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Chaplains in Independent Church Schools Straddling Church and School

Jeanette Rosiland Krige

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Humanities at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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Abstract

Certain educational institutions still claim to be Church schools and continue to employ chaplains in spite of post-Enlightenment cynicism and secularization. A number of chaplains face a struggle to balance obligations to both Church and school. Some face ambivalence about their continued appointment in their liberal educational institutions. In some cases it appears that they are merely appointed out of deference to tradition. In other schools, however, there is a strong declaration that the chaplain and all that the position entails in terms of chapel services and the teaching of the Christian religion, remains an integral part of the Church school. There is confusion regarding the role, expectations and prospects of chaplaincy. Certain chaplains are definitely marginalised from the mainstream of school life until traditional religious services require what is apparently a charade of Church faith at schools that are largely secularised. I argue that the marginalisation of the spiritual from the rest of the school programme is not in the best interests of continuing the excellence of the educational experience and the transformation of South African Independent Church schools. This would be better served by seeking an integrated worldview to sustain a way of life beyond school years. Chaplains may take on the role of encouraging education for the whole of life by facilitating critical thinking and broad conversations across the artificial barriers of school subject compartments. They may also lead a Church school community towards a fresh investigation of Christianity that will involve the chaplain's liturgical, teaching, pastoral and social action roles, a marriage of theory and praxis to bring the balance of head, heart and hands.

Key words

Independent education
Church schools
Enlightenment
Secularization
Modernity and postmodernity
Chaplains
Church and Christianity - conservative and liberal spectrums
Religious Education
Pastoral care
Spirituality
Role theory

Declaration

I declare that this thesis is my own unaided work. It is submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any other degree or examination in any other university.

Name of Candidate ……

……. day of …….. 2007.

Final submission date after examination.....

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I would like to thank the chaplains, heads, teachers, learners, parents, school governors, bishops and other clergy, who took part in this research. In particular I mention that friends and colleagues from the annual chaplains' conferences since 2000 to the present. They inspired me, initially to write a handbook for chaplains and then to develop this thesis. I also wish to thank them and their schools for their hospitality and welcome when I visited and for time so generously given in many discussions, reflections and filling in questionnaires. My own bishop and the schools where I served as a school chaplain and participatory researcher for six years, also deserve my thanks. I especially thank my supervisor at the University of the Witwatersrand Education Department, Dr Mike Kissack for inspiring and guiding me. My thanks are also due to Canon Paul Germond and Prof Bill Domeris (the former presently and the latter previously a member of the University of the Witwatersrand Sociology Department) and Prof Shirley Pendlebury who helped me to clarify some of my initial thinking and the theme of this research. There are numerous others who have contributed to my discussions and case studies and encouraged me along the way. I thank all involved. No work of this nature is possible without a longsuffering family. I wish to dedicate this work to my husband and children with gratitude.

Terminology

1. Within this thesis, the general term “religion” applies almost exclusively to the dominant Christian faith within the context of the Church schools that form the focus of this study.
2. “Church” with a capital letter indicates the larger institution worldwide in contrast to the local “church” congregation.
3. ISASA, the Independent Schools Association of Southern Africa, is a body organising standards, further development and marketing of many South African Independent schools.
4. HMC, Head Master’s Conference, grouping of Christian, mainly Church schools prior to changing name to SAHISA, South African Heads of Independent Schools, a broader group of schools.
5. “Church schools” referred to throughout are mainly Anglican and a few Methodist schools established specifically according to the principles and practices of the Church. The Church no longer controls most of these schools, even though it retains a large influence in many.
6. “Chaplain” is used almost exclusively to refer to school chaplains throughout the thesis, even though there are chaplains assigned to other institutions such as hospitals and prisons. The word originally denoted a covering, thus indicating pastoral connotations.
7. “Pastoral” is a word originally used to designate the caring of clergy for people in their churches, but now it has been used broadly in schools with reference to a wide range of caregivers, including school psychologists and chaplains.
8. RE is Religious Education, a subject for religious teaching within the school programme, sometimes called Divinity in Anglican Church schools or the chaplain’s period.
9. LO is Life Orientation, a new subject at schools in South Africa denoting a mixture of Life Skills, Religious Education and Physical Education.

10. Further Education and Training (FET) ends with grade twelve and is thus the final school leaving phase of the present South African education system. The (GETC) General Education and Training Certificate is the junior level school leaving requirement which ends with grade nine.
11. “Social Imaginary”, a term used extensively in this thesis, designates something that has gradually become taken for granted. It is a concept that has trickled down into the popular consciousness from a relatively small group of intellectuals over time to be popularly accepted as absolutely true without question, (see Taylor 2004).
12. “Deism” is a particular brand of religion popularised during the Enlightenment period. God is perceived as the original first cause but has no further interaction with the world. Like a clockmaker, the deistic god set the world in motion.
13. “Immanence”, that God is omnipresent and able to draw near to humanity, is combined with “transcendence”, that God is over and above all and greater than creation, in a theistic concept of God. This is opposed to deism, (see above) or pantheism, that identifies God with the universe, rather than present within, but greater than the material universe. The three great monotheistic religions are said to be theistic.
14. “Redaction criticism” is an attempt to unravel the editing of texts. This was a new feature of Enlightenment criticism of the Bible.
15. CNE - Christian National Education, a blend of Calvinistic Reformed Christian theology and Nationalist Apartheid ideology that formed the base of educational policy for the previous South African government.
16. Educator is the preferred South African Education Department’s term for a teacher.
17. Learner is the preferred South African Education Department’s term for a scholar.

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Introduction

Personal background

Having a background of teaching and studies in Philosophy of Religion, (University of Witwatersrand and King's College, London), I was ordained in the Methodist Church of Southern Africa. My second church appointment was as a chaplain to a Church school. There was a concern about the philosophy and theology of school chaplaincy that led the bishop to call together heads, senior staff and chaplains to participate in a number of debates from 1999. These ongoing discussions were the beginning of my research interest. Many of my initial assumptions about chaplains were challenged further as I engaged with a broader group of school chaplains during annual National School Chaplains' Conferences.

I began to identify some of the struggles that chaplains faced as they straddled between Church and school. It became clear that there was a need for some guidelines to help school chaplains appointed to South African Independent schools. I thus presented a first draft of a "Handbook for School Chaplains in South African Independent Schools" to the 2002 Conference. This was received with enthusiasm and I was asked to expand the work, a request which led me to embark on this thesis. A majority of the relatively small number of school chaplains in South Africa today have been involved in formal and informal interviews and consultations. Many have welcomed me to their schools and provided access to teachers, pupils, parents, alumni and heads, all with their own perspectives on the subject.

Rationale

The main intention of this research was to investigate the complexity of the role combination of these straddlers, school chaplains, a specific genre of religious workers employed in the small sector of influential South African Independent Church schools. Many chaplains seem to straddle uncomfortably between school and Church, two important institutions that have greatly affected modern life. They seem to fit into neither institution well

and different role-players have divergent expectations and conceptions concerning their role. It was clearly necessary to unravel some aspects of this complexity and arrive at some possibilities for the future of school chaplains in South African Church schools.

