief meditations at staff meetings. These met mixed responses – some found them helpful, others felt they could not be
taken seriously (e.g. EI19, EI21, EI22) but most made no comment on them. So while half the interviewees volunteered chapel as a prime religious structure, it appeared to make no substantial contribution to mainstream school life. Several people at EAS contrasted this with chapel at other Anglican schools where whole-school religious observance had occurred regularly and prominently (EI3, EI13, EI15, EI17).

7.2.3. DAS
Chapel was important at DAS, but it was not the first point of reference when people tried to define the Anglican ethos. There was no chapel building and chapel-like activities also occurred regularly in assemblies, with a prayer and a short homily from the principal. Two chapels were observed and neither was typical. Normally each week there was a combined Middle and Senior School Chapel service, but on the observation week this was split for the first time, and the researcher attended the Year 10 – 12 chapel which occurred outdoors. The second service observed was the final one for Year 12 which had elements of farewell rituals. Therefore, the following description of chapels at DAS is a synthesis of these observations with specific remarks of interviewees.

When Ray came to the school, he found chapels extremely informal and indeed disorderly. So when he appointed a new chaplain, he enjoined him to shape them recognisably around Anglican liturgy. Warren’s first attempts had been a swing from the ridiculous to the sublime with forty minutes of formal prayers but he had quickly responded to feedback and now presented a balanced, varied and modern service aligned with the diocesan norms. The liturgy was an abridged version of a modern prayer book service, interspersed by some extempore prayer, some input from trusted Christian students and sermons using contemporary illustrations and strongly based on the Biblical texts. According to staff the most common themes revolved around the love of God in Jesus. Indeed the Year 12 farewell chapel rather overdid Biblical exposition with a second talk from an outgoing executive teacher, and students were audibly resistant to the ensuing length of the service. Upbeat modern Christian songs were accompanied by piano or electric guitar. Those staff used to more formal worship expressed some unease with chapel, which was “getting a little too Hillsongey”, could “lack dignity”, “sometimes played for shock value” (DI2, DI25, DI27), but others, including those without personal religious commitment, thoroughly approved, feeling the approach was relevant and engaging for students, “inviting and encouraging them to explore faith” as Brock said.
Students at DAS were compliant and could lack initiative, according to Basil, and this was evident in the chapel services observed. While they joined in and did not actively resist, there was little evidence of enthusiasm and the tone was rather flat. Olivia said some “go to sleep”. Perhaps there was as much variety of perspectives among students as staff. Alan summarised student attitudes thus: “[They are] very diverse in their response to Christianity – a few antagonistic, a few from Christian families and the large chunk in the middle vary from those who comply to those who are actively exploring and thinking.” Very similar wording was used by Patrick in his analysis.

In summary, chapel at DAS blended into the general emphasis on evangelical piety and was much less a distinct structure than at the other schools. There were many more active Christians on the staff and these were encouraged to contribute. Even the groundsmen at times gave chapel talks. Teachers’ views of this ethos largely reflected their own personal religious position. Those who shared the faith commitment were satisfied with what was occurring; Catholics on the staff sometimes felt some disconnect and one noted the lack of breadth or concern for social justice issues, while the majority of spiritually uncommitted teachers appeared to let it all just happen while they got on with teaching.

7.2.4 Conclusion

In Anglican schools chapel services are probably the most definitive indicator of Anglican identity. Dingwall and Strong (1997, p. 151) call such public occasions a symbolic evocation of an organization’s charter and values. Louisa commented that when she returned to teaching in an Anglican school: “[What] really struck me…was being in chapel or assembly, going, okay, I’m back in an Anglican environment…and trying to work out what that was…” Lester at EAS distinguished between “Christian” and “Anglican”, seeing the former in relationships and values, and the latter in “organised religion, notably chapel.” His language was consistent with most interviewees’ understandings.

But how chapels are run and what significance they have in school life is extremely varied, indeed just as varied as the multitude of expressions of Anglican Christianity. The site study sample illustrates this variety which is reinforced when looking beyond it. Informants talked of forty other Anglican schools they had directly experienced. At some places chapel occurred daily, at others it was a weekly Eucharist, at others it occurred only at major festivals; sometimes chapel was subsumed into assembly or led by principals; some chapels were traditional, 18

---

18 See Appendix 9
formal or old-fashioned or all three, while others used little Anglican liturgy or were even “chaotic”; sometimes singing was well done and enthusiastic; sometimes the whole school gathered, elsewhere only year level or house groups met; some schools had dedicated chaplains, some used local clergy; some encouraged student participation; some were merely a formal punctuation mark in the timetable. Dioceses in most Australian states and all forms of churchmanship were represented in these comments. What was in common was the bare fact that Anglican schools run chapel services, that their liturgical form normally depends on the beliefs and style of the chaplains and that services usually reflect the dominant diocesan churchmanship.

7.3. Chaplains
Although chapel is closely connected to the chaplains responsible for it, the two are not identical. The role of chaplain can include much more than running services. Paul had taken up a part-time chaplaincy position at HAS in his retirement and had been a chaplain in three other Anglican schools in two dioceses over a thirty year career. When interviewed, he reflected on three other major roles chaplains play: teaching classes and encouraging students to explore the meaning of life and the importance of Jesus Christ; caring for and counselling both students and staff through relationships which may outlast the actual school setting, and building bridges between schools and parishes. These varied aspects of the chaplaincy role indicate how the different emphases of chaplains at the sites may be understood.

Harry said, “The chaplain sets the tone with the religious aspect”, and it was plain from interviews with non-religious staff, that they defined Christianity by the approach taken by the chaplains in their schools, although behind chaplains lie the principals who appoint and instruct them, as already explained in Chapters 4 - 6. The personalities and religious priorities of chaplains are factors independent of their ritual functions. How they have been formed theologically, the churchmanship they espouse and their personal gifts and interests all allow for immense variety in how they operate in schools and the impact they have. Such perspectives were seen in the meanings chaplains in the three schools gave to their context and the resultant aims and priorities. At EAS they saw the school community as essentially secular and so they focused on raising spiritual awareness and challenging self-centred materialism. At HAS they saw it as “proudly a church school” (HI16) and so concentrated on inducting students into church liturgical and moral values. At DAS they saw the school as a Christian
institution with a responsibility to teach Christian beliefs and model Christian behaviour.

Chaplains are in an ambiguous position: they are ordained and licensed by a diocesan bishop and responsible to him for fulfilling their ordination vows, yet as members of the school staff they are selected by, and accountable to, the principal of the school, who in some cases may not even be a practising Christian, let alone an Anglican. This in itself creates a fundamental tension, which is encapsulated in the title of Foord’s (2008) research into chaplains in Sydney Diocese, Serving Two Masters. Cole (2006) describes this dilemma and notes that the leadership status of chaplains can range from policy-making in governance, executive functions in management to minimal input as the teacher having responsibility for liturgy or pastoral care. Frank, who had served in both Anglican schools and theological colleges, observed that “chaplains generally speaking were puzzled and somewhat demoralized about their role despite being very capable priests.” He felt there was often a Beckett-like conflict between principal and chaplain. The following remarks describe how the chaplains at the three schools negotiated this dilemma and what this means for the Anglican character of the culture.

7.3.1. EAS
The chaplains at EAS had the highest profile among the three schools. They were both dynamic personalities and very creative, although in other ways they complemented each other. At EAS teachers focused on the chaplains more than chapel since most did not see much of their specifically ritual roles. However, they did see them very actively promoting their version of Christian social justice and proactively developing the Charity Awareness Raising program (“CAR”). Eleven of eighteen interviewees commented on their importance. They were well-liked by students and staff alike, according to a swathe of informants and were active in pastoral counselling with both (EI3, EI18). They scored highly on the schools’ Year 12 exit survey. Theologically they were liberals with a strong social justice orientation which led them to make political statements in prayers, assemblies and the school newsletter. In doing this the principal backed them up and most interviewees felt that such challenges to the materialistic social norm were entirely defensible. Morton, for instance, said that though some might dislike it, he personally applauded their stand, while Greta commented that “they feel their duties to Christian values outweigh their duty not to be political ...[although] lots of people disagree ... and they risk condemnation...I think it’s very brave.” Boyd was passionate about the CAR initiative which he had refocused so that students gained understanding of disadvantage and engaged in hands-on work to alleviate
it, instead of doing routine fund-raising. He was also passionate about embedding dynamic core values into the mainstream curriculum and he worked with Middle School teachers to integrate spiritual themes into curriculum units. However trying to do all this left him overworked and often disorganised, provoking some loss of credibility (ECB, EI12, EI19). Bill and Boyd were active in a local parish and under the principal's direction were introducing more community-based services into the school chapel, encouraging student families to be involved beyond what was mandated. The connection between EAS and the diocese was enhanced by the close relationship of principal and chaplains with the diocesan bishop and his team.

On the negative side, Bill commented that chaplains had no executive role at EAS. Also their multitude of responsibilities meant that they participated in the frenetic pace that characterised the school, so that some tasks were only partially fulfilled. Bill took chapel services and some Religious Education classes, but also had a heavy teaching allocation including a mainstream subject at Year 12 level, and he had little time to develop the RE curriculum, while Boyd’s preoccupation with CAR and associated values development likewise meant that RE was relegated to the margins of his activities.

While Bill and Boyd’s strength and direction was appreciated it was not uncontested. At least half a dozen teachers commented on limited or unclearly expressed explanation of fundamental doctrine and core Biblical narratives. The validity of the criticism was reinforced by those unchurched staff members whose definition of Christianity was limited to values, which, as already explained, were arguably humanist rather than intrinsically religious. It was the strength of some staff members’ contestation of these chaplains’ particular approach that initially generated the category of religious tension in this research. They were also criticised by secular staff. “There’s clearly a very small pocket of people...who are actually almost looking for opportunities to criticise...they’re threatened by the spirituality side...they are antagonistic towards the idea,” reported Bill. So there were obviously differing meanings woven into the fabric of organizational life. These reflected different positions on Anglicanism as well as societal attitudes which conflicted with spirituality.

7.3.2. HAS
Chaplaincy at HAS directly contrasted with EAS in several areas. At HAS chapel was identified as chaplains’ prime role and indeed chapel and chaplains seemed interchangeable in people’s thinking. Eight teachers commented on the chaplains,
each time with respect to their chapel role. Of these three people had participated in teaching Religious Education and they noted this dimension as well. Bradley was unequivocal that the role of chaplain was “exclusively in the domain of the chapel and RE”, although he knew Barnabas well in the context of teaching maths together.

Secondly, the churchmanship and personalities of these people contrasted with Bill and Boyd at EAS. There were four chaplains at HAS, and this in itself was indicative of their primary liturgical role. Vince explained this: “We would prefer having ordained people because worship is an important obligation...To run the full range of services, especially Eucharist, we must have ordained staff.” Only Barnabas was full-time. Philip and Paul were part-time and the local parish priest, Matthew, taught some lessons and led worship in the Junior School. Although all shared a common high church ecclesiology, there were differences in their emphases and personalities. Barnabas was strongly committed to an Anglo-Catholic liturgical focus;¹⁹ he was maths trained and formal in demeanour, normally dressing in clerical collar. His curriculum and chapel services reflected this formality. Karl commented that the students did not see the human personality behind the “Anglo-Catholic persona” and preferred to talk to a counsellor about personal issues, although Barnabas himself expressed a desire for pastoral interaction (HCE). The apparent lack of deep connection with staff was also probably due to Barnabas’ reserve. Philip, who was responsible for the Middle School, was more relaxed and prepared to take risks in order “to circumvent the barriers that people put up”, to use his own words. He also appeared to focus more on the Gospel narrative than liturgical correctness and actively took up pastoral contacts. Although elderly, Paul was very experienced and a “character” to whom the students related well. He designated his churchmanship as “high liberal”, but he had a very broad commitment to Christian ministry and extensive knowledge of Anglicanism. Matthew was the focal point for the school’s connection with the parish and he deliberately developed pastoral relationships with teachers, encouraged students to participate in parish life and encouraged cooperative fundraising.

Vince was concerned that the “narrowness” of Barnabas’ high church commitment meant that he was “nervous about allowing any evangelical approach to worship”, so discouraging more contemporary styles of worship or active student participation, especially where boys had more protestant preferences. This

¹⁹ As commented upon by Vince, James and Lesley and as evident from his own comments and his RE curriculum.
exacerbated student disengagement according to both James and Hugo. It was a
clear point of contestation and highlighted factional tensions within Anglicanism.
Where Barnabas was strong was in a very well-sequenced and educationally-
focused Religious Studies curriculum, on which he had spent much energy. The
strength of this was another contrast with EAS.

As Lesley explicitly remarked when she contrasted the informality of chaplains at
her previous school with those at HAS, the traditionalism of Barnabas and his
team reinforced the conservatism of the more general school culture. In this
sense it was a good fit. Yet chaplaincy has two faces: that of organizational
structures and that of the human relationships of the chaplain. These chaplains
did not make the same impact on staff relationships as those at EAS, and were
consequently less influential in its organizational culture. At HAS, it tended to be
the relational skills of the Headmaster which carried the Christian ethos of
kindness and personal care into staff consciousness.

7.3.3. DAS
In the same way that chapel itself was less distinctive at DAS, the chaplains
blended into school life, rather than their particular role standing out. Moreover,
as has been exhaustively explained in Chapter 6, they were personally and
inextricably defined through political tensions, which coloured teacher evaluations
of their effectiveness. Because of these political connotations, teachers were likely
to remark on the chaplains personally rather than refer to their structural roles.
There were actually three chaplains at DAS at the time of the study. All shared an
evangelical theology and saw their purpose as challenging students to personal
spiritual commitment and action. Alan had been redeployed and now pursued his
interest in Outdoor and Extra-curricular education with some teaching of Religious
Education and participation in the chapel roster. Warren took overall responsibility
for Chaplaincy and, unlike at either of the other sites, was given executive status,
contributing actively to policy development and leadership. He had worked as a
chaplain in another Anglican school, and brought strong skills in curriculum to his
role.

There was also Llewelyn Hunter who was doing further theological study and
happy to be employed part-time to teach RE and to contribute to chapel. He was
an idiosyncratic and provocative character with a strong philosophical interest.
Ray said of him: "He's as mad as a meat-axe! I think he's actually quite good for
kids to see a range of what it means to be a Christian, so you can be as boring as
[me], you can be as eccentric as Mr Hunter, and God accepts us all. And he
actually is very good at challenging kids...you’re always a little anxious when he does chapel, but usually there’s some real nugget of gold...He does pull you out of cultural Christianity [so you] say, hang on a minute!” Certainly, in purely religious terms, Llewelyn was the one who provoked staff contestation, with several sharing Ray’s “anxiety” (DI4, DI16, DI20, DI22), while just as many found him, in the words of Belinda, “personable, alternate, with incredible depth of knowledge” (DI7, DI18, DI25).

With respect to Alan and Warren, Helena commented specifically on the politicisation of the chaplaincy: “That power relationship has coloured the view amongst quite a number of the staff.” The result has already been described. Alan was valued for his pastoral qualities, and was the person to whom staff were most likely to turn for personal support. His role in charity and the overseas program were highly regarded and were very public expressions of universally endorsed Christian values. Warren was slowly gaining acceptance and was appreciated for his breadth of thinking, openness and ability to engage students as revealed in his roles in chapel, staff prayers and RE.

Personal predispositions also affected staff responses to chaplaincy activities. Three major worldviews were reflected: secular and irreligious, committed evangelical protestant and Roman Catholic. The first group were mildly affirmative, the second fairly positive, while Catholics were most likely to point out the inadequacies or narrowness of the dominant piety, although none expressed acrimony. The impact of chaplaincy was experienced not only through political polarization, but also more positively through chaplains’ roles in challenging ideas in chapel, setting a tone of love and care and enacting this through active leadership in charitable activities.

7.3.4. Conclusion

Chaplains at the three schools were very different in their churchmanship, their personal attributes and their priorities. In each case their position was congruent with both their school tradition and the prevailing ethos of their diocese. At EAS they were liberal Christians driven to challenge the school community to take responsibility for social justice and to start to tap into the spiritual world. At HAS high church liturgy and reinforcement of the school’s civic moral code were the major focus. At DAS, despite the messy interweaving of political tensions with chaplaincy, they sought to teach a Biblically orthodox interpretation of personal faith and to encourage students to live it out altruistically. In all schools the general religious ethos was both contested or subverted by the dominant secular
culture and also by divergent factions mirroring the inherent diversity within Anglicanism.

By chance the three site study schools all had more than one chaplain, which is not typical. The reasons varied. At EAS it was because of the growth of the school and the principal’s desire to give religion greater impact. At DAS it was a by-product of restructuring and redeployment. At HAS it was a result of a high view of ordained ministry and the commitment of the Anglican principal to properly staff Eucharistic life. However, in each case there was also a commonality – the decision of the principal. Each of these schools had principals who were committed and practising Anglican Christians, a situation that cannot be presumed for all Australian Anglican schools. The impact of chaplains is constrained by the leadership of the principal and his or her role is fundamental for shaping Anglican school culture. Its importance for theoretical meanings will be analysed in Section 7.5. The next section will describe the final structure which staff nominated as identifying Anglican schools, namely the presence of Anglican Religious Education as an integral and compulsory part of the curriculum.

7.4. Religious Education: Diverse churchmanship and a common spirit

7.4.1. Religious Education programs

Less space will be spent on Religious Education because it was directed solely at students and therefore as a formal structure it made a negligible contribution to the staff organizational culture. Most staff were unaware of its content. What RE does contribute to this analysis is an understanding of an attitude or spirit (Avis, 2007) which is typical of Anglicanism and which crosses boundaries of churchmanship.

