# SCHOOLS, CIVIC VIRTUES AND THE GOOD CITIZEN

RESEARCH REPORT

ANDREW PETERSON
DAVID CIVIL

with
SHANE McLOUGHLIN
FRANCISCO MOLLER

FOREWORD BY JON CRUDDAS MP
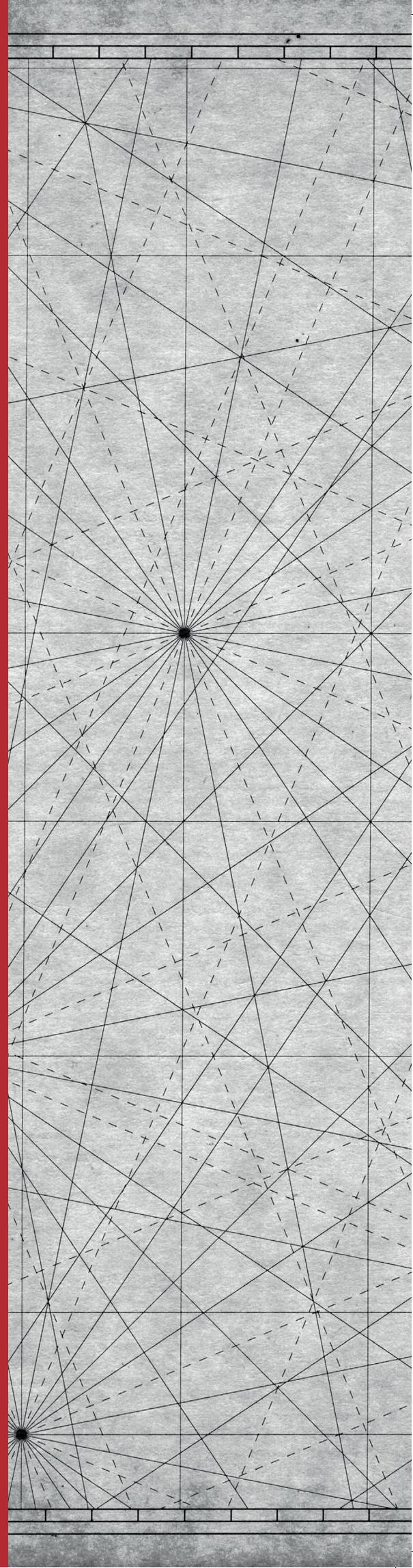
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# Jubilee Centre for Character and Virtues

The Jubilee Centre for Character and Virtues is a unique and leading centre for the examination of how character and virtues impact upon individuals and society. The Centre was founded in 2012 by Professor James Arthur. Based at the University of Birmingham, it has a dedicated team of over 20 academics from a range of disciplines, including: philosophy, psychology, education, theology and sociology.

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

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

# Schools, Civic Virtues and the Good Citizen
**Research Report**

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# Foreword

A vision of liberal citizenship dominates our political culture, whose working concepts are fairness, liberty, and equality. Such an approach assumes it would be unjust to impose one particular conception of the good on others in modern pluralist societies. There is a great deal to be admired in this tradition, which gives appropriate recognition to the importance of toleration and freedom that must be part of any just society. But is this sufficient given the challenges we face as a country? What alternative resources are available to help politicians and policy makers revitalise our democratic life? These are vital questions because it is increasingly clear that we must renew our democracy – civic, economic as well as parliamentary – and find a common good neglected by an exclusively legalistic, managerial and technocratic conception of justice and politics.

We might therefore consider the idea of virtuous citizenship that draws on an Aristotelian heritage and the field of virtue ethics. This alternative concentrates on classical ideals such as honour, duty, justice, wisdom and fortitude to evaluate the reasoning behind moral decision making - as opposed to a mere adherence to rules or the outcome of the action. Virtuous citizenship can directly address questions of power, organisation, leadership and conflict by ensuring a role for institutions, relationships, good practice, skill, leadership and action. Liberal citizenship is less interested in such topics.

Virtuous citizenship also draws upon a vocabulary that has almost ossified for lack of political use that involves questions of responsibility, sacrifice and obligation.  This vocabulary helps us engage directly with today's political problems: the sense of powerlessness that people feel, the feeling of exclusion and estrangement, a lack of participation in the political economy of our country and a lack of virtue in our institutions and our politics.

Focusing on the vocabulary of virtuous citizenship leads us to questions such as: What virtues should we seek to nurture? What is the role of public policy and institutions in developing these virtues (for example, compassion in the health service; wisdom in the education system; civility across our public services)? What are the rewards for virtuous behaviour through citizenship? How do we codify these expectations of our citizens, their duties and obligations to each other?

Virtuous institutions are an essential part of this story. This does not only relate to the integrity of free institutions to make their own judgements through their practices. It also relates to the formation of character, the development of individual resilience through a relationship with institutions and with others that promote virtue. Considered in these terms, the escalating challenges that face liberal democracies and our desperate need for solutions, this research report – *Schools, Civic Virtues and the Good Citizen* – is a vital and timely contribution to the debate.

The hallmark of the *Jubilee Centre for Character and Virtues* is its cross-disciplinary concern for questions of character and virtue backed up with a strong evidence base to promote virtuous citizenship. This report, through systematic research of the attitudes and experiences of school leaders, teachers and pupils, provides unique insight into the condition of civic virtues in schools today and their wider relations to other categories of virtue - intellectual, moral and performance – to inform the development of good character. The report covers in great detail how we understand citizenship and its relationship to character formation in our schools today. Much of the information is extremely encouraging, particularly when compared to the nature of our political debate, in terms of a shared belief amongst the school groups studied in the teaching of all virtues in schools, especially moral virtues, and the understanding of how virtues

– including civic virtues – are linked to the overall formation of character.

Yet the recommendations are challenging regarding how we might expand good citizenship and civic virtues throughout our school system, especially for politicians and policy makers. These challenges include: how we establish political and institutional clarity regarding the full range of virtues we should seek to nurture without prioritising some, such as tolerance and civility, over others, such as service and volunteering, which the research reveals to be the current reality in the schools involved in this study; how we develop the role of intellectual virtues in our approach to citizenship; how we might extend practical opportunities to serve our fellow citizens and society at large given the few opportunities currently available and their limited range, beyond fundraising and sports and recreational activities; how we build real community within schools and embed them within wider society; and, how we effectively establish links between character education and a renewed sense of citizenship.

This report tells us a good deal about what we need to know to help build virtuous citizens. Undoubtedly more research is needed, but this report begins to map out a route to civic renewal based on firm empirical foundations. These are vital questions for the health of our democracy, yet the terms of our political debate remain over reliant on a vision of liberal citizenship that recoils from such moral questions. This report provides a major corrective to this approach. It offers real insight in terms of the citizens we wish to be and as a society want to help create. It illustrates how we might rebuild the civic life of the nation and in doing so begins to answer some of the biggest challenges of our time.

**Jon Cruddas, MP for Dagenham and Rainham**

[
'A NATION IS FORMED BY THE WILLINGNESS OF EACH OF US TO SHARE IN THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR UPHOLDING THE COMMON GOOD.'

Barbara Jordan
]

# Executive Summary

Active, informed and morally responsible citizenship is vital for the viability and sustainability of democratic life today. Being a 'good' citizen requires the cultivation, possession and expression of civic virtues, the qualities of character that enable citizens to play a positive, participatory role in their communities. Alongside civic virtues, other categories of virtue – intellectual, moral and performance – would also seem to play an important role in enabling active citizenship. In democratic societies, schools play a vital part in recognising and cultivating the virtues required for citizenship, including providing opportunities for pupils to develop and express virtues through participation in the civic lives of their communities.

This report presents findings from the *Civic Virtues Through Service to Others* project conducted by the Jubilee Centre for Character and Virtues between January 2021 and August 2022. As well as a range of other activities, the project involved a mixed-methods study consisting of semi-structured interviews with school leaders, surveys of teachers, surveys of primary and secondary pupils and focus groups with primary and secondary pupils in England and Wales. This report describes and analyses the data gathered from over 30 school leaders, over 200 teachers, over 320 primary pupils and over 1,100 secondary pupils.

> 'ALTRUISM, GENEROSITY, SOLIDARITY AND CIVIC SPIRIT ARE NOT LIKE COMMODITIES THAT ARE DEPLETED WITH USE. THEY ARE MORE LIKE MUSCLES THAT DEVELOP AND GROW STRONGER WITH EXERCISE.'
>
> **Michael Sandel**

**Key findings:**

The research presented in this report found that:

- School leaders viewed preparing pupils to be good citizens – including teaching civic virtues and providing opportunities to serve others – to be a core and important part of education and schooling. Some school leaders considered the language of service to be contentious, reporting that the concept was not used in their schools, while others embraced the term and provided pupils with more positive definitions.

- Schools provided a range of opportunities for pupils to engage in civic activities, though the extent and universality of these was not uniform within and across schools, particularly so far as opportunities to volunteer outside of the school were concerned.

- Teachers perceived the teaching of all categories of virtues – including civic virtues – to be very important, irrespective of whether they reported that their school took an embedded approach to character education.

- School leaders, teachers and pupils considered intellectual, moral, civic and performance virtues to be important for being a good citizen – but tended to place particular emphasis on moral virtues, viewing these as both central to good citizenship and as foundational for developing civic virtues.

- Where school leaders, teachers and pupils perceived a very close relationship between the good person and the good citizen, the reasons given focussed on either the mutual connection of these virtues and/or on the idea that being a good person acts as a precursor for being a good citizen. Where school leaders, teachers and pupils perceived differences between the good person and the good citizen, the reasons given did not focus on character and virtues but rather on involvement with others beyond immediate families and friends.

- Though still regarding intellectual virtues as important for being a good citizen, teachers and pupils viewed them as less important than moral, civic and performance virtues in that regard. This raises important questions about how intellectual virtues feature in educating for good citizenship, their relationship with civic virtues and the role of *phronesis* (or practical wisdom) in good citizenship.

**Key Recommendations:**

This report makes five main recommendations about education for good citizenship and civic virtues in schools today:

- Those involved in developing policy and practice in schools – including politicians, school leaders and teachers – should focus their attention on how civic virtues are cultivated within and beyond school settings. This attention should include: (1) ensuring clarity about the relationship between civic virtues and intellectual, moral and performance virtues, including how these relationships are operationalised within schools; and (2) providing sustained and cohesive opportunities for pupils to engage in the civic lives of their communities through volunteering and service to others.

- Schools should ensure not only that they have an explicit set of virtues that are embedded across the school community, but that these include civic virtues. These virtues should be used to underpin the building of community within the school, as well as the schools' work developing pupils' engagement with others in the wider community.

- Given the importance of moral virtues to being a good citizen ascribed by school leaders, teachers and pupils, those engaged with policy at all educational levels should consider how closer and more holistic connections can be made between character education and education for citizenship.

- More empirical research is needed to examine further the relationship among embedded character education in a school, pupils' sense of belonging to the school community and pupils' sense of belonging to the local community. This research finds a correlation between these concepts that warrants further, more systematic attention.

- More theoretical and empirical research is needed that explores the role and importance of intellectual virtues to being a good citizen, including the meta-virtue of *phronesis* at both the individual and collective levels.

# 1 Purpose of the Report

It has long been recognised that a flourishing participatory democracy requires, indeed depends, on an active and informed citizenry who are willing and able to play a part in the civic lives of their communities. The importance of active and informed citizenship for democratic life raises significant questions, not only about the character citizens require, but, in turn, about the educational processes and experiences through which such character can be cultivated. At the same time, the aims of education and schooling in democratic societies typically include the goal of producing well-rounded children and young people of good character, alongside the desire to educate children to be active, informed and morally responsible citizens able to play a positive role in their communities. In other words, the aims of education in democracies involve the education of character and preparation for citizenship – indeed these aims are mutually reinforcing.

Since its inception in 2012, the Jubilee Centre has recognised the importance of civic virtues as a core component of the 'Building Blocks of Character' within *The Jubilee Centre Framework for Character Education in Schools* (Jubilee Centre, 2022). The *Framework* also emphasises the importance of character and character education for human and societal flourishing, while, at the same time, maintaining that engagement in the civic life of the community represents an important source for the cultivation of character. The Centre has produced numerous reports, publications and associated resources that have examined and represented how young people engage with their communities (including a report presenting initial insights from the project reported here; see Peterson and Civil, 2021a; see also, Arthur, Harrison and Taylor, 2015; Arthur *et al.*, 2017), as well as undertaking developmental work in this area through its partnership with #iwill[1] and through practical activities such as the *Thank You Letter Awards* and the *Jubilee Awards for Service*. In addition, the importance of civic virtues to society today has been the focus of a Centre statement (Jubilee Centre, 2019) and the subject of a series of public webinars that

have examined the place and meaning of civic virtues and the common good in public life.[2]

The purpose of the *Civic Virtues Through Service to Others* research project was to examine civic virtues in schools today, including how teachers and pupils understood the concept of the 'good citizen' and the educational activities and experiences that enable pupils to learn how to be good citizens and to serve others. The research team were also interested in how civic virtues were understood in relation to the other categories of virtue – intellectual, moral and performance – within the *Framework's* 'Building Blocks of Character'. While also interested in connections with intellectual and performance virtues, the team were particularly concerned with the relationship between moral and civic virtues.

The project, then, aimed to take a more detailed look at educating for civic virtues through an examination of how school leaders, teachers and pupils understand educating the good citizen and the place within this of character and virtues. More specifically, the project explored a range of questions, including the following which are the focus of this report:

- How do school leaders and teachers understand the character of the good citizen, and what role do civic virtues play within this?
- How do school leaders and teachers educate for civic virtues, and what challenges do they face?
- How do pupils understand the character of the good citizen and the role of their schools in developing their civic character?

To address these questions, data were collected through semi-structured interviews with school leaders, surveys of teachers, surveys of pupils and focus groups with pupils. These are explained in greater detail in Section 3.

This report is published at a time of ongoing debates about the relationship between character education and education for citizenship, which in turn are shaped by enduring questions about the relative importance for citizenship of moral and civic virtues. In addition, the climate in the UK today, and indeed in other democratic societies, is one of much consternation about the tone and conduct of public life that brings into sharper focus ideas of community, mutual association and contributing to the common good

In presenting detailed empirical findings, this report makes a contribution to educational debates about character education and education for citizenship. The study on which the report is based has sought to undertake research that captures the insights of educators and pupils as to their perceptions, practices and experiences of educating civic virtues that can inform policy and practices in schools. The report also seeks to make a contribution to wider conversations about what it means to be a good citizen in democratic societies today.

[ 'WITHOUT CIVIC MORALITY COMMUNITIES PERISH; WITHOUT PERSONAL MORALITY THEIR SURVIVAL HAS NO VALUE.'

**Bertrand Russell** ]

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[1]    See 'iWill campaign' [Online]. Available at: https://www.iwill.org.uk/ [Accessed: 12 July 2022].

[2]    The webinars and accompanying position papers can be found on the project website www.jubileecentre.ac.uk/civicvirtues

# 2 Background

## 2.1 HISTORICAL AND THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

It is commonplace today to understand citizenship as involving more than a legal status and as referring to active and participatory membership within a community or communities. When viewed through this lens, being a 'good' citizen is an endeavour exercised together with others within the various institutions and associations of public life. The importance of an active citizenry possessing the requisite virtues has long historical roots. Aristotle argued that humans are essentially political animals (*zoon politikon*), embedded in communities and requiring social and political associations beyond the immediate individual and family in order to form and express virtue (Mulgan, 1990; Curren, 2000; Kraut, 2002; Cooper, 2010; Kristjánsson, 2022). An important theme of Aristotle's *Politics* that resonates today is that the qualities required for civic life and a commitment to the common good do not occur without careful and considered cultivation through formal education and formative institutions in public life. In other words, in order to develop civic virtues[3] (the definition of civic virtues used in the project is given in 2.3 below), children, young people and adults need opportunities to participate within supportive and commonly available educative and institutional processes.