I began this research with the conviction that every aspect of chaplaincy needs to be looked at critically and thoroughly assessed because it cannot be taken for granted that a faith stance remains a credible option for twenty-first century post-Apartheid South African society. There were opinions ranging from seeing chaplains as merely expensive, traditional leach-like accretions that suck up time and energy from an over-stretched school programme, to favourable assessments of the value they add at schools. This made it necessary to investigate whether the chaplaincy role ought to be made redundant or possibly re-structured in order to add even more value to schools.

Possible roles for chaplains at schools

I noted a number of different models, visions, expectations, job descriptions and an abundance of confusion surrounding the role of chaplains. Different members of a school community hold conflicting or even mutually incompatible expectations and perceptions of chaplaincy. Basically the chaplain's roles revolve around liturgical, teaching, pastoral and social concern issues. The mixture of these is slightly different in each school depending on the model of chaplaincy and the individuals concerned.

An overall summary of the role given by the majority of chaplains at the 2001 National Chaplains' Conference in Pietermaritzburg is that of a "spiritual presence" in the school. By this they understood not merely an amorphous vague spirituality, but a specific "Christian presence" in a Church school. All of the chaplains I have interviewed over the past six years are agreed that all chaplains should be a committed, practising Christians. Invested in the role is personal commitment to faith that others expect will be modelled in a credible

lifestyle. A religious disposition is thus absolutely non-negotiable for the position.

This does not presuppose that all chaplains will be in agreement about their understanding of Christianity, however. Even in the same denomination, mainly Anglican and Methodist in the case of the particular genre of Church schools under discussion, there are numerous shades of doctrinal opinions and understandings ranging from conservative to liberal with numerous stances in between.

The different models of chaplaincy arise partly from adapting to different schooling models to cater for a range of age groups, genders, boarding and other specific needs, besides the influence of personalities. The different personal preferences of three successive heads led chaplain A to change his modus operandi three times. Not only the different expectations and desires of heads and other influential persons at a school, but also the gifts and strengths of chaplains and the brand of faith they propagate, will find expression in different ways of doing the work. There is neither a rigid job description in most cases, nor any norm of practice available. Chaplains may struggle to interpret vague expectations from both Church and school. This only adds to the complexity of their straddling between Church and school.

During the Enlightenment period an increasingly influential group of intellectuals regarded Christianity (and all religion) as superstitious nonsense. A number of sociologists proposed that it could and would fade away without any loss, in fact with great benefit to humanity. (See chapter two. The secularization debate continues to occupy sociologists to this day. See Martin 2005:3, who holds a theory of successive secularizations followed by resurgence of faith, rather than any uniform process of steady loss. Charles Taylor claims Martin has contributed substantially to the unmasking of the "secular-liberal triumphalism" of much sociological presumptions about a "single process" (of secularization) "marching through history," Taylor ix in Martin 2005). The Enlightenment critique of faith opened up the continued

need for a fresh apologetic approach to give a rationale for faith within any and every human circumstance. If chaplains are to remain in schools in this day and age, therefore, there is a need for them to carve out credibility and acceptance for themselves and their worldview. I suggest that they may seek to do this through entering into conversations with the entire school community about all aspects of faith and life, cutting across all disciplines and seeking to integrate knowledge as applicable to a Christian worldview.

This process will develop from dialogue with people of any or no faith orientation, across every element of the school curriculum, sporting, cultural, academic and enfolding every sector of the school community as well. I thus propose a particular kind of chaplain who is able to seek to give reasons for continued belief in the Christian faith and demonstrate this faith in a credible lifestyle within the framework of our post-Enlightened world of knowledge that has opened up so many more questions about faith and divergent views in a pluralistic environment.

I do not thereby presume any absolutely compelling intellectual reasons for either belief or atheism. Both rely on an element of faith in the end, but intellectual credibility for what may be the most important aspect of life, the existence or not of Ultimate Reality, or God, should at least not be dismissed without the careful sifting of any evidence available. The Christian faith must rest on some rational basis, even if faith claims to be more than rational. Unless there is a willingness to engage with modern humanity, faith becomes an anachronism. It has survived through various ages and stages of history through some accommodation to contemporary culture, some way of fitting what was regarded as the core of faith to the ever-changing situation. Chaplains will thus be involved in some rational vindication of the Christian faith within the school context.

This will by no means imply that the chaplain imposes any views onto others, which is the hallmark of indoctrination. Instead the chaplain must engage in winning the right to be heard through respectful listening and being a “spiritual presence” in a school. Then there may be an open door to talk about and

explore how Christianity can be a viable life option and fit into every aspect of living. Unless there is this broad appreciation of the faith, it will simply remain what I perceive it has become in too many schools, a compartment that is tightly kept from infiltrating any other aspect of school life.

I propose therefore a revised profile for chaplaincy. Chaplains should be able to engage intellectually with some of the best minds, many of whom are found at Church schools presently in my opinion. However, I cannot emphasise too strongly that any rational approach must not exclude a balance with the experiential aspects of religion. Chaplain B has said there is not purely "cerebration", but also "celebration" in chaplaincy, the cerebral and experiential sides of the faith. This is not only in worship, but also spiritual formation, pastoral care and justice issues that awaken the school to broader issues in the world beyond books, examinations and the comfort of the life expected as a reward from private school education.

Conditions to make the practice possible

In order for a chaplain to engage in dialogue across every aspect of school life, the chaplain should ideally have a high level of education that enables at least some grasp of the various areas of school subjects, but at very least, an ongoing interest to read widely. This is also important because the school environment respects intellectual ability and thus a door to discussion is opened. Chaplains must be interested in education as this is the special field of their work.

I am suggesting as a possibility a strategy of engagement with the underlying assumptions and spirituality of each and every subject. How they open up rich dialogues across every aspect of school life will depend on the structural constraints and the nature of the specific chaplain. As a minimum, a school that is seriously seeking to be a Church school in more than name, may grant the chaplain the freedom to explore this dialogue approach in chaplaincy periods and not impose a restricted syllabus of Bible knowledge alone that

would make it difficult to engage with issues that may arise in mathematics, music or science, to name only a few disciplines often separated from religion.

Methodology

The parameters of this research are the Protestant Church schools of the Republic of South Africa although comparisons and research were drawn from other areas, particularly the UK where the pattern of private schooling, originated. (What I refer to as "private" schooling in South Africa is recently designated as "Independent" schooling, in that it is mostly self-funding and in a few exceptions, only partially assisted by state funding, so that there is a certain amount of autonomy in accordance with the South African Schools Act of 1996. At all of these schools there is payment of fees expected, except for a minority of bursary scholarships.) It is to be noted that the researcher deliberately did not include too much background about the complexities of the South African political context within this thesis. The specific focus is the chaplains in a genre of schools that appear to have retained a largely first world, global and international recipe derived from the British public school mode. Perhaps they are essentially still as Randall claimed approximately twenty years ago, little pieces of Europe within South Africa, in spite of recent efforts to transform into more African institutions, (see Randall 1982). It is for this reason that so many South African students are able to slot into exchange programmes at other schools of this nature almost anywhere in the world without much alienation. The primary concern of this research is officially designated chaplains rather than teachers or other staff who fulfil religious roles such as the teaching of religious studies, but who are not recognised by the Church or the school as either lay or ordained chaplains.