As already indicated, the degree of importance given to RE was dependent on the gifts and interests of the chaplains, who, faced with a multi-faceted role, necessarily made choices in priorities. At EAS the curriculum was still under development. Course outlines for Years 8 – 9 shared with the researcher covered topics such as: life being more than the physical, rituals of life and death in different cultures, the notion of self in literature and philosophy, the cycle of life, cycles in history, Christ as an exemplar of humanity, conversion experiences, religious language, narratives probing spirituality, sacred rituals, texts and symbols, the nature of myth and metaphor, the Old Testament revelation of God, salvation narratives and textual criticism of the Bible. Much of the illustrative material came from Australian indigenous mythology. The program was notable for its complete reworking of traditional Christian doctrine in an attempt to raise
spiritual awareness in materialistic and secular students. Much of the content was arranged around Boyd’s particular interests in metaphor and story. In the Middle School these themes were used to integrate RE into mainstream units, which were taught by the classroom teacher after briefings by Boyd. One such teacher was interviewed and found himself hard pressed in attempting to articulate the religious goals. The looseness of the religious concepts is indicated by the titles of these units: Metaphor, Dare to Dream, Sustainability and the Environment. It was perhaps unsurprising that students preferred this eclectic approach, which was married with CAR values, to the former more orthodox material (EI16, EI22, EI23), since it blended easily with contemporary social values of tolerance and relativism. It was also not surprising that students schooled in this manner had only a hazy understanding of core Christian narratives, much to the frustration of English teachers who needed such prior knowledge when students were exposed to Biblical allusions in literary texts (ECA, ECC, EI14). However, the approach to RE was commensurate with the academic culture of EAS, with pedagogy emphasising personal reflection and inquiry-based learning.

In direct contrast the RE curriculum at HAS was meticulously prepared, well-balanced and clearly documented with well-presented student workbooks full of substantial content. Barnabas was also very careful to find teachers with commitment and interest to supplement the chaplains in delivering it, and he allowed some degree of freedom in how they shaped the material (HCA, HCE, HI13). The Middle School was Philip’s responsibility and he based content on the Irish texts, All About Faith 1 & 2, which gave a solid overview of Christian concepts, the life of Jesus, church history and Bible stories (HI1, HI2). Students were issued with Bibles, although they were slack about bringing these to class, and Philip planned to do an overview of the book of Acts to familiarise them further with the foundational Christian text. Barnabas had prepared his own curriculum for the senior years. Year 9 had units on Islam, the Christian Church (which dealt with rituals and symbols in detail and where alternatives to the prevailing high churchmanship were presented fairly and objectively), a critical overview of the Bible and a unit on the recently-released Narnia film. Year 10 units were Judaism, Aboriginal Spirituality, Conscience and Moral Development and the Gospel of Mark. Year 11 & 12 RE focused on theoretical and applied Ethics in several units but also covered Buddhism and Christian social justice through the movie, Amazing Grace. The principal, Vince, was an active supporter of RE, and had recently increased the time allocation as well as himself teaching some classes. He also defended it in his chats with senior students who sometimes downgraded it because it was not an examination course. Vince’s words are
instructive in showing the tone taken to RE: “I say to the boys, it’s actually not ramming it down your throat, it’s actually broadening your understanding, there’s no such thing as right or wrong...You’ve still got to make a decision....It’s the development of a human being,...your sense of right and wrong and whether you understand the notion of God.” As this quotation suggests, HAS’s RE curriculum was marked by breadth, reasoned inquiry and strong academic content.

It might be thought a little odd that in both schools non-Anglicans and even non-Christians taught RE, but this was by no means unique. At his previous Anglican school Charles, a non-practising Catholic, was given RE as part of his allocation, for example. Barnabas had also taught at an elite Anglican school where regular staff were allocated RE. By contrast, this certainly did not occur at DAS, where any staff giving Christian input were heavily vetted for orthodoxy and personal commitment. Participation by non-churchgoers was closely monitored. For example those Junior School staff wishing to contribute to daily Christian talks might do so using a “fairly full script” written by a RE teacher (DI9). Such careful control was one of the ways in which DAS, with its strong Biblical orientation, contrasted with the other Anglican schools. Its Religious Education program will now be summarised.

At DAS the three chaplains had the monopoly on teaching RE from Year 6 up. Other school activities were not allowed to infringe on it and it was treated as “sacrosanct” (DI3). The curriculum had been reworked by the incoming chaplain, Warren, and he stressed that he eschewed any form of indoctrination, aiming to enable students to have a good understanding of, and positive attitude towards, Christianity and a working understanding of alternative religions and worldviews. The material covered was: Year 6, a Biblical overview through the theme of the Kingdom of God; Year 7 the Person of Jesus using the Gospel of Mark; Year 8 the Jewish concept of Messiah focusing on the Old Testament; Year 9 the historical reliability of the gospels, and responses to the resurrection of Jesus; Year 10 Modern Challenges to Christianity including doing research on another world religion; Year 11, Contemporary Ethical Issues, Year 12, Critical assessment of Reformation Church History and modern belief systems. The Biblical texts were central and they were considered socially, contextually and theologically. Other resources were films, contemporary apologetic texts and Christian fictional narratives targeted at young Australians. Conceptual abstraction increased for the older students. Curriculum documents emphasized that the subject was not about “reciting information” or “giving correct answers” but was about “engaging with religious ideas.” This openness was confirmed by one Deputy who had sat in on
Warren’s lessons and described them as “taking a fresh approach, allowing [students] to think, to explore, [he is] not pushing a barrow.” Relevance and personal application predominated and seemed to be rewarded by positive attitudes in students (DI3, DI11, DI21, DI24), a point the counsellor confirmed by noting that it was “really quite positive” that students did not want to avoid Religious Studies lessons when she negotiated withdrawal meetings with them.

7.4.2. Conclusion
These RE programs demonstrate very concretely the great doctrinal diversity within Anglicanism. However they also demonstrate a commonality: regardless of the particular goals, which might be summarised as spirituality awareness raising at EAS, church and liturgical appreciation at HAS and respect for Christ at DAS, each program showed a commitment to discussion and exploration of religion, with a rejection of dogmatism, and each demonstrated an educational and intellectual approach to learning. Two informants who articulated this well were Ryan at EAS and Llewelyn at DAS. Ryan commented on RE thus: “We encourage debate and for the students to question, and that is fine...It is a far better culture than what I’ve seen in [Catholic schools]. It goes better with [an academic approach]. A kid from EAS would rather test and challenge than assume and accept.” Llewelyn said: “There is a tradition within Anglicanism that is very open to inquiry...It is marked by openness to investigating and incorporating new ideas and not completely doing away with old ideas but to test new ideas and incorporate them if they are better.”

What the data about Religious Education reveals about this Anglican spirit is very significant. It was marked by principles of open-mindedness, inclusiveness, intellectual exploration and lack of dogmatism, regardless of differing interpretations of these terms across the theological spectrum. Defining this attitude begins to give substance to the interior assumptions and underlying values on which claims to a distinctive Anglican school culture rest.

7.5 Leadership: A hidden Anglican structure
7.5.1. The power and religious position of principals
Although no interviewees claimed that the principalship was a marker of Anglicanism, it is a structure with implicit religious significance for Anglican schools and exceptional power in shaping their character. Starratt (1993a, 1993b) expounds on the potential of leaders to imbue meaning, purpose and values central to human life, arguably essential to any genuinely educational enterprise, but pointedly so in a religious institution. So although principals do not have
uncontested influence over the culture of their schools, as recorded in the
Literature Review and as indicated in the struggles of Ray at DAS, they are in a
position to establish priorities and impact interior cultural assumptions, especially
in independent schools, where they have unprecedented freedom and power.
Principals are normally accountable only to their governing board and normally all
management is delegated to them and they are the only recognised channel
between board and school. The strength of this position was described by a Union
Representative at DAS. The Union had sent correspondence commenting on Ray’s
restructure to the school board and to the overseeing company but the response
was only to tell staff not to write to them but to talk with the principal (DI20).
Independent school principals also have complete power of staff appointment –
hence the conundrum whereby chaplains are appointed by principals but licensed
by bishops. Indeed the peak body, Australian Heads of Independent Schools
Association, only admits heads as members if they have this right.

In theorising Anglican school culture, the principalship is revealed as a structure
through which the paradox of the duality of Anglican schools as both social and
also as spiritual institutions is brought sharply to the foreground. It is sometimes
presumed that school leaders in Anglican schools are required to be practising
Anglicans, as appears to be the case in Roman Catholic schools. For instance,
Lewis returned to EAS after a stint at a Catholic school because, as a non-Catholic,
he had reached his promotional ceiling. Although Mark remarked that principals
should be active Christians able to forward Christian mission, evidence indicates
that this is not necessarily so. Indeed his immediate predecessor at EAS was
known to have no religious affiliation, although he was respected as a very good
principal. Vince said that there was no inquiry about his faith position in the
process of his appointment at HAS. Matthew noted that the principal of an
Anglican school on the board of which he had sat, was an “eco-spiritualist” with no
particular Christian interest. Lesley said that a principal at her previous Anglican
school was a Catholic. Genevieve, a senior executive at EAS, was honest about her
lack of religion and feared that it would limit her chances for promotion within the
independent sector. In the event this was not so, as, at the end of the research
period, she gained headship of an Anglican affiliated school. Therefore, it is clearly
no longer true, if indeed it ever was, as Archbishop Woods of Melbourne could
claim in 1977, that “every one of the headmasters and headmistresses is a
dedicated Christian” (Blackler, 1997, p113). Instead school boards seem often to
give precedence to the social educational goals of the school in appointing
principals, with any potential for spiritual leadership seen as secondary. Mark
explicitly stated that the raising of the Christian profile of EAS was entirely his own

Chapter 7

167
initiative. The unsatisfactory nature of this from the church’s point of view is indicated by the strong spiritual mission statements of diocesan schools bodies, alluded to at the beginning of this chapter. In Sydney Diocese a major controversy occurred in the 1990s when a non-Christian was appointed to a premier school, with ongoing repercussions in tightening selection criteria for synod governed schools.

In the case of EAS, HAS and DAS all principals were practising Christians and active in forwarding the Anglican identity of their schools. It may wryly be surmised that only such principals would welcome research on the core religious identity. In describing their positive actions, it needs to be born in mind that the corollary also pertains: where principals have only limited knowledge of, or interest in, faith, it will fall to the periphery of school life and chaplains may be unsupported and very much “voices crying in the wilderness” (HCA). Indeed, such principals may have very limited understanding of desirable qualities for appointing chaplains with consequent negative results, such as the school where Winfred had previously taught, where the chaplain made so little impact she couldn’t remember his name saying that “what’s-his-name worried an awful lot about ritual …. [more] than about things of substance. I was very disappointed.” Warren himself had come to DAS after serving in a school where the principal appointed him simply because she did not know any other clergy.

Many people at all sites commented on the importance of the principal. Louisa at DAS compared four different Anglican schools, saying: “The principal is the driving force behind whether Christianity or religion, Anglicanism, or whatever is overt or whether it is just something that is done because it has to be done.” At EAS Bill stated: “The headmaster is very supportive and I can honestly see that if we had theoretically an Anglican school where the head wasn’t sympathetic with the spiritual aims, then you’d have no hope with the kids.”

7.5.2. Activities of principals

One way Mark exemplified his Christian convictions was through personally enacting Christian values of care and encouraging community amongst both staff and parents. He was also seen being active in the diocesan life beyond the school and giving public endorsement to the chaplains’ stands. Mark appeared to be driving a revitalization of religious life at EAS. He was very conscious of possibilities for expressing this both symbolically and in terms of actions and values. He had given the spiritual dimension a prominent physical shape in the erection of a chapel near the school’s main entrance. He had deliberately raised
the Christian profile through introducing a chaplain’s reflection at staff meetings and prayers at various events. He gave active input to Boyd's dream of integrating Anglican values into curriculum and mission statement. He had increased the RE allocation of Year 9 and Year 7 to facilitate responding to chapel themes (EI20, EI22). He had reworked the school’s mission statement to make Christian goals explicit and he was promoting the development of a school hymn and school prayer. He encouraged Frank, when he was exploring ordination, to teach RE. His most significant role, undoubtedly, was in the strategic appointment and support of the chaplains. In one sense, their impact was by extension his handiwork.

One aspect of Mark’s behaviour that appeared ambiguous was his approach to employment interviews. Although Bill believed that he would scrutinise applicants for Christian awareness, teachers testified to varied experiences, from a thorough questioning about faith commitment to merely notional acknowledgement of this, while some had no memory of religion being mentioned at all. Certainly among executive staff all shades of religious conviction and none were represented. This ambiguity is testimony to the tension between educational and religious goals in Anglican schools.

The challenge was highlighted by Vince at HAS in these terms. “We don’t have criteria as to whether they are or are not Christian in the way we employ...It would add a string to the bow ...but not a make or break criterion...You’d first consider what they can contribute to the extra-curricular program, then consider [faith] – which probably sums it up about where things are in the pecking order.” In other words, Vince is describing the obligation to meet the educational expectations of client families, who in his case put great store on extra-curricular activities, within the market-driven context of independent education. The frequent consequence is the sacrifice of religious criteria in selecting employees. In contributing to an ongoing debate about the employment dilemma, a former headmaster of Shore School, Sydney (Grant, 2010) recently commented on the “fragile balance between upholding the high educational expectations of successive generations of families ... while ensuring the central Christian purpose would be honoured.”

At HAS Vince himself had a very significant role in maintaining the Christian tradition, especially in view of the low number of Christian staff. Almost half of the informants noted his personal Christian commitment and its impact on the school. Ben pointed out the importance of the principal for a school’s tone: “It filters down from the top here; Vince is supportive of staff who support each other and then
staff support the boys who usually are supportive of staff.” Vince deliberately encouraged relationship priorities. For example, Rebecca talked of an instance of personal care in a time of family breakdown. Several teachers explicitly attributed this approach to Christian values. For instance, according to Karl, “[Our Head] practises Christianity as the New Testament suggests it should be .... He is motivated by his own religious practice”. Seymour commented that Vince’s attendance at the local church showed that his faith was “more than just lip service”; he emphasised that when Vince preached, it was from an explicitly Christian perspective. The obvious priority he gave to chapel was remarked upon. The local priest and part-time chaplain, Matthew, commented that boys were “amazed that the Head taught them RE – it shows that he actually believes the faith tradition that the school is based upon”. Vince was theologically literate and kept up with contemporary Christian issues and philosophies and his fair-minded evaluation of different interpretations of Anglicanism was appreciated (HI7, HI21). He had increased the period allocation for RE and encouraged professional staffing of the subject. He actively developed the chaplaincy and the chaplains felt very well-supported. Barnabas stated that Vince gave him the best support he had ever received.

Ray’s support for the chaplaincy at DAS was less straightforward, mainly because of the political ramifications of the changes he had made, but also because Christian leadership was intentionally shared more widely, so reducing the focus on specifically religious roles. As leader of a team committed to applying Christian principles throughout school life, Ray’s active input was indisputable. He expressed the dilemma of the dual social and religious purposes of an Anglican school like this: “I just want people to come to know the Lord ... so if I can make people feel a little uncomfortable about where they’re sitting spiritually, that’s ok. Because if it causes them to ask some of those deep questions, and I hope they also see modelled that compassion and care, as well. I think that is one of the challenges, there’s compassion and care, but sometimes there’s accountability as well, so that can really be a tough balance.” He went on to describe time spent with a staff couple undergoing difficult personal times, and this type of Christian care was confirmed by some interviewees, such as Olivia who described personal support she had received and said “I can’t fault him in his dealings with me”.

Ray had increased the visibility of faith in similar ways to Mark at EAS. He had introduced prayers to staff meetings and ensured chapels were well-organised and spiritually focused. He had built on previous tradition and gave religious talks at assembly. Odelia confirmed that he had brought religion “into our everyday
routine”. He ensured that the executive teachers were committed to the spiritual mission of the school and these people testified that pastoral care of staff was always an important consideration in management meetings. Ray was also thoroughly committed to student charity and social service activities which he claimed provided opportunities for life-challenging spiritual experiences. He was also considering ways to integrate Christian perspectives into the mainstream curriculum in appropriate ways. Those who shared his religious position approved these initiatives and generally were supportive even though some were evidently caught within the political currents (DI1, DI2, DI3, DI4, DI9, DI10, DI11, DI15, DI27). Ray, unlike either Vince or Mark, expressed the view that highly qualified Christian staff were “gold” and he actively sought them. However, he conceded the staffing dilemma noted above and admitted that employing Christians who were not good enough redounded on his credibility, so he gave high priority to educational skills in applicants, even considering a non-religious person for an executive role, a decision in direct conflict with the diocesan policies.

7.5.3. Conclusion: Locations of leadership

The previous sentence implies the issue of the role of governing boards as potential influences. In the standard model they do not interfere with daily operations, but they do set policy. What religious character this has is due to the membership of a board and this in turn to diocesan and other nominating bodies. Many Anglican school boards are incorporated companies with only weak structural connection to the church. HAS, for example, had the priest and three members elected by the local parish vestry, which chose, but was not obliged, to select churchgoers (HI8), while a neighbouring school had only two archbishops’ appointees representing the church interest. On the other hand, the majority of the Board at EAS were appointed through the diocesan bishop and his executive council. Yet even when the church is well-represented its nominees may not exercise particularly spiritual priorities. Barnabas expressed disappointment in another well-known Anglican school where, despite “heavy clerical representation, the Board did not give Anglican leadership but was dominated by business concerns.” There were cases, though, where Boards and dioceses actively intervened to give direction and supervise principals. Beverley recalled a previous school, where the governing council gave directives about matters such as staff conditions and suitable material for presentation in Personal Development classes. Such control is much less likely in the long-established corporate schools than in those governed through synod-based systems, such as the ones whose mission statements were analysed earlier. This was the situation for DAS. Although its local Board exercised immediate responsibility, the diocesan company chose its
principal and exercised financial oversight. Company policies were becoming increasingly intrusive: for example, requiring common templates for enrolment protocols and determining some employment conditions (DI2, DI27). Basil felt that this company acted as “the guardian of the Christian position of the school and wanted only a certain brand of Anglican.” Overall, leadership through governance resides mainly in a Board’s primary responsibility for the selection of the principal, and in turn he or she selects and defines the role of chaplains who are the obvious face of Anglicanism.