In the latter quarter of the twentieth century, what has become known as the 'republican revival' acknowledged the ancient roots of civic virtues in the work of scholars including Aristotle and Cicero (Pocock, 1975; Sandel, 1996; Pettit, 1997; Skinner, 1998). This revival captured the historical interest in the public role and character of citizens across the work of thinkers as diverse as Machiavelli, Rousseau, Harrington, Madison and Wollstonecraft (Honohan, 2002). Two significant themes common to civic republican thought were the ideas: firstly, that citizens are essentially embedded within their communities; and, secondly, that stable and healthy political communities rely upon citizens of character who are able to deliberate in the public sphere on matters of common concern, who can remain vigilant to threats to democracy and who are able to play a participatory role in working for the common good. These broad commitments aside, an important distinction within civic republican thought centres on whether, and how, the civic virtues necessary for active citizenship relate to a particular conception of the good life. For some civic republicans – in particular those whose conceptual lineage can be traced back to Aristotle – human happiness and flourishing can be found (either in whole or in part) in active participation in communal life beyond the family and through possessing the virtues that make positive and stable communal life possible.

Intertwined with this republican revival, the same period witnessed significant concern within political theory and wider public life that the priority placed on individualism and rights by liberal theory, and indeed within liberal democracies, had served to constrain social and political associations, leading to overly narrow manifestations of citizenship at the expense of community (Etzioni, 1994; Bellah *et al.*, 1996; see also Arthur, 2000). In response to the criticism that liberal theory lacked or underplayed a commitment to community, many liberal scholars sought to advocate for the historical and contemporary importance of virtues to liberal democratic thought and governance. Core themes within this liberal interest in virtue included accounts of those civic virtues crucial for contemporary liberal democracies, as well as ideas about how liberal ideas of community could include a commitment to the common good alongside the prioritisation of individual rights[4] (Galston, 1995; Rawls, 1996; Callan, 1997; Berkowitz, 1999; for a more recent liberal account see Southphommasane, 2012). Focussing on civic virtues such as autonomy, toleration of different opinions and beliefs and playing an active role in communities, these liberal scholars emphasised the instrumental importance of civic virtues in maintaining and protecting individual freedom. On these liberal accounts, the state and institutions of government remain ultimately neutral in terms of endorsing any particular form of the good life, which remain a matter of individual volition. According to MacIntyre (1990: 346), this 'privatization of the good' within liberal societies not only means that communities are denied a shared, animating vision of the good, but, also, 'that central areas of moral concern cannot become the subject of anything like adequate public shared systematic discourse or enquiry'.

Explicit attention to concepts of citizenship and the importance of civic virtues in public life has receded by comparison in the last fifteen years. However, in the context of a range of continued economic, political and social challenges facing liberal democracies (including polarisation, the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic and incivility in political life), there is evidence of a new groundswell of interest being paid to how richer forms of citizenship, community and a politics of the common good might be possible (Kruger, 2020; Tanner *et al.*, 2020; Cruddas, 2021; Haldane, 2021; Mackenzie, 2021). Though not fully absent from these discussions, the attention paid specifically to civic virtues in public policy and life has not yet reached the level witnessed at the turn of millennium. There are a variety of potential reasons for this shift, including a decline in political interest in the concept of citizenship in favour of more generalised notions of community or society and the rise of interest in 'identity' politics (Fukuyama, 2018; Younge, 2020). This is despite the fact that the language of virtue (whether intentionally or otherwise) often features clearly in the discourses involved, for example, in terms of the importance of compassionate and caring communities, the need for greater civility in public life or the value of service to others.

Despite the aforementioned attention paid to civic virtues historically and more recently, a number of conceptual issues regarding their nature remain. First, on a neo-Aristotelian account (and unlike the 'good person', which Aristotle considered to have universal applications) what constitutes a 'good citizen' is relative to the form of government in place. In other words, a good citizen in a liberal, plural democracy will take a different form from a good citizen in a monarchy.[5] As a result, different emphases will be placed on the precise civic virtues necessary for citizenship in a democracy

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[3] It is worth clarifying, here, that while Aristotle used the term 'political virtues', the term 'civic virtues' is used more commonly and standardly in reference to the requisite positive character traits of citizens.

[4] In *The Making of Modern Liberalism*, for example, Berkowitz examines different commitments to virtue in the liberal thought of Hobbes, Locke, Kant and Mill.

[5] One reason for this is that Aristotle counted simple law-abidingness among the political virtues, and laws obviously differed even between neighbouring Greek city-states.

(civility and service to others, for example) and in a monarchy (obedience and loyalty, for example). In other words, to define a good citizen something also needs to be said about the form of government and political community involved.

A second, and related, conceptual challenge concerns the relationship between civic virtues and intellectual, moral and performance virtues. Though civic virtues exist as a category in their own right, political theory and public life both suggest that civic virtues *do* hold some form of important connection with other categories of virtue in the sense that good citizens in a democracy would be viewed as compassionate, honest, critical, curious, determined, motivated and so on. For this reason, civic virtues are best viewed as being a discrete category of virtues, without being fully separable from other categories. In addition, from a neo-Aristotelian standpoint, civic virtues would also interact in important ways with the meta-virtue of *phronesis* (or practical wisdom). However, very little of the available literature on civic virtues, including within education, makes explicit reference to the need for *phronetic* citizens (for a notable exception see Curren, 2000; see also Kristjánsson, 2022). This lack of attention is curious given that there are no immediate reasons to think that *phronesis* would be any less important or relevant to situations involving civic virtues than more specifically morally complex states of affair.[6]

A third conceptual challenge derives from the fact that ancient thinkers conceived civic virtues and a commitment to the common good within small city-states that did not involve the diversity of ideas, cultures and commitments of liberal democracies today. This does not mean that arriving at some form of consensus as to the precise civic virtues needed by good citizens is necessarily impossible, but rather that citizens in liberal democracies today are involved in complex layers of citizenship including their local neighbourhoods, local communities, national communities and beyond to global communities. The key point here is that civic virtues might be cultivated and expressed in various spaces and places, including in relation to others who remain distant geographically and dialogically.

## 2.2 EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND

As the Jubilee Centre's *Framework* (2022) makes clear, civic virtues represent a crucial part of the 'Building Blocks of Character' alongside

intellectual, moral and performance virtues and the meta-virtue of *phronesis*. Each of these building blocks is required if individuals and societies are to flourish and, as the *Framework* highlights, 'schools should enable pupils to become good persons and citizens, able to lead good lives, and contribute to the common good' (2022: 6). Ultimately, character education aims to not only make 'individuals better persons, but to create the social and institutional conditions within which all human beings can flourish' (2022: 7).

Though civic virtues have certainly featured within the significant policy interest in character education in England over the last decade, it is the case that other categories of virtue – in particular moral virtues and performance virtues – have received greater attention. As such, policies for character education have not always been clear about the communal basis of character and virtues and the importance of fostering a concern for the common good. This lack of clarity has been further compounded by other educational agendas that have sought to challenge social injustices through a fragmented approach without paying due attention to ideas of civic virtue and the common good (Arthur, Kristjánsson and Vogler, 2021). Yet, whether intentionally or not, schools *do* play a vital role in helping pupils to be young citizens who interact with others within and beyond their school with honesty, compassion, civility, curiosity and a whole range of other virtues.

The most significant policy attention to cultivating civic virtues in young people in the last decade has concentrated on youth social action and the importance of young people undertaking experiential learning in community with others. Whilst this policy interest has centred primarily on the post-16 age range, research suggests that many schools identify pupils' social action as an important pedagogical approach to developing character (Arthur, Fullard and O'Leary, 2022) and that children themselves often frame their social action through reference to character (Body *et al.*, 2020). As the Jubilee Centre's *Statement on Youth Social Action and Character Development* suggests, youth social action is best understood as 'practical action in the service of others to create positive change'[7] (2014: 1). A number of Jubilee Centre studies have highlighted the positive impact of young people engaging in service to, and within, their communities (Arthur, Harrison and Taylor, 2015; Arthur, *et al.*, 2017).

*A Habit of Service*, for example, found that 'those who first get involved in service under the age of 10 were… more than two times more likely to have formed a habit of service than if they started aged 16-18 years' (Arthur, *et al.*, 2017: 1). Previous Jubilee Centre studies, alongside initiatives and programmes such as the #iwill[8] campaign, have used the principle of the double benefit to underscore the benefits of social action for young people themselves and for their communities. Though pointing to the value of youth social action, Centre studies have also found that young people and social action providers often prioritise different virtues, with some raising concerns about the language of certain virtues – including service itself. Additionally, a number of organisations and public figures have called for more social action opportunities to be made available to children and young people in order to further cement and build a stronger spirit of volunteering and service to others (for example, Cruddas, 2021; Times Education Commission, 2022).

It is essential to recognise, too, that while educating children and young people to be active, informed and morally responsible citizens is an integral aim of neo-Aristotelian approaches to character education, it also represents a more general aim of education and schooling in democracies today. It is clear from the now extensive research available that education for democratic citizenship comprises knowledge, skills and the cultivation of certain dispositions and values that enable children and young people to engage in the civic lives of their schools, neighbourhoods and communities as citizens now and of the future. Yet, the precise form that such education should take remains contested, both within England and elsewhere, not least so far as specifying the requisite dispositions and values – or as they are termed in this report, *virtues* – required for active, informed and morally responsible citizenship is concerned. For instance, although in the late 1990s and early 2000s moral and civic virtues lay at the heart of official approaches to education for citizenship in England in schools and in wider public policy, the period since has witnessed a greater focus on the more amorphous concept of values (Peterson and Civil, 2021b).

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[6]   It should be noted that Aristotle did believe that the majority of less educated and reflective citizens could practise civic virtues without *phronesis* (by learning to follow laws and social norms, for instance). In this sense, he was not as demanding generally about *phronetic* civic virtue as he was about *phronetic* moral virtue except in the case of rulers of states, including legislators and higher officials.

[7]   This definition was taken from the original definition of youth social action used by Step Up to Serve as part of the #iwill campaign. The current definition can be found at https://www.iwill.org.uk/about-us/youth-social-action [Accessed: 12 July 2022].

[8]   See 'iWill campaign' [Online]. Available at: https://www.iwill.org.uk/ [Accessed: 12 July 2022].

Interlinked to these concerns is the fact that debates have been ongoing about the proper relationship between character education and education for citizenship. Though doubts have been raised about drawing the connection between character education and education for citizenship too closely (Boyd, 2010; Suissa, 2015), advocates of character education more commonly seek to identify close parallels between the two fields (Althof and Berkowitz, 2006; Peterson, 2019; Kristjánsson, 2021; 2022). Central to these latter arguments, noted previously, are several contentions: first, that neo-Aristotelian forms of character education are at least as interested in community as they are in the individual; second, that participatory, active forms of citizenship have moral and intellectual dimensions; and third, that virtues lie at the heart of being a good citizen.

## 2.3 PROBLEM STATEMENT AND CONCEPTUAL CLARIFICATIONS

This report focusses on the cultivation of civic virtues in schools and, more precisely, on how school leaders, teachers and pupils understand civic virtues and the opportunities provided for pupils to participate in their communities. The focus taken is important, given that although character education has gained significant policy attention and support in England, as well as a great deal of traction in schools in England and elsewhere, little recent empirical research exists about the place and role of civic virtues in schools today. This gap in the available research is further compounded by the lack of detailed empirical research on education for citizenship in English schools. What recent research does exist suggests that while the majority of teachers understand their responsibility to educate for citizenship and political literacy, 'only 1% feel fully prepared to do so' (Weinberg, 2021: 9). Other studies have questioned the coherence, intentionality and consistency of cultivating citizenship in English schools (Burton and May, 2015; Davies and Chong, 2016; Weinberg and Flinders, 2018). Given the contested conceptual and curricular nature of education for citizenship, understanding how school leaders and teachers conceive and enact the relationship between character and citizenship and how this relationship is understood and experienced by pupils remains a pressing need.

The weight of this need is further increased by the consistent attention paid to various concerns facing liberal democracies, including the UK, and the frequent identification of schooling and education as sites to address them. Educating in the context of these challenges is a vastly complex task, not just because of the nature of the concerns themselves, but because appropriate educational responses will likely draw together and involve a variety of policies and initiatives (including, but not limited to, character education, Citizenship education, Spiritual, Moral, Social and Cultural development and Fundamental British Values). The educational task also involves deep questions about civic purpose and belonging. Additionally, schools are clearly community-based and community-focussed institutions that can, and often do, play a formative role in building partnerships and connections with others, including parents. These partnerships, when appropriately directed, nurtured and sustained, can help to build civic commitments and opportunities for pupils to experience citizenship and to play a role in the civic life of their communities.

The project on which this report is based approaches civic virtues from a neo-Aristotelian perspective, understanding that the formation of the good citizen requires living and acting in communities with others and a commitment to the common good. Moreover, the education of the good citizen occurs best when communities – including the community of the school – are animated by a vision of the good and of human flourishing. Drawing on the *Framework* and other Centre research, the project defines civic virtues as:

> positive and stable character traits that enable citizens to participate in the public life of their communities, whether locally, nationally or globally. In a democracy, civic virtues enable effective participation in the various institutions and organisations of political and civil society that comprise the public domain. The formation and expression of civic virtues in pursuit of the common good are vital for individual and societal flourishing (Peterson and Civil, 2021a: 2).

In addition, the project was motivated by the assumption outlined above that while civic virtues are a distinct and important category of virtues in their own right, being a good citizen also requires the possession of moral, intellectual and performance virtues that when appropriately directed also enable active, informed and morally responsible citizenship.

## 2.4 OVERALL EVALUATIVE GOALS

The findings in this report are of both academic and practical importance. Academically, the findings advance the current research literature by interrogating and evidencing how civic virtues are conceived and operationalised within schools, including crucially how they are understood and experienced by pupils, and how civic virtues are positioned in relation to intellectual, moral and performance virtues. In doing so, the research presented here makes a contribution to the current available literature on both character education and education for citizenship, including shedding empirical light on theoretical and conceptual concerns regarding what it means to be a good citizen. Practically, the findings provide important insights into how civic virtues might feature more centrally within character education and policy today, and how schools can approach the task of giving civic virtues a more central place in their ethos, culture, curriculum and community.

> 'LET US PRESUPPOSE THIS MUCH, THAT THE BEST WAY OF LIFE BOTH SEPARATELY FOR EACH INDIVIDUAL AND IN COMMON FOR CITIES IS THAT ACCOMPANIED BY VIRTUE—VIRTUE THAT IS EQUIPPED TO SUCH AN EXTENT AS TO ALLOW THEM TO TAKE PART IN ACTIONS THAT ACCORD WITH VIRTUE.'
>
> **Aristotle**

# 3 Methodology

The *Civic Virtues Through Service to Others* research project examined how school leaders, teachers and pupils in England and Wales understand, approach and experience educating the 'good' citizen and the place of civic virtues within this. This section explains the rationale for the research design and the empirical methods employed in the project, as well as the sampling methods involved. Ethical considerations and limitations are also set out.

## 3.1 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The research presented in this report sought to respond to the following questions:
- How do school leaders and teachers understand the character of the good citizen, and what role do civic virtues play within this?
- How do school leaders and teachers educate for civic virtues and what challenges do they face?
- How do pupils understand the character of the good citizen and the role of their schools in developing their civic character?

In seeking to answer these questions, a mixed-methods approach was adopted. Surveys with teachers and pupils allowed the research team to collect data from a wide number of respondents and to quantify attitudes and opinions. Semi-structured interviews with school leaders and focus groups with pupils enabled the collection of deeper, qualitative data through which perceptions and understandings could be gathered and explored, with key areas and themes included in the surveys extended and clarified. Mixed-methods approaches have been employed by previous studies conducted by the Jubilee Centre (see, for example, Arthur *et al.*, 2015) and have grown in popularity and number in educational research over at least the last 15 years (Sammons and Davies, 2017). The empirical data collection included:
- Semi-structured interviews with an initial and further sample of school leaders.
- Online surveys with teachers, primary school pupils in Year 6[9] and secondary school pupils in Year 8[10] and Year 10[11].
- Focus groups with pupils in Year 6, Year 8, and Year 10.