As there has been little or no educational research on the role of school chaplains within the South African context, it could not be built on any local written work in this specific field. There are very few written sources specifically on the work of school chaplains. There were only three published sources available at the time of research, notably Monahan and Renehan (1998), Cameron ed. and other Bloxham Report papers, (2000) and Norman

ed., (2004). There were a few unpublished web resources as well, but nothing substantial and nothing specifically about South African Church school chaplains. Reading for this research was of necessity inter-disciplinary, ranging between sociology, education and theology, all of which contribute theory towards the role of the chaplain, (see bibliography and electronic citations).

It has been possible to compare various types of chaplains as there is some common ground between the roles of school chaplains and hospital, prison and other chaplains. There is notably more literature available about other chaplaincies as there has been ongoing research by Beckford and Gilliat, (1998) and others. There are, however, notable differences between all these chaplaincies and that at schools. It was also possible to compare the careers of school chaplains and teachers on the one hand and clergy on the other by means of reading and through discussions with bishops, clergy, teachers and other representatives of school communities in order to seek to clarify some of the complexities surrounding school chaplains straddling Church and school.

Participatory observation over a six year chaplaincy appointment from 2000 to 2005, at three schools, two of which ran concurrently, yielded invaluable insights and field notes were scrupulously kept. In addition the researcher had past experience of school teaching as well as being a clergy person in a congregational post both before and after this term of appointment as a school chaplain.

The observation process included a number of structured, semi-structured and non-structured interviews, (see examples of questionnaires in Appendix one). Many of these interviews were face-to-face, but others were telephonic or e-mailed responses to questionnaires. There is probably value in conducting some interviews via electronic media as some things may be more easily written than said by certain people, whereas others respond more readily to verbal interaction in the presence of the researcher. Being present

allows for non-verbal communication and impressions as well as that which is directly articulated. It was made known to all who engaged in the process that the interviews were designed for the purpose of research and the researcher was identified as a school chaplain herself. It is conceivable that some were being polite in their responses and that this could influence the outcome of the research, but it was hoped that over time the building good relationships with certain of the interviewees could lead to honesty rather than mere superficiality. It is also clear that many if not most, Independent school parents and pupils are ready to express their opinions openly without necessarily tempering this with respect for any office, such as the priesthood. As most South African school chaplains are ordained, this was most probably assumed rather than stated in most conversations, (82% from a 2006 analysis, as depicted in Appendix 2). There is such a small pool of schools that employ school chaplains that the sample of thirty two schools includes the majority. The researcher was nevertheless careful to note that there were representatives of various genders, theological, racial, socio-economic and other differences. Their schools also reflect the diversity of day and boarding establishments, monastic and co-educational, preparatory and secondary institutions that are located in different provinces of the country, six to be exact.

The research concentrates on Protestant Church schools. Interviews included many heads, teachers, administrative and ground staff members, pupils and sometimes wider members of the school community such as governors, parents and alumni as well as chaplains. All of these schools are members of ISASA (Independent Schools Association of Southern Africa). They are listed in the “Independent” magazine of ISASA as Independent schools of quality and can be verified as most of the most important Protestant Church schools in South Africa today. ISASA holds to a strict code of conduct and accountability for its member schools.

The researcher was also in contact with a number of other ISASA schools with no Church affiliation in order to form some level of comparison. The major question was whether there was any difference between Church schools within similar contexts and socio-economic backgrounds. The researcher was not able to investigate this in depth as it goes beyond the immediate scope of this thesis, but it was interesting to note the answers to questions about religious policies, community service projects and school mission statements. Apparently there was some qualitative difference with at least a majority of Church schools, especially with regard to the scope of community service, (see Chapter eight). Most of these non-Church school interviews were conducted telephonically but a few sites were visited as well.

With very few exceptions, the school sites were visited and many interviews were conducted personally, with follow-up interviews by telephone and e-mail correspondence. The researcher found most of the chaplains not only made time to be available for in-depth conversations, answering questions and affording her the opportunity to observe one of their typical school days, but they generally shared an excitement that their role as school chaplains would begin to be explored during the research process. Of greatest value was the synergy of the many in-depth discussions and debates that took place during the seven Independent School's Chaplains' Conferences attended by the researcher from 2000 - 2007. As she participated as a member of the chaplaincy, she had privileged access to chaplaincy web sites and other interaction reserved for chaplains. This research could not have been possible without the trust and even vulnerability of many colleagues through years of interaction. Every attempt has been made to ensure anonymity of chaplains and schools in order to respect their privacy in accordance with the ethical requirements of consent and discretion, even though the small number of schools with chaplains in South Africa renders this a difficult task.

School web sites were not always helpful in the search to understand the history of particular schools and where the chaplaincy presently fitted in, particularly as there is a tendency to use clichés about spirituality especially in

these public websites, (see the electronic citation list). Randall's critical research on South African Independent schools has still not been surpassed or updated and was thus used extensively. It has proved far more valuable than web searches of particular schools in giving an overall context and some historical insights, (Randall 1982).

There is no question of advocacy for chaplaincy or hope for gain from the findings of this research as the researcher is no longer a school chaplain and was never wholly reliant on this as a means of livelihood. There is thus a level of detachment. At the beginning there were somewhat negative conceptions about the future of chaplaincy in the majority of South African schools, but as the research developed some of these ideas had to be modified considerably. The researcher is presently convinced that Church schools have a right to exist and give explicit Christian teaching as part of the provision in the South African Educational Act of 1996 for private religious schools to be established within set parameters. There is however, a need for a brand of chaplaincy that will enter a broader phase of open dialogue with every aspect of school life rather than continue in the traditional mould, which is being squeezed into a diminished isolated compartment in some schools. At the beginning there was no clarity in the mind of the researcher as to the future of chaplaincy and whether it ought to remain, but she arrived at the conclusion that there is indeed a modified, but very important role chaplains may play in schools now and probably in the future, as far as that may be discerned.

She acknowledges that her own worldview as a practising Christian has no doubt influenced her research, but appeals that this should not be seen as a prohibition to her commitment to open honest research. There was wide reading reflective of a diversity of viewpoints. There is no truly neutral research stance, although there is an attempt to "bracket personal commitments when engaging in sociological investigation", (Fergusson and Wright 1988:650). Postmodern thinking acknowledges that there is always a

prior choice of presuppositions on which to build research, (see further regarding the question of objectivity, Chapter three).