Ultimately what is crucial in the religious life of any Anglican school is how the key leaders, principal and chaplain, interpret Anglicanism and most particularly how the principal structures and affirms the religious life. Data suggests that whether the religious dimension is static, growing or in decline, and whether it emphasises social tradition or dynamic spirituality is due largely to school leadership, especially the appointments and priorities of the principal. Therefore, although the principalship did not register as an obvious structure of Anglicanism, it was of major importance for the expression of this identity.

7.6. Values structures

7.6.1. Pastoral care and community service

As already stated, the two markers of Anglicanism which dominated teachers’ thinking were chapel and values. This account now turns to structural manifestations of the latter. In discussion of values at EAS, the point was made that the good values identified with Christianity can also be interpreted as general humanitarianism. Similar divergent interpretations can be given to the values structures praised in the schools. The two exterior manifestations of good values were pastoral care structures, which looked inward to supporting students, and charity or community service activities, which looked outward in encouraging student altruism. Neither of these can claim to be exclusively Christian, let alone exclusively Anglican.

Shaw (2009) quotes an Australian Parent Survey where respondents thought the most important educational factor for students was how happy they were. In the context of marketization, adding this sort of unquantifiable attribute is essential for all independent schools. All schools had pastoral care structures to cater for individual student needs. Such structures were daily pastoral care groups, allocation of pastoral care teachers to each student, house groups, year coordinators, Middle School core teachers, counselling support and, at HAS, an individualised mentoring program which Blake had imported from Eton. These
structures appeared to do this work well, although Warwick at EAS and Louisa at DAS noted some inadequacies. Bella described her pastoral care programs at EAS as well as referring to the priority given at another Anglican school where there was a dedicated pastoral care co-ordinator and thirty minute daily timeslots. As recorded in the description of DAS, people there valued the pastoral care and positive relationships with students, and some of the angst about Ray’s upgrading of academic life was located in a desire to protect these pastoral relationships.

The linkage between these structures and Christianity is problematic. Certainly care for the individual and personal support are intrinsic to respecting each person because they are made in the image of God and to the fundamental Christian command to “Love your neighbour as yourself” (Mark 12:31). However these concepts have been deeply embedded in the Western psyche, and as Greta said, few would argue against them. The principal of EAS, Mark, did not believe that parents came to the school for religious reasons but claimed that what they wanted for their sons and daughters was “good results, good discipline and that the kids are happy and safe.” The last two motivations are concerned with pastoral care. Middle manager, Lewis, stressed that in his view, academic success itself grew out of holistic development of each student. Therefore, as several people said, religion provided a framework for what are universal values of individual care, the implementation of which is the core business of all independent schools, ensuring they have a steady stream of clients.

The second form of values structure was those programs that encouraged these attitudes in students themselves. Each school had activities which focused on works of service. At EAS CAR (Charity Awareness Raising) was central to Boyd’s vision and many teachers commented favourably on what was being achieved. Students were helped to be well-informed about the disadvantaged and to take active initiatives to help them. Boyd explained his reorientation of the traditional fund-raising drive in these terms: “CAR puts the money raising as a peripheral issue...The important thing is that you become aware about the issues and...then have the opportunity to participate...And then you get a much better chance of them having lifelong habits of doing the stuff...I had a fabulous conversation with a student [who felt] I was not taking this fund-raising stuff seriously...I pointed to the bank balance. ‘That’s serious.’ This year we’ve raised over 62,000 dollars on one day...but you’re right. [Fund raising] is not front and centre.” Students participated through activities such as manning a city soup kitchen, tsunami relief in Sri Lanka, helping a local school for the disabled and visiting a nursing home. In addition, Bella, who was also an active Christian, had introduced a community
service program targeted specifically at Year 10 and Morton talked of how community service was integrated into the year 7 Middle School curriculum.

There were several similar initiatives at HAS, which were mostly co-ordinated by interested staff members, especially, it should be noted, by those with Christian convictions, such as Seymour, who kept carriage of a food-drive started years earlier by a church-going colleague. Seymour made the point that, although Vince directly spoke of the rationale from the Christian Gospel for humanitarian drives, Seymour himself was not so explicit. Another major charitable enterprise was an overseas trip where students offered their services to a disadvantaged mission school. This was run with enthusiasm by outdoor education officer, Ben, who found it exposed students to a “global perspective on Anglicanism”. He explained the Christian dimension thus: “their belief is that by giving, God will give back to them. I’m not a particularly religious person, but you can’t go wrong with that sort of belief, basically being nice to people. [It is] life-changing where the religious belief is a true belief; they really do have that [there] and [it's]...not tangible but attitudes are filtering down here.” The comment is particularly interesting because it juxtaposes spiritual commitment and humanitarian values, while also suggesting a discrepancy in meaning between the mission school and HAS.

Similarly, at DAS students had recently returned from their overseas community service trip. Ray discussed the meaning of the trip with some of them and reported: “I got profound answers. I got one boy who said, ‘I’d always taken my Christian faith for granted but actually going [there] rekindled my Christian faith and I now know I have to take it seriously.’ So I thought, there’s an authentic experience.” Sharon represented many teachers at the school when she highlighted the importance of this project and stated that it embodied Christianity at the school. Such comments indicate that even though humanitarianism is practised and valued by many non-religious people, the charity programs at Anglican schools can often maintain the close connection of humanitarianism with its religious antecedents. At DAS Wendy recognised this when she commented that the charitable activities “come from the religious ethos [and have] a real sense of how can we help the community, a very pervasive part of the culture.”

7.6.2. Contested meanings of humanitarian values

Humanitarian values can be explained theologically through the Christian concept of love, as expressed in the famous love poem of 1 Corinthians 13, in which the word love was translated “charity” in the Authorized Version, or in the Epistle of
James which castigates those who claim “faith” without the entailed “works” of helping the poor and sick. Community service activities were warmly endorsed by all staff at all schools and regularly mentioned as the expression of Christian values expected of an Anglican school. Their meaning was therefore uncontroversial for cultural insiders.

Nevertheless, there is an implicit tension in their promotion. It was raised by several more sensitive informants. The problem is that these activities are done by young people wealthy enough to afford high fee-paying schools. Overseas trips appear to perpetuate the upper class tradition of distributing largesse to the poor while condoning the social structures of inequality. In other words, while charitable activities may be interpreted in terms of Christian values, they may also be considered as class values, the “obligations expected of a Christian gentleman” to reiterate the Shore School charter. Genevieve at EAS made this point strongly. Although not a practising Christian, Genevieve was committed to social justice and was frustrated by the superficial nature of the presentation of social content in classes. She spoke passionately about how inappropriate it was that students should make lobster mornay in Food Technology lessons, but never be challenged to realise that this was food for the wealthy classes only (ECE). She thoroughly supported the CAR initiative but saw it being distanced from students’ real life and she felt that the increasingly elite clientele at EAS meant that issues of equity were continually implied. All Genevieve’s career beforehand had been spent in the state system, where equality is highly valued (Campbell et al., 2009) so her perspective reinforces the sense that charity may be the sanitised response to disadvantage of the higher social classes, whose lifestyle remains unaffected.

Boyd recognised a similar dimension when he remarked, “I’ve been in independent schools for a long while; I’m not sure if I really believe in them, because it takes us away from the wider community.” An even stronger critique was offered by Frank who designated the whole social justice regime at EAS as the “white middle class politics of gesture”, a phrase echoing Frame’s (2006 p. 168) acerbic comment: “Moralising is the last resort of a dying church. Much of what presently goes for public comment is little more than old-fashioned moralism clothed in left-leaning social compassion.” Hilary at DAS observed that students doing the overseas trip returned realising how lucky they were and Patsy said that staff softened the more confrontational material for them. Although the language is subdued, these words also point to class-reinforcing outcomes from charitable activities. Theresa reflected on the ingrained materialism of students at HAS in these words: “I can quote boys who say, ‘I just want to look out of my window
when I’m 30 and see my Mercedes down there’ and if I talk about contributing to the community they look at me as if I’m speaking Swahili.”

In summary, although charitable activities were interpreted as an expression of Christianity in all the schools, the reality is more complex. Even though undoubtedly the spiritual and moral responsibility of individual students was developed through them, a Marxist sociology would also see these activities as a means of privileged classes neutering any real challenge to structures of inequality. Likewise, individual care for students has two faces: on one hand it can reflect genuine Christian care, but on the other hand it may be seen as a self-interested offering to the competitive school market. These two values structures reflect the inherent tension within Anglicanism between participating in the social hegemony and belonging to the Christian church which should challenge it.
I guess it’s somewhere in between, I can’t quite define it....(Louisa at DAS, struggling to define the Anglican character of the school)

8.1. Introduction: Unconscious assumptions

External actions and internal attitudes are inextricably bound together in culture. This chapter moves from the consideration of visible structures in which specific behaviours are played out to probe underlying beliefs and attitudes which are the deeper level of culture (Schein, 1992). Such underlying assumptions give rise to a range of behaviours which may not at first glance appear related to religious identity, but which can be seen as derived from it or influenced by it. According to Alvesson & Sveningsson (2008, p. 36), these unconscious attitudes guide behaviour and may be considered the essence of culture, while Hofstede (2005, p. 286) argues that the core of an organization’s culture resides in shared perceptions of daily practices. In alternative language, perceptions are the meanings given to practices; shared meanings allow reproduction of the culture in new situations. What Hofstede calls programming of the mind, or what is generically called socialisation into a way of life, seems to occur as new members imitate the practices expected in that setting. After a while these seem so obvious, so much “the way we do things here” (Deal & Kennedy, 1983, p. 14), that organizational members intuitively know what actions to take in a new situation. Organizational intuition is an equivalent term for the programming of the mind. Insistent disturbance of this, through upheaval either in practice or in rhetoric, is experienced as violation of the psychological contract, causing the type of disorientation and resistance seen at DAS (Fineman, 2000; Leiter, 1999).

The interpretation of values at DAS is a specific illustration of cultural assumptions being dislocated. It has already been stated that teachers tended to identify good values with the Christian nature of Anglican schools, although actually the causal connections are debatable. The identification of these values as Christian is illustrated at DAS when teachers who disagreed with Ray claimed that his actions contravened Christian values, as the following quotations demonstrate: “What concerns me is that a lot of what is done from executive down has been done in a most unchristian way,” and “There are a few outspoken people who say ‘I thought this was a Christian school, how can that happen?’” (DI12, DI7). This situation is
a concrete example of how the values discourse in all schools mirrored assumptions about religion. It provides a convenient springboard for exploring the manifestation of values as internal beliefs diffusing beyond structures to permeate the ethos of Anglican schools.

8.2 Moral values

8.2.1 Christian virtues

Informants at all schools had no trouble reeling off a list of values which they thoroughly endorsed and these have been enumerated in descriptions of each school. The ubiquitous usage of the term “values” in contemporary moral discussion obscures the fact that there are actually two overlapping categories of attributes which are referred to under this term. The word “values” has the primary meaning of “what is valued”, or what is given priority by a person or organization. It can often represent an abstraction such as individualism, which is valued in Western culture (Hofstede, 2005). The older term “virtue” more specifically refers to moral attributes of character, what a person is. This definition is more congruent with the meanings given by Anglican school teachers, when they spoke of care, kindness, helpfulness, honesty, humility, forgiveness, fairness, responsibility, reliability, diligence, compassion for the disadvantaged and respect for others shown through courtesy and consideration.

These virtues were believed to be expressed in the pastoral care and humanitarian structures described in Chapter 7, but they were also applied to human relationships within the schools, on the two levels of student-staff relationships and staff collegial relationships. Although most recognized that these virtues were not unique to religious schools, there was a belief that that they were stronger and more cohesive there. For example, at EAS Lester said that “the Christian dimension pervades the whole ethos and especially influences how people deal with each other”; Gail remarked that, “Most schools in Australia would have Christian values underlying them, but [they] are more overt and consistent in an independent school”; Mark interpreted one key aspect of Christianity as “treating people with dignity” and gave an instance of how he had done this with an underperforming staff member. At HAS the same idea emerged. Bob claimed, “The values of the Anglican church underpin what we do [here]”; Stephen defined Anglican ethos in terms of values such as politeness, care and a good work ethic; Lesley said that “There’s a values package you buy when you come [to an Anglican school].” Similarly at DAS Harriet said, “Good Christian principles come through in how we treat and address the students and each other”; Lillian understood that, “A lot goes back to the religious ethos...Christian values produce
the bonding [with students]”; Charlotte explained, “Students know it is a Christian school and the behaviour that goes with that. They are taught to be respectful and be caring and show the love of Jesus to their fellows.”

Although everyone did not practise such virtues all the time, the point is that belief in these things was the unseen assumption that went with belonging to an Anglican school community. Theft, rudeness, bullying, un-supportiveness, heartlessness and hypocrisy were interpreted not merely as pragmatic failures or aberrant inconveniences, but as contraventions of the core identity of the schools (DI18, DI23, EI1, EI11, HI7, HI6). A survey comment (HS13) sums up the cultural norm: “I’ve seen some state secondary schools that essentially ‘work to rule’. Any help outside statutory teaching time is ad hoc and due to the good nature of individuals. Good deeds are the exception, not the rule [but] the opposite occurs [here].”

8.2.2 Meanings
A meta-interpretation of Anglican school values which goes beyond how teachers made sense of them within their particular schools, relies on the meanings understood by the researcher in synthesising data across all sites to fulfil this project’s purpose of detecting any common Anglican school culture. In this section such an interpretation is offered.

In Chapter 4 the contested meaning of values at EAS was explored and the point was made that most could be attributed to the democratic ideals of Western society. This is why the largely non-religious staff found them acceptable, since they match the norms of the culture in which the schools are nested. Analysis of HAS introduced the idea that these so-called Christian values in Anglican schools may more closely reflect the values of the higher classes. For example, Stephen could say, that he “would like to think that those who’ve been successful since leaving learned those values at the school.” A recent Australian book investigating the educational market notes that there are two clearly different values sets associated with state and independent schools. Egalitarianism, human rights, multiculturalism, tolerance of difference, and personal resilience were associated with state schools whereas an emphasis on discipline, public service and achievement were associated with private schools (Campbell et al., 2009, chapt. 8). These private school values serve the middle classes, and are neither exclusively nor intrinsically Christian. Informants in Anglican schools, however, did not distinguish these from universal moral principles, putting all together in the same category of “good values”.

Chapter 8 179
There has been a gradual and increasing divergence between Christian virtues, which are grounded in Christian doctrine, and the values publically endorsed in contemporary Australian society. The difference is blurred because the two value sets certainly overlap, but those Christian virtues included in the common pool are endorsed, not because of their religious underpinning, but because they are pragmatically useful for society, or are seen as supporting core aspects of a cultural identity, such as democracy. For example, there is a subtle shift in meaning between the Christian concept of justice, measured against universal principles, and the connotations of relativism and individual effort in the phrase “a fair go”, as expressed in the 2005 *Nine Values for Australian Schooling* (Australian Government).

The essentially different metaphysical bases of the two value sets are highlighted only when specific situations bring them into conflict. An example of this is the situation Theresa spoke of. She asked students at HAS what they wanted out of life and reported that many responded that all they wanted was money (“to look down and see a Mercedes”) and that they showed no understanding of any idea of contributing to the community. Theresa commented at some length on this and the generational difference she felt. There is a direct conflict here with the teaching of Jesus which stresses the virtue of poverty, contentment and focusing on the kingdom of God, not the acquisition of material possessions (Matthew 6:19, 20). For many years, although often breached in practice, this was still nominally an ethical ideal and was most obviously expressed in the vows of poverty required in Catholic religious orders. However, contemporary economic orthodoxy extols prosperity as the ultimate good and actively promotes materialism. The ultimate paradox of this is seen in the takeover of the central Christian festivals of Christmas and Easter as the high points of consumerism. This philosophical conflict occurred at EAS through the chaplains’ challenges about issues of social justice. Parents and some staff members reacted so strongly that the principal, Mark, actually wrote in the news bulletin defending the right to canvass such ideas (EI17, EI22). Similarly, although the exact topic was not explained, people at DAS could find Llewelyn’s ideas disturbing, and, like Mark, Ray defended him: "He does discombobulate you…pull you out of cultural Christianity…and I think that’s really a helpful thing.”

Ray’s term “cultural Christianity” is helpful in understanding what is happening in the values discourse. Western culture has been irrevocably shaped by centuries of influence from the Christian Church. Morally one of the most significant influences was probably elevating altruistic love to be the supreme virtue, a point that is
highlighted by a comparison with the virtues of ancient Greece, where this one is conspicuously absent (e.g. Bowie, 2001, Chapt. 10). The Christian ethic has dominated Western culture and still frames moral thinking. Several people at the schools actually used the terminology of framing to endorse the values dimension in their schools (e.g. DI21, EI15, HI12, HI13). So it is only to be expected that such values are not unique to denominational schools. What religious schools, including Anglican ones, do have is an explicit justification for promoting these values, and because of the religious ritual of chapel and the opportunities provided by Religious Education classes, they have dedicated structures for doing so. It would appear that general democratic values (Hill, 1991), many originating in Christian theology, are heightened through the religious setting, and that otherwise secular values are sacramentalized through it. Under the latter category come the class values associated with independent school clientele.