Each of these methods of data collection are now explained in more detail.

## 3.2 INTERVIEWS WITH SCHOOL LEADERS

The semi-structured interviews with school leaders elicited views on how the 'good' citizen and educating for civic virtues were understood within the context of the school and its communities. This elicitation focussed on the activities and practices through which schools sought to develop civic virtues and school leaders' conceptualisations of civic virtues. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with an initial sample of school leaders ($n = 18$) between June and October 2021. Further semi-structured interviews were conducted with a different sample of school leaders ($n = 12$) between November 2021 and June 2022. For both the initial and the further sample, the school leaders were selected on the basis that they all worked in schools that had an explicit focus on cultivating good citizens in their mission and ethos. In this sense the sample was purposive. However, given that the research team were also interested in interviewing school leaders across a range of schools, an element of quota sampling was also involved. As such, the study sought to interview leaders from primary and secondary schools, from schools across a broad geographical base and from schools that both do and do not take an intentional and explicit approach to character education. Key details of each of the schools from which the leaders were drawn are available on the project webpages.[12] In each case, a decision was made in consultation with the school as to which leader would offer the best insights into educating civic virtues at the school, whether that be the headteacher or a member of the senior leadership team with a relevant area of responsibility (e.g. for character education, citizenship education, and/or personal development). Owing to the impact of the Covid-19 pandemic, all of the initial interviews were conducted remotely through either Zoom or Microsoft Teams. All but one of the further interviews were also conducted remotely.

Prior to both the initial and further interviews, school leaders were given information about the project, including the aims of the study and how data would be obtained, recorded, stored and used, along with a consent form. Each interview began with a summary of this information. Interviews typically lasted between 45 minutes and an hour. An audio-recording of each interview was made and then transcribed.

Each interview started with several general questions about the school's approach to character education and education for citizenship. From this, leaders were asked how they understood civic virtues and what approaches and activities were central to cultivating civic virtues at their school. Further questions examined the connection between the good person and the good citizen; the place and benefits of social action in the school; connections between the school and the local community; whether/how the school seeks to balance engagement in local, national and global issues; perceptions and use of the concept of 'service' within the school; how the school motivates pupils to engage with, and in, their communities; barriers to educating civic virtues; the relation in the school between civic virtues and moral, intellectual and performance virtues; and how the leader viewed the role of the school in responding to opportunities and challenges in the broader political and social context. Finally, at the end of each interview, leaders were asked how they would define a 'school of civic character'. The further interviews permitted the research team to delve further into the themes identified from the initial interviews (these themes were reported in the project's *Initial Insights* report; Peterson and Civil, 2021a). These themes included, for example, the relationship between civic virtues and intellectual, moral and performance virtues; the cultivation of civic virtues within the school community; relationships with wider communities; and, conceptual challenges with some of the language of civic virtues (e.g. 'service'). Once again, the semi-structured approach to the interviews also allowed school leaders to pursue directions of interest to themselves.

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9   10-11 years of age.

10   12-13 years of age.

11   14-15 years of age.

12   www.jubileecentre.ac.uk/civicvirtues

[
'ACTIVE CITIZENS … ARE PUBLIC MEETING-GOERS AND JOINERS OF VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS WHO DISCUSS AND DELIBERATE WITH OTHERS ABOUT THE POLICIES THAT WILL AFFECT THEM ALL, AND WHO SERVE THEIR COUNTRY NOT ONLY AS TAXPAYERS AND OCCASIONAL SOLDIERS, BUT BY HAVING A CONSIDERED NOTION OF THE PUBLIC GOOD THAT THEY GENUINELY TAKE TO HEART.'

Judith N. Shklar
]

## 3.3 TEACHER AND PUPIL SURVEYS

### 3.3.1 Teacher Survey

An online survey of teachers ($n = 213$) using Qualtrics was conducted between December 2021 and April 2022. Responses with at least 90% of questions answered were included in the final analysis. The aim of the survey was to determine how teachers understood civic virtues and their role in educating for civic virtues. A particular concern of the survey was to elicit the virtues that teachers associated with being a good citizen. The teacher survey consisted of four sections:

- **Section 1** asked teachers about their school and existing practices in the school relating to character education, education for citizenship and civic virtues.
- **Section 2** focussed on the character strengths that teachers thought are important for being a good citizen. In this section, teachers were asked first to rate the 24 character strengths[13] set out in Table 1 in terms of how well the character strength describes a good citizen on a scale from one (unimportant) to seven (extremely important). Whereas previous Centre studies focussing on the professions have used the 24 VIA-IS character strengths, following the Centre's *Teacher Education*[14] project, the present study selected a list of 24 character strengths based on the Centre's *Framework* and which included six strengths from each of the four categories of virtue found in the 'Building Blocks of Character'. The list of 24 character strengths was considered more appropriate for the present study than the 24 VIA-IS character strengths for two main reasons: first, because the VIA-IS strengths are not classified into the four categories of virtues; and second, because the study was interested in character strengths associated by respondents with being a good citizen, rather than asking respondents to self-report their own character

strengths. For each character strength, a short definition was provided for respondents (for example, Compassion: To exhibit care and concern for others in need).[15] Respondents were then asked to pick, from the same set of 24 character strengths, the six that they thought best described a good citizen, and rank them from one to six. The use of both ratings and rankings was chosen to provide a robust model to assess priorities and the relative importance of the 24 character strengths. Ratings allowed respondents to score each individual character strength without restrictions, increasing the capacity to have a wider understanding of the value of each. Rankings enabled respondents to illustrate the character strengths they most value, in essence constraining them to decide on the top six character strengths of a good citizen. Finally in this section, teachers were asked whether they thought there is a distinction between a good person and a good citizen and were asked to expand on their response in free text.

- **Section 3** of the survey focussed on the character strengths teachers thought schools should be educating.
- **Section 4** asked teachers about their own civic engagement and whether they thought their own civic engagement influences their own views on, and approaches to, teaching pupils to be active, responsible and informed citizens.
- **Section 5** asked for demographic information about the teachers.

### Table 1: The 24 Character Strengths and their Categories

| Character Strength | Category |
|---|---|
| Autonomy | Intellectual |
| Civility | Civic |
| Community Awareness | Civic |
| Compassion | Moral |
| Confidence | Performance |
| Critical Thinking | Intellectual |
| Curiosity | Intellectual |
| Determination | Performance |
| Gratitude | Moral |
| Honesty | Moral |
| Humility | Moral |
| Integrity | Moral |
| Judgement and Reasoning | Intellectual |
| Justice | Moral |
| Motivation | Performance |
| Neighbourliness | Civic |
| Perseverance | Performance |
| Reflection | Intellectual |
| Resilience | Performance |
| Resourcefulness | Intellectual |
| Service | Civic |
| Teamwork | Performance |
| Tolerance | Civic |
| Volunteering | Civic |

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13   In this report the term character strengths is used to refer to virtues. As the sample included schools with and without an intentional and embedded approach to character education, and in line with the *Teacher Education* project, the term character strengths rather than virtues was used in the surveys.

14   See *'Teacher Education'* in Jubilee Centre Projects. Available at: https://www.jubileecentre.ac.uk/2937/projects/character-education-research/teacher-education [Accessed: 9 August 2022].

15   A full list of the definitions is available on the project website at www.jubileecentre.ac.uk/civicvirtues

### 3.3.2 Pupil Surveys

Surveys of primary (Year 6, $n = 320$) and secondary pupils (Year 8, $n = 628$; Year 10, $n = 532$) were conducted in schools between May 2022 and July 2022. All surveys were completed on paper in schools with a member of the project team in attendance. Data were then inputted by the project team directly into Qualtrics.[16] Although having some differences, several of the questions asked of pupils were identical to (or closely similar to) those asked in the teacher survey. The aim of the primary pupil surveys was to understand how pupils viewed their school and local community, the character strengths they viewed their school as teaching them and which character strengths they associated with being a good citizen. In addition to these, the secondary pupil surveys also sought to understand which activities related to being a good citizen that pupils had engaged in through the school and outside of the school. Prior to conducting the surveys, pupils' parents/guardians were provided with information about the survey and the project, along with an opt-out form. When the surveys were conducted, core information was provided verbally and in writing to pupils, and the pupils were required to provide their consent on the survey itself.

The primary pupil survey consisted of four sections:

- **Section 1** asked pupils about the school community and their local community, including whether pupils felt connected to those communities and whether they cared about being a member of those communities.
- **Section 2** asked pupils about the educational experiences connected with being a good citizen provided by their school, and the character strengths the school helped them to develop.
- **Section 3** focussed on the character strengths that pupils thought were important for being a good citizen. As with the teacher survey, pupils were asked first to rate the 24 character strengths in Table 1, and then to pick the six they thought best described a good citizen and rank them from one to six.
- **Section 4** asked for demographic information about the pupils.

The secondary pupil survey consisted of four sections:

- **Section 1** asked pupils about the school community and their local community, including whether pupils felt connected to those communities and whether they cared about being a member of those communities. Section 1 also asked pupils about their educational experiences connected with being a good citizen provided by their school and the character strengths the school helped them to develop.
- **Section 2** focussed on the character strengths that pupils thought were important for being a good citizen. As with the teacher survey, pupils were asked first to rate the 24 character strengths in Table 1, and then to pick the six they thought best described a good citizen and rank them from one to six.
- **Section 3** of the survey focussed on various activities through which pupils might learn to be good citizens and asked whether pupils thought the school should provide them with more opportunities for each.
- **Section 4** asked for demographic information about the pupils.

As a requirement of ethical consent for the research, pupils were told they could leave out any question they did not want to answer. As with the teacher survey, responses with at least 90% of questions answered were included in the final analysis.

### 3.4 PUPIL FOCUS GROUPS

The aim of the pupil focus groups was to explore how pupils perceived civic virtues and being a good citizen, including their experiences of being educated for citizenship at school. The focus groups also sought to learn more about how pupils understood the relationship between being a good person and being a good citizen. Focus groups were conducted with pupils in three primary schools involving a total of 17 Year 6 pupils, and 4 secondary schools involving a total of 19 Year 8 pupils and 21 Year 10 pupils. The sampling of schools was opportunistic and involved a mix of schools in which survey data were and were not also collected. In the first instance, the headteacher and/or senior leader with responsibility for character/citizenship/personal development education[17] were contacted. The research team requested a diverse group of pupils to participate in the focus groups, though the final selection of pupils was at the discretion of the school and their parents who gave consent. All of the focus groups took place in person in the schools. Prior to the focus groups, pupils and their parents/guardians were given information about the project, including the aims of the study and how data would be obtained, recorded, stored and used, along with a consent form. Each focus group began with a summary of this information. Focus groups typically lasted between 20 and 30 minutes. An audio-recording of each focus group was made and then transcribed either by a member of the project team or a professional transcription service.

Each focus group started with several general questions about the school's approach to character education, education for citizenship, and what pupils understood citizenship to mean. From this basis, pupils were asked about what approaches and activities they had experienced at school that helped them to become good citizens. Further questions examined how pupils understood the connection between the good person and the good citizen, as well as their

| Table 2: Number of Schools and Participants for all Research Methods | Method | Number of Schools | Number of Participants |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Initial semi-structured interviews with school leaders | 18 | 20[18] |
| | Further semi-structured interviews with different school leaders | 12 | 12 |
| | Teacher survey | 79 | 213 |
| | Primary pupil survey | 5 | 320 (Year 6) |
| | Secondary pupil survey | 7 | 628 (Year 8) 532 (Year 10) |
| | Primary pupil focus groups | 3 | 17 (Year 6) |
| | Secondary pupil focus groups | 4 | 19 (Year 8) 21 (Year 10) |

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[16]  A sample of surveys inputted were quality assured for accuracy.

[17]  As with schools more widely, the schools in the sample used a range of designations.

[18]  For two of the schools, two senior leaders took part in the interviews at the school's request.

connections to the local community. As with the school leader interviews, the semi-structured approach to the focus groups permitted key themes and concerns evident in the extant literature and in the analysis of the initial school leader interviews to be examined, but alongside this allowed pupils to pursue directions of conversation and areas of interest to themselves.

### 3.5 DATA ANALYSIS

### 3.5.1 Semi-structured Interviews and Focus Groups

Analysis of the initial interview data was thematic, using a constant comparison (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) within a modified framework approach (Richie and Spencer, 1994). Once the interviews and transcriptions had been concluded, data underwent a separate content analysis by members of the project team, each of whom developed a set of possible themes, with responses grouped under similar headings. Analysis of the further interview and focus group data followed a similar process, though this time the data was explored in relation to the themes stemming from the initial interviews as well. These themes were reassessed in terms of whether the further interview data and focus group data supported the themes of the initial interviews, challenged these or offered new and further insights – including any notable points of contrast between school leaders' and pupils' responses.

### 3.5.2 Teacher and Pupil Surveys

Responses for the teacher surveys were collected through Qualtrics. For the pupil surveys, data were collected on paper and then entered into Qualtrics. Each of the surveys was cleaned so that only cases with greater than 90% survey completion were included. The data was exported into SPSS version 27 and JAMOVI version 2.2.5 for analysis. Descriptive statistics for each of the surveys were produced. Where possible, tests for significant differences in responses between primary and secondary

teachers and between Y8 and Y10 pupils were conducted. Pearson correlation tests were also conducted to test whether scores on one question were related to scores on other questions. For the ratings questions, a mean score for each of the 24 character strengths was calculated. In addition, within each category of virtue (i.e. intellectual, moral, civic and performance), a mean rating across constituent virtues was produced. For the rankings questions, each character strength ranked as one received six points, ranked two received five points, and so on. The score for each virtue was calculated individually and from this basis a total overall score was calculated (i.e. the total score for all 24 character strengths). The total percentage of this overall score received by each character strength was then calculated to enable the production of a ranked order of the strengths from 1 (highest % of the total score) to 24 (lowest % of the total score).

### 3.6 LIMITATIONS OF THE RESEARCH

This study was cross-sectional in design and relied on self-reporting measures that have risks concerning bias. Participation in the study was voluntary and the sampling was opportunistic, raising the prospect that participants who agreed to take part were particularly interested in the focus of the study. For example, while the project team sought to include a range of schools in the study, it cannot be ruled out that schools with an explicit focus on character and virtues were more likely to participate in the study than those whose approaches were less intentional. In addition, the study relied on the self-reports of school leaders, teachers and pupils. While self-report measures are common in research on character education and education more generally, they carry risks of: (i) social-desirability bias, whereby participants

respond in a way they believe will result in themselves being viewed favourably; (ii) self-confirmation bias, whereby participants respond in ways that uphold their prior beliefs and discard anything that contradicts those beliefs; and (iii) self-deception bias, whereby the way one sees oneself is different to how one is in practice.

### 3.7 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Full approval for the project was granted by the University of Birmingham Ethics Committee. All participants were provided with information about the study and were given the right to withdraw their contribution. School leaders signed consent forms before the semi-structured interviews were conducted and teachers provided their informed consent at the start of the online survey. For the pupil surveys, information sheets and an opt-out consent form were sent to all parents/guardians concerned via the school two weeks prior to the survey data being collected. Before undertaking the surveys, a member of the project team explained the aims, focus, structure, use and ethical considerations to the pupils verbally, and these were provided in writing on the first page of the survey. Pupils were also asked to provide their consent at the start of the survey, and only those surveys where the pupil's consent had been selected were included in the final analysis. For the pupil focus groups, parents/guardians were sent information forms and an opt-in consent form via the schools. No focus groups were undertaken unless all forms had been returned prior to the data collection. All data have been treated confidentially and any potential identification of schools, school leaders, teachers or pupils has been avoided through anonymisation.

# 4 Findings

This section presents the findings, bringing together data from the senior leader initial and further interviews, the teacher survey, the pupil surveys and the pupil focus groups to describe and analyse school leaders' and teachers' perspectives on educating the good citizen, as well as pupils' perspectives on this theme, before then examining teachers' and pupils' understandings of the virtues of the good citizen.