The research makes use of more than one method in a process of triangulation including the use of both formal and informal interviews as well as questionnaires, (examples in Appendix one). According to Cohen and Manion, triangulation is the use of two or more methods of data collection in the study of some aspect of human behaviour, (1994:106). The numerous individual and group interviews were the subject of careful reflection and documentation. Field notes are available. The primary approach was qualitative observation of human behaviour in the context of the Independent schools of South Africa. This involved what Layder calls “grounded theory”, mainly open-ended qualitative research, (1993). Besides interviews, the research involved daily reflections, a critical journal of chaplaincy issues encountered during the researcher’s tenure as a school chaplain as well as a rigorous examination of field notes and a comparison of experiences with other chaplains in order to seek to avoid undue subjectivity. The latter process has been helped by the researcher’s exit from school chaplaincy allowing a distance and the wisdom of hindsight.

From this process of observing chaplaincy from many angles and seeking to engage in critical analysis of perceptions of the role, the theory was constructed that chaplaincy should be more proactive in sifting the premises of all that is done in the school context with a view to challenging each participant to develop a holistic worldview that is able to sustain a person throughout life. On the other hand intellectual theories such as the secularisation theory, was also analysed. This forms part of the critical analysis of the context of school chaplaincy. That religion is waning in society at large and education is a major catalyst for this recession is far too simplistic, according to the revised theory of Martin, (2005). However, there are ambivalent indications about the future of chaplaincy within the complex context of South African education as the country straddles global and African cultures.

Space triangulation was part of the methodology as a number of Church schools across South Africa were included within the research. The element of time triangulation expanded as the study extended part-time over a period of years, informally from 1999 when the first field notes were kept in anticipation of the formal research beginning in 2003. The time factor led to the observation not merely of the expected diminishment of chaplaincy, but an ambiguous erosion and growth of influence at some of the sites, dependent on numerous factors, not least the issues surrounding the personalities and preferences of heads and chaplains.

There is very little quantitative research involved in this project except for the collation of the three formal questionnaires. The aim of these, together with my facilitation of a workshop for chaplains during 2005, was to gather basic information and opinions on the role of chaplains. The first questionnaire was submitted to thirty-two chaplains in 2001 and an analysis of the twenty one replies led to conclusions that there was far more diversity than the researcher initially thought. There was also a general consensus about a vague definition of the primary role as a “spiritual presence”. Some of the analysis of this structured qualitative research is reflected in the graphs that give the gender, racial and clergy/laity breakdown of chaplaincy in Appendix 2. Although there was a good response to the first questionnaire, (probably due to the fact that responses were collected personally), a dismal percentage managed to return the remaining questionnaires, so telephonic follow-up conversations with many of the chaplains who did not submit their responses became necessary. There are a number of extracts and analyses from these and other interviews throughout this thesis. There was only access to school records regarding pupils’ church affiliations in two very different schools, representing day and boarding establishments. At these schools at least this gave some idea of the majority who still claim to be church members, even if they admit they do not attend regularly, (see Appendix 3).

In spite of some surprising findings, there were no substantial changes to the initial proposal of the writer.

Introducing the sample of schools and their chaplains

In order to protect confidentiality names of chaplains or schools are not mentioned.

Site 1

This is the primary context, an amalgamation of schools where the researcher was employed as a chaplain. The location is a beautiful estate within urban confines. There are approximately two thousand five hundred learners and three hundred staff, catering for grades R to Grade twelve with an A-level College, (the latter was closed in 2007). The College is just over fifty years old and was started by wealthy benefactors as a denominational Church school for boys, intended to give a good "liberal Christian education" to poor boys, but as was the case with many schools, the fees have barred all but a few bursary students from a lower income bracket. A decade ago a prep and College was added for girls and even more recently, a new Junior Prep was built.

The chapel was built almost as soon as the school began and as with many Independent schools worldwide, still claims to be "the heart of the school". It began as a fairly plain place of worship, but benefactors since commissioned elaborate stained glass windows. Chaplaincy developed from part-time to three ordained chaplains as the numbers of pupils increased. While being designated to particular schools, the chaplains are expected to work as a team on many cross-campus duties, such as the beginning of term communion services for staff. The researcher had a broad contact with a number of past and present chaplains, heads, pupils, parents and governors. There is a history of a rapid turnover of chaplains at the school. The bishop has appointed chaplains at the school, with only a brief interview that includes the heads, but such a rubber-stamping exercise is not appreciated by them. They are in the process of changing the strategy of appointing chaplains by advertising and conducting their own interviews. The bishop consciously ignored their desire to appoint white male chaplains and had deliberately chosen a black man in addition to the white chaplain. Eventually the first woman chaplain for the school was appointed, followed by the first black

woman chaplain to the boy's school. His deliberate ethnic mix for the chaplaincy team is controversial. Some of these chaplains found their position very difficult and did not stay beyond two to three years on average.

Different styles of chaplaincy developed in line with the different personalities of the incumbents. (This is a common thread.) Chaplain N did bodybuilding with the boys and became very popular. Chaplain G decided that she did not wish to teach after some struggles in the classroom and she refused to take any further religious education lessons, restructuring her contribution to include more community service projects. Religious education was discontinued in the traditional form, but in principle infiltrated the discussions in the new leadership and spirituality courses that were innovations from the chaplain mainly for the higher grades rather than simply for the juniors.

Chaplains I and D were among those who taught extensively. Chaplain H allegedly spent so much time away from the College that he was nicknamed the elusive "Holy Ghost". When he left, heads scrutinised the work of the remaining chaplains more closely and it was clear that a certain measure of trust had been eroded.

As a denominational school, there is strong Church representation on the school Council and the Trust. The bishop chairs the school Trust and has played a large part in the institution, as is the case with many Church schools. He regularly conducted communion services for staff, confirmation services and many other Church–related events. He initiated many vigorous debates with the school about chaplaincy and the continued affiliation of the school to the Church. Tension between the school and the Church has escalated due to Church intervention in a particularly sensitive school issue. The very nature of the chaplaincy and the role of the Church at the school is currently a matter of debate and challenge. Chaplains I and M find themselves in the uncomfortable position of divided loyalties, apparently with I leaning more to allegiance to the school and M more to the Church. Divisions between key leaders of the Church regarding school issues have exacerbated the dilemma.

The heads do not belong to the same denomination to which the school is affiliated and seem to influence subtle changes in the denominational ethos of their schools. The Church has a predominantly black membership and the school remains predominantly white, entirely so in its top leadership. This is one of the few institutions to have substantial chaplaincy presence in the Junior Prep phase.

Site 2

This school for boys has a long history and strong traditions. An early prospectus says the school was founded "to provide a religious education that would not be available in state schools", but Randall remarks that there were other less lofty motives, such as the imitation of a good British public school emphasis on English culture, (1982:102). Presently chaplain E brings an evangelical Pentecostal element to the formal denominational tradition that Randall calls "somewhat austere" (1982:104). This chaplain encourages the exercise of spiritual gifts like talking in tongues, something that may seem out of line with the cerebral ethos of the school. He claims that the school is unashamedly Christian and has about sixty-five percent committed Christians. (His use of the term refers to an evangelical, conservative branding.) This supposed practising Christian majority probably makes it unique amongst the Independent schools of South Africa.