Parallel with the secularization of Western society has been the demythologizing of Christian faith, so that “liberal” versions of Anglicanism deny or reduce its supernatural elements to make the religion more compatible with scientific thinking (Frame, 2009; Knight, 2004). Secularization has also modified the Christian moral code, so that, to continue the analogy of materialism, wealth in this world has been incorporated into religious doctrine, most notoriously in movements such as the American prosperity gospel. More pointedly, Anglican schools gain their clients through providing a pathway to success; the meaning of this is highly contested, as the article from Grant quoted before indicates. So, to some extent, Anglican schools participate in a reversal of the command of St Paul: “Do not be conformed to this world but be transformed by the renewal of your minds” (Romans 12:2). Mental constructs are so programmed by a secularized society that these are superimposed onto religious concepts, so changing their meaning, and consequently the foundational assumptions of culture (Geertz, 1973; Hofstede, 2005; Martin, 1992). James expressed the problem like this: “[It is] more subtle things. When people are liberal in what they preach, it’s often hard to nail them on a sentence as wrong, but when you get to the end, you think, ‘Oh, that’s not right’; like they’ll tie a Bible passage into something ridiculous like about prefects or school leaders where Jesus is talking about salvation.” This quotation also demonstrates that the issue is a living debate within schools. Moreover, not only are Christian values re-formulated to match societal and class norms, but they are used instrumentally in independent schools for their economic advantage. This idea was discussed with relation to Shaw’s (2009) explanation that the distinctive benefits of independent schooling reside in how they develop holistic values – “value-adding” quite literally.
“Christian values” is therefore an ambiguous term. Its meanings operate beneath the surface, at the deepest level of culture. Its interpretation reflects two streams of thought deriving from the position of the Anglican church at the intersection of civil society and religious faith. The values discourse is a crucial arena in producing the tension which appears to define Anglican schools. It parallels the historic functions of the Anglican church as both an institution of civil society and as an agent of the Christian religion.

8.3 Anglican values

8.3.1 Introduction: Anglican cultural assumptions

This section will investigate those interior beliefs and values which appear to closely correlate with the specifically Anglican identity of the schools. It is concerned with what many writers call the “Anglican spirit”, which is another way of referring to core assumptions of generic Anglican culture. The dissertation does not claim that these underlying beliefs appear only in Anglican schools – there are too many complex interrelationships and layers of cultural connection across Australian societal culture, across educational culture, across the subcategory of independent schooling and across various branches of the Christian church to claim absolute distinctiveness. The dissertation does suggest that this empirical research revealed features which are consistent with Anglican theological, historical and social identity, and the self-understanding of Anglicans themselves. It is further suggested that when all these features combine in the culture of an Australian school, this is a clear indicator of it having an Anglican identity or, at the very least, having been significantly influenced by Anglican cultural norms.

The critical focus of this section is to attempt to respond to the issue which Blackler (1997, p. 113) posed in these words: “The question needs to be considered whether there is anything distinctively ‘Anglican’ at all about Anglican schools.” There have been some attempts to deal with this, but few at the cultural level. The context of Blackler’s actual argument is the privatisation of Anglican school governance in Melbourne. Cole (2006) considered in what ways Anglican schools might be genuine Christian communities, given their great diversity and the presence of large numbers of non-Anglicans. He alludes to the “actual life” (p. 337) of schools but then concentrates on explaining the approaches which would bring principles and practice into alignment. Similarly Kaye (1994) in his extremely helpful analysis of the ethos of Anglicanism, is concerned with how an Anglican school “might develop an identity” (p. 141) compatible with Anglican principles in a pluralist society. My project, though, is focused on what actually is.

20 See chapter 2, Section 2.2 for an explanation of the complex nesting of Anglican schools.
It utilizes these ideas to help understand the meaning of what happens in Anglican schools, but its object is to describe the “actual life” and the empirically demonstrable features which constitute culture in Anglican schools.

There is no more foundational place to start in searching for an Anglican “spirit” than in the iconic writings of sixteenth century Anglican apologist, Richard Hooker. He balanced three contending sources for ecclesiastical authority – scripture, tradition and reason, known as the three pillars. Kaye (1994) draws on this background to identify six qualities one would expect Anglican schools to show. He affirms the three pillars in shaping Anglican heritage; he speaks briefly about the Anglican focus on the Incarnation; he derives from these four a characteristic mental attitude which he calls being “interactive” and sixthly he describes these things being worked out in a style of practice which closely ties together “intellectual discipline, thought, worship, adoration and godly living in society” (p. 134) In the last part of his article he claims the marks of an Anglican school should be an emphasis on reason and understanding, a valuing of tradition, an incarnational application of faith, worship and social interaction. Such an analysis provides only a thin framing structure to point to possible connections between life in schools and their Anglican heritage. A brief comment will be made on these markers before turning to the main business of this chapter which is to describe the unseen values on which Anglican school culture rests.

This study of school culture endorses the importance of Hooker’s three pillars and it uncovered an inequality in function, of which Kaye gives no indication. In post-Enlightenment education scripture has often been relegated to a subordinate position, and the supernatural minimised. Reason is certainly important in Anglican schools and reinforces their educative role. This is seen most clearly when they are compared to protestant Christian community schools where faith is given primacy. An interactive mental attitude is evident in Anglican schools but reason or intellectual development is rarely related to spiritual insight as Kaye advocates, but is almost entirely conceptualised in terms of academic success and social status. The corollary of these trends is that “tradition” in Anglican schools, while it does maintain a liturgical and spiritual aspect especially in those influenced by High Churchmanship, has otherwise been largely subsumed by its social role as a civil religion uniting past and present and reinforcing core institutional identity. Kaye talks mainly about the tradition of the church and does not elaborate on more general sociological applications, but it is in these that the data indicates that tradition actually plays a role in Anglican schools. It is for this reason that the term “social tradition” rather than civil religion has been used in this dissertation.
In Anglican schools, it appears that respect for tradition and valuing an incarnational spirit have collapsed together to give pre-eminence to fulfilling a social function. Kaye’s writings do not deal with any link between spiritual ethos and social aims but they are very helpful in depicting Anglicanism as a church in society, “a church without walls.”

This picture is strongly confirmed by the findings of this research, which, in addition, demonstrates the prevalence of tensions associated with this inclusive ecclesiology. One aspect of being a church in society is the importance of morality, although what Kaye calls “godly living” has frequently been transformed into essentially humanist values, as described in Sections 7.6 and 8.2. Moreover, unlike Frame (2010) who confronts headlong contemporary Anglican factionalism, Kaye’s analysis of Anglicanism in schools stops short of considering the divisive nature of competing forms of churchmanship. There is not a lot of evidence of Hooker’s three pillars ever being held in perfect balance in Australian Anglicanism generally, and certainly in its schools the local diocesan interpretation usually gains dominance and then is strongly contested by others within the school community. Kaye rightly highlights Anglican worship as a mark of an Anglican school, as Chapter 7 demonstrated. However, dealing with the conundrum of having a worshipping community consisting of unreligious and secular participants is not his aim, although, as has been shown, it was a prominent practical challenge for school chaplains and has been theoretically analysed by Gray (2008) in a paper entitled Chapel in an Anglican School – Evangelism or Church?

This section will now concentrate on how the Anglican spirit affects cultural values and assumptions underlying the “actual life” of schools. Although Kaye (1994, p. 139) denies Anglicanism has any definitive theologian, historians and theologians of Anglicanism invariably look back to Hooker in seeking inspiration about the Anglican spirit. Avis (2007, p. 186f.), who has written extensively on Anglican identity, believes that Hooker’s method of argumentation, whereby he relates issues back to foundation principles, is crucial in making him “our theological contemporary in the quest for true Anglican identity.” Avis defends Hooker’s significance by referring to his almost exclusive concern with the nature of the church, and to his dual ecclesial perspective which is indubitably Reformed while being unashamedly continuous with Reformation Anglicanism’s medieval antecedents. Gibbs (2002) is a historian who has entered into the debate about Hooker’s role; he argues against scholars who claimed key Anglican ideas were read back into Hooker and he defends the classic view that Hooker’s writings encapsulate the Anglican via media, as it was widely understood in Elizabethan
England. Hooker wrote defending this position against the Presbyterianism of Elizabethan Puritans.

With respect to the Anglican spirit, my argument takes up Avis’s point about the importance of the method and firstly affirms that the balance and moderation which marks Hooker’s method continues to reverberate in the culture of contemporary Anglican schools. Secondly, the prominence given to reason in Hooker’s thought provides a rationale for an essentially intellectual approach to learning and a repudiation of dogmatism which appears to be characteristic of Anglican schools. In acknowledging this it should be noted that for Hooker reason meant the human mind informed by the Spirit of God, not the post-Enlightenment view of the supremacy of human rationality by itself. That philosophical shift produces its own level of tension when Anglican principles are applied in the secular and materialistic world of the twenty-first century. Thirdly, Hooker’s writing is grounded in a specific socio-political context where the Church of England was the established religion and so enmeshed with society. His dialectic was of direct application to the character of a major social institution. Therefore Anglicanism models a “church in society” (Kaye, 1995, p. 188). My dissertation calls this an “incarnational” quality, since its ultimate derivation is from the Incarnation of Christ. This theological term refers to the belief that Christ became fully a human being and participated fully in the physical and social world. The implication of this for Christians is that he thereby affirmed and gave validity to life in the material realm. Although this belief is shared among all Christian denominations, it is particularly emphasised through the historical contingencies which created Anglicanism.

The Elizabethan Church for which Hooker wrote his *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* continues to influence the Anglican spirit in two other related ways. Firstly it contained everyone; there was no provision to opt out and remain an English citizen. Therefore Anglicanism is inherently inclusive and this is remarked upon time and time again in Australian schools of the twenty-first century. Secondly, the Elizabethan Church was a forced marriage between those favouring either Catholic or Presbyterian theology and it was rent by controversy. Hooker himself is an example of the dialogue within the Anglicanism of the period (Gibbs, 2002). His genius is celebrated because he succeeded in defending this compromise and lauding its validity as a middle way. Thus internal dialogue marks the Anglican spirit, mitigating against dogmatism but reinforcing ambiguity and tension.
8.3.2 The Anglican spirit seen in its schools

8.3.2a Incarnational: Low key

In describing the interior values on which Anglican school culture rests, consideration will first be given to the incarnational spirit of Anglicanism by which it immerses itself seamlessly within its societal culture. This results from its role in England as the established church which led derivatively to its enhanced social status in Australia (Fletcher, 2008, p. 243). Ray explained how Anglicanism blends into society in these words: “Anglicans make a lot of assumptions...[They] have always been part of the mainstream intellectual dialogue and so they’ve never really felt they had to tack a Christian thing on, they just thought it was part of the dialogue.” Roman Catholic schools asserted their religious identity against a nineteenth century protestant hegemony, while contemporary Christian schools assert their piety against what they see as rampart secularism. By contrast Anglicanism appears to take for granted that its morality is Christian and that this morality is also contiguous with social values, neither of which assumption is unassailable, as has already been explained. Typically religious life is incorporated into the flow of the institution, pervading the context rather than being highlighted.

Paradoxically the result is that one of the most distinctive Anglican attributes appears to be its unobtrusive character. This is evidenced in the typical identification of moral decency with Christianity in the schools. It was also seen in informants’ recurring references to the “low key” (EI5, EI12, DI8) nature of the Anglicanism they experienced in schools. While some Anglican schools were more low key than others, their religious expression was regularly seen as unobtrusive when compared to Roman Catholic, Lutheran, nonconformist protestant or “Christian” counterparts. When speaking of Anglican religion, teachers at EAS used phrases such as: “in the background”, “not all-pervasive”, “moderate”, “not invasive”, “not really explicit”, “religious practice is far less dominant”, “[at Catholic schools] it held a far more elevated position” (EI4, EI8, EI10, EI13 EI16). Some similar terms from HAS were: “Religion is not over-pushed here”, “It’s a subsidiary force”, “[There are] only generic Christian values”, “It does not impact on people’s thinking”, “understated” (HI4, HI5, HI7, HI9, HI20). Even though Christian spiritual commitment was much more prominent at DAS, the same theme also emerged there. People spoke about religion as “fairly light”, “It fits into the schools system, whereas Roman Catholic has to fit into the church”, “There is a lack of Christian influence [compared to Christian community schools]”, “It is not overdone”, “less in your face than Catholic schools”, “not shoved down the throat...not as prevalent or intrusive as I would have thought in a religious
school”, “[It has] a Christ-centred perspective but one that is not pushing” (DI4, DI6, DI7, DI13, DI20, DI25, DI28). While a few committed Christians found the unobtrusiveness of faith an affront, for the majority of staff, it made it a comfortable environment where they felt welcomed and able to pursue their profession without inhibition. This characteristic appears to be closely related to the historic role of the Anglican Church as a mainstream social institution.

8.3.2.b. Incarnational: Moralism and class

The theology of the incarnation affirms the value of this temporal world and justifies Christians having an active role in society. For a state church, this position easily slips into forms of Erastianism whereby the church becomes the instrument of the state. At the centre of Anglicanism is an identification with civil society and an assumption that the social norms of this society derive from the ethics and metaphysics of the church. For many centuries this was essentially true: the belief system of British people was grounded in Christianity and acceptable behaviour flowed from these beliefs.

Anglicanism in Australia rests on this inheritance, but because of the nature of colonial society it has a strong social class dimension. It was “above all the faith of the dominant elements in [Australian] society” (Fletcher, 2008, p. 33). Kaye’s writings, and especially his formative work, A Church Without Walls (1995), explore thoroughly the outworking of this inheritance in the interweaving of the Anglican institution with social life in Australia. Initially the Church of England came to Australia to give spiritual sustenance and moral direction to the convict colonies (Frame, 2009, p. 40f.). Critical to the shaping of the Christian character of the new nation was education. Many nineteenth century foundations were deliberately modelled on the great English public schools, which Blackler (1997, p. 108) explicitly designates as Erastian in inspiration. The view is encapsulated in the words of early chaplain, Samuel Marsden: “Nothing in my opinion can pave the way for the introduction of the Gospel but civilisation and that can only be accomplished by the arts” (McPherson, 1997, p. 52). The idea was reiterated by Canon Potter of Melbourne a century later: “The essence of religion is the moral idea” (Hilliard, 1997, p. 32). More colloquial and humorous but essentially meaning the same was the comment of Stephen at HAS, that he saw Anglican ethos coming into school life in “gentrifying the little savages.” Therefore the Anglican spirit reflects its immersion in society, with the consequent preoccupation with good values, conceptualised as Christian morality and promoted as a service to citizenship.
The paradoxes of this social role have sparked ongoing debate in Australian Anglican synods and among its bishops about the rightness of Anglican schools catering for the wealthy (e.g. Blackler, 1997; Hi16). In the English setting the Archbishop of Canterbury has written defending church schools against charges of social exclusivity (Williams, 2006). People buy independent education to give their children social capital and a compatible peer group (Campbell et al., 2009, p. 170). Nicole, reflecting beyond just HAS, bluntly stated that people using independent schools were “buying a peer group.” The reality in Australia is that the long-established corporate schools are accessible only to the wealthy, and even though low fee Anglican schools have been established in several dioceses they are inexorably pushed upwards socially. DAS was undergoing this experience. EAS was also on its borderline. EAS deliberately pegged its fees lower than longer established competitors but, in Warwick’s words already quoted, there was “champagne taste and a beer income” and Gail said: “It is selective in the sense you have to be able to afford to pay fees.” Lower fee schools may be the second best option for less affluent parents, but they are no option at all for the really disadvantaged or for those who do not value “civilisation”, “the arts” and traditional morality. Indeed, the purpose of independent schools in general may be simply summarised by saying that they provide the sort of schooling desired by those who value education and can afford fees.

The incarnational spirit of Anglicanism is ambiguous. While it promotes active involvement in society through pastoral care, social welfare, desirable education and intellectual engagement, it also develops into a civil religion which has become identified with advancement, higher class values and social conformity. The conflict between these opposing forces is central to the more general tension which marks Anglican schools. Through their sometimes reluctant subservience to social class they may connive with what Fenn (2001, p. 54) calls the “monopoly” of social control over the individual. By contrast the incarnational spirit also issues in two characteristics that most participants found unequivocally positive. These are the spirit of inclusiveness and the spirit of intellectualism. These derive from an incarnational engagement with society but deserve specific treatment in respect to their manifestations in Anglican schools.
Although Anglican schools may be socially exclusive, ideologically they are notable for their willingness to accept everyone without judgement. Time and time again teachers in all the schools studied reiterated that, regardless of their faith or lack of it, they felt welcomed and felt no sense of discrimination. Godfrey, active in a non-Christian religion, highlighted this attitude: “There is real acceptance of those of other faiths, and no criticism of them as I experienced in both Catholic and state schools.” Phyllis, also not a Christian, felt “absolutely accepted” at DAS. Warwick said of a previous school, that it was “very tolerant, accepted all faiths”. Boyd talked of his mission statement as “inclusive, catholic, empowering words.” Similar comments were that “Anglicanism is so diverse and inclusive and non-specific” (EI13); “It is strategically undefined” (HI1); “It is easy for students of any faith to feel at home” (ES9); “You’d have to dig pretty hard to find out people’s background [denomination]” (HI18); “It doesn’t make any demands on you” (HI21); “I haven’t seen the slightest sign of [indoctrination] here” (HI12); “All are accepted, regardless” (DI4); “I don’t feel any constraints [because it is a religious school]” (DI5). This inclusiveness was contrasted regularly to Catholic schools, which those who had taught there perceived as much more uncompromising in their stance. It was generally felt that most students were Catholics and that Catholic parents expected the school to imbue Catholic beliefs. Some described Catholicism in schools as “in your face” or “dogmatic” although, interestingly, Olivia made the point that Australian Catholic schools pushed religion much more than Irish ones, suggesting a nexus between being an established church and being relaxed about religion (DI20, DI21, DI26, EI10, EI13, EI16, HI4, HI7). On the other hand, several teachers at DAS had experience of “Christian” schools and Anglican inclusiveness was contrasted with these, where all staff were expected to have personal faith and protestant doctrinal commitment. The consequence was that they were far from “low key”; there was explicit religious discourse and often an image of fundamentalist literalism (DI1, DI2, DI7, DI9, DI22, DI28).

The one exception to the consistent theme of inclusiveness was reference to undercurrents in some schools in Sydney Diocese. Marie now working at DAS talked of “a narrowing at the top...At [another Anglican school] we were visited by [Archbishop] Peter Jensen and his message was that we were there to proselytize.” Beverley commented on an experience in a Sydney girls’ school where “negative pressure” crept in against those “who did not participate openly in devotional things and favour was given to those who did.” In the Sydney context Belinda observed that sometimes she had “just felt it’s not very acceptable to be a
Catholic.” It can be argued that currently Sydney Diocese is on the fringe of Anglicanism, as indicated by its promotion of strict separation of church and society and its preference for Presbyterian or even Congregationalist forms of ecclesiology (Edwards, 1996; Frame, 2010, p. 16f.; M. Porter, 2006). By contrast, traditionally the wide variety of theological stances brought together under the Anglican umbrella has induced a spirit of acceptance and dialogue.