## 4.1 SCHOOL LEADER AND TEACHER PERSPECTIVES ON EDUCATING THE GOOD CITIZEN

### 4.1.1 Current Practices

In this subsection findings from the teacher survey and the interviews with school leaders are presented to examine their perspectives on educating good citizens, including reported practices. Survey responses from both secondary and primary teachers are combined because, when subjected to tests of differences across primary versus secondary schools, no significant statistical differences could be found between any variables of interest. This, in itself, is notable.

The data from the teacher survey provide a picture of schools' current practices in preparing pupils for citizenship and the role of character within this. As Table 3 demonstrates, the vast majority of teachers responded that their school had a *clear set of virtues/values that guide the ethos and culture of the school*, with 96% either strongly or somewhat agreeing. Teachers were more likely to strongly agree that *character education is firmly embedded in the school* (54%) than that *education for citizenship is firmly embedded in the school* (32%). More than half of the teachers strongly agreed that the *school offered pupils a range of opportunities to serve others* (54%) with the vast majority either strongly or somewhat agreeing this was the case (89%).

Analysis of the initial interview and further interview data with senior leaders found that the school leaders viewed preparing pupils to be good citizens – including teaching civic virtues and providing opportunities to serve others – to be a core and important part of education and schooling. School leaders used the language of civic virtues in the interviews, and also reported that their schools consciously use the language of civic virtues within their ethos, culture and curriculums. Those leaders whose schools took an embedded approach to character education emphasised that civic virtues were core to the school:

> *I would say […] we're far more obvious with our civic virtue and our language of civic virtue. As a school we are at a place where that is what is important to us now. Our community pride, we're trying to build this sense of pride across the school.*
> Secondary School Leader

> *Character is about developing our young people and is about developing desirable qualities that can contribute to being good citizens and a flourishing society. It is part of our culture and is part of our community.*
> Secondary School Leader

Analysis of the initial and further interview data also found that most of the leaders viewed cultivating character more generally as a *pathway* to pupils' participation and engagement within and beyond the school community, as the following example illustrates:

> *First of all […] community is school. We really encourage the children to think about how their friends are portraying virtues. So we will start by modelling, so we will be looking and we will be praising them […] we then expand by them [pupils] thinking about other people in the community.*
> Primary School Leader

Building from the commitment to developing character and civic virtues in order that pupils play an engaged role within the school community, school leaders also stressed the importance of the school's relationships and partnerships with the wider community beyond the school gates – including the opportunities for pupils to play an active role in these communities. Frequently, leaders referred to the school being a 'hub' within and for the community:

> *I see the school as important; we should be the epicentre of our community […] We want to look out for our local community and our local people and really be a hub where everyone wants to come and be.*
> Secondary School Leader

Although school leaders viewed preparing pupils for active, informed and morally responsible citizenship to be a core part of the purpose of education and teaching, they raised certain tensions regarding the language of civic virtues, whether generally or specifically. At a general level, around half of the school leaders suggested that civic virtues were not as readily accessible and understandable to pupils as, by contrast, intellectual, moral and performance virtues. In other words, while terms such as honesty, determination and curiosity were part of pupils' common vocabulary this was not the same for civic virtues. At a more specific level, and while as reported earlier, schools still used some form of vocabulary related to civic virtues, some civic virtues – such as service and tolerance – were viewed as holding certain negative connotations. Most clearly, service was often associated by the school leaders (and in their view by pupils) as akin to servitude and as involving inequitable relationships. Given these conceptual concerns, across the interviews school leaders reported two practices – either focussing on more general terminology (such as community, citizenship, respect and/or responsibility) or developing clear

**Table 3: Teacher Survey – Thinking About Your School, to What Extent do you Agree or Disagree with the Following Statements**

| | Strongly Disagree | Somewhat Disagree | Neither Agree nor Disagree | Somewhat Agree | Strongly Agree |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| The school has a clear set of virtues/values that guide the ethos and culture of the school | 2% | 2% | 0% | 22% | 74% |
| Character education is firmly embedded in the school | 1% | 3% | 4% | 38% | 54% |
| Education for citizenship is firmly embedded in the school [19] | 0% | 3% | 11% | 53% | 32% |
| The school offers a range of opportunities to serve others | 0% | 5% | 6% | 35% | 54% |

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[19]  Some overall % figures do not total 100 due to the rounding employed by the statistical analysis package, however the figures are accurate to +/- 1%.

and positively directed conceptions of the civic virtues at hand.

Several other questions in the teacher survey probed current general practices in schools. The first focussed on various opportunities that schools might provide relating to service to others and preparing pupils to be good citizens. As set out in Table 4, responses for the different opportunities varied a great deal. For example, 91% of teachers either agreed or strongly agreed that their school provides pupils with opportunities to *raise money for charity* and 86% either agreed or strongly agreed that opportunities were provided for pupils to *learn about democracy, including the challenges facing democracy today*. Of note given the interest of the wider project in service to others, only 63% either agreed or strongly agreed that pupils were provided *with opportunities to volunteer in the local community* (23% strongly agreed), and 50% that *opportunities were provided to volunteer with a national or global organisation* (16% strongly agreed).

When the data in Table 4 was contrasted with the school leader interview data, an interesting difference emerged. Throughout the interviews, and remembering that the school leaders and teacher survey participants were drawn from overlapping but not identical samples, most of the school leaders spoke about the importance of the current opportunities in place to allow pupils to develop their civic virtues (alongside intellectual, moral and performance virtues) – including through volunteering and service to others. For example:

*Character is [...] not just about what's in the school building. And if we restrict it to within the school building, then they [pupils] view community and their civic virtues as what they do in school and they leave the school gate [...] We've had students do all sorts of incredible things outside of school that maybe without our explicit focus on character we wouldn't have known as much about. But now [...] staff know about it and we get to talk about it and celebrate it.*
Secondary School Leader

Another survey question probing current practices in schools focussed on the teaching of particular certain paired virtues. The virtues selected were deliberately paired as linked virtues (e.g. to be kind and compassionate; to show perseverance and determination; to be tolerant and demonstrate civility) while, in addition, two pairs from each category of virtues were included in the question. Chart 1 sets out the responses, and two points relating to these findings are of particular interest and importance. The first is that according to these teachers their schools prioritise moral virtues most, followed by performance virtues, then intellectual and civic virtues. The second is that of the eight sets of paired virtues given, the lowest reported to be taught by their schools was to *serve others and volunteer in the community.*

**Table 4: Teacher Survey – Thinking About Your School, to What Extent do you Agree or Disagree with the Following: The School Provides Opportunities to...**

|  | Strongly Disagree | Somewhat Disagree | Neither Agree nor Disagree | Somewhat Agree | Strongly Agree |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Stand for election (as part of school council or student leadership) | 4% | 10% | 9% | 30% | 46% |
| Vote in school elections | 7% | 14% | 13% | 30% | 36% |
| Discuss contemporary political, social or cultural issues | 0% | 4% | 13% | 45% | 38% |
| Volunteer in the local community | 2% | 9% | 27% | 40% | 23% |
| Volunteer with a national or global organisation | 8% | 16% | 26% | 34% | 16% |
| Learn about democracy, including challenges facing democracy today | 0% | 1% | 12% | 52% | 34% |
| Raise money for charity | 0% | 3% | 6% | 26% | 65% |
| Write to an elected representative (e.g. MP, local councillor) | 4% | 15% | 36% | 36% | 10% |
| Take action on matters of concern to them and their communities | 2% | 7% | 24% | 47% | 20% |

'CHARACTER IS ABOUT DEVELOPING OUR YOUNG PEOPLE AND IS ABOUT DEVELOPING DESIRABLE QUALITIES THAT CAN CONTRIBUTE TO BEING GOOD CITIZENS AND A FLOURISHING SOCIETY. IT IS PART OF OUR CULTURE AND IS PART OF OUR COMMUNITY.'

**Secondary School Leader**

**Chart 1: Teacher Survey – To what extent do you agree or disagree that your school teaches pupils to…**

| Paired Virtues by Category | | | Somewhat Agree | Strongly Agree |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Performance | Show perseverance and determination | | 27% | 66% |
| | Be confident and resilient | | 30% | 66% |
| Moral | Be honest and show integrity | | 28% | 67% |
| | Be kind and compassionate | | 22% | 75% |
| Intellectual | Be open-minded and show intellectual humility | | 38% | 52% |
| | Be curious and critical | | 36% | 57% |
| Civic | Serve others and volunteer in the community | | 35% | 36% |
| | Be tolerant and demonstrate civility | | 35% | 58% |

Responses (%)

■ Somewhat Agree   ■ Strongly Agree

In addition to asking teachers which paired virtues their schools teach pupils, the survey also asked teachers how important it is that schools generally (i.e. not just their own school) teach pupils each of the same paired virtues. The overall responses are set out in Chart 2. While moral virtues remain the highest priority, it is notable that more teachers thought schools *should* teach pupils to *be tolerant and to demonstrate civility* than reported that their schools *do* teach pupils this pair of civic virtues. Once again, of the eight pairs of virtues the lowest importance by some margin was that schools should teach pupils to *serve others and volunteer in the community.*
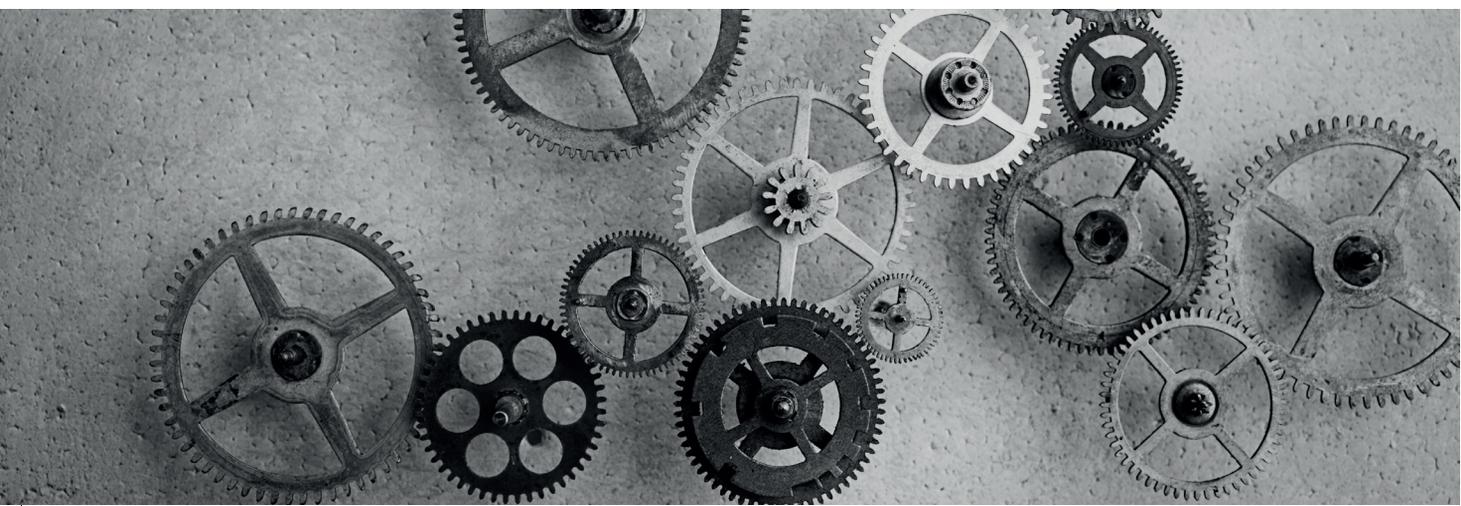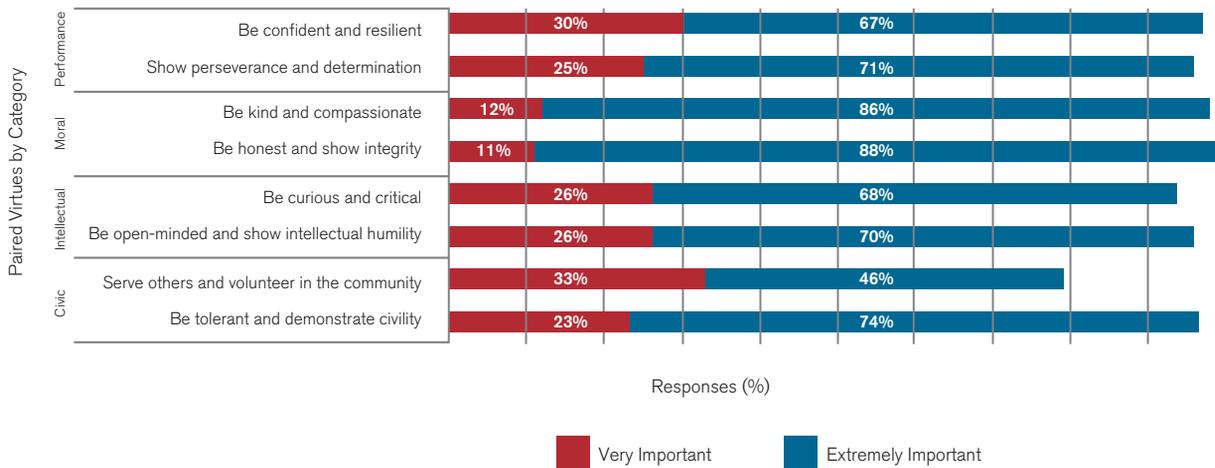
**Chart 2: Teacher Survey – How important is it that schools teach pupils to…**

| Paired Virtues by Category | | | Very Important | Extremely Important |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Performance | Be confident and resilient | | 30% | 67% |
| | Show perseverance and determination | | 25% | 71% |
| Moral | Be kind and compassionate | | 12% | 86% |
| | Be honest and show integrity | | 11% | 88% |
| Intellectual | Be curious and critical | | 26% | 68% |
| | Be open-minded and show intellectual humility | | 26% | 70% |
| Civic | Serve others and volunteer in the community | | 33% | 46% |
| | Be tolerant and demonstrate civility | | 23% | 74% |

Responses (%)

■ Very Important   ■ Extremely Important

Teachers reported then, that all four categories of virtues were very important to teach in school (one sample $ts$ [212] > 21.5, $ps$ < .001, $ds$ > 1.48, fixed mean of 3 on a 1-5 scale); a finding that reaffirms the importance that teachers place on teaching character and virtues more generally.[20] Looking more closely at the relative importance of the four categories of virtues, intellectual, moral, civic and performance virtues differed significantly from one another ($F$[3, 636] = 44.00, $p$ < .001, $\eta p^2$ = .17). Specifically, moral virtues ($M$ = 4.86, $SE$ = .02) were seen to be more important to teach compared with civic ($M$ = 4.46, $SE$ = .04), intellectual ($M$ = 4.63, $SE$ = .04), and performance virtues ($M$ = 4.65, $SE$ = .03; all $ps$ < .001). Intellectual and performance virtues were viewed as approximately equally important to teach ($p$ > .05); while civic virtues were seen to be least important compared to the other categories (all $ps$ < .001), despite still being very important in absolute terms.

These findings can be further examined in light of the views expressed in the school leader interviews. In particular, two themes generated from the interviews stand out. First, a theme common to all of the interviews with school leaders was that moral virtues act as a foundation for, and precursor to, civic virtues. Connected to this, many school leaders also stated that educating pupils to be good citizens is an inherently moral as well as civic undertaking (a finding we return to in more detail in a later section):

> I don't think moral virtues can exist without civic virtues and I don't think civic virtues can exist without moral virtues. I mean, how can you have compassion and understanding, but not have any responsibility or care within the broader context of yourself?
> Secondary School Leader

Second, and with particular reference to service to others and volunteering, some of the school leaders reported serious resource and logistical issues that constrained their capacity to offer the level of provision for pupils desired. While the impacts of the Covid-19 pandemic were commonly cited, concerns around the time, the availability of meaningful opportunities and the logistical detail that would be involved for teachers (conducting risk assessments, for example) were commonly cited.