Chaplain E teaches divinity and is very enthusiastic about the establishment of cell groups, small bible study and Christian accountability groups. While he engages in numerous highly academic discussions linking all subjects, chaplain E now claims to emphasise relationships rather than head knowledge. An assistant, chaplain W, does most of the Prep school duties. A previous incumbent was also the Deputy Head and senior teacher in addition to his chaplaincy and other priestly duties. His chief delight during the thirty years he was at the school was to see a number of boys offering for the priesthood, one of the original aims of the establishment. Both chaplains E and W are white, but there was a previous black assistant, chaplain X, now at another school as the chaplain. He remarked that he had come as a "township boy" with no teaching experience but contributed value to the

school simply by being who he is. He declined involvement in sports as the school did not offer any from his background.

The researcher visited the school during August 2000 and again in July 2007. She has had extensive contact with the various chaplains. The stately chapel is kept with pride in pristine condition. There is a crypt chapel below. Chaplain E has an office up an old circular stairway, apparently very out of the way. Whether this location portrays a message about the status of the chaplain is not clear, but contacts with the school apparently indicate warm acceptance and support for the chaplaincy not only from the head, but also from numerous staff members, parents and pupils.

Site 3

This is a very old denominational urban girls' school. The previous chaplain, Y, was a pupil, then a parent of girls there prior to becoming a teacher of divinity and then the assistant chaplain. The Rector of the adjoining parish is regarded as the chaplain, although he played a very minor role in school life compared to his assistant. Chaplain Y was licensed at the parish church where she had duties in addition to school work. When she retired recently, she was succeeded by the French mistress, who happens to be ordained and was able to officiate at the Eucharist. She found she was no longer able to fit in the divinity classes alongside her French head of department duties. Divinity lapsed from the school programme, although services are still held. Chaplain Y described her work as a "calling and awesome responsibility." She particularly loved teaching divinity and sought to forge strong relationships with staff and girls. When the school closed the boarding facility, she said the chapel remained the focus of daily school life and worship with day girls taking chapel duties. The researcher visited the school in August 2000 and on a number of subsequent occasions.

Site 4

This is a coeducational denominational urban school that is culturally mixed, has an old chapel with a marimba band to lead worship and had two women, C and T, as chaplains who served at the senior and junior schools respectively. C is an ordained Anglican and T is a Methodist lay preacher who has recently been promoted to head the Prep after being head of the

English department in addition to her chaplaincy. C is head of the biology department. There was no chaplain for some time after the previous one left. The previous head was also ordained. The school was visited in 2000 and again in 2007. There is a distinctive atmosphere of tranquillity which most likely reflects the influence of its spiritual leaders. A peace garden has pride of place for the sole purpose of allowing children to retreat for quiet meditation. The school reflects a far greater mix of gender and race as well as socio-economic diversity than many South African Independent schools. Many children are subsidised.

Site 5

This boys' school took the name and some of the traditions of an older school that had previously closed. The chapel is a converted cow shed that was part of the original farm on which the present school was built a few decades ago. The pews face each other in straight lines, a tradition from old British public schools. The area of the school was once rural, but is now a suburb, yet the spacious grounds still give a rural effect. There is a strong emphasis on music in the worship services. Chaplain A claims to shock the more orthodox with his uniquely creative, liberal theological style that is evidently popular with the boys. There are a few boarders. Confirmation classes are combined with a nearby girls' school, a pattern that is becoming common practice for many Church schools. Chaplain A has had to adjust to the very different expectations of three consecutive heads during a period of ten years. Sometimes he has taught subjects besides divinity, such as English. Sometimes he has been involved in sports and adventure activities and always he has prioritised specific chaplaincy tasks. The school was visited in 2003, but contact with the chaplain has been ongoing since 2000.

Site 6

An ordained minister, Z, is seconded as the chaplain at this school in a fairly rural area, unlike the school's previous chaplain who was appointed by the Church. Secondment entails being employed by the school without dual responsibility to both Church and school and thus perhaps easing some of the struggles faced in chaplaincy straddling Church and school. Chaplains in certain appointments may be called for extra church duties, irrespective of whether it fits in with a school timetable. Nevertheless chaplain Z retains

accountability to the Church and is involved in the life of the local church, as are other seconded clergy. He also still represents the Church at the school, but avoids the frustration of clashes of time and priorities between school and Church. The school had not adjusted to their previous chaplain, AA, a black woman. Not only was her race, but also her gender and accent a problem for certain members of this rather conservative school community. The school has many families affiliated to new brands of Christianity and did not relate to the traditional style of worship of this chaplain, which is very different from that usually experienced in white contexts. At one stage it seemed as if the school would discontinue chaplaincy. After a time of vacancy after the release of AA, the chaplaincy was missed. Z, a middle aged white male, was warmly welcomed. He conducts worship in a relaxed manner and comes with army chaplaincy experience in counselling. The school was visited during 2003 just as Z's arrival was being anticipated. The researcher has had subsequent personal interviews with him during 2003 and 2004. Chaplain Z and all teachers are involved in the school's extensive community service project to train teachers in the surrounding rural villages. The chapel at this fairly new school is a round, amphitheatre-like, multi-purpose structure built along African architectural lines, including open air features, in sharp contrast to other cathedral-like chapels at many Church schools.

Site 7

The school is one of the oldest and prestigious denominational boys' schools in the country. A middle aged white male chaplain, BB, has been there for over a decade. He is in charge of both juniors and seniors. Previously there were two chaplains. BB was only in the prep, but prefers his current exposure to the whole school. He admits that he is concentrating far more on the high school as he enjoys the teenagers. Neglect of prep schools is a common thread that emerges. The chaplain is licensed to the school and has no outside church commitments, unlike many of his female colleagues in chaplaincy, which is also a matter of discrimination along gender lines that emerges in this research. BB teaches divinity mainly based on informal discussions up to Grade ten. In this way he touches on broad inter-disciplinary issues. His "classroom" is a small chapel. There is a very large grand newer chapel. The previous chaplain, CC, clashed with the head during

his long stay at the school. CC had a quiet, firm prophetic style of ministry and spoke out when he felt it necessary. He had expressed deep disappointment when the head appointed a lay head of pastoral care under whom the chaplain and counselling services of the school were to operate. CC experienced this as a form of demotion without consultation. In effect it eroded chaplaincy by making the second chaplaincy position redundant. He interpreted a creeping erosion of chaplaincy at the school to be further evidenced in having less time for divinity classes and chapel over the past years, a common trend in many schools. The school however still claims to be thoroughly committed to remaining Christian within the particular denomination in ethos and practice in the years to come. This was emphatically stated at a recent goal-setting meeting with parents, governors, staff and pupils. The researcher has had contacts with BB and CC, parents and pupils over a number of years and visited the school and chaplain BB for extensive observation during 2004. Although this school once again claims that the chapel is "the heart of the school", the researcher did not get any sense that religion was truly integrated into the whole of school life. The Students' Christian Association on campus was vibrant and attracted many students, including seniors. Initial observations led to a conjecture that chaplain BB had lost his enthusiasm and was biding time until retirement, but his sharing about interesting lesson ideas and dealings with people in critical issues such as suicide, led to a revision of this conclusion. It may be possible that the wisdom of experience can be an invaluable gift that would leave a school community poorer if only young staff were to be appointed.