Inclusiveness and reflection of societal values is seen quite starkly in four instances of perceptible hostility to Christianity in Anglican schools. Frank generalised from personal observations and conversations with chaplains in two states not represented in the three site studies: “In many schools there’s actually a deliberate antagonism to anything to do with the church. The chaplain can be seen as a marginal figure...They often feel quite lonely and ineffectual.” Winifred talked about a school near EAS: “It was almost a joke that they were an Anglican school...Staff were openly anti-Christian...It was something to be proud of, more intellectual to be anti-Christian.” Warren’s experience was: “At [school] some staff were atheists & would openly ridicule and articulate hostility to Christian views”, while Matthew described a school in the same district as HAS, where “The principal will attend churchy things but probably feels they are ‘old hat’...It is a much more secular school...[It is] increasingly distancing itself from the diocese.” Therefore inclusiveness can become a real threat to Anglican identity in a society where Christianity is no longer the taken-for-granted norm.

8.3.2.d. Intellectual

The final component of the Anglican spirit from the level of cultural assumptions and values is its intellectual character. This quality correlates with Hooker’s emphasis on reason and balance and also with the values of the upper classes who patronise the schools. Intellectual openness was evident in the approach to Religious Education, as already discussed. It was seen in the refusal to indoctrinate students or mandate affirmations of personal faith. The words of Warwick illustrate this rather well: he commented that no lessons would start with a prayer but that teachers would be happy to talk about prayer. In other words, in contrast to most Catholic schools (e.g. EI10), the practice of piety was left to individual choice but the practice of intellectual analysis was fore-grounded. So Blake at HAS could describe discussions where students critiqued and analysed religion; Leanna at DAS could say that “it is put to the students, as ‘Here, consider this, here’s some information, let’s talk about it, think about it, let’s watch and see the benefits for others around you’...There’s an openness, that students feel comfortable and open and they can question and they can query.” Patrick could
assert that “Creationism is pushed hard at other ["Christian"] schools but is not an issue here”; Brett could feel comfortable that “In history there would not be a problem in teaching reality of what happened in the Reformation or medieval Catholicism...The faith-based ethos...does not expect my history lessons to be dominated by Anglican perspectives”, while Bradley could say “Catholic comes back to what the pope says, you’ve got to do it...Anglicans have more freedom.” What Helen at EAS called the “open-minded and flexible” attitude of Anglicanism superbly qualifies its schools to provide a liberal education that well fits students to engage with the great discourses of society. Historically that is what Anglicans have always done (Knight, 2004).

The characteristics of incarnationalism, inclusiveness and intellectualism all interweave with the social role of Anglican schools, and the moral virtues they have derived from Christianity and sometimes transposed into secular values. They constitute a typical and apparently distinctive Anglican spirit in schools which is consistent with the parent church. They also reflect tensions which lie at the core of Anglican identity and provoke specific expressions of these tensions in Anglican schools.

8.3.2.e. Conclusion
At the beginning of Chapter 7 the Western Australian Anglican Schools Commission list of distinctive features of Anglican schools was quoted. This provides a summary of how typical aspects of Anglican ethos are translated into the educational setting.

   a. Aiming for Excellence and the Development of the Whole Person
   b. Providing a Thoughtful and Balanced Education
These aims point to an approach which values balance and an intellectual approach to learning in accordance with the Hookerian principle of “reason”.
   c. Inclusive and Open - Valuing All Students
The WAASC further expands on this key Anglican quality of inclusiveness with comments about dual “Catholic” and “Protestant” roots and “unity in diversity”, echoing the history analysed earlier.
   d. Positively Affirming All that is Wholesome in Human Life
This is an explicit affirmation of the principle of incarnationalism, of active engagement in society.
   e. Maintaining Continuity with the Past but Thoughtfully Responsive to Education Innovation
This points to the Anglican liturgical and social heritage, as seen in chapel services and in related rituals reinforcing institutional identity, balanced by an educative focus.

f. Pastoral Care of all Students Especially Those with Special Needs

g. Providing Anglican Christian Studies and Promoting Anglican Christian Values

These two statements collapse together the structural and attitudinal dimensions of values. It is interesting that the writers considered the need to put “Anglican” and “Christian” in proximity, suggesting awareness of the two separate dimensions to values as analysed earlier in this chapter.

h. Providing Stability and Reliability in Leadership and Teaching Staff.

This final point does not directly derive from anything typically Anglican. However, it does point to crucial and marketable features of independent schools. As already explained, both independence and leadership are critical in influencing Anglican school culture.

The WAASC statement and others like it are directed at a client audience, but these features are also evident in the empirical data about staff culture discussed thoroughly in this dissertation. However, school mission statements do not hint at the tension and contestation suggested by the research data, which this dissertation asserts is directly related to dual social and spiritual functions. What the WAASC expression of Anglican distinctiveness does demonstrate, is the strength of the social dimension. While Christian virtues and Anglican values can be defended theologically, in schools they are promoted for their social benefits. The final part of this chapter will interpret more generally meanings which are compatible with the data about religion across all sites.

8.4. Meanings

8.4.1 An ambiguous role

Anglicanism is used by schools in two ways, but few participants were aware of this dichotomy or its cultural implications. One function of religion is to enhance the social role of schools in educating young people for participation in contemporary Australian society. The second function is the religious one of inducting young people into the Christian faith. Within Anglican schools the two functions are blurred. Either function may shape the interpretive frame used by cultural insiders to make meaning, depending on their prior experiences and personal perspectives.
For many people the social role is primary and they are probably unaware of an alternative perspective. Specifically religious artefacts of chaplaincy, chapel services, religious education, pastoral care and charitable values are interpreted simply as identifying a school’s religious foundation, and this is seen as providing a platform for the promotion of institutional cohesion and positive values. Social capital and class values of success frequently colonise this value set. Anglicanism’s incarnational, inclusive and intellectual assumptions all reinforce its educational role.

The spiritual function co-exists in a parallel relationship to the social one. The pressure of operating in a secular society which is ignorant, antagonistic or simply uninterested in the Christian faith, is seen in the attempts of chaplains to reorientate Religious Education and in the dilemmas surrounding worship services. The creeds and formularies of the Anglican Church presume a faith position and the wider church and its bishops expect this to be fore-grounded as is seen in the diocesan mission statements and argued by Archbishop Aspinall (2009). Also Christian principals, Christian staff members and the minority of practising Christian parents also expect that an Anglican school will clearly manifest its religious beliefs. Indeed, when controversies demand decisions, secular staff also expect that there will be consistency with the school’s Christian identity and are quick to cry “hypocrisy” if behaviour does not match the ideal. Yet Christian beliefs and practices can be uncomfortable and even perhaps illegal in an institution educating on behalf of a secular state. Any Christian school, whether Anglican or not, in which employment practices exclude unmarried people with partners or which openly declares that those who reject Jesus will be excluded from Heaven, is in a shaky position legally, although these are traditional Christian doctrines. In February 2011, The Sydney Morning Herald ran a long opinion piece under the banner of Sacking the Sinful (Marr), which strongly questioned the acceptability of maintaining exclusions from anti-discrimination legislation for religious schools in their employment practices. The article highlights conflicts between constitutional freedom of religion and Human Rights concepts of freedom from discrimination. Such opinions show the widening gap between Christian beliefs and mainstream society, a far cry from the times when Anglicanism represented majority views.

A Durkheimian interpretation of religious practices in Anglican schools would consider them instances of the collective ceremonial (Giddens, 2001). Such a function is clearly expressed by Warwick at EAS: “At the beginning of the year ... [there’s] a service; we’re all expected to be there, and chaplains say welcome
back and praise the teachers; people from the school community will come forward, the new prefects, ... office people, groundsmen there, various people read lessons... *That service bonds us all together*” (emphasis added). Yet from the point of view of committed Christian adherents there should be much more. They desired that religion be given a central place in school life. They wanted clear teaching of Christian beliefs and unambiguous articulation of the theological basis of values. So all schools demonstrated active contestation of religious practices. On one hand active Christians criticised activities as inadequate or misleading or alternatively regretted that religion was marginal and poorly supported. On the other hand, non-religious staff often treated religious activities as irrelevant, quaint symbols of the school’s history which could only be justified instrumentally. Straddling both perspectives were the many people who tried to make the religious identity work, without understanding its paradoxical foundation.

Frame (2009, p. 41) comments on the controversial colonial chaplain, the Reverend Samuel Marsden: “His life and ministry represent what would become one of the central tensions within Australian Christianity: reconciling the demands of the state with the doctrines of the Church.” The contemporary Anglican school is a modern, educational example of this dilemma.

### 8.4.2 Social class and independence

Central to the tension between social tradition and spiritual commitment is the strong class bias of Anglican schools. As analysis of each site separately demonstrated, the factor of being independent far outweighs religion in forming the school culture. There were many teachers who felt that all well-established independent schools shared the same defining characteristics. Several aspects of independence were highlighted. The clientele were important: students had “privileges because of their birth” (EI9) and their parents expected good academic results, individualised attention, good order and discipline. The market environment was a defining feature: it was felt that that schools were governed by business priorities which some interpreted as being antithetical to educational priorities and to positive care of staff. Speaking of another high profile corporate Anglican school, Belinda said: “The business of schools running as a company was outweighing the importance of looking after the staff and listening to them”, a theme, of course, which was definitive for the culture at HAS and central to the political issues at DAS. The independent school feature making the greatest impact was probably the imperative to provide a swathe of extra-curricular and value-added options. Genevieve, who had been educated in a (non-Anglican) independent school but then taught for many years in the state system, defined
independent schools like this: “[They give] opportunity for a liberal education and offer enhanced opportunities for cultural and social and intellectual development”; Karl claimed the non-negotiables of independent school culture were the sporting options, camps, identity forming rituals such as assemblies and chapels and denominational foundation.

Karl is correct in his mention of religious foundation as definitional of independent education. In fact there are only a handful of highly regarded independent schools in Australia which were not founded by religious bodies. Anglican schools are not the only Christian-based Protestant independent schools and it was telling that most people felt that specific Anglican qualities manifested themselves at the margins of school life. The overarching independent school culture flattened differences among well-established, corporate schools. For instance, an interviewee who had taught at Carey Baptist School in Melbourne said that religion was even more minimal there as it did not have the key Anglican marker of chapel. Another interviewee had been a senior executive at both Anglican and Presbyterian schools and played down the role of the church in either.

Edlin (2007) analyses the institutional life cycle of Christian schools in a cultural typology. He distinguishes two major categories, the first being schools founded to transmit valued moral teaching and social skills. Anglican schools in Australia fall into this category. Edlin (p. 61) describes the gentrification which takes place over time so that in the final stages of the process: “The gospel nature of the chapel and character formation aspects of the school has diminished and has become peripheral to the primary, academic purpose of the school...The Christian aspect of the school, if it remains at all, is consigned to a small optional corner of the school’s activities...A degree of cultural elitism may begin to become apparent...Fees may be increased substantially...Reference to God may still be found in the school’s mission but operationally the God of the Bible has been replaced by other idols of elitism and self-fulfilment that are...accepted in the wider community.” Such a description fits the majority of Anglican schools described by informants. Fletcher (2008, p. 246f.) summarises the place of the Anglican Church in Australia as “a predominantly middle class institution”, and goes on to discuss how in the late twentieth century the “products of Protestant and other independent schools were heavily over-represented in the elite sections of Australian society.” The significance of this ingrained nexus between high social class and Anglicanism along with the concomitant contestation about the meaning of religion is heightened because of the secular context of contemporary society in which they sit.
8.5. Meanings in the context of secularism

8.5.1. Credal Christianity

The grounded theory which will conclude this dissertation is centred on the polarities of religion as social tradition and religion as spiritual commitment. Much has so far been said about the social interpretations of religion in Anglican schools, so it is pertinent to define exactly what the opposite polarity means to those who espouse it. One way of defining a traditional orthodox understanding of Anglican beliefs is to look at the historic creeds which summarise core Christian doctrine. Such creeds were recited regularly at HAS which, of the three schools, maintained the closest connection with Anglican liturgy. Credal Christian faith is inherently supernatural and transcendental. It affirms belief in a personal God who made everything that exists. Its view of God is Trinitarian, asserting in the Nicene Creed said in Eucharistic services, that Jesus is “of one being with [God] the Father” and that the Holy Spirit “with the Father and Son is worshipped and glorified.” Credal faith is centrally concerned with the need for humans to be saved and forgiven, and it unequivocally claims that Jesus rose bodily from the dead and will resurrect those who identify with him through baptism which is, to quote the Catechism, “the outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace.”21 This is the heart of what Christians mean when speaking about the “Gospel”.22

Such a faith has been under attack since the Enlightenment. Liberal branches of Anglicanism have sought to make it more compatible to the modernist mind by minimising its supernatural elements and maximising rationalistic interpretations. Nineteenth century Anglicanism was torn by controversies surrounding liberal interpretations of Christianity, sparked by higher criticism of the Bible and the growth in scientific knowledge, especially the paradigm breaking theory of evolution. Nevertheless, transcendental credal Christianity still flourishes today. Whatever the particular churchmanship of the Australian Anglican Dioceses, all affirm the centrality of Christ as God and in their aspirations for their schools they assert a Gospel imperative.

Although English and Australian civil religion has majored on the worth of morality for citizenship, the rationale for commonly accepted values is intrinsically Christian, albeit that this has been largely overlooked in current discourses. As mentioned, altruistic love is regarded as the supreme virtue, but why this should

21 The Catechism is found in the Book of Common Prayer, which is the authorised standard of worship and doctrine in the Anglican Church of Australia, according to its Constitution. See Kaye, 1995, pp. 57 – 59.
22 The etymology of the word “gospel” is from the Old English meaning “good news” and is equivalent to the Greek euaggelos = evangelical.
be so, is definitionally bound into the Christian view that God is a God of love, that his love was supremely expressed in his self-sacrifice through Christ’s crucifixion and therefore that Christians should love as he has loved them. It is hard to find a logical argument from evolution for this sort of love, although many social evolutionists have tried. Likewise, if the spiritual dimension of humans being created in the image of God is removed from the definition of being human, it is hard to justify the value of each human life. In fact, the philosophy of Peter Singer and many more populist animal rights adherents reduces or negates giving any special status to the human species. Christian doctrine, however, gives a spiritually-based justification for those qualities of individual care and respect for each person which are so desirable and so marketable in independent schools. Mark made the point in one interview that what young people need in this era is hope, “not gloom and doom” and that hope is based in a Christian view of life. If God is just, loving and all-powerful as the Christian Bible asserts, and if there is indeed spiritual salvation, actions validated by faith, founded on hope and inspired by love have an eternal significance regardless of the contingencies of this mortal world (Corinthians 13:13). Furthermore, such a worldview provides a solid foundation for challenging the status quo and for informing critical social theory.

That is the type of spirituality which Ian, Winifred, Lilian, Beverley, Frank, Hugo, James, Blake, Don, Patrick, Jeremy, Odelia, Brock, Leanna, Charlotte and Louisa wanted their students to experience.23 They were among those who most explicitly contested those school versions of Christianity which subjugated spiritual commitment to the demands of the educational establishment.

8.5.2. Secularism and Anglican schools
The evidence consistently showed that secularism is the dominant worldview in Anglican schools as it is in Australian society, where they are situated. A secular life philosophy diverges significantly from credal Christianity as just described. There were pivotal points of tension between the secularism of students and the religious identity of schools. Not only were overt religious activities contested by students, but there was a fundamental clash at the level of cultural assumptions. The worldview of young English people has been researched by Savage, Collins-Mayo and, Mayo (2006) and their findings match the attitudes reported in Australian schools. Firstly it is noted that generational secularism is in place (p. 28), with students following the attitudes of their parents. The worldview of these young people and their American counterparts (p. 50) was dominated by the quest for happiness. The authors comment (p. 129): “Young people’s celebration of life

23 This list deliberately excludes chaplains and principals.
contrasts starkly with a Church that traditionally has focused on impulse control...and obedience to ethical norms...The Church’s ethos of hierarchy and regulated behaviour...may distort for young people the central Christian message of grace.” In short, for contemporary young people there is a huge hiatus between traditional Christianity and their hedonistic philosophies. The clash is most acute when Christian expression is formulated as a social tradition. Worship rituals appear arcane to unchurched students and moral self-restraint clashes fundamentally with the happiness principle. As the quotation from Barnabas leading into this chapter indicates, chaplains are caught in the middle, trying to communicate the faith handed down but bound by the expectations of civil religion and the norms of independent schooling. More sensitive teachers acknowledged this: “The role of the chaplains is really hard in a society that is not overtly Christian, and they need all the help they can get” (EI2); “I sometimes look at [Barnabas’] face and think he’s getting disappointed or feels he’s bashing his head against a wall” (HI7). Vince recognised the challenge for HAS when he said that “a significant issue for the school...is how we can make that compulsory service engage boys more and increase the impact and also increase their enjoyment”.

One might take this comment even further and suggest that it is not only “significant“ but absolutely crucial that Anglican schools understand the currents swirling around their religious identity and are able to transform or translate it so it becomes comprehensible and meaningful for students and for the mass of teachers who also share essentially unreligious life philosophies. The tension between Christian profession and the secular society in which schools necessarily participate, is a critical characteristic in common among Anglican schools.

8.5.3. The disjunction between social Anglicanism and secularism
One of the issues of controversy is how Anglican Christianity should be presented to students. One ingredient of staff culture was the differing perspectives individuals brought to this matter. In view of the diversity within Anglicanism, different factional responses to this should be discussed. A major problem is that the historic role of the Anglican Church as the guardian of public morality and of the rituals of social institutional life no longer operates. It is no longer viable for its schools to inculcate values and ideals which may be endorsed by society through the use of religious rituals which are rejected by, or unknown to, mainstream Australian society. Davie (1994, p. 86) claimed that civil religion borrows legitimacy from Christianity. However, if society no longer assumes that Christianity is the legitimate approach to life, any identification of public values
with Christian rituals becomes meaningless and irrelevant and can undermine both core Christian beliefs and common humanist values.