## 4.2 PUPIL PERSPECTIVES ON EDUCATING THE GOOD CITIZEN

### 4.2.1 Current Experiences
As with the teacher survey, pupils were asked initial questions regarding their school's current practices concerning educating for good citizenship.[21] From this initial set of questions differences were observed between primary and secondary pupils. Primary pupils were more likely than secondary pupils to strongly agree that their school: had *a clear set of virtues or values which they see every day* (78% compared to 33%); *teaches them how to be a good person* (72% compared to 34%); *teaches them how to be a good citizen and to care about the community* (59% compared to 34%); and *offers them a range of opportunities to help and serve others* (56% compared to 37%). This latter finding, that only 37% of secondary pupils strongly agreed that their schools offered them a range of opportunities to help and serve others, is notable.

The secondary pupil survey asked pupils whether or not they had engaged in certain activities connected to character education, citizenship and social action within their school. This data provided a somewhat mixed picture: 56% of secondary pupils reported that they had *discussed or debated a political or social issue;* and 62% that they had *discussed issues I've read in the media or seen on the news.* In terms of activities that could be viewed as commensurate with service to others, 84% of pupils stated that they had *raised money for charity.* However, responses to other social action related activities were much lower: *taken action on issues that I care about in my community* (36%); *volunteered in the local community* (29%); and *volunteered with a national or global organisation* (21%).

Analysis of the focus group data found that both primary and secondary school pupils reported that their schools provided a range of educational processes and opportunities that enabled them to learn and experience being a good citizen. These responses typically focussed on experiential learning, and ranged from volunteering, raising money for charity, involvement in school councils, sports participation, sports leadership and specific programmes the school was involved with (such as Rights Respecting Schools). Pupils were also

asked about their participation in activities in their communities beyond the school. Here responses were more mixed, with some pupils reporting a range of activities and associations and some not mentioning any at all. The types of activities pupils discussed were largely social in nature – with involvement in various clubs (sports, dancing, Scouts/Guides, etc.), raising money for charity and helping neighbours frequently mentioned. Pupils were clearly engaged in those activities and associations that connected well with their own interests, but also often expressed their desire to contribute to their communities:

> It's about our community, we care for our community and want to be good citizens for our community and help the community to make a positive impact.
> Primary School Pupil

Pupils were asked the extent to which their school teaches them the same paired virtues examined in the teacher survey. Charts 3 and 4 set out the percentages of primary and secondary pupils respectively who either strongly agreed or somewhat agreed that their schools taught them the paired virtues. Several points can be highlighted in these responses. As with the same question on the teacher survey, pupils were more likely to strongly agree that their school taught them moral and performance virtues than civic and intellectual virtues. Indeed, just 37% of primary pupils and 21% of secondary pupils strongly agreed that their schools taught them to be *curious and critical.* Evidencing similarity with teacher responses again, only 46% of primary pupils and 31% of secondary pupils strongly agreed that their schools taught them to *serve others and volunteer in the community.* This latter finding again contrasts with the level of importance ascribed to engaging pupils in service and volunteering referenced by senior leaders in the interviews.

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[20]   While the strength of importance caused a restriction of range such that we could not correlate the importance teachers attributed to teaching each virtue with the degree to which character education was embedded in the school, it is clear that teachers universally agreed on the importance of all virtues independent of whether character education was embedded in their school.

[21]   In line with the ethical requirements of the research, the majority of questions in the pupil surveys included a 'don't know/not sure' option. As the reasons why pupils might have selected this option in given questions cannot be known, the data reported here does not include these responses.

**Chart 3: Primary Pupil Survey – How much do you agree that your school teaches you to...**
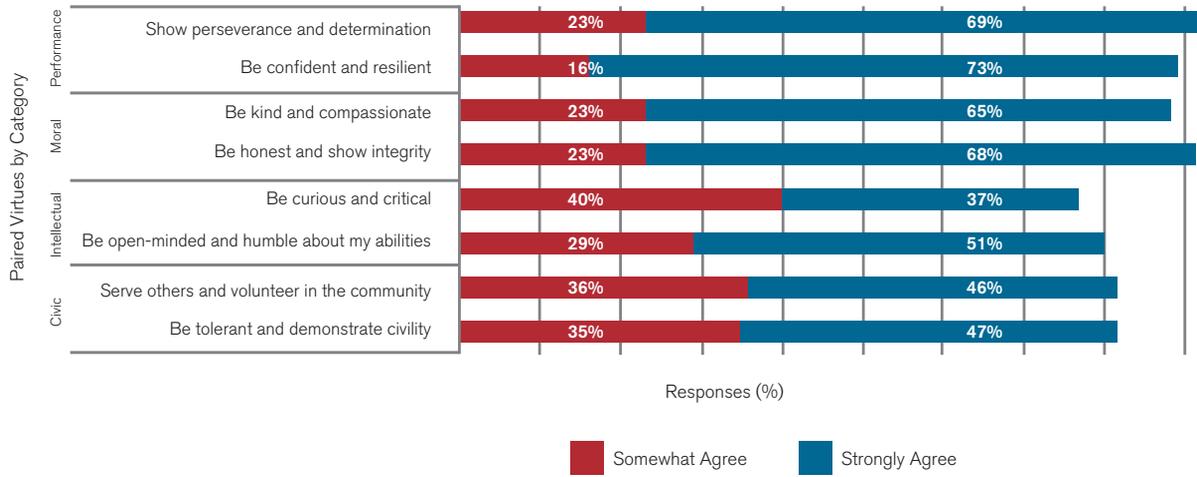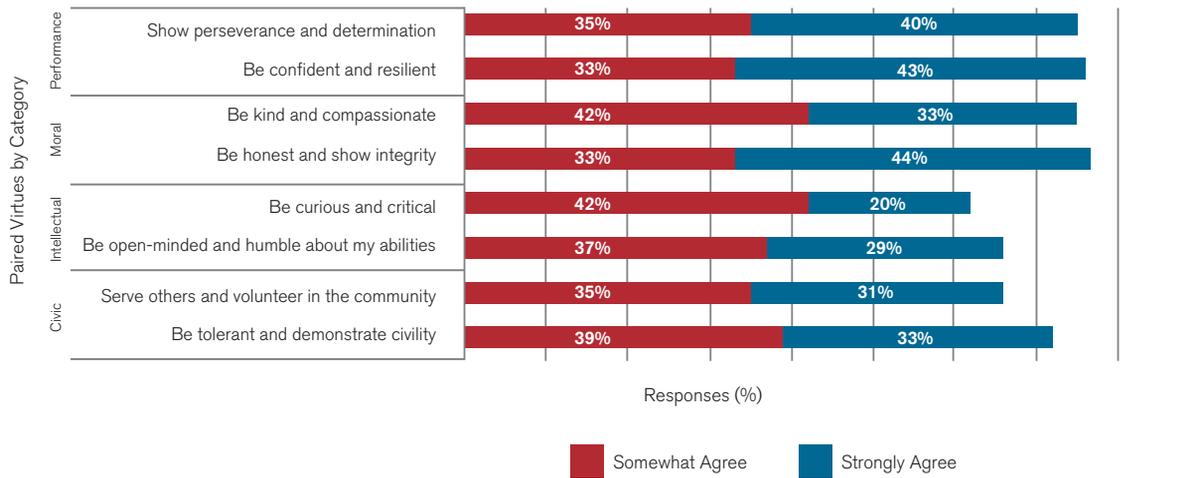
Paired Virtues by Category

| Category | Virtue | Somewhat Agree | Strongly Agree |
|---|---|---|---|
| Performance | Show perseverance and determination | 23% | 69% |
| Performance | Be confident and resilient | 16% | 73% |
| Moral | Be kind and compassionate | 23% | 65% |
| Moral | Be honest and show integrity | 23% | 68% |
| Intellectual | Be curious and critical | 40% | 37% |
| Intellectual | Be open-minded and humble about my abilities | 29% | 51% |
| Civic | Serve others and volunteer in the community | 36% | 46% |
| Civic | Be tolerant and demonstrate civility | 35% | 47% |

Responses (%)

■ Somewhat Agree  ■ Strongly Agree

**Chart 4: Secondary Pupil Survey – How much do you agree that your school teaches you to...**

Paired Virtues by Category

| Category | Virtue | Somewhat Agree | Strongly Agree |
|---|---|---|---|
| Performance | Show perseverance and determination | 35% | 40% |
| Performance | Be confident and resilient | 33% | 43% |
| Moral | Be kind and compassionate | 42% | 33% |
| Moral | Be honest and show integrity | 33% | 44% |
| Intellectual | Be curious and critical | 42% | 20% |
| Intellectual | Be open-minded and humble about my abilities | 37% | 29% |
| Civic | Serve others and volunteer in the community | 35% | 31% |
| Civic | Be tolerant and demonstrate civility | 39% | 33% |

Responses (%)

■ Somewhat Agree  ■ Strongly Agree

### 4.2.2 Belonging to the School and Local Community

In the surveys and focus groups, pupils were asked a set of questions regarding their sense of connection to and within the school and local community. Across these questions primary pupils were again more likely to strongly agree than secondary pupils. For example, in response to the statement *I feel connected to my school community*, 39% of primary pupils strongly agreed, while only 9% of secondary pupils did so. Similarly, 41% of primary pupils strongly agreed with the statement *I put a lot of time and effort into being part of my school community* compared with 12% of secondary pupils; while for the statement *I care about my school community and being a member of if it is part of my identity* 47% of primary pupils strongly agreed, compared with 14% of secondary pupils. Similar differences in responses between primary and secondary pupils were found in comparable questions that focussed on the local community.

In the focus groups, the majority of pupils suggested that they *did* care about and feel a sense of belonging to their school, citing the importance of a clear set of virtues or values, positive relationships and opportunities to contribute to the school as important factors in this regard. Pupils often spoke in terms of being proud of their school:

> *I think everyone wants to do their school proud. We want to go out and want to help show that the school is good. We've got great things in this school that we need to celebrate.*
> Secondary School Pupil

Pupils' reported senses of belonging to the local community were more mixed. Here, pupils tended to equate belonging with levels of knowledge, familiarity and engagement with their neighbours and others living in their locality, including being part of community-based clubs and organisations. Those pupils who stated that they *did* feel a sense of belonging to the local community cited that they felt connected to others, while the reverse was true for those pupils who *did not* feel a sense of belonging. For example:

> *Everyone's […] coming together and everyone's with each other […] I know I can share with my community, with my community people and the citizens of our community […] The thing I love about my community [is that] I can talk […] and share things with my community.*
> Primary School Pupil

> *We don't have […] a community feel in our neighbourhood cos we [only] know one family in our community really […] we don't really speak to anyone else.*
> Secondary School Pupil

To analyse pupil responses further Pearson correlation tests were conducted to test whether a relationship existed between responses to certain questions. Three points in relation to these correlation tests stand out. First, pupils who agreed that they felt connected to their school community also felt connected to their local community (primary: $r[287] = .45$, $p < .001$; secondary: $r[1132] = .48$, $p < .001$). Second, that pupils who agreed that they care about their school community also reported caring about their local community (primary: $r[290] = .54$, $p < .001$; secondary: $r[1131] = .51$, $p < .001$). While the reasons for these first two correlations cannot be known for certain, they suggest that a sense of belonging to, and caring for, the school community relates positively with belonging to, and caring for, the local community – a potential knock-on effect. Third, pupils who agreed that their school has a clear set of virtues or values that they see every day were more likely to agree that they *feel connected to their school community* (primary: $r[290] = .42$, $p < .001$; secondary: $r[1079] = .36$, $p < .001$) and to their local community (primary: $r[295] = .27$, $p < .001$; secondary: $r[1069] = .21$, $p < .001$). In interpreting this latter finding it is important to note that the statement *my school has a clear set of virtues or values that I see every day* was intended as a close substitute (one that could by understood by pupils) for the statements in the teacher survey *the school has a clear set of virtues/values that guide the ethos and culture of the school and character education is embedded in the school*. While it cannot be known for certain whether pupils interpreted the statement precisely in this way, the degree of correlation between the clarity of virtues or values with their sense of connection to their school and local community is striking.

> 'FIRST OF ALL […] COMMUNITY IS SCHOOL. WE REALLY ENCOURAGE THE CHILDREN TO THINK ABOUT HOW THEIR FRIENDS ARE PORTRAYING VIRTUES. SO WE WILL START BY MODELLING, SO WE WILL BE LOOKING AND WE WILL BE PRAISING THEM […] WE THEN EXPAND BY THEM [PUPILS] THINKING ABOUT OTHER PEOPLE IN THE COMMUNITY.'
>
> **Primary School Leader**

## 4.3 THE VIRTUES OF THE GOOD CITIZEN

In this subsection, findings from the surveys, interviews, and focus groups are presented to provide a picture of how school leaders, teachers, and pupils understand the virtues of the good citizen and the relationship between being a good person and being a good citizen.

### 4.3.1 Teachers' Ratings

As explained in the methodology section of this report, each of the surveys conducted included two questions that asked respondents to rate and rank the character strengths required by a good citizen. The mean teacher ratings for each of the 24 character strengths are presented in Table 5. Echoing the findings presented in subsection 4.1 above, teachers rated three moral virtues - compassion, honesty and integrity - highest. In fact, all six moral virtues received mean ratings that were *above* six (out of seven). Perhaps unsurprisingly given the focus on the good citizen, civic virtues were also rated highly by teachers, with five of the six virtues receiving a mean rating of six or above. When the six character strengths rated highest by teachers are considered, four of these (compassion, honesty, integrity and justice) were moral and two were civic (civility and tolerance). The seven[22] character strengths rated lowest by teachers comprised four intellectual virtues (critical thinking, curiosity, resourcefulness and autonomy), two were performance virtues (motivation and confidence) and one a civic virtue (volunteering). It was notable that volunteering had a mean rating of 5.66 out of seven, making it the third lowest-rated character strength.

Though certain individual intellectual and performance virtues were rated highly by teachers – such as judgement and reasoning (mean = 6.13) and determination (mean = 6.23) – overall, intellectual and performance virtues were rated less highly than moral and civic virtues. As shown in Chart 5, when combined into their categories, moral virtues had the largest combined mean rating (6.46), followed by civic virtues (6.15), performance virtues (5.99) and intellectual virtues (5.86). To be clear, this is not to suggest that intellectual and performance virtues were deemed unimportant for being a good citizen by teachers, but rather that they were rated as *less* important than moral and civic virtues.