Site 8

This rural denominational boarding school attracts girls from all over Africa. There are two prestigious boys' schools nearby providing some interaction with boys. At the time of writing the school was hoping to employ a new chaplain as the previous one, DD, was so inspired by his community service projects that he left to do this fulltime. As a very unconventional middle-aged fatherly figure, DD had enjoyed playful, relaxed interactions with the girls. He would not tolerate being called "Father", but was referred to by his first name, yet with obvious love and respect, according to my observations. His engineering background helped him to structure a great deal of his religious

education around practical community projects, but he found teaching an enormous strain, particularly when Life Orientation was being introduced. The need to produce assessments and supervise projects on set subjects was onerous. DD emphasised building relationships with the girls and the wider community. The school was visited during August 2001 and subsequent interaction was held with DD during a conference on community service in 2003. Not surprisingly his innovations and expertise resulted in his invitation as a main presenter. The chapel is steeped in history, the pride and joy of the school, but too small for more than a class group at a time. It is the same for a number of schools that have outgrown their chapels.

Site 9

This school was originally started in a less wealthy suburb that has gradually became poorer and more run down. While other private schools relocated to more affluent suburbs as their clients moved, this school has remained. It is a small denominational school, mixed culturally, racially, socio-economically and in terms of gender. Since 2000 the school has had three chaplains with gaps in between. The present chaplain, EE, is a young black man who is most concerned about community work in the deteriorating surroundings of the school, in contrast to the relative affluence of the school, making it a sea of privilege with abject poverty barely hidden by the school walls. He celebrates the Eucharist and holds divinity classes. Without any previous teaching training, he finds teaching difficult, a common thread for a number of chaplains. A previous chaplain had left in disgrace and this obviously adversely affected the status of the chaplaincy at the school. EE appears to be well accepted judging from interviews with some parents and pupils from the school. The researcher interacted with all three chaplains over the past years.

Site 10

This school is co-educational with many boarders in a rural area. It has a unique chapel that is shared by both prep and College. It has a sanctuary that is able to be closed off from the rest of the multi-purpose hall. One chaplain serves both prep and high schools. The school was visited in 2003. The previous white middle-aged male chaplain, FF, came to the school in a state of brittle emotional health after some traumatic parish work and found

his time serving at this school very healing. He describes the community as warm and loving. FF has once again left for a parish ministry and was replaced by a black young male chaplain, GG, who has never taught before and finds this aspect of the work daunting. He found school chaplaincy to be very different to parish work and he is in the process of trying to adjust. The school enjoys ecumenical interaction and works especially closely with another local Church school, an almost unique partnership in a school context that can be very competitive.

Site 11

The male young ordained chaplain HH at this coeducational school has a very supportive ordained head whose sole directive is that his chaplain should love the children. HH readily obliges. The school has many families struggling with unemployment, poverty and a seemingly high percentage of grief and death. It is coeducational, multi-cultural and complex. HH has been intimately involved with each grieving family and demonstrates a remarkable caring capacity, although he admits the suffering of children challenges his own faith from time to time. He started working with youth in a parish and then started teaching. His love for both teaching and ministry was combined in what he calls the ideal career and calling of chaplaincy.

HH teaches divinity and conducts Eucharist and worship services both at the school and the nearby cathedral where he also leads confirmation. He coaches sport and emphasises that this helps his goal of building relationships, crucial for supporting those who suffer. He laughs a lot, has fun with the children and regards his work as a privilege, even though life is hard in the area. The school is overtly denominational, unashamedly Christian with a strong religious ethos that tends to pervade every aspect of school life and is supportive of the chaplain in every way. He is regarded as important to help to make the lives of these struggling children more bearable.

Numerous interviews were conducted with HH over six years and also with his head. A high school has been added to the prep and a new woman chaplain, II, was appointed to dedicate time to the younger pupils. This school deliberately plays down the overall emphasis on pressure to attain good

marks and strives towards a balanced lifestyle based on a firm Christian foundation. The new chapel is multi-purpose, to be used for anything that is compatible with worship and so it is used for the matriculation examinations.

Site 12

This is a popular boarding denominational boys' school in a semi-rural area close to a large city. The chapel has some beautiful stained glass windows and boasts a world-class choir to enhance worship. Chaplain J is young, white, male and ordained. He has various church duties in addition to this chaplaincy, but claims these are not too onerous. J claims a strong relationship with his head and has recently been appointed head of the Life Orientation Department. His rationale is that Life Orientation offers a unique opportunity to debate life challenges. Together with the Board and Trustees J is involved in drawing up a spiritual policy document for the school. He feels very confident that the role of the chaplain is absolutely secure at his school where the religious ethos pervades most of school life and there is participation from boys in spiritual leadership. J enjoys coaching sport. A member of Council with previous experience from another Church school where there are a great deal of problems, claims there is a very different supportive relationship between this school and the Church. Visiting the school during 2005 and interacting with the head, the researcher sensed that he was right, that the chapel and the chaplain were greatly appreciated.

Site 13

This school is unusual in that it is the only school founded by another denomination to have a Dutch Reformed minister as the chaplain, JJ. The previous chaplain retired after almost four decades at the school as both chaplain and Deputy Head. He did not find any clash between the discipline of the Deputy position and the nurturing role of chaplaincy. Financial problems led to the school relinquishing its Independent status to become a state school, but negotiations led to the retention of chaplain and Anglican chapel services. There is no divinity or Religious Education class apart from Life Orientation as prescribed by the state, but there is an enthusiastic Christian club that participates in services and Bible Studies. In the opinion of chaplain JJ there has been a loss of ground of overtly Christian content in teaching and religion is compartmentalized. This girls' school has a great

deal of interaction with the local boys' school which also had to relinquish its independence but which also retained a chaplain and chapel services. The schools conduct a joint confirmation programme. Chaplain JJ is involved with community service projects at the school. He feels that chaplaincy may be under threat as this is a state school, but he is going out of his way to make the school value his contribution. This school was not visited, but contact with both chaplains has been maintained over the years.