The problem was seen in its most acute form at HAS, where the conservatism and longevity of the school led to an assumption that the traditions of the past were still the appropriate way of being a Christian institution. However, socially acceptable, essentially humanist values do not need to be presented through Christian rituals, even though these played some role in affirming the corporate identity of the school over time. Anglican rituals were rejected by students and tolerated rather than embraced by staff. At EAS the chaplains were acutely aware of the problem and sought to overcome it by minimising orthodox doctrine and concentrating on modelling radical social justice to challenge students’ lifestyle. However, as Frank intimated, such left wing gestures also can exist quite independently of religious faith. At DAS personal spiritual commitment was foregrounded in line with the school’s evangelical heritage and a mission focus was explicit. What was lost was the strong engagement of Anglicanism in public issues, deriving from its incarnational perspective (DI13).

In a context where social religion has declined, Anglican schools should rethink their religious identity and separate their social and spiritual functions. One option is to recover and promote orthodox Christianity within the parameters of the distinctive Anglican ethos of inclusiveness, incarnationalism and intellectual balance. That this can be done is testified by the compilation of writings by Australian bishops, *Facing the Future* (Hale & Curnow, 2009). Its overall message urges the Anglican community to redevelop a mission outlook and to develop fresh expressions of authentic Anglican Christianity which connect with the experience of contemporary Australians. The chapter by Edwards (2009) in particular gives instances of how this has been done by Anglicans of all different traditions of churchmanship.

A second option is to extinguish the distinctive marks of spirituality and to capitulate to the secular hegemony, collapsing Christian values into democratic or humanist ones, and abolishing out-of-date religious expressions dragged into Anglican schools from their nineteenth century heritage. If for no other reason than the resurgence of old religious loyalties and the emergence of new religious expressions (Giddens, 2001; Thomas, 2005), this is an impoverished response. Contemporary forms of religious adherence give cohesion and identity in a fractured world yearning for stability. Ignoring the strength of religious impulses
provides a poor education for young Australians making their way in a global community awash with religious commitment.

A third option is to elevate the evangelical strand within Anglicanism. Evangelicalism has always tended to present faith as distinct from, and outside of, culture (Carson, 2008). Evangelical Anglicanism has been increasing in ascendancy in Britain (Davie, 1994, Chapt. 4) and the evangelical Sydney Anglican Diocese has the greatest growth in numbers of young people (Fletcher, 2008, p. 246). The headmaster of one prominent Sydney school extolled the strong churches around him which produced interested students enthusiastic to be involved in religious activities at school (2010, personal conversation). Ray at DAS described a school in the “Bible belt” of northern Sydney suburbs, where he felt “80% of the kids come from Christian homes”, so that Christianity for them was their cultural milieu. This same school, incidentally, was criticised by Marie for its narrowness and inadequate educational philosophy. And this is the problem with evangelicalism, especially the Puritan version currently promoted in Sydney Diocese (Fletcher, 2008, p.257; Frame, 2010, Chapt. 1; M Porter, 2006). It strays too far from positive Anglican qualities in its roots. It tends towards an indoctrinating approach which can elicit resentment and negative reactions by both students and staff. It can lose the cutting edge of engagement with society in its single-minded pursuit of personal salvation. It can even become anti-intellectual, if it drifts into the mould of fundamentalist “Christian” schools with their dogmatic espousal of anti-evolutionary science or intrusive insertions of oversimplified Christian perspectives into mainstream curriculum (DI7, DI22). Moreover, authentic spirituality is by no means the preserve of the most Protestant wing of the Anglican Church. In the site study schools, Bill, Boyd, Frank, Paul and Philip were obviously and consciously seeking to connect students with genuine Christ-centred Anglican spirituality and none of them would have been happy to be labelled evangelical.

The direct data on religion from the three site study schools, supplemented by data from a broader sweep of other schools, gives ample evidence of ambiguous meanings within Anglicanism and paradoxical dimensions to the organizational cultures of Anglican schools. Tensions are ubiquitous. But tension is at the core of Anglican identity. It can drive dynamic dialogue and engender positive action. According to former Anglican Primate, Keith Rayner, “tension is demanding and painful but produces a strength which reflects the strength of a loving God who has chosen to create a world rich in diversity...There is strength in holding together
in tension truths which may seem contradictory but may be paradoxically complementary” (Fletcher, 2008, p. 244-5).

In the next and final chapter the elements of this central tension will be woven together in a grounded theory about the nature of common Anglican school culture.
CHAPTER 9
A GROUNDED THEORY
THE DILEMMA OF ANGLICAN SCHOOLS: GOD OR MONEY?

No one can serve two masters. Either he will hate the one and love the other, or he will be devoted to the one and despise the other. You cannot serve both God and money. (Jesus Christ, Matthew 6:24)

9.1. Introduction
The purpose of this research was to use the empirically based methodology of Grounded Theory to understand the nature of culture in Australian Anglican schools based on three sites as primary sources of data. The key question to be answered was: What, if any, common Anglican school culture is indicated across school sites? This concluding chapter draws together the strands which have been revealed progressively through the preceding descriptions. It analyses and articulates a general theory as to the organizational culture of Australian Anglican Secondary Schools. It then concludes with some reflections on the meaning of this theory for stakeholders in Australian Anglican schools.

In 2008 Foord entitled his investigation of the role of school chaplains in Sydney diocese Serving Two Masters. His treatise is essentially a theological exploration of the dual accountabilities experienced by chaplains and the models by which they might negotiate their way. The situation of chaplains is a microcosmic example of a macro phenomenon which my own research has uncovered about the core character of Anglican schools. The words, “serving two masters”, are the words of Jesus Christ himself in which he unequivocally proclaims a binary opposition between Christian discipleship and material success. The central significance of this opposition has registered little in Anglicans’ reflections about their schools.

Although the ambivalence of promoting social status alongside the Christian Gospel is frequently recognised, how this affects the actual religious expression usually is not. Typically social and religious purposes are syncretised, producing submerged and unresolved tensions and manifesting a systemic dilemma of identity. What this research has revealed is that the motif of serving two masters is fundamental to the lived cultural experience of participants in Anglican education. The corollary is that it is probably the central practical and theological issue to be confronted in their operation.
9.2. A Theory

The empirical research into organizational culture can be theorised in simple terms. The Grounded Theory states that:

What each Australian Anglican school has in common with others, is that it is shaped by some form of tension between social and spiritual orientations in religion, and that these correlate with, and are probably derived from, the history and theologies of the parent Anglican Church.

The two central components of Anglican school culture are Anglicanism and tension. While the initial thesis was that Anglicanism is an empty category\textsuperscript{24}, it became increasingly clear that Anglicanism itself is a dynamic force in shaping schools. Global Anglicanism’s characteristics of incarnationalism, inclusivenes s and intellectualism are mirrored there, while Anglicanism’s ambiguous identity as both a civil religion and as a vehicle for transcendental spiritual commitment results in the crucial quality of tension. Tension is manifested in two major interrelated dimensions. One is the tension between two concepts of religion, and the other is tension between Christianity and secularism. A range of other tensions are superimposed on each of these. The most significant is tension around differing forms of Anglican churchmanship and associated contested theologies, which leads to confused and conflicting priorities in Anglican schools. Australian “diocesan tribalism” (Frame, 2006, p. 162) means that the dominant Anglican ideology in each school usually reflects the mores of the diocese in which it are located.

Within the tensions of this fundamental Anglican duality are a set of interrelated domains, theoretically conceptualised as categories, through which the ambiguities and fluidities of Anglicanism are given concrete shape in any specific school. The shaping domains are Independence, School Leadership and Perspectives. Of these, the positioning of Anglican schools as independent schools in the private sector is the pre-eminent influence. Clustering around Independence is a constellation of upper middle class values and aspirations which are definitive for the culture of the schools and which are represented in the Biblical quotation by the word “money”. The domain of School Leadership focuses on the power and influence of the principal but also includes chaplains. The third domain, that of Perspectives, refers to the predispositions, assumptions and belief systems brought into the school by its cultural members.

\textsuperscript{24} See the end of chapter 4.
Each of the two major concepts and the three major domains in this theory overlap with the others in multiple complex relationships. This higher level of abstraction and conceptual density means that the theory produces generalizable explanatory description and thereby is proximate to formal grounded theory which has few variables and wide scope (Glaser, 1994, p. 189-90). While the theory does not attempt to demonstrate causality between the Anglican Church and phenomena in its schools (George & Bennett, 2005, pp. 21-22) and while it acknowledges that the individual conceptual properties it describes are not unique to Anglican schools, it does emphasize that the strong correlation between Anglicanism and these characteristics suggests a historical chain of connection at the very least, what Sayer (1984, p. 90f.) would call “causal powers”, which operate contingently under certain conditions. The reiteration in the data of properties indicative of these conceptual categories in each case study and in other sites ensures theoretical validity according to grounded theory principles of saturation.

Although comprehensive and applicable to all sites, the theory does not claim to have been tested in every possible situation, and this is work that could be undertaken profitably in some of the areas briefly sketched in the concluding reflections of this thesis, especially in analysis of new Anglican schools which emphasis their evangelistic Christian identity rather than their Anglican antecedents. It does claim utility according to the principles of grounded theory described in Chapter 3, in that it provides a conceptual framework for both understanding Anglican schools and for further examination of them. As stated in chapter 1 all knowledge is at base probable rather than incontrovertibly provable.

9.3. Interrelationships and meanings

9.3.1. Social tradition and spiritual commitment

In this section the rich fabric of conceptual interconnections will be explained. Figure 1 represents this diagrammatically. The first factor to be explored is the duality of social tradition and spiritual commitment, sitting at the heart of the theory. The empirical data in this research revealed that contested and ambiguous views of religion were the norm. Historical and theological analysis shows that these can be related to Anglican identity. The grounded theory splits Durkheim’s classic conception that the two fundamental qualities of religion are the collective ceremonial and the sense of awe (Giddens, 2001, pp 531-2). It links the former

---

25 See Section 3.3.1 & references to Dey, 1999; Glaser, 1994, Locke, 2001; Strauss and Corbin, 1998b
26 See Section 1.4.2, Epistemology.
to civil religion, using MacIntyre’s concept of religion as social tradition in order to
deliberately highlight its social function and its foundation in historical narrative.
It is pertinent for this theory to note that MacIntyre believes that conflict about
what is good necessarily occurs within religious traditions, which creatively hold
together competing interpretations (Thomas, 2005, pp. 85-89). Conversely, the
theory uses the term spiritual commitment to denote the transcendental, that is,
Durkheim’s sense of awe.

Political debate in the early centuries of the Church of England revolved around
the spiritual sphere. Public, civil religion was a derivative of whatever theological
position prevailed, with the English Church see-sawing between Protestant and
Catholic theologies throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. There
was a re-ignition of conflict with the development of Tractarianism and Liberalism
in the nineteenth century. The antecedents of contemporary Australian Anglican
factionalism lie in this background, transported into Australia through the
nineteenth century colonial chaplains and bishops (Frame, 2007, Chapt. 2).
Because the Church of England was (and is) a state church, it was the outward
face of social morality, a role consciously evoked by nineteenth century
churchmen in the Australian colonies.

At least until the beginning of the twentieth century the social and spiritual
orientations in Anglicanism were interwoven. However, the Enlightenment had
begun a gradual divergence between civil society and Christian spirituality, which
has gathered momentum in recent times. There has been an ever-increasing
pressure for religion to be relegated to the private sphere (e.g. Bouma, 2006,
chapt. 6; Cooling, 2010; Thomas, 2005, p. 23). Growing secularism, combined
with the emergence of an Australian multi-faith society (Bouma, 2006, p. 116;
Frame, 2009), means there is an inappropriateness in the use of Christian rituals
to sponsor social morality and induce institutional cohesion. Hence the resistance
to chapel among school students, seen with greatest clarity at HAS, where the
social tradition orientation was most marked. Whereas in the largely Christian
society of the past the religious rationale supporting these traditions was taken for
granted, in the present it has been taken away. The old traditions hang
suspended, separated from the actual secular belief system of most of the school
community.
DIAGRAMMATIC REPRESENTATION OF INTERCONNECTED CONCEPTUAL CATEGORIES

Conceptual Categories: (1) Anglicanism (2) Tension (3) Perspectives (4) Independent Education (5) Leadership

Figure 1
9.3.2. Independence, social class and social tradition

The development of religious social tradition in Australian schools was enmeshed with social class. The significance of class was particularly remarked upon in Chapter 5, but it was seen as a crucial component of Independent Education in all Anglican schools. The Anglican identity produces a weight of parental expectation and inexorable pressure to conform to the intellectual and social standards of this heritage even among newer low fee schools. This phenomenon is not limited to Australia. Williams (2006) tries to deconstruct the perception of Church of England schools as elitist, while Davie (1994, p. 130) writes that English church schools are selected for “uniform, discipline, traditional education, manners, not for religious reasons at all. Though why church schools have come to be associated with this particular formula requires in itself a certain amount of explanation.” Bouma (2006, p. 108) provides an explanation, at least for the Australian context: “Anglican and Presbyterian were Establishment churches...linked more closely to the monarchy and the Empire because of their establishment in Britain...This association with power, legitimacy and monarchy made these churches particularly attractive to those who wanted to associate with power.” Blackler (1997, p. 109) says of the nineteenth century situation that, “The schools were dependent upon the middle class, successful or aspiring to be so, for enrolments... The governing bodies of the schools reflected the parent body and the middle class mores, and thus influenced school policy and practice.”

Upper middle class attitudes and values are a critical component of the Independence domain in Anglican schools. These Independent School qualities produce strong cultural norms and are more influential than anything else in the formation of Anglican school culture. Some Anglican schools try to break out of the mould and identify themselves with “Christian School” models, especially in the evangelical diocese of Sydney, and the example of DAS shows the particular tensions associated with this form of rebranding. However, on the whole, the Anglican heritage positions its schools, even the newer low fee ones, with values and beliefs, especially those of Incarnationalism, Inclusiveness and Intellectualism which promote upper middle class socialisation. In addition, higher class priorities of achievement, high culture and wealth colonise the purportedly religious value set. As was seen in Chapter 2, these deep interior assumptions are the essence of culture (Alvesson & Sveningsson, 2008; Geertz, 1973; Greenfield, 1986; Schein, 1992). Independent schools market their “thick cultures” (D. Hargreaves, 1999, p. 58) whereby they claim to develop the “whole child”. To do this they provide a suite of extra-curricular and enhanced educational opportunities. They deliberately engender a community spirit, often using religious rituals for group
cohesion. Also independent schools are businesses with clientele and competitors. This aspect was explicit in cultural characteristics especially in HAS and DAS.

9.3.3. Independence, leadership and perspectives

The first and most powerful determiner of culture in Anglican schools is the Independent School domain but its properties reach into, and draw upon, the other domains discussed. Many qualities of Independence are derived from the historical traditions of the Anglican Church which was historically the first to provide education. Within the contemporary context Independence in turn reinterprets social tradition. It tends to bring religious social tradition into alignment with modern humanist and secular belief systems. Independence also interrelates with Leadership, since principals are chosen on the basis of their ability to reinforce the Independent school ethos and to develop their school in the marketplace. Principals are frequently themselves products of the sector so that both Independence and the Anglicanism of the previous generation influence their Perspectives as well as the positioning of their particular school in the Independent school market.

The second major domain which shapes religion in Anglican schools is that of Leadership. Leaders’ construction of Anglicanism within their schools is itself shaped by three of the other domains. The first, their conceptions of Independent education, has just been noted. Secondly, leaders will have their own perspectives and sympathies about religion and may view it purely nominally and instrumentally, in which case they will probably influence their school towards an emphasis on social tradition. Alternatively they may have Christian convictions, which themselves will be influenced by any of the churchmanship options. So thirdly the nature of the Anglicanism principals have experienced or observed will influence their perspectives. Their Christian convictions may be strong or passive; in the latter case the importance of chaplains is heightened. The subsidiary role of chaplains as leaders is strongly influenced by their formation as Anglican priests (and occasionally laypersons), which brings into prominence the Anglican diocesan dimension in affecting training and assumptions. Clergy also bring to their role a range of personal Perspectives, ranging from personal predispositions to specific interests or skills. These also interact with the other domains. For instance, the particular factors derived from Independence were seen to vary in the three site study schools, so constraining and directing possibilities for chaplains as well as principals.
The third domain is that of Perspectives. What is true of principals and chaplains is true of every other member of staff. They bring to their specific school Christian commitment or lack of it, views about how faith is or should be expressed, and predispositions which lead them to take initiatives (such as the teacher driven charity drives at HAS) or to encourage current religious practices or to subvert them. They may promote alternative expressions of faith or they may advance non-religious ideologies. This in turn impacts on the influence of leaders, for, as Burns (1978) declares, leaders can only lead if they are followed.

So the theorizing returns again to the major concepts of tension and Anglicanism. To reprise Weber’s metaphor of culture, it is like a spider web of meanings. At the epicentre of the Anglican cultural web sit tension and Anglicanism. Each has multiple meanings and manifestations. The strands of each reach out like radii to the perimeters of the web, where the strong anchor threads are Independence, Leadership and Perspectives. Cross strands link together to create the specific form of each web in each school. The appearance of the centre and the shape of the whole depends on how all are interwoven in individual patterns.
9.4. Conclusion: Reflections and possibilities

Chapter 2 made the point that understanding culture requires a search for meanings. That is why the qualitative method of grounded theory was used to explore the research questions. This conclusion returns to the philosophical framework articulated in Chapter 1 where it was stated that the research has a critical social science dimension and may alert us to matters requiring action. Most implications for action have been stated in preceding chapters as they have grown out of the data analysis. These concluding remarks will simply bring together these points, especially the comments in Chapter 8 about the ambivalent religious identity of Anglican schools in an age of secularism. The aim is to highlight those key issues and decisions for stakeholders, embedded in the grounded theory which has emerged from this research.