In the interviews, intellectual virtues were only mentioned explicitly by a few school leaders. One school leader in a secondary school contrasted the close connection in the school between moral and civic virtues with that between civic and intellectual virtues, reflecting that *'in terms of intellectual reflection, critical thinking, I suppose that's a bit more challenging'*. Yet, the same leader was one of the only leaders interviewed to make a specific connection between civic virtues and *phronesis*, *'us [the school] developing the phronesis in you [pupils], in order to be these good citizens is an important part'*. Another secondary school leader suggested that:

> If there are really clear links between intellectual and moral virtues, then I think there are also going to have to be really clear links between moral and civic virtues. And the same with civic and intellectual. Intellectually, if you have a greater responsibility and impact within the community, then that's going to have a broader impact on society as a whole.
> Secondary School Leader

**Table 5: Teacher Survey – Ratings Ordered by Mean Highest to Lowest**

| | Character Strength | Mean | Category |
|---|---|---|---|
| =1 | Compassion | 6.64 | Moral |
| =1 | Honesty | 6.64 | Moral |
| 3 | Integrity | 6.57 | Moral |
| 4 | Civility | 6.53 | Civic |
| 5 | Tolerance | 6.46 | Civic |
| 6 | Justice | 6.44 | Moral |
| 7 | Gratitude | 6.27 | Moral |
| 8 | Determination | 6.23 | Performance |
| =9 | Humility | 6.21 | Moral |
| =9 | Neighbourliness | 6.21 | Civic |
| 11 | Resilience | 6.14 | Performance |
| =12 | Judgement and Reasoning | 6.13 | Intellectual |
| =12 | Teamwork | 6.13 | Performance |
| 14 | Reflection | 6.05 | Intellectual |
| 15 | Perseverance | 6.03 | Performance |
| 16 | Service | 6.01 | Civic |
| 17 | Community Awareness | 6.00 | Civic |
| =18 | Critical Thinking | 5.92 | Intellectual |
| =18 | Motivation | 5.92 | Performance |
| 20 | Curiosity | 5.8 | Intellectual |
| 21 | Resourcefulness | 5.69 | Intellectual |
| 22 | Volunteering | 5.66 | Civic |
| 23 | Autonomy | 5.58 | Intellectual |
| 24 | Confidence | 5.50 | Performance |

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[22]    Seven, rather than six, were included as two character strengths – critical thinking and motivation – were found to be the joint sixth lowest.
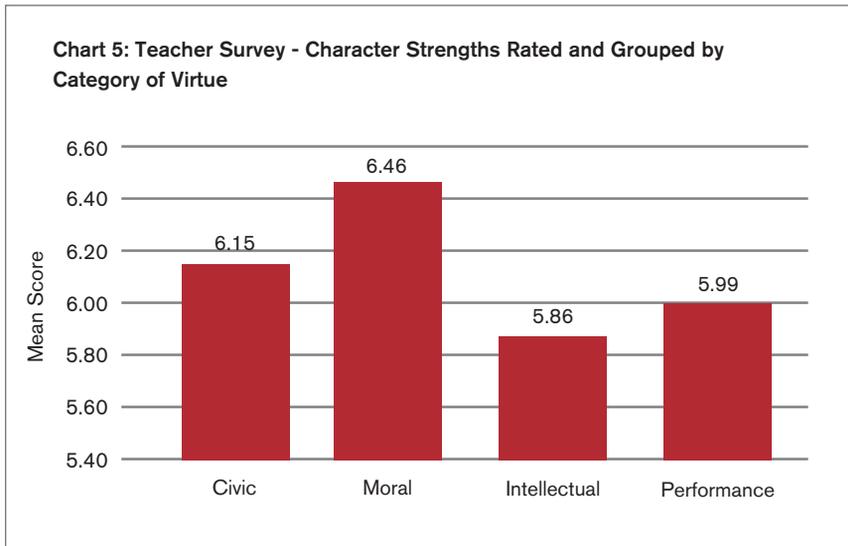
**Chart 5: Teacher Survey - Character Strengths Rated and Grouped by Category of Virtue**



**Table 6: Teacher Survey – Rankings Ordered by % of Total Score Highest to Lowest**

|  | Character Strength | % of Total Score | Category |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Compassion | 14.88 | Moral |
| 2 | Honesty | 11.56 | Moral |
| 3 | Integrity | 11.08 | Moral |
| 4 | Tolerance | 6.87 | Civic |
| 5 | Community Awareness | 4.99 | Civic |
| 6 | Civility | 4.85 | Civic |
| 7 | Resilience | 4.65 | Performance |
| 8 | Justice | 4.35 | Moral |
| 9 | Gratitude | 4.12 | Moral |
| =10 | Humility | 3.16 | Moral |
| =10 | Neighbourliness | 3.16 | Civic |
| =10 | Judgement and Reasoning | 3.16 | Intellectual |
| =13 | Service | 3.02 | Civic |
| =13 | Teamwork | 3.02 | Performance |
| 15 | Determination | 2.56 | Performance |
| 16 | Reflection | 2.45 | Intellectual |
| 17 | Motivation | 2.27 | Performance |
| 18 | Critical Thinking | 2.15 | Intellectual |
| 19 | Curiosity | 1.92 | Intellectual |
| 20 | Confidence | 1.51 | Performance |
| 21 | Perseverance | 1.30 | Performance |
| 22 | Autonomy | 1.10 | Intellectual |
| =23 | Resourcefulness | 0.76 | Intellectual |
| =23 | Volunteering | 0.76 | Civic |

### 4.3.2 Teachers' Rankings

Analysis of the teacher ratings provides evidence that moral and civic virtues were viewed as more important for being a good citizen than performance and intellectual virtues. A similar picture emerges when the *rankings* provided by teachers are examined. As with the ratings, and as Table 6 sets out, the moral virtues of compassion, honesty and integrity were the highest ranked character strengths associated with being a good citizen, followed by three civic virtues – tolerance, community awareness and civility.

Similar to the ratings, the lowest ranked character strengths of the good citizen comprised a mixture of intellectual virtues (curiosity, autonomy and resourcefulness), performance virtues (confidence and perseverance) and one civic virtue (volunteering). That volunteering was ranked joint lowest, again raises questions about the extent to which teachers consider volunteering to be an important virtue for the good citizen. Given the focus of the project, it is also notable that service was the joint 13th ranked character strength by teachers.

To analyse further the rankings in relation to the categories of virtue, the total ranked score for each character strength was calculated as a percentage of the overall ranked scores (i.e. the combined ranked scores of each of the 24 character strengths). Chart 6 sets out the percentage of the total score received by each category of virtue. Following the same pattern as the ratings responses, moral virtues accounted for the highest percentage of the total score (49.2%), followed by civic virtues (24%), performance virtues (15.3%) and intellectual virtues (11.5%).

**Chart 6: Teacher Survey - Character Strengths Ranked and Grouped by Category of Virtue**
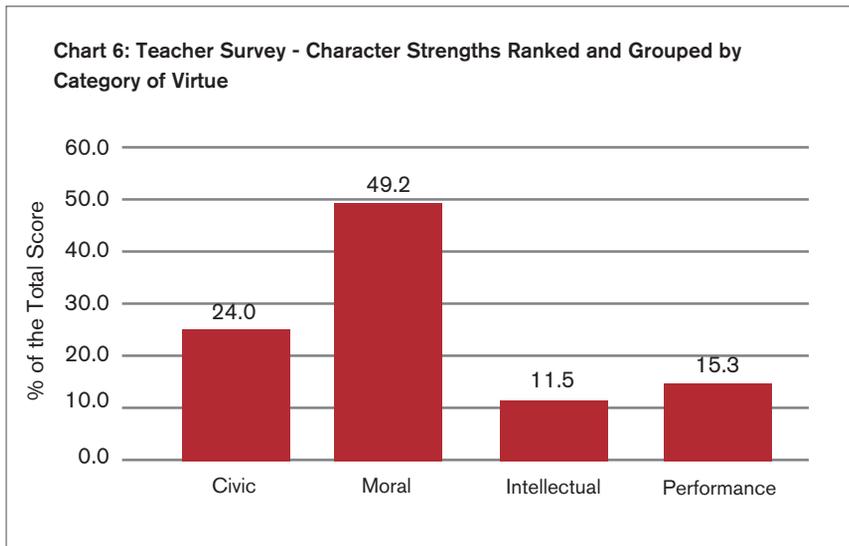


### 4.3.3 Teachers' Views on the Relation between the Good Person and the Good Citizen

To examine further how teachers understood the virtues of the good citizen, questions 6 and 7 of the survey asked whether teachers thought there was a distinction between a good person and a good citizen and to expand on their answer in free text. Of the respondents that *did not think there to be* a distinction between a good person and a good citizen (32%) the most common explanation given was that being a good person acts as a foundation for being a good citizen and/or that the qualities necessary for both are interdependent. Examples given by respondents included:

*Fundamentally, someone with 'good character' is strongly placed to be a 'good citizen' as they have a value set that will align them with this.*
Secondary School Teacher

*A good citizen would be a good person, they go hand in hand.*
Secondary School Teacher

*I believe a good person and a good citizen are the same in the sense that they have a strong moral compass, stands for what is 'right', and look after others as well as themselves.*
Secondary School Teacher

Around two-thirds of respondents (68%) indicated that there *is* a distinction. The main explanation given by these respondents centred on the view that the scope of the good person is limited to personal and close relationships (family, friends, immediate neighbours), while a good citizen is a an active, contributing member of wider communities. Illustrative responses included:

*A good citizen implies their 'goodness' will have greater far-reaching impact (on more people) than merely being a good person. It's thinking of the greater good for a community, society, etc.*
Primary School Teacher

*I think to be a good citizen rather than a good person, you need to actively think about the community you live in and your role in it. You need to actively be one of the cogs in the machine that makes it work.*
Secondary School Teacher

Of note, given the purpose of the project, these distinctions do not rest on identifying different virtues needed by a good person and a good citizen.

### 4.3.4 Primary Pupils' Ratings

The mean primary pupil ratings for each of the 24 character strengths are presented in Table 7. The six character strengths rated highest by primary pupils consisted of three moral virtues (justice, gratitude and honesty), two civic virtues (neighbourliness and tolerance) and one performance virtue (determination). The character strengths rated lowest by primary pupils included four intellectual virtues (judgement and reasoning, critical thinking, resourcefulness and curiosity), one performance virtue (confidence) and one civic virtue (community awareness).

> 'A GOOD CITIZEN IMPLIES THEIR 'GOODNESS' WILL HAVE GREATER FAR-REACHING IMPACT (ON MORE PEOPLE) THAN MERELY BEING A GOOD PERSON. IT'S THINKING OF THE GREATER GOOD FOR A COMMUNITY, SOCIETY, ETC.'
>
> **Primary School Teacher**

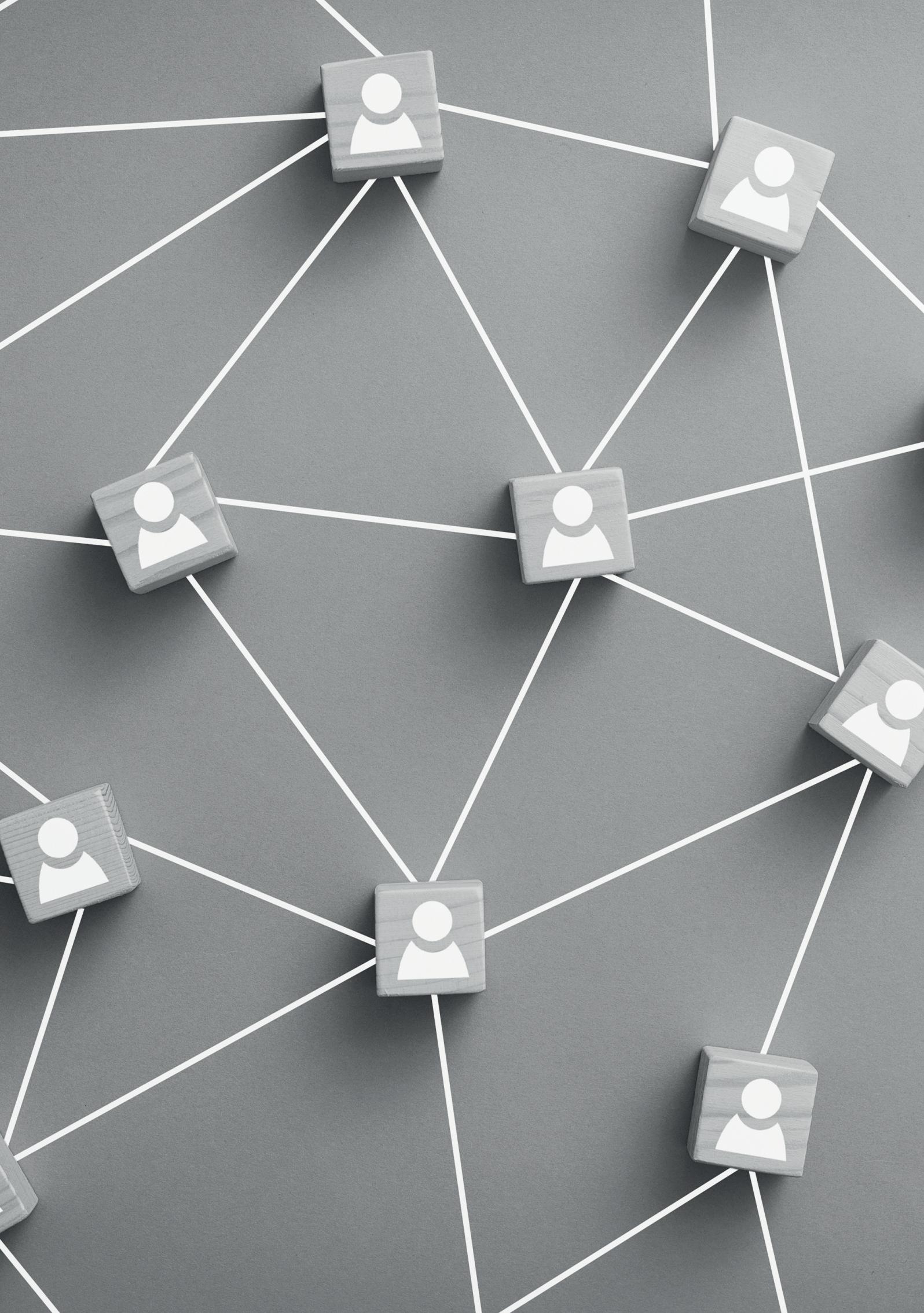---

[7]    Participants who responded 'yes'.

**Table 7: Primary Pupil Survey – Ratings Ordered by Mean Highest to Lowest**

| | Character Strength | Mean | Category |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Justice | 6.16 | Moral |
| =2 | Gratitude | 6.06 | Moral |
| =2 | Neighbourliness | 6.06 | Civic |
| 4 | Honesty | 6.02 | Moral |
| 5 | Tolerance | 6.01 | Civic |
| 6 | Determination | 5.96 | Performance |
| 7 | Compassion | 5.95 | Moral |
| 8 | Teamwork | 5.89 | Performance |
| 9 | Civility | 5.82 | Civic |
| 10 | Resilience | 5.72 | Performance |
| =11 | Humility | 5.62 | Moral |
| =11 | Motivation | 5.62 | Performance |
| 13 | Reflection | 5.50 | Intellectual |
| =14 | Autonomy | 5.45 | Intellectual |
| =14 | Perseverance | 5.45 | Performance |
| 16 | Integrity | 5.44 | Moral |
| 17 | Service | 5.43 | Civic |
| 18 | Volunteering | 5.40 | Civic |
| 19 | Judgement and Reasoning | 5.38 | Intellectual |
| =20 | Critical Thinking | 5.37 | Intellectual |
| =20 | Resourcefulness | 5.37 | Intellectual |
| 22 | Confidence | 5.15 | Performance |
| 23 | Curiosity | 5.12 | Intellectual |
| 24 | Community Awareness | 4.75 | Civic |

A notable point stands out here. As with teachers, intellectual virtues were generally rated as being of less importance for good citizenship than other categories of virtues. Chart 7 further demonstrates that intellectual virtues (5.37) were rated lowest overall by primary pupils. As with the teacher ratings, moral virtues (5.88) had the largest combined mean rating, while primary pupils' overall rating for performance virtues (5.63) and civic virtues (5.58) were second and third respectively (whereas in the teacher ratings civic were second and performance third).