Site 14

Sadly this boy's school is recovering from a scandal after its chaplain KK was charged and subsequently convicted of child abuse. Obviously the effect was traumatic and detrimental for all parties. The school has a mix of day scholars and boarders. During the crisis of KK's suspension and trial, the chaplaincy remained vacant until the recent appointment of an older white male priest, B, once a university professor, but full of enthusiasm even though this is apparently a retirement occupation. B teaches English and Life Orientation. There is no divinity as it is a state school, but he has five minutes a day for a religious message with the whole school and holds regular Bible studies and confirmation classes with their sister school. He also conducts a staff prayer meeting. Presently B sees school life as compartmentalizing religion but is hopeful that this can change. His style is very different from the previous chaplain. B claims that none seem to reject the chaplaincy at the school and some value it. He appears to be more liberal in his theological views than some of the other chaplains, but this once again illustrates that chaplains are by no means a homogenous group. This school was not visited but there has been contact with the present and previous chaplains.

Site 15

This city denominational school caters for day girls and boarders in the senior school. The previous chaplain, LL, was a young white male who came after the school had experienced some time without a chaplain. There was a strong heritage from the religious sisters who had lived at the school. To uphold this influence was part of the chaplain's job description for the spiritual care of the school. The head declared that she never wanted to be without a chaplain again. LL developed a good relationship with her and with the school counselling team, as the chaplaincy and counselling centres are

linked, unlike other schools where they operate almost in isolation. Chaplain LL spent three years at the school before moving on to parish work. He was replaced by the first male black chaplain at the school, X, who finds it supportive and affirming. The chapel holds many memories of the founding sisters and the traditions built up over the years are retained in a quiet style of worship. The building was recently expanded to accommodate the whole school. The researcher visited in 2002 and again in 2003, having contact with the chaplains and the head as well as conversations with some girls and teachers.

Site 16

Chaplain L has been at this prestigious senior boys' boarding school for over a decade and had seen heads come and go. Each head trusts him to do what he thinks is best. All my observations point to the conclusion that a good relationship with a head is vital for chaplaincy. This school pays for the chaplain according to scales set by the Church for priests, with the usual perks, whereas other chaplains are paid as teaching staff, sometimes as very senior staff. The school is located in the rolling meadows of a farming community. It is probably the most "English" public school in character and atmosphere of all South African schools, certainly like a little bit of "England on the Veld", (Randall's title of the history of South African private schools,1982). The cathedral-like chapel with magnificent stained glass windows is the centre of wider community worship every Sunday. The chapel services are run along traditional Anglican lines but informal Bible studies and Christian meetings take place in the crypt chapel. Here the boys lead worship with drums and guitars. The school is steeped in its church tradition and claims to hold this commitment unashamedly as an integral part of school life. It is probably one of the most successful that I have observed in giving the impression that faith infiltrates much of school life. Most of the Grade ten boys go to the confirmation camp each year and are then confirmed at the school. Chaplain L has given the school a gentle evangelical influence with his evident enthusiasm for faith. He serves on the school management team and is involved in school staff interviews. It is clear that he has considerable influence with Counsel and staff members. Having visited the school on numerous occasions, the researcher has concluded that L is greatly valued

and chaplaincy will remain an integral part of this school's life for the foreseeable future. The school is a total environment with only boarders, so the role of the chaplain is most important as the spiritual father figure. The workers of the school live in a separate village nearby and the school employs chaplain MM for their village school. MM has very different experiences to his colleague L at the Independent school. Many in his community are sick and dying of AIDS-related diseases. MM thus has to deal with many problems linked to poverty, while L at the other school deals with many problems connected with materialism, wealth and affluence. The contrasts are striking as chaplains noted during their visit to both venues in 2005.

Site 17

Chaplain K works at this proudly "non-denominational" and yet clearly Christian, prestigious and very expensive boys' boarding College. He is a white middle-aged male. K was first a teacher who later became a priest. Spiritual responsibility is regarded as the ultimate responsibility of the head and is delegated to the chaplain. He combines the usual chaplaincy duties with teaching leadership development, coaching rugby and water polo (for almost as many hours as he teaches) and leading school holiday adventures including scuba diving. Having been at the school for over a decade, K describes his recent additional appointment as a housemaster as a movement from the periphery (presumably of chaplaincy) to a core function at the centre of the organisation. In seeming contradiction to this allegation of chaplaincy being sidelined as a periphery concern, he says he recognises a stronger affirmation of the Christian status of the school and a growth away from mere religion towards spirituality that embraces a positive subtle change towards Christianity and chaplaincy. K aims to ensure that school leavers have engaged in their spiritual journey and not closed the door on church membership. He teaches divinity and finds the introduction of Life Orientation exciting rather than threatening. It affords an opportunity to present his Christian orientation for scrutiny while debating life issues. Divinity and attendance of worship is non-negotiable, as in most Church schools. K regularly works in partnership with the Scripture Union organisation in the confirmation programme and Christian focus weeks at the school. The school intends to be a living Christian community with the chapel recognised as

important for campus life. Although the school is very old, the first fulltime chaplain (from a different denomination to the present incumbent) was only appointed towards the end of 1982 as Sunday services were taken by visiting preachers from a host of churches. This practice continues. The school guards its Christian ecumenical ethos. Campus is seen as a free space to explore faith without undue pressure and dogmatism. Chaplain K claims that parental expectations and demands have increased over the years and complicated chaplaincy, but there is increasing openness to spirituality in society as a whole and South Africa in particular. The researcher visited the school during 2001 and has had regular contact with K.

Site 18

This is the only Christian Independent School with a Baptist chaplain, Q. The chaplaincy only began after many years during which the school expected each staff member to do the work of spiritual nurturing. It was discovered that overstretched teachers needed the help of a chaplain. The researcher made contact with the school's first chaplain in 2001. Since then there was contact with his successor and a visit in 2005. This is a small co-educational prep and secondary, day but mainly boarding school set in a country area with spacious grasslands. Chaplain Q says many of the boarders are sent to the school due to dysfunctional family conditions. The school has a reputation for being very conservative in its Christianity and encourages what some may regard as a fundamentalist approach. Q takes Bible lessons in addition to other teaching and sports, which is his passion. The new chapel is also a multi-functional auditorium. Initial impressions of it were not favourable as it appeared rather cold and bare, but the atmosphere would no doubt improve with the whole school present.

Site 19

This very old boys' denominational boarding school is set in a town renowned for education. I have had contact with two chaplains who served there and extensive contact with the Rector, who has been most encouraging about this research and has encouraged numerous debates on school chaplaincy. The previous chaplain, X, did not stay long due to family commitments. He was the first Black chaplain of the College. The present chaplain, NN, enjoys coaching rugby and other sports in addition to his teaching. He feels that the

religious ethos of the school does permeate to school life beyond a fairly superficial degree. The chapel is allegedly very important in school life, the centre of a long, proud school tradition. The head expressed very strong feelings about the centrality of chaplaincy and Church to the whole of school life, in contrast to the previous chaplain. He mentioned that a great number of past pupils are practising their faith and that their experience of school spirituality has had a vast influence on them. In his opinion school life would be inconceivable without the Christian input of Church and chapel. The school was visited in 2005, during which there was a valuable interview with the head. The impression was gained that the head and the influence of past pupils would ensure the entrenchment of chaplaincy at the school.