The major issue for Anglican schools concerns their dual role as providers of education and as representatives of Anglican Christianity. That this can be a highly political position is suggested by the recent article of Middendorp (2011) entitled *Why should the public fund private schools?* Among other points Middendorp critiques the independent school claim to inculcate students with good values, quoting a range of incidents of independent students violating moral codes. Since participants in the present study justified the Christian ethos mainly in moral terms, this sort of criticism is very pointed. Yet it is not surprising when one considers that most students and staff in Anglican schools are not committed to the underpinning belief system which supports morality. Glenn (2000, pp. 91-2) writes in the American setting that the court in the Kamehameha Schools case determined that a religious school was not excluded from anti-discrimination legislation because its purpose was “primarily secular”. Although in Australia this has not yet come to court and, according to Marr (2011), the issue is assiduously avoided by politicians, it is a central matter confronting the schools. In a secular society individual independent schools and school systems must decide how they honour their obligation to the state while maintaining the integrity of their faith position. One aspect of the latter is to make explicit the Christian spiritual rationale supporting the values they espouse.

Many Anglican schools have dealt with the dilemma by attenuating their spiritual beliefs into humanist moralism and using religious rituals instrumentally to reinforce corporate identity and the values of their upper middle class clientele. This is the social tradition expression of Anglicanism in contemporary Australia. However it is increasingly questioned, since a religious framework appears

27 See Chapter 1, Section 1.4.
unnecessary or even negative in a society which has left behind its Christian heritage. It is a prime source of tension and cynicism and is justifiably criticised as distorting the Christian faith with which the schools are branded. However, the alternative, enthusiastic spiritual commitment, may contradict both the Anglican spirit of compromise and inclusiveness and also the educational purpose of schooling. Assertive spirituality is susceptible to the type of criticism of Marr who focused on the disjunction between Christian sexual morality and contemporary norms. Moreover those Reformed forms of education which seek to build curriculum on Christian perspectives come up against the reality that the necessary Christian metaphysical foundation is missing in most students and many staff, unless these schools join forces with the Protestant Christian School movement and apply strict doctrinal tests to participation and employment. Yet this contravenes essential elements of the Anglican spirit and denies the paradoxical combination of Catholic and Reformed which is such a definitive marker of Anglicanism. Arguably such a stance sacrifices claims to a genuine Anglican identity.

Much further work needs to be done in researching the social and theological implications of this situation. Some consideration has been given by Cooling (2010) in the British context. He advocates what he calls “courageous restraint“ where a pragmatic approach is taken so that diversity is recognised, with proselytising only occurring with respect for the other’s integrity. The aim is that schools be community based and the faith ethos facilitate making everyone welcome. Yet in England there is still compulsory worship in schools, the Church of England remains the state church and many Anglican schools are run on behalf of the state and are the only option for local students. That is not the situation in Australia, where their independence is distinctive and where even the nominal reference to God at the beginning of the Australian Constitution has been hotly debated. The critical question for Australian Anglican schools is what is their purpose in a post-Christian era when they run counter to the majority belief system in society.

A second question follows from the first. Given the distinctive ethos of Anglicanism, how may it be put into practice in positive ways to promote the dual aims of education for social participation and development of Christian faith? In other words, Anglican Christian educators need to work on distinguishing social tradition from spiritual commitment, and discerning the role that each plays, without confusing one with the other. As the Anglican Church increasingly recognises its positioning in a secular and multi-faith community and re-engages
in mission (Hale & Curnow, 2009) it acutely needs informed Anglican-inspired theological reflection on the place of its schools in that mission. It is no good simply “measuring their success in terms of bottoms on pews” as Vince at HAS phrased it. There are simply too many levels of meaning and too many complex variables. Pickard (2006, p. 86) quotes Anselm’s aphorism on theology: “faith seeking understanding”. It is hoped that this dissertation provides greater understanding so that faith can act.

There is also the central issue of social class. The identification of Anglican schools with the higher classes has long been a matter of unease among churchmen. Bishop Dann in Melbourne has not been the only one to not “like it that Anglican schools had become very exclusive and elitist” (HI16). Most debate has been around the appropriateness of supporting schools catering only to this class. Foundation of newer schools, especially in the Anglican diocesan systems in Western Australia, Queensland and Sydney has sought to overcome the problem at the structural level by providing low fee institutions. Further research is needed on whether these schools retain their initial egalitarianism while manifesting a distinct Anglican identity. What this dissertation has highlighted is the more fundamental level of culture where formative values and attitudes coming from these social classes are not necessarily Christian but are treated as if they are. Anglican leaders both in schools and churches need to give some serious consideration to the authenticity of the values Anglican schools promote and their reasons for doing so. This again returns us to the crucial tension between social tradition versus spiritual commitment. Decisions need to be made at every level as to whether Anglican schools conform to society or challenge it. There needs to be historical and cross-country comparative research relevant to the Australian context about different models for dealing with this dilemma.

Then there is the endemic problem of churchmanship. Loyalty to particular forms of churchmanship was seen to be a barrier to creative and dynamic expressions of Christianity in each of the schools. Evangelicalism tends to forfeit community engagement and inclusiveness. High churchmanship tends to forfeit relevance and connection with youth culture. Liberalism tends to forfeit coherence and distinctiveness. By adhering strictly to one style of churchmanship each limits its possibilities for impacting the students in the schools. All normative expressions of churchmanship were contested by others within each school. If the decision is taken that spiritual commitment must underlie Anglican educational action and that Anglicanism means more than traditions from the past, then it is of critical importance to build on the sociological research of Australians like Bouma and
Tacey while using the sort of Christian commitment shown in the analysis of British youth culture by Savage et al. (2006). If action in schools responds to increased understanding, it might spearhead renewal throughout the Australian Anglican Church. It might fulfil Frame’s (2010, chapt. 14, 15) hope for a changed outlook and renewed sense of identity and purpose. Such renewal might reject the pervasive secularism and consumerist affluence swamping Christian witness, and which my research has shown to be a regrettable but dominant characteristic in Anglican schools.

One area that needs much greater research is comparison between religious expression in state schools and faith-based ones. In Australia state schools are non-sectarian by statute and they are committed to values of inclusion and democratic freedom of conscience. It may be that such an environment is actually more compatible for the propagation of the Christian faith through voluntary associations and personal modelling than in the class-soaked and compulsory religiosity of independent schools, where profession of religious adherence and conformity to purportedly religious values can become an instrument for gaining recognition and status among students and teachers alike. The long connection between religion and social conservatism, clearly exemplified in the social tradition version of Anglicanism in schools, mitigates against radical discipleship and the counter-cultural social critique given by the founder of Christianity. Fenn (2001, pp. 37, 54) asserts that civil religion expresses the control of the state over the individual and the reduction of the sacred to the manageable. He believes that “at the heart of the Christian Gospel is a tendency towards radical secularity” (p. 160). Such philosophical claims need to be tested in the empirical sphere. For if they are true the Church would be much better pouring its personnel and resources into ensuring that state schools live up to their charter instead of becoming the residual safety net for the socially disadvantaged

Answering these big theological and sociological questions is not the remit of this dissertation. Nor has there been space to consider, except in the most cursory manner, the situation in countries beyond Australia. The nature of grounded theory is that it is tied to particularities. This does mean that a theory such as that expounded in the present dissertation is rich in evidence about sociological phenomena and real life situations. The aim has also been to inject meaning into these concrete examples.

28 These terms are used as titles of books by influential English theologian, John Stott. See reference list.
Tension in Anglican schools means that choices have to be made, lest the tension reach such proportions that the whole snaps and destruction ensues. As this dissertation has explained, choices may mean reinterpreting attitudes and artefacts so that they support balance and enhance creative tension. It may require clarification of purposes and priorities so that ambiguity and confusion do not define cultural assumptions. It may involve radical reorientation. In whichever way it is tackled, the evidence from this research suggests that one of the fundamental choices for Anglican schools is the one long ago identified by Jesus Christ, the choice between God and money.
REFERENCES


References 215


References 216


References


References


References


Lovat, T. J. (2002). What is this thing called RE: A decade on? (2nd ed.). Australia: Social Science Press.


Meyerson D. & Martin, J. (1997). Integration of three different views. In A. Harris, N. Bennett & M. Preedy (Eds.), Organizational effectiveness and improvement in education (pp.31 – 43). Buckingham: Open University Press.


References


St Aidan’s Anglican Girls School Brisbane, Queensland, Website. (2011). http://www.staidan.qld.edu.au


Western Australian Anglican Schools Commission Website. (2011). http://www.asc.wa.edu.au


INFORMATION SHEET
RESEARCH PROJECT
Anglican School Culture

(1) Content of the study
The material gathered in this project contributes to a general study of the nature of Anglican schools, with a particular focus on the experience of teaching staff. It is anticipated that analysis of material will also provide helpful insights to this school in its planning for the future.

(2) Researcher
The study is being conducted by Ruth Edwards and will form the basis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at The University of Sydney under the supervision of Dr Kevin Laws of the Faculty of Education and Social Work.

(3) Nature of the study
Staff members will be asked to share information about their insights and experiences. This will be done through an initial short survey, followed by some in-depth interviews. People may nominate to participate or may be approached if it appears that they may have valuable perspectives to contribute. Interviews will be recorded with permission, and you can ask for the recorder to be turned off at any time or for sections to be erased. Recordings and transcripts so produced will be stored securely and be accessible only to the researcher, or her supervisor, but with no identifying personal information.

(4) Time required
Involvement will normally consist of one interview of about 45 minutes. This will occur at a time that suits participants and in a place at the school where they feel comfortable. Follow-up interviews may be requested. The initial survey should take about 15 minutes.

(5) Can I withdraw from the study?
Participation is entirely voluntary, you are not under any obligation to consent and you can terminate involvement at any point without any prejudice.

(6) Will anyone else know the results?
All aspects of the study, including results, will be strictly confidential and only the researchers will have access to information on participants.
report of the study may be submitted for publication, but individual participants will not be identifiable in such a report, unless with the interviewees’ explicit permission.

(7) **Benefits**
There will be no direct benefits to individuals, although it is anticipated that analysis of the material will provide helpful insights to this school in its future planning.

(8) **Discussion of the study**
Participants are free to discuss the study with others as they desire.

(9) **What if I require further information?**
When you have read this information, Ruth is available to discuss it with you further and answer any questions you may have. If you would like to know more at any stage, please feel free to contact Ruth as the on-site investigator on 0438 651 524 or email at redw7191@uni.sydney.edu.au, or the supervisor at Sydney University, Dr Kevin Laws who can be contacted on phone 02 9351 6396 or by email to k.laws@edfac.usyd.edu.au.

(10) **Complaints or concerns**

Any person with concerns or complaints about the conduct of a research study can contact the Senior Ethics Officer, Ethics Administration, University of Sydney on (02) 9351 4811.

This information sheet is for you to keep

With thanks,

Ruth Edwards
This survey is being administered as part of an independent project investigating the nature of school culture and ethos at this school. It will form part of a bigger project about what influences teachers in making decisions and what factors shape the type of context they work in.

All information is treated confidentially and not read by anyone at the school. It will be collated to define significant issues for the school. There will be no identification of individual responses or participants.

It is hoped that the data generated will be helpful to this school in assessing how the teaching staff experience their work context, with ideas emerging from the data as to how the work context can be enhanced and educational practice developed positively in the future.

If you would be willing to talk further with the researcher at a time convenient to you, would you write your name and department on the tear-off sheet and hand it in separately. Such a discussion could be expected to last from 30 – 45 minutes.

Participation in Interview

I would be willing to discuss these issues further at a mutually convenient time.

Name

Department
SURVEY OF STAFF
Anglican School Culture

Please write a brief response to each question, if you feel you have something to contribute, and focus on the main issues or activities of which you are aware.

1) What do you see as the main preoccupations or concerns of teachers in this school?

2) What are your own priorities?

3) Where, if at all, are you aware of Christian values impacting on school life?
4) Are there any decisions that you, or other teachers of whom you know, have made, where awareness of Anglican or Christian values or beliefs has influenced the decision? Please briefly describe.

5a) What characteristics of school-life here seem different from other schools (e.g. state or Roman Catholic) with which you have had significant contact.

b) In your opinion, are any such characteristics related in any way to the school’s aim “to encourage an understanding and acceptance of Christianity as the spiritual and moral basis of life”.

Thank you for time and thought given to these responses. I hope that the information gained will be helpful to your experience in this school.

Could you please indicate whether you would be willing to have further discussion with the researcher about these issues at a time suitable to you by putting the tear-off section of the cover sheet in the box in the staffroom.
ANONYMOUS
SURVEY OF STAFF
Anglican School Culture

Please write a brief response to each question, if you feel you have something to contribute, and focus on the main issues or activities of which you are aware. Place survey and willingness to participate in interview in a sealed envelope addressed to Ruth Edwards and place in the pigeon-hole of [names of chaplains/secretary]

1) What do you see as the main preoccupations or concerns of teachers in this school? (Staff room talk is often a reliable indicator.)

2) What are your own priorities?

3) As a teacher, what would you say is the special essence of this school which marks it out from others? Comment if you wish on any particular qualities evident to you.

4) What characteristics of school-life here seem different from other schools (eg state or Roman Catholic) with which you have had significant contact.
5) Where, if at all, are you aware of the religious dimension impacting on school life?

6) In your experience does the religious dimension have any significant impact on attitudes, relationships or expectations of teachers in this school? Briefly state an example if answering yes.

7) Which of the following best represents your own religious position? (Circle)

[a] agnostic, atheistic or secular view of life  
[b] member of a religion other than Christianity  
[c] inactive in religious practice but sympathetic to Christian values  
[d] occasionally active in Christian practice  
[e] committed involved member of a non-Anglican Christian church  
[f] committed, involved member of an Anglican church

Optional comment:

Thank you for time and thought given to these responses. I hope that the information gained will be helpful to your experience in this school. Could you please indicate whether you would be willing to have further discussion with the researcher about these issues at a time suitable to you by putting the tear-off section of the cover sheet in the pigeonhole of [chaplains/secretary], addressed to Ruth Edwards.
PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

I, ........................................................................................................... , give consent to my participation in

Name (please print)

the following research project

Anglican School Culture

In giving my consent I acknowledge that:

1. The procedures required for the project and the time involved have been explained to me, and any questions I have about the project have been answered to my satisfaction.

2. I have read the Participant Information Statement and have been given the opportunity to discuss the information and my involvement in the project with the researcher/s.

3. I understand that I can withdraw from the study at any time, without affecting my relationship with the researcher(s) now or in the future.

4. I understand that my involvement is strictly confidential and no information about me will be used in any way that reveals my identity.

Signed: ...........................................................................................................

Name: ...........................................................................................................

Date: ...........................................................................................................
Informants at EAS (Using Pseudonyms)
2nd August, 2006 – 11 April, 2007

Key: E = EAS, I = Interview, C = (unrecorded and unscheduled) conversation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interview Number</th>
<th>Pseudonym</th>
<th>Professional Status/Teaching Subject</th>
<th>Gender/Approx. age</th>
<th>Religious Position and Personal Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>EI1</td>
<td>Ian Morris</td>
<td>Teacher, Established Primary/Middle School/Music</td>
<td>Male 25 – 35 yr</td>
<td>Committed Christian, currently attends Baptist Church. 5 years association with school; previous state school experience, extended professional, developing career options.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EI2</td>
<td>Warwick Reeves</td>
<td>Senior Manager, Technical Information Technology/Science</td>
<td>Male 45 – 55 yr</td>
<td>Sees the school as his congregation; goes to communion once a year; comfortable with tolerant undogmatic forms of Christianity. Long association with the school since its early years. Very involved with school camps.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EI3, ECC</td>
<td>Winifred Larkin</td>
<td>Middle Manager, Curriculum English</td>
<td>Female 35 – 45 yr</td>
<td>Considers herself a Christian although not currently an active churchgoer. Background in active evangelical churches. After interstate and overseas was in the same role at another local Anglican school. At EAS for 2 years. Happy at the school, but wants active role in decision-making.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EI4, EI21</td>
<td>Hannah Adams</td>
<td>Teacher, Early Career Ancient History/English</td>
<td>Female 25 – 35 yr</td>
<td>No religious commitment but has background cultural religious knowledge; In first year of teaching, post-graduate studies in ancient history; grew up and qualified overseas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EI5, EI19</td>
<td>Harry Boyd</td>
<td>Middle Manager, Curriculum Mathematics</td>
<td>Male 45 – 55 yr</td>
<td>Some active religious background as a youth but has rejected doctrinal beliefs. Likes the low key religion at EAS, and defines Christianity as Christian values. Previous position as deputy at a country Anglican school in another diocese &amp; had just been promoted to an acting senior position at EAS. Two children at EAS. Known as supportive of staff &amp; students.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Code</td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Position</td>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>Age Range</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EI6</td>
<td>Lester Jordon</td>
<td>Senior Manager Science</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>45 – 55 yr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EI7</td>
<td>Lilian Pedersen</td>
<td>Teacher, Established Mathematics</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>30 – 35 yr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EI8</td>
<td>Rose Black</td>
<td>Middle Manager, Pastoral Hospitality</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>45 – 55 yr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EI9</td>
<td>Genevieve Lyons</td>
<td>Senior Manager Visual Art</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>45 – 55 yr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EI10</td>
<td>Ryan Little</td>
<td>Middle Manager, Pastoral History</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>25 – 35 yr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EI11, EI21</td>
<td>Greta Arthur</td>
<td>Teacher, Early Career English</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>25 – 35 yr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EI12</td>
<td>Bella Johnson</td>
<td>Senior Manager Subject unknown</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>35 – 45 yr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EI13</td>
<td>Beverley Beetson</td>
<td>Teacher, Experienced Mathematics</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>55 plus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EI14</td>
<td>Frank Manning</td>
<td>Middle Manager, Curriculum Music</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>45 – 55 yr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EI15</td>
<td>Gail Wilkins</td>
<td>Senior Manager Primary/Middle school/Science</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>45 – 55 yr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EI16</td>
<td>Lewis Mattinson</td>
<td>Middle Manager Curriculum Mathematics</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>45 – 55 yr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EI18, EI24 ECB</td>
<td>Boyd Rogers</td>
<td>Chaplain (Emphasised priestly role) Religious Education</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>25 – 35 years</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
EI20, EI25  Mark Dean  Principal  Economics  45 – 55 yr
Regular churchgoer. Talks about "Christian" rather than Anglican and seems to have a very active and genuine Christian position. Had been a successful principal interstate prior to this job. Personality is active, extrovert, optimistic. Had initiated upgrading of academic and of religious aspects of EAS. Generally seen as an effective leader.