**4.3.5 Primary Pupils' Rankings**

As with the ratings, when the primary pupil *rankings* are considered (see Table 8), justice is the highest ranked and two other moral virtues (honesty and compassion) are in the top six highest-ranked, alongside two character strengths that also feature in the primary pupils' top six rated strengths – neighbourliness (a civic virtue) and determination (a performance virtue). The intellectual virtue of autonomy completes the top six.
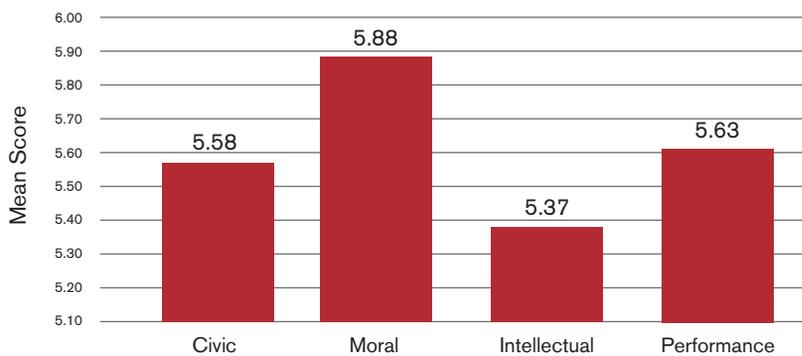
**Chart 7: Primary Pupil Survey - Character Strengths Rated and Grouped by Category of Virtue**

| Category | Mean Score |
|---|---|
| Civic | 5.58 |
| Moral | 5.88 |
| Intellectual | 5.37 |
| Performance | 5.63 |

**Table 8: Primary Pupil Survey – Rankings Ordered by % of Total Score Highest to Lowest**

| | Character Strength | % of Total Score | Category |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Justice | 9.97 | Moral |
| 2 | Honesty | 8.14 | Moral |
| 3 | Neighbourliness | 8.01 | Civic |
| 4 | Determination | 7.22 | Performance |
| 5 | Compassion | 6.31 | Moral |
| 6 | Autonomy | 6.23 | Intellectual |
| 7 | Gratitude | 5.62 | Moral |
| 8 | Civility | 5.52 | Civic |
| 9 | Teamwork | 5.31 | Performance |
| 10 | Confidence | 4.84 | Performance |
| 11 | Tolerance | 4.19 | Civic |
| 12 | Volunteering | 3.51 | Civic |
| 13 | Service | 3.08 | Civic |
| 14 | Resilience | 2.78 | Performance |
| 15 | Humility | 2.57 | Moral |
| 16 | Integrity | 2.55 | Moral |
| 17 | Motivation | 2.29 | Performance |
| 18 | Curiosity | 2.09 | Intellectual |
| 19 | Resourcefulness | 1.99 | Intellectual |
| 20 | Reflection | 1.94 | Intellectual |
| 21 | Perseverance | 1.66 | Performance |
| 22 | Judgement and Reasoning | 1.55 | Intellectual |
| 23 | Critical Thinking | 1.50 | Intellectual |
| 24 | Community Awareness | 1.12 | Civic |

The six lowest-ranked character strengths by primary pupils were again dominated by intellectual virtues. As with the ratings, resourcefulness, judgement and reasoning and critical thinking were in the lowest six, while reflection also featured. Alongside these four intellectual virtues in the six lowest-ranked were perseverance (a performance virtue) and community awareness (a civic virtue).

As Chart 8 demonstrates, when the primary pupils' rankings are considered by virtue category, moral virtues accounted for the highest percentage of the total overall ranked score (35.2%), followed by civic virtues (25.4%), performance virtues (24.1%) and intellectual virtues (15.3%). This is the exact same order as the teachers' rankings.

**Chart 8: Primary Pupil Survey - Character Strengths Ranked and Grouped by Category of Virtue**
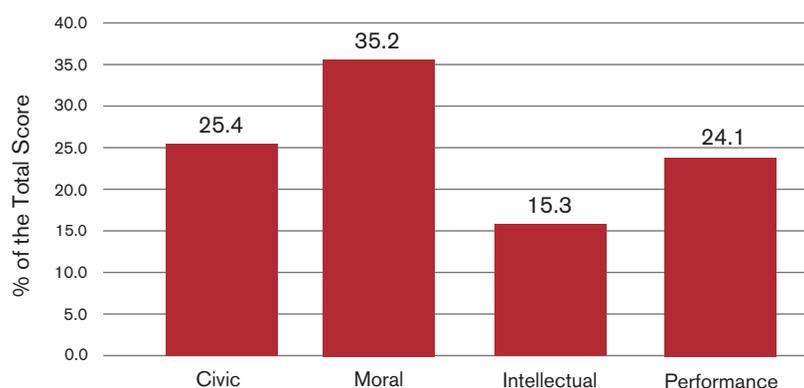
### 4.3.6 Secondary Pupils' Ratings

The mean secondary pupil ratings for each of the 24 character strengths are set out in Table 9. The six character strengths rated highest by secondary pupils comprised three moral virtues (honesty, justice and compassion) and three civic virtues (neighbourliness, civility and tolerance). The six character strengths rated lowest by secondary pupils comprised two intellectual (judgement and reasoning and curiosity), two performance virtues (perseverance and confidence) and two civic virtues (volunteering and community awareness). Although, and in contrast to the teachers' and primary pupils' ratings, only two intellectual virtues appeared in the lowest six rated character strengths, it is notable that the seventh and eighth lowest-rated character strengths were also intellectual virtues (critical thinking and reflection).

As with teachers and primary pupils, when the average means for each category of virtue are considered, moral virtues (5.37) had the highest mean and intellectual virtues (4.99) the lowest mean (Chart 9). Like primary pupils, performance virtues (5.12) were second, and civic virtues (5.09) third. Indeed, a significant difference favouring moral virtues was found between the mean ratings of moral virtues and intellectual virtues within each of the survey cohorts (teachers: $t[10] = 4.4$, $p < 0.01$; primary pupils: $t[10] = -4.02$, $p < 0.01$; secondary pupils: $t(10) = -2.73$, $p < 0.05$).
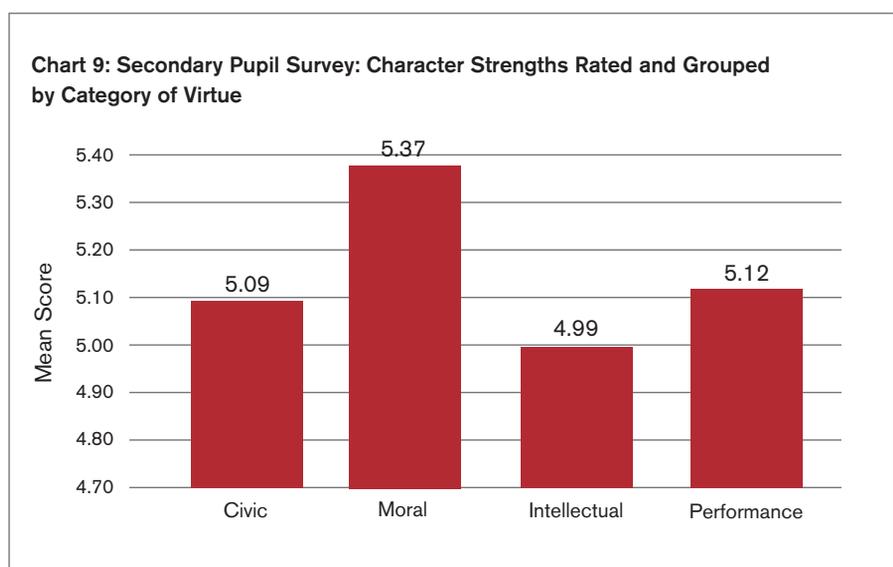
### 4.3.7 Secondary Pupils' Rankings

The rankings of the character strengths provided by the secondary pupils give further weight to the finding that moral virtues are central to conceptions of the good citizen. As Table 10 highlights, three of the sixth highest-ranked character strengths were moral (honesty, justice and compassion), while one was civic (neighbourliness), one intellectual (autonomy) and one performance (confidence). Once more, intellectual virtues featured heavily in the six lowest-ranked character strengths, with three (judgement and reasoning, reflection and critical thinking) in the lowest six. The remainder of the six were motivation and perseverance (both performance) and community awareness (civic).

As Chart 10 shows, when the secondary pupils' rankings are aggregated by category of virtue, moral virtues received the highest percentage of the total overall ranked score (34.8%), followed by civic virtues (26.2%), performance virtues

**Table 9: Secondary Pupil Survey – Ratings Ordered by Mean Highest to Lowest**

| | Character Strength | Mean | Category |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Honesty | 5.59 | Moral |
| 2 | Justice | 5.58 | Moral |
| 3 | Neighbourliness | 5.45 | Civic |
| =4 | Civility | 5.44 | Civic |
| =4 | Compassion | 5.44 | Moral |
| 6 | Tolerance | 5.39 | Civic |
| 7 | Gratitude | 5.38 | Moral |
| 8 | Autonomy | 5.30 | Intellectual |
| 9 | Determination | 5.29 | Performance |
| 10 | Motivation | 5.25 | Performance |
| 11 | Teamwork | 5.22 | Performance |
| 12 | Resilience | 5.19 | Performance |
| 13 | Humility | 5.17 | Moral |
| 14 | Resourcefulness | 5.08 | Intellectual |
| 15 | Integrity | 5.05 | Moral |
| 16 | Service | 5.04 | Civic |
| 17 | Critical Thinking | 5.03 | Intellectual |
| 18 | Reflection | 5.01 | Intellectual |
| 19 | Judgement and Reasoning | 5.00 | Intellectual |
| 20 | Perseverance | 4.97 | Performance |
| 21 | Confidence | 4.81 | Performance |
| 22 | Volunteering | 4.75 | Civic |
| 23 | Curiosity | 4.5 | Intellectual |
| 24 | Community Awareness | 4.47 | Civic |

Chart 9: Secondary Pupil Survey: Character Strengths Rated and Grouped by Category of Virtue

(21.2%) and intellectual virtues (17.9%). This is the exact same order as the teachers' and primary pupils' rankings.

### 4.3.8 Pupil Views on the Relation Between the Good Person and the Good Citizen

The focus groups' data provide further insights into how pupils understand the good citizen and how they view the relationship between the good person and the good citizen. When asked to define the good citizen, pupil responses focussed on the sorts of activities and actions a good citizen might undertake and/or the qualities a good citizen might possess and exhibit. The activities focussed almost exclusively on either contributing to society/community or helping others, though a few pupils offered the view that staying out of trouble also defined a good citizen. A range of qualities were mentioned by pupils, including determination, care, friendliness, respect, humility, teamwork, kindness, leadership, respect, responsibility, listening to others, compassion and honesty. Interestingly, given the pupils' ratings and rankings above, only one pupil mentioned a sense of justice as defining a good citizen, offering the following thoughts about how they would define justice:

> To understand what's wrong and right, you can contribute to society in a good way, to understand the way the people feel. For example, if something has happened then you can look at why this has happened [...] and who was right and who was wrong.
> Secondary School Pupil

**'I SEE THE SCHOOL AS IMPORTANT; WE SHOULD BE THE EPICENTRE OF OUR COMMUNITY [...] WE WANT TO LOOK OUT FOR OUR LOCAL COMMUNITY AND OUR LOCAL PEOPLE AND REALLY BE A HUB WHERE EVERYONE WANTS TO COME AND BE.'**

**Secondary School Leader**

**Table 10: Secondary Pupil Survey – Rankings Ordered by % of Total Score Highest to Lowest**

|    | Character Strength | % of Total Score | Category |
|----|--------------------|------------------|----------|
| 1  | Honesty | 8.76 | Moral |
| 2  | Neighbourliness | 8.52 | Civic |
| 3  | Justice | 7.87 | Moral |
| 4  | Autonomy | 7.46 | Intellectual |
| 5  | Confidence | 6.38 | Performance |
| 6  | Compassion | 6.29 | Moral |
| 7  | Civility | 5.28 | Civic |
| 8  | Integrity | 5.19 | Moral |
| 9  | Determination | 4.91 | Performance |
| 10 | Tolerance | 4.83 | Civic |
| 11 | Gratitude | 3.99 | Moral |
| 12 | Teamwork | 3.41 | Performance |
| 13 | Service | 3.23 | Civic |
| 14 | Resourcefulness | 2.83 | Intellectual |
| 15 | Humility | 2.72 | Moral |
| 16 | Curiosity | 2.46 | Intellectual |
| 17 | Volunteering | 2.45 | Civic |
| 18 | Resilience | 2.36 | Performance |
| 19 | Motivation | 2.33 | Performance |
| 20 | Judgement and Reasoning | 1.92 | Intellectual |
| 21 | Community Awareness | 1.85 | Civic |
| 22 | Reflection | 1.79 | Intellectual |
| 23 | Perseverance | 1.77 | Performance |
| 24 | Critical Thinking | 1.41 | Intellectual |



Chart 10: Secondary Pupil Survey - Character Strengths Ranked and Grouped by Category of Virtue
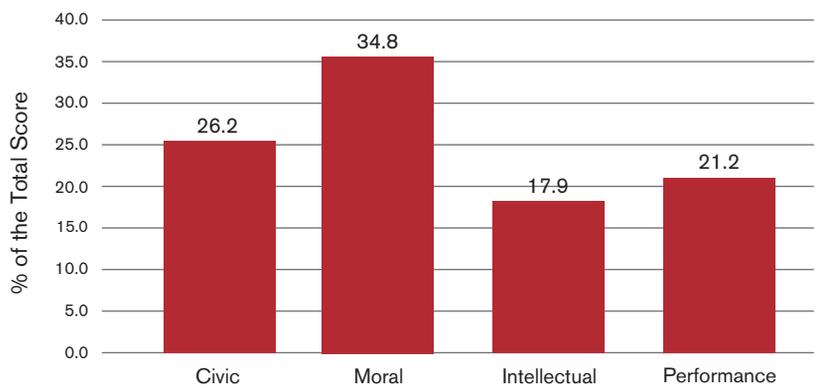
The pupils' views on whether the good person and the good citizen are different or the same were very similar to those of the teachers reported earlier in this section. Those pupils who expressed that there was a difference focussed on the scope of engagement and relationships involved, rather than the qualities required. In other words, that whereas a good person interacted and engaged with family and friends, a good citizen was active in their communities and with those they may not know personally:

> *A good person is just like you're nice to people […] but being a good citizen is you actually act upon what's going on in public and what's going on in your community.*
> Secondary School Pupil

Those pupils who suggested that there was no distinction between the good person and the good citizen – once again just as with the teachers who took the same view – centred their explanations more explicitly on the qualities involved. In some explanations, being a good person was positioned by pupils as a foundation for being a good citizen, while in others the qualities involved were viewed as inherently the same:

> *Being a good person can then correlate into being a good citizen, because if you're a good person than it could motivate you to then do more things for your community.*
> Secondary School Pupil

> *I think a good person is also linked to their community. Every good person would always be there for their community.*
> Primary School Pupil

> *[Is there a difference?] Not really because a person is a citizen […] Everyone should mostly share the same virtues because most virtues are actually helpful to you as a person.*
> Primary School Pupil

> *You can't really be a good citizen if you're not a good person.*
> Secondary School Pupil

In summary, then, school leaders, teachers and pupils viewed all categories of virtue as of importance to being a good citizen. This said, in the surveys with teachers and pupils, moral virtues were identified as being particularly important for good citizenship, a finding supported by the school leaders' interviews and the pupils' focus groups' data. In addition, certain civic virtues – namely, civility and tolerance – were rated and ranked as more important for being a good citizen than others, such as service and volunteering.

# 5 Discussion

Schools take a variety of approaches to educating the civic virtues, and indeed other virtues, required for good citizenship. The findings presented in the last section attest to this fact, while also evidencing some important commonalities of understanding and reported approaches and/or experiences across school leaders, teachers and pupils – including the crucial importance of schools in preparing their pupils for good citizenship. Informed by the research questions stated in several sections of this report, the present section examines and considers six key findings of particular relevance in light of existing literature. In doing so the discussion also explicates some implications for policy and practice in schools today.

## 5.1 EDUCATING FOR GOOD CITIZENSHIP A CORE PURPOSE OF SCHOOLS

The findings reaffirm the idea that school leaders view preparing pupils to be good citizens – including the teaching of civic virtues and providing opportunities to serve others – as a core and important part of education and schooling. Additionally, when the findings presented here and in the initial insights report published by the project are considered, it is clear that school leaders view the school as a core institution, or 'hub' to use the word cited by several leaders, for the local community. Furthermore, and connected with this, school leaders view acting as a community hub and engaging pupils in the civic lives of their community as inter-related and mutually beneficial – in other words as two sides of the same coin. The view of some that character education in schools focuses overly on the individual and fails to connect to ideas of citizenship is not borne out in the findings. This positive vision noted, it is also clear from the data, echoing previous studies by the Jubilee Centre (Arthur *et al.*, 2015), that some school leaders consider the language of certain civic virtues to be a challenge because of the contentious nature of certain concepts, such as service. Such contestation leads some leaders to avoid specific language in favour of more general concepts, such as community and respect. Other school leaders seek to operationalise more positive readings of the concepts involved, keeping these as core components of the language of character within the school. The key point here is that school

leaders are well aware of the varied definitions of the concepts involved, and on this basis seek positive ways of engaging pupils in meaningful and positive vocabulary that makes sense to pupils' lives and educational experiences. With this in mind, it is important that school leaders and teachers think very carefully about how civic virtues are defined and applied within the mission, ethos and culture of the school.

## 5.2 ACTIVITIES PROVIDED TO DEVELOP CIVIC VIRTUES AND SERVICE TO OTHERS

Schools remain one of the key institutions within society that enable children and young people to engage in their communities (Brasta, Mollidor and Stevens 2019). The schools in this study provide a range of opportunities for pupils to engage in civic activities, though the extent and universality of these is not uniform within and across schools, meaning that pupil experiences are somewhat varied. Some activities, such as raising money for charity and discussing current issues, were more commonly reported than others, such as taking action and volunteering. The findings in this report add further evidence to the existing literature (for example, Davies and Chong, 2016; House of Lords, 2018; Moorse, 2019; DCMS, 2021) that has raised questions about the extent to which active and experiential forms of education for citizenship, including those through which pupils engage

with communities beyond the school gate, are provided for *all* pupils. Relevant here, too, are the logistical and practical challenges of such provision. While these challenges are not insignificant, further and more universal opportunities for pupils are needed. That said, schools can only be expected to do so much and cannot solve the current discontents with democratic life alone. Greater policy attention is required to not only build opportunities within schools, but to create more civically fertile communities within which sustained and cohesive opportunities for pupils' civic engagement can be fostered (Times Education Commission, 2022).
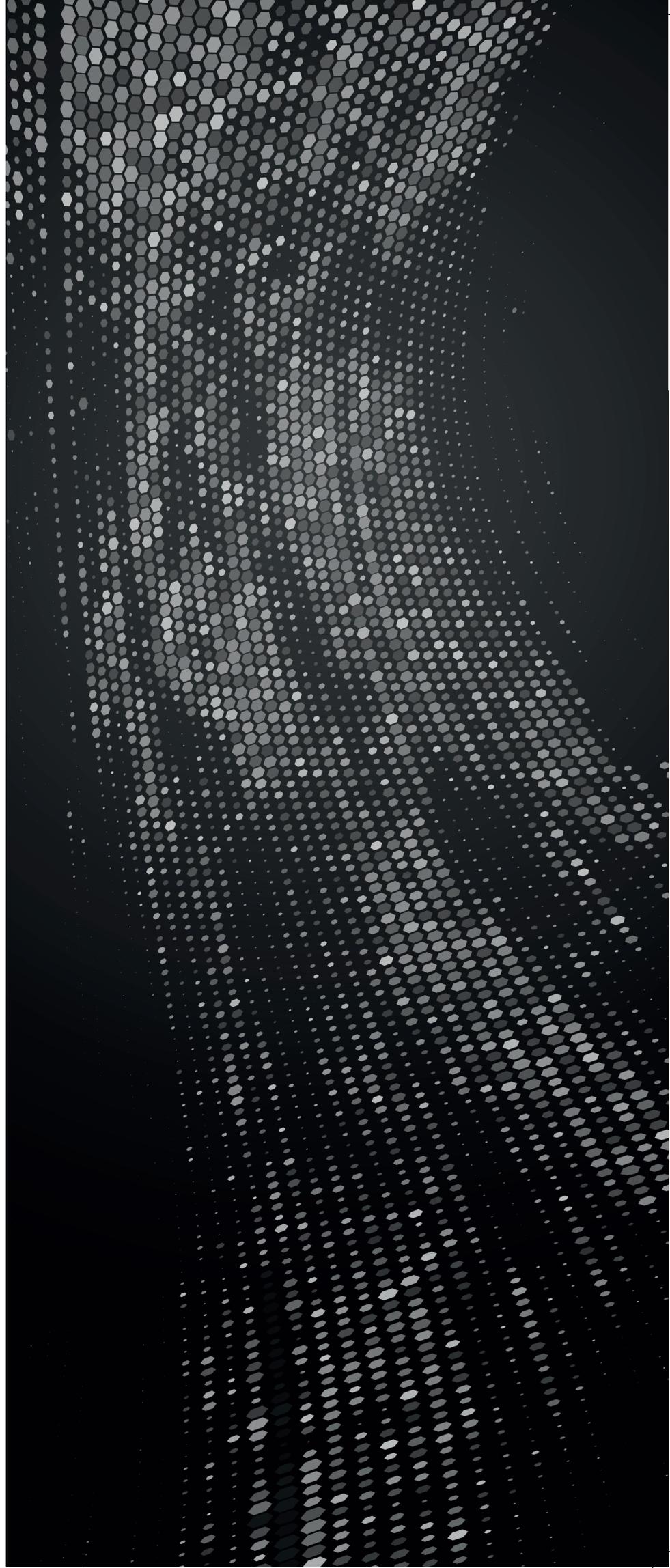
## 5.3 CATEGORIES OF VIRTUES AND GOOD CITIZENSHIP

Responses to the teacher survey, supported by the interviews with school leaders, provide further evidence that teachers perceive the teaching of all categories of virtues – including civic virtues – to be very important. Notably, this was so irrespective of whether or not teachers reported that their school took an embedded approach to character education. In other words, a more general finding of this study was that teachers recognise the importance of teaching character. This said, the findings suggest that when specific categories are considered, and when specific virtues within those categories are

also reflected upon, some are taught and/or valued more highly than others. Intellectual virtues are returned to more specifically below, but another core finding of the study that stands out is the relative lack of importance placed on the civic virtues of volunteering and service compared with other virtues, including civility and tolerance. In responses to the paired virtues question, teachers viewed civility and tolerance as being taught more in their schools, and as being more important for schools to teach, than service to others and volunteering. Similarly, in the ratings' questions, civility and tolerance were rated by teachers and pupils as more important for good citizenship than volunteering and service. While it cannot be known for certain why this was the case, three possible explanations can be offered. First, that volunteering and, more so, service might be viewed as more contentious than tolerance and civility. Certainly, as already considered, some school leaders identified issues with the concept of service. However, tolerance and civility are also concepts that are contentious (Peterson, 2019; Calhoun, 2000). Second, it may be the case that volunteering and service are viewed as actions rather than qualities of character *per se.* Third, and perhaps most likely, tolerance and civility might be understood to relate more broadly to how citizens live alongside each other and, at least on the surface, could be viewed as being less demanding than volunteering and service, which could be viewed as requiring more concerted time and effort.

> '**I DON'T THINK MORAL VIRTUES CAN EXIST WITHOUT CIVIC VIRTUES AND I DON'T THINK CIVIC VIRTUES CAN EXIST WITHOUT MORAL VIRTUES. I MEAN, HOW CAN YOU HAVE COMPASSION AND UNDERSTANDING, BUT NOT HAVE ANY RESPONSIBILITY OR CARE WITHIN THE BROADER CONTEXT OF YOURSELF?**'
>
> **Secondary School Leader**

## 5.4 THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MORAL VIRTUES, CIVIC VIRTUES AND GOOD CITIZENSHIP

While an important finding of this study, as stated above, is that school leaders, teachers, and pupils consider intellectual, moral, civic and performance virtues to be important for being a good citizen, it is also clear from the findings that they place particular emphasis on moral virtues, viewing these as both central to good citizenship and as acting as a foundation for civic virtues. Across several questions in the survey, in the interviews and in the focus groups, respondents emphasised the moral dimensions of being a good citizen. Further substantive weight to this finding is provided when the ratings of the character strengths for being a good citizen are considered. When the top six rated character strengths are considered, three appear in the top six rated by teachers, primary pupils, and secondary pupils. These are two moral virtues (honesty and justice) and one civic virtue (tolerance). When the top ten rated by the three groups of respondents are considered, in addition to honesty, justice and tolerance, two further moral virtues (compassion and gratitude), two further civic virtues (civility and neighbourliness) and one performance virtue (determination) appear in all three lists. These findings suggest that moral character is viewed as an integral part of being a good citizen, and they are important in light of the ongoing debates about the civic components of character education and the moral elements of education for citizenship.

## 5.5 THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE GOOD PERSON AND THE GOOD CITIZEN

Connected with the point just made, the findings offer interesting insights into how the relationship between the good person and the good citizen is understood. Here the findings suggest that some respondents view the good person and good citizen as being different, while others view them as being either mutually reinforcing and/or inherently connected. Beyond this more general finding, qualitative data from the study reveals some noteworthy nuances. Where distinctions were made between the good person and the good citizen, these explanations *did not* focus on character, but rather on the extent and scope of activity involved. That is, whereas a good person was viewed as operating mainly within the sphere of

personal relationships and connections, a good citizen was perceived as being active within wider communities with others they do not know personally. In contrast, where school leaders, teachers, and pupils perceived a very close relationship between the good person and the good citizen, the reasons given focussed on the mutually beneficial connection of the virtues involved and on the idea that being a good person acts as a precursor for being a good citizen. In other words, for these respondents – echoing the points made in 5.4 above – being a good citizen necessarily involves moral virtues. In many ways, that this was the case reflects a common sense understanding of the good citizen. As well as being civil, tolerant and neighbourly, for example, a good citizen is someone who will also be compassionate, honest and who has a sense of justice. As such, and not detracting from the efforts of schools to make valuable links, these findings again bring further into question the lack of connectivity between character education and education for citizenship in educational policy in England over the last decade (Peterson, 2020; Kristjánsson, 2021).

## 5.6 INTELLECTUAL VIRTUES AND *PHRONESIS*

Though still regarding intellectual virtues as important for being a good citizen, teachers and pupils in this study viewed intellectual virtues as less important than moral, civic and performance virtues. This raises important questions about how intellectual virtues feature in regards to educating for good citizenship, their relationship with civic virtues and the role of *phronesis* in civic life. While it may be the case that moral virtues hold a more central role in being a good citizen, intellectual virtues remain vital. Indeed, a number of ongoing challenges facing democratic life today – including populism, fake news, polarisation, and incivility – seem to result at least part from a lack of intellectual virtue, with educational responses often foregrounding the need for qualities such as judgement and reasoning, critical thinking, curiosity and reflection. It remains the case, however, that compared with interest in intellectual virtues *per se* and in the nature of *phronesis* in education more generally, literature on *phronesis* and citizenship remains scant (see Curren, 2000; and Kristjánsson,

2022 for exceptions). Aristotle himself viewed the *phronetic* citizen in less demanding terms than the *phronetic* person, suggesting that most citizens could practice civic virtues without *phronesis*, so long as they exhibited some less sophisticated forms of intellectual virtues. Nevertheless, few would disagree that citizens in democracies today are involved in a range of ethical situations within which possessing some degree of practical wisdom would be useful. Clearly, further theoretical and empirical research is needed to examine the role of intellectual virtues in educating good citizens, including that of *phronesis*. That would need to include not only individual *phronesis*, as excellence in moral and civic decision-making, but also collective *phronesis*, because most important decisions in the civic sphere are made by groups of people.

> 'IT'S ABOUT OUR COMMUNITY, WE CARE FOR OUR COMMUNITY AND WANT TO BE GOOD CITIZENS FOR OUR COMMUNITY AND HELP THE COMMUNITY TO MAKE A POSITIVE IMPACT.'
>
> **Primary School Leader**

# 6 Conclusions and Recommendations

Given the lack of existing empirical research in this area, the findings presented in this report give important insights into education for civic virtues in schools today, as well as how school leaders, teachers and pupils understand the virtues of the good citizen. The significance of the latter can be underscored by the recognition that the contested and complex vocabulary of character education and education for citizenship requires those involved to understand how key actors conceive and operationalise the core concepts at play (Gulliford, Morgan and Jordan, 2021).

Through an examination of the research questions set out in Section 1, this report has also shed light on various practices in schools today. School leaders and teachers clearly recognise the importance of preparing pupils to be good citizens, the role of character within this and the necessity of providing experiential opportunities for pupils to practice, develop and express good citizenship. This said, the data suggests that while providing opportunities for pupils to volunteer and serve others was perceived to be important by teachers, pupils generally suggested that their opportunities to actively engage in the civic lives of their communities were mixed, and tended to be focussed on more accessible and social forms of action (such as raising money for charity; participating in sports and recreational clubs) than on more systematic and political forms of participation. Although the teaching of civic virtues by schools was deemed to be important, certain civic virtues (tolerance and civility) were prioritised more than others (volunteering and service). Moreover, the findings raise notable questions about the role of intellectual virtues in educating the good citizen.

Ultimately, however, what came through most strongly in the data was the sense that moral virtues were of particular relevance and import for being a good citizen. Whether acting as a precursor for civic virtues and/or operating alongside civic virtues in defining what it means to be a good citizen, the significance of moral virtues such as honesty, justice, compassion and integrity were consistently affirmed by school leaders, by teachers, and by pupils. Based on these conclusions and the data presented, this report offers the following recommendations about education for good citizenship and civic virtues in schools today:

- Those involved in developing policy and practice in schools – including politicians, school leaders and teachers – should focus their attention on how civic virtues are cultivated within and beyond school settings. This attention should include: (1) ensuring clarity about the relationship between civic virtues and intellectual, moral and performance virtues, including how these relationships are operationalised within schools; and (2) providing sustained and cohesive opportunities for pupils to engage in the civic lives of their communities through volunteering and service to others.
- Schools should ensure not only that they have an explicit set of virtues that are embedded across the school community, but that these include civic virtues. These virtues should be used to underpin the building of community within the school, as well as the schools' work developing pupils' engagement with others in the wider community.
- Given the importance of moral virtues to being a good citizen ascribed by school leaders, teachers and pupils, those engaged with policy at all educational levels should consider how closer and more holistic connections can be made between character education and education for citizenship.
- More empirical research is needed to examine further the relationship among embedded character education in a school, pupils' sense of belonging to the school community and pupils' sense of belonging to the local community. This research finds a correlation between these concepts that warrants further, more systematic attention.
- More theoretical and empirical research is needed that explores the role and importance of intellectual virtues to being a good citizen, including the meta-virtue of *phronesis* at both the individual and collective levels.

> [
> 'I BELIEVE A GOOD PERSON AND A GOOD CITIZEN ARE THE SAME IN THE SENSE THAT THEY HAVE A STRONG MORAL COMPASS, STANDS FOR WHAT IS 'RIGHT', AND LOOK AFTER OTHERS AS WELL AS THEMSELVES.'
>
> **Secondary School Leader**
> ]

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# Research Team

### ANDREW PETERSON
#### PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR

Professor Andrew Peterson is Professor of Character and Citizenship Education in the Jubilee Centre for Character and Virtues. His research focusses on the civic and moral dimensions of character and citizenship education, including how core concepts are understood and operationalised within educational settings.

### DAVID CIVIL
#### RESEARCH FELLOW

Dr. David Civil is a Research Fellow in the Jubilee Centre for Character and Virtues. In 2020 he completed a PhD in History at the University of Nottingham where his research focussed on the concept of meritocracy in post-war Britain.

### SHANE MCLOUGHLIN
#### ASSISTANT PROFESSOR

Dr. Shane McLoughlin is an Assistant Professor for the MA in Character Education at the Jubilee Centre for Character and Virtues, and a Chartered Psychologist. He specialises in psychometric measurement, assessment of intervention efficacy, meaning-focussed behaviour therapies, and individual differences.

### FRANCISCO MOLLER

Dr. Francisco Moller is a Lecturer for a MA in Public Management at the Institute of Local Governments Studies (INLOGOV) at the University of Birmingham. He is a multidisciplinary professional and provides support to research teams working in topics such as: character education, politics of care, local governments and policy evaluations.

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> **'A GOOD CITIZEN
> WOULD BE A GOOD
> PERSON, THEY GO
> HAND IN HAND.'**
>
> **Secondary School Pupil**

**JOHN TEMPLETON**
**FOUNDATION**

For more information about the Civic Virtues through Service to Others project and the Jubilee Centre for Character and Virtues please contact:

tel: 0121 414 4875

email: jubileecentre@contacts.bham.ac.uk

**www.jubileecentre.ac.uk**

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www.birmingham.ac.uk

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