EI22  Morton Young  Teacher, Established Middle School/English/Drama  Male  25 – 35 yr
Calls himself a Christian but does not define it. Very strong supporter of Chaplain Boyd, to the extent of being a disciple perhaps. Has taught at the school for 12 years and was a student there.

EI23  Helen Drakeford  Teacher, Experienced Music/Religious Education  Female  35 – 45 yr
Roman Catholic in background, liberal in doctrinal beliefs. A single mother with teenage children, family life very important to her. She had been at EAS 15 years, originally as a music teacher, more recently Religious Studies.

Conversations at EAS
The following are informal or un-taped conversations which have been referenced in the text.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conv. No.</th>
<th>People</th>
<th>Circumstances</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ECA</td>
<td>Chaplains: Bill Neumann Boyd Rogers</td>
<td>Preliminary discussion about the nature of the school and the research process</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ECB</td>
<td>Boyd Rogers</td>
<td>Met informally while at the school and developed into prolonged discussion</td>
<td>Although not intended as an interview it covered core interview material which was notated immediately afterwards</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ECC</td>
<td>Winifred Larkin &amp; male colleague in the same subject discipline</td>
<td>I approached Winifred to ask a simple follow-up question and this led to being invited into the staff room where they were already engaged in a vigorous discussion.</td>
<td>Very valuable insights into some of the tensions. Additional perspective of the colleague</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ECD</td>
<td>Lilian Pedersen</td>
<td>Met her socially and asked how school was going.</td>
<td>Gave a longitudinal perspective 6 months after original interview</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ECE</td>
<td>Genevieve Lyons</td>
<td>After sitting in on welfare committee meeting, a personal discussion of her role and interests occurred.</td>
<td>Important understanding of her as a person and of frustrations and tensions in school. Field notes were taken immediately after the conversation.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Appendices 243
### APPENDIX 7

**Informants at HAS (Using Pseudonyms)**  
3rd Sept, 6 – 10th October, 2008

Key: H = HAS, I = Interview, C = (unrecorded and unscheduled) conversation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interview Number</th>
<th>Pseudonym</th>
<th>Professional Status/ Teaching Subject</th>
<th>Gender/ Approx. age</th>
<th>Religious Position and Personal Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HI1, HI23</td>
<td>Vince Morgan</td>
<td>Principal LOTE/maths</td>
<td>54 yrs</td>
<td>Committed Anglican Christian and member of the local parish. Very relational person; conservative in outlook. Well-thought out; grappled with changing demands of more corporate school model; not interested in administration &amp; probably avoids conflict.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HCA, HCE</td>
<td>Barnabas Goulding</td>
<td>Chaplain RE/Maths</td>
<td>Male 60 – 65 yrs</td>
<td>Long serving school chaplain, who had worked in this role in two previous schools. High churchman. Conservative by temperament and formal in demeanour. Analytic thinker who had written papers on Anglican chaplaincy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HICB</td>
<td>Blake Aspinall</td>
<td>Senior Manager science</td>
<td>Male 45 - 55 yr</td>
<td>Practising Anglican churchgoer with philosophical awareness. Almost all his long career spent at HAS.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HI2</td>
<td>Philip Turner</td>
<td>Chaplain</td>
<td>Male 55– 65yr</td>
<td>Part-time chaplain and part-time local Anglican priest. Pastoral orientation; willing to push boundaries to make faith relevant.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HI3</td>
<td>Bob Anderson</td>
<td>Senior Manager, Middle School maths, PE</td>
<td>Male 35 – 45 yr</td>
<td>Long-serving staff member and old boy of school, values the school highly. Confirmed Anglican, but not practising; sees religion largely in terms of values. Overt interest in the students</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HI5</td>
<td>Bradley Abbott</td>
<td>Teacher, early career Maths</td>
<td>Male Mid 20s</td>
<td>Young teacher in his second year and focused on the students; positive outlook on life and gets actively involved in life and school. No religious commitment, &quot;scientific mind&quot;.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HI6</td>
<td>Theresa Black</td>
<td>Experienced Counselling/ careers</td>
<td>Female 45 – 55 yr</td>
<td>Very well-experienced in her field. Perceptive &amp; thoughtful about society and changes in schools. Formerly involved Christian (Protestant), now non-practising</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Code</td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Role</td>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>Age</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HI7</td>
<td>Nicole Joyce</td>
<td>Middle Manager, Teacher, Librarian</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HI8</td>
<td>Matthew Knightley</td>
<td>Chaplain &amp; vicar</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>45–55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HI9</td>
<td>Rebecca Vickery</td>
<td>Teacher, experienced Maths</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HI10</td>
<td>Charles Richardson</td>
<td>Teacher, early career English</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>late 20s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HI11</td>
<td>Karl Schneider</td>
<td>Teacher, established Business</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>35–45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HI12</td>
<td>Neville Ramsey</td>
<td>Middle Manager, curriculum Science</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>55–65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HI13</td>
<td>Lesley DeVere</td>
<td>Teacher, experienced Humanities/ geography</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>55–65y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HI14</td>
<td>Hugo Rawlinson</td>
<td>Teacher, experienced English</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>55–65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HI15</td>
<td>Luke Dormer</td>
<td>Middle Manager, pastoral Maths</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>c. 40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HI16</td>
<td>Paul Barker</td>
<td>Chaplain (part-time retired)</td>
<td>Male 70 yrs</td>
<td>High liberal Anglican priest and part-time chaplain, after a long career as chaplain in prestigious Anglican schools. Academic, thoughtful and very well informed on Anglican polity with strong diocesan connections. Had a strong view of the potential of good chaplaincy and its pastoral opportunities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HI17</td>
<td>Janine Smythe</td>
<td>Teacher, established Drama, English</td>
<td>Female 25 – 30 yr</td>
<td>Fairly young and enthusiastic teacher with commitment to participation and involvement with the students, especially extra-curricular activities. Had attended a similar school herself but had no religious faith.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HI18</td>
<td>Stephen Pye</td>
<td>Senior Manager maths</td>
<td>Male 55 – 60 yr</td>
<td>Has been at the school for more than 3 decades and completely involved in it, having had a range of roles, including a very senior one now. Very much a traditional school master, resenting compliance demands in current education. No current religious commitment.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HI19</td>
<td>Martin Parnell</td>
<td>Teacher, experienced French, Latin</td>
<td>Male 61 yrs</td>
<td>28 years teaching at the school and old boy. Identifies as part of the “old guard” and values the school’s traditions and co-curricular strengths, rather “blokey”. No religious commitment; left Anglican church when his first wife had an affair with a member of congregation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HI20</td>
<td>Godfrey Glasser</td>
<td>Technical assistant, experienced</td>
<td>Male 45 – 55 yr</td>
<td>Very committed to and active in his profession. Belongs by family to the Pagan religion in which he is an active member.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HI21</td>
<td>James Buchanan</td>
<td>Middle Manager, pastoral accountancy, Business Studies,</td>
<td>Male c. 38 yr</td>
<td>Old Boy of the school and teacher for 14 years. Strong personal Christian commitment, currently attending non-Anglican protestant church. Frustrated with the liberal high church tone of Anglicanism at the school and wants to make faith relevant to students. Active in co-curricular; very highly thought of by both staff and students. Later moved to a promotion position at another school.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HI22</td>
<td>Elizabeth Walker</td>
<td>Technical assistant</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>45 – 50 yr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HI24</td>
<td>Seymour Murray</td>
<td>Teacher, former middle manager, experienced English</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>62 yrs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HI25</td>
<td>Carmen Moore</td>
<td>Teacher, established Japanese</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>35 – 45 yr</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Conversations at HAS**
The following are informal or un-taped conversations which occurred at HAS.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conver. No.</th>
<th>People</th>
<th>Circumstances</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HCA</td>
<td>Barnabas Goulding senior chaplain</td>
<td>Introduction to the school.</td>
<td>Full conversation, extensive notes taken, included walking around the school with commentary.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HCB</td>
<td>Blake Aspinall; Senior Manager</td>
<td>Introduction to the school</td>
<td>Pre-arranged introductory interview.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HCC</td>
<td>Nicole Joyce</td>
<td>Informal visit to the library</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HCD</td>
<td>Hugo Rawlinson</td>
<td>Follow-up discussion initiated by researcher</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HCE</td>
<td>Barnabas Goulding</td>
<td>Final talk and thanks; I asked him about his own priorities.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**APPENDIX 8**  
Informants at DAS (Using Pseudonyms)  
25 – 27th August, 16 – 18th September, 2009  

Key: D = DAS, I = Interview, C = (unrecorded and unscheduled) conversation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interview Number</th>
<th>Pseudonym</th>
<th>Professional Status/Teaching Subject</th>
<th>Gender/Approx. age</th>
<th>Religious Position and Personal Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DI1</td>
<td>Don Partridge</td>
<td>Senior Manager, English</td>
<td>Male c. 46 yr</td>
<td>Long term member of staff who has only taught at DAS, moving through various positions to current role. Evangelical Anglican background, now attending small protestant church.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DI2, DI27</td>
<td>Ray Jeffreys</td>
<td>Principal, History</td>
<td>55 – 60 yr</td>
<td>First principalship after rapid rise through executive roles in several Anglican schools. Task-oriented, hard working. Committed practising Anglican Christian with passion to embed real faith in the school.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DI3</td>
<td>Warren Cook</td>
<td>Middle Manager, Chaplain</td>
<td>Male 35 - 40 yr</td>
<td>From engineering professional background; theologically trained with experience in both parish and school before this role. Committed Anglican Christian.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DI4</td>
<td>Harriet Vaughan</td>
<td>Middle Manager, English</td>
<td>Female c. 59/60 yr</td>
<td>Very long-term teacher at DAS and committed to subject area. Engenders community in the school. Christian background, non-practising.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DI5</td>
<td>Hilary Denman</td>
<td>Experienced teacher, drama</td>
<td>Female c. 50 yr</td>
<td>Grew up overseas. Worked in business and then taught in RC school. Moved recently to DAS because it is close to home. Calls herself a “liberal” RC.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DI6</td>
<td>Linda Jones</td>
<td>Experienced teacher, Careers</td>
<td>Female 40 – 50 yr</td>
<td>Came into the school about a decade ago through casual teaching. Has taught in all other sectors in the district. Religious position unknown, but not RC.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DI8</td>
<td>Marie Jenkins</td>
<td>Teacher experienced English, Remedial</td>
<td>Female 60- 65 yr</td>
<td>Retired senior school manager now doing some casual work. Had taught at several other Anglican schools. Christian background, but now has a carefully considered non-religious position.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DI9</td>
<td>Jeremy Tabret</td>
<td>Senior Manager, Junior School</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>35 – 40 yr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DI10</td>
<td>Odelia Jespersen</td>
<td>Senior Manger, Maths/science</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>55 - 60 yr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DI11</td>
<td>Basil Everleigh</td>
<td>Senior Manager maths</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>c. 55 yr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DI12</td>
<td>Patsy Rothwell</td>
<td>Middle Manager Music</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>50 – 55 yr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DI13</td>
<td>Belinda Atwell</td>
<td>Middle Manager Library</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>45 – 50 yr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DI14</td>
<td>Helena Unwin</td>
<td>Experienced teacher History</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>45 – 55 yr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DI15</td>
<td>Brock Harper</td>
<td>Senior Manager PDHPE</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>37 – 40 yr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DI16</td>
<td>Phyllis James</td>
<td>Middle Manager Visual Art</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>45 – 50 yr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Code</td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Position</td>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>Age Group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DI17</td>
<td>Andros Jeafreys</td>
<td>Middle Manager IT</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>35 – 40 yr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DI18</td>
<td>Leanna Kidson</td>
<td>Counsellor</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>35 – 40 yr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DI19</td>
<td>Charlotte Redhill</td>
<td>Administrator</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>62 yr old</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DI20</td>
<td>Sharon Knightly</td>
<td>Experienced teacher Science</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>45 – 50 yr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DI22</td>
<td>Brett Gardner</td>
<td>Established Teacher History</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>c. 30 yr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DI23</td>
<td>Brendan Danagher</td>
<td>Established teacher; Yr co-ordinator; geography</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>35 – 40 yr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Code</td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Role(s)</td>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>Age</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D124</td>
<td>Alan Palmer</td>
<td>Experienced teacher and chaplain</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>49  yr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D125</td>
<td>Wendy Wadley</td>
<td>Experienced teacher English</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>c. 45 yr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D126</td>
<td>Olivia Thiessen</td>
<td>Middle manager HSIE</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>45 – 50 yr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D128</td>
<td>Louisa Judson</td>
<td>Middle Manager Learning Enhancement</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>c. 41 yr</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX 9
Schools Beyond the Site Study Schools

These are schools of which informants had firsthand knowledge and to which they made reference in drawing comparisons and defining Anglican identity. As well, fourteen teachers made direct reference to experiences in government schools, three made comparisons with unnamed Catholic schools and two made comparisons with unnamed independent schools.

Anglican Schools
1. Abbotsleigh, Sydney, NSW
2. Arden School, Beecroft, NSW
3. Barker College, Hornsby, NSW
4. Blue Mountains Grammar School, NSW
5. Bankstown Grammar School, Sydney, NSW
6. Brighton Grammar School, Victoria
7. Camberwell Grammar, Victoria
8. Canberra Grammar School, ACT
9. Canberra Girls Grammar School, ACT
10. Caulfield Grammar, Victoria
11. Coomera Anglican College, Queensland
12. Cranbrook, Sydney, NSW
13. Firbank Grammar, Brighton, Victoria
14. Geelong Grammar, Victoria
15. Hillbrook Anglican School, Brisbane, Queensland.
16. Ivanhoe Grammar school, Victoria
17. Kambala, Sydney, NSW
18. Melbourne Grammar School, Victoria
19. Melbourne Girls’ Grammar School, Victoria
20. Mentone Girls’ Grammar, Victoria
21. Pulteney Grammar School, Adelaide
22. Radford College, ACT
23. Rockhampton Grammar, Queensland
24. Roseville College, Sydney, NSW
25. SCEGGS, Redlands, NSW
26. Shore School (SCEGS), Sydney, NSW
27. Shoalhaven Anglican School, Milton, NSW
28. St Aidan’s, Brisbane, Queensland
29. St Andrew’s Cathedral School, Sydney, NSW
30. St Catherine’s, Waverley, NSW
31. St Hilda’s, Perth, WA
32. St Luke’s Grammar School, Sydney, NSW
33. St Michael’s Grammar School, Victoria
34. St Peter’s Woodlands, Adelaide
35. Tara Anglican School for Girls, Parramatta, NSW
36. The King’s School, Parramatta, NSW
37. Trinity Grammar School, Sydney, NSW
38. Trinity Grammar School, Kew, Victoria
40. William Clarke College, NSW

Other Non-Government Schools
1. Bethlehem College, Ashfield, NSW (Roman Catholic)
2. Brisbane Grammar School (non-denominational)
3. Carey Baptist Grammar School, Victoria
4. Cerdon College, Merrylands, NSW (Roman Catholic)
5. Christian Community High School, Regent’s Park, NSW (Protestant “Christian”)
6. Geelong College, Victoria (Uniting)
7. Glenaeon Rudolf Steiner School, Sydney
8. Haileybury School, Victoria (Uniting?)
9. Kingswood College, Victoria (Uniting)
10. Knox Grammar, Sydney, NSW (Uniting)
11. Lauriston Girls’ School, Victoria (non-denominational)
12. Loreto, Normanhurst, NSW (Roman Catholic)
13. MacKillop Catholic College, ACT
14. Masada College, Sydney, NSW (Jewish)
15. Mater Maria, Sydney, NSW (Roman Catholic)
16. MLC, Burwood, NSW (Uniting)
17. Our Lady of Mercy, Epping, NSW (Roman Catholic)
18. Oxford Falls Grammar School, NSW (Protestant “Christian”)
19. Parade College, Victoria (Roman Catholic)
20. Pembroke School, Adelaide. (non-denominational)
21. Penley and Essendon Grammar, Victoria (Uniting)
22. Presbyterian Ladies College, Sydney, NSW
23. Presentation College, Victoria (Roman Catholic)
24. Pymble Ladies College, Sydney, NSW (Uniting)
25. Queenwood, Sydney, NSW (non-denominational)
26. Ravenswood, Sydney, NSW (Uniting)
27. Scotch College, Melbourne (Presbyterian)
28. Scots College, Bathurst, NSW (Presbyterian)
29. St Augustine’s College, Sydney, NSW (Roman Catholic)
30. St Cecilia’s Catholic Primary school, Port Hedland, WA
31. St Dominic’s, Penrith, NSW (Roman Catholic)
32. St Edmund’s, ACT (Roman Catholic)
33. St Francis Xavier, ACT (Roman Catholic)
34. St Ignatius, Riverview, NSW (Roman Catholic)
35. St Joseph’s College, Hunter’s Hill, NSW (Roman Catholic)
36. Stella Maris, Sydney, NSW (Roman Catholic)
37. The Friends’ School, Hobart, Tasmania (Quaker)
38. Toowoomba Grammar School, Queensland (non-denominational)
39. Wenona, Sydney, NSW (non-denominational)
40. Wesley College, Melbourne, Victoria (Uniting)
41. Westminster, Adelaide, SA (Uniting)
42. William Carey Christian School, Prestons, NSW (Protestant “Christian”)
43. Xavier College, Victoria (Roman Catholic)

Unnamed Lutheran School, Queensland
Unnamed Presbyterian School
Unnamed Roman Catholic (3)