Site 20

This girls' school caters for all grades and is situated in an affluent suburb on the outskirts of a large city. The chaplaincy at the school is supposedly shared by the resident ordained woman priest, OO, who was once the home economics teacher at the school and the Rector of the local parish. While he is on the board, a parent and has a good pastoral relationship with the head, he does not do much of the daily chaplaincy besides taking a service once a term. In the past when there were more boarders, the girls would worship in the parish church on Sundays. Presently there are mostly weekly boarders with a majority of day girls. Previously the priest worked closely with the lay Religious Education teacher in the High School. He allocated a youth pastor and a children's pastor to work in the prep and high schools.

The lay leadership of spiritual matters passed on to the Home Economics teacher, OO, who began to teach divinity, became the lay chaplain and journeyed towards ordination, specifically to be set apart for school chaplaincy. She has recently cut down her teaching time as the introduction of Life Orientation has squeezed out what she regards as more valuable, time for a prayer and counselling and the teaching of biblically based material. OO facilitates a committee in charge of community service at her school and also oversees Christian clubs and confirmation classes. Although the school is overtly Christian and the chapel is said to be central to school life, OO feels the lifestyles of many girls do not reflect this out of school hours. She is

convinced that school compartmentalizes religion, a common theme that runs through this research. The school was visited in 2005 and much supportive contact has been had with the chaplain and the assistant chaplain.

Site 21

This is an old, established Anglican school with boarders and day girls from all grades. Chaplain PP is close to retirement and enjoys an extraordinarily close relationship with the head. Both are unconventional and very creative. PP uses drama and many creative ideas in chapel services and divinity classes. She says "Children must be in church with all their mess and liveliness." After attending a Chaplains' Conference where a male colleague refused to take communion from a woman priest, PP no longer attends these conferences. The researcher was introduced to her at a community service conference in 2003 and visited her school in 2004 when there was contact with her head and with parents and pupils from the school.

PP brings all aspects of community service into the life of the chapel as part of worship. The cathedral-like chapel has a marble floor where the girls lie down and meditate in summer as part of spiritual formation. There is a smaller prayer chapel in front which is the divinity "classroom". Some girls said they resent having to attend chapel services and divinity classes, but most seemed to have a warm relationship with the chaplain whom one described as a "funky lady". PP lives on campus as a house parent and spends a lot of time with girls. She enjoyed work with the younger girls particularly. PP is licensed to preach at the nearby cathedral and thus has extra church duties, a common complaint of certain women chaplains, but not their male colleagues. The school is seen as an extension of the cathedral, where the boarders attend over weekends.

Site 22

This city school for girls has a strong academic and sporting reputation. The chapel is small, so year groups take turns for Eucharist services. The whole school celebrates the Eucharist at the local parish church twice a term. Although the school started a long time ago, the first chaplain was only appointed about a decade ago and left shortly afterwards. The next chaplain, QQ, had been teaching at the school and was invited to take the position.

(This has emerged as a pattern at least three schools.) She was ordained. Incompatibility with her head led to her early retirement.

QQ had taught in the senior school, spending only one day a week in the prep with grade sevens. (Here again is a pattern of neglect of prep schools.) She was not represented on the management team, although her successor, V, is. Like him, she worked closely with the guidance teacher at the school. QQ had parish duties at the nearby church where she was licensed. V, her male successor has no extra duties. He is a middle aged White male priest fairly close to retirement. Coming after a gap in chaplaincy, V was greatly welcomed. Without a chaplain some had said the soul has gone out of the school or the lights had gone out in the chapel. The school had made it clear that they wanted chaplaincy to remain, in spite of the belief of QQ that she would not be replaced.

V is gifted in story-telling and drama. He incorporates these creative arts into his chapel services and divinity classes. Prior to coming to the school, he had had experience of chaplaincy at a well known South African boys' school and a Scottish co-educational school. His aim to help people to be in community, is part of the reason for his "red-nosed chicken club" that has clowning workshops and entertains underprivileged children. The Christian club teacher mentioned that V was far too liberal in his theology. This is a frequent problem for chaplains in contexts of many different Christian brands. The chaplain is either judged as too Christian or not Christian enough, depending on the person's own views.

V claimed to get on well with his supportive head as there was mutual respect. (Chaplains are not immune to personality clashes as this was the very same head with whom the previous incumbent had had difficulties.) He teaches divinity and Life Orientation from the lowest to the highest grade, but does not head the Life Orientation department. He enjoys contact time with grade twelve learners. In his eclectic approach, he gathers material from many religious expressions. The school Council has a spirituality committee to take the spiritual temperature at the school and hold the chaplain

accountable. The researcher spent a day with V at his school after meeting him at a conference in 2003. It was an opportunity to observe him in action and consult with members of the staff and pupils in 2004.

Site 23

This girls' school in a large city started with a strong Protestant, Christian ethos, but was not established as a denominational Church school. It has a chaplain, R, who was a pupil at the school. At that time they were taught Scripture once a week, which she described as fairly meaningless. She arrived at the school as a Grade two teacher about fifteen years ago and by that stage religious education had completely lapsed from the curriculum. R introduced Bible stories and was then asked to teach RE (Religious Education) to Grades one to eleven. At that stage R was not ordained and was not considered to be the chaplain, but a head gradually began to refer to her as chaplain and this became entrenched when she journeyed towards ordination. She still feels it is fairly unofficial at the school and wonders if there will be a chaplain after her retirement. R oversees community service, counsels staff, parents and learners, writes prayers for the head to use and leads prayers for the prep and high schools, teaches writing to Grade two and a full timetable of RE ranging from Grade R to Grade ten. She would prefer not to teach, but to concentrate on pastoral work which she now can only do in her spare time. The school introduced RE examinations that frustrate her. The chaplain plays a role in the Christian clubs at school and has prayers with staff every morning. She is not involved in management. There has been contact with R since 2001.

Site 24

This is a school that started in a very rural, poor area during the Apartheid era to prove that black learners were capable of thriving in a milieu of quality education. Prior to the opening of white schools, black parents sent their children to this mainly boarding school and were willing to pay the fees until government schools opened to all. The school has battled financially since then and had to accept the limitations imposed by receiving government subsidies.

Chaplain RR mentioned that his role is very different from his colleagues as one of his major tasks is to conduct exorcisms. Religion is a major part of the lives of most pupils, who claim to be Christians. This is often mixed with numerous elements of African traditional religion. RR teaches divinity and library as a subject and has other library duties. He also is the sports co-ordinator. RR has strong support at the school and is part of the school management team. He experiences some opposition from a limited number of staff members. The pupils nearly rioted when some of these staff suggested less frequent chapel services! There was contact with a past head and chaplain RR over many years.

Site 25

This is a school originally for boys only, but it subsequently became co-educational. The College has a few day scholars with a majority of boarders, forty percent of whom come from countries other than South Africa. It is close to two other Church schools in a small town close to a large city. The school concentrates on community service projects as the province is poor and chaplain SS is using Religious Education to focus on community service with reflections on the spiritual aspect. There has been some contact with him at conferences and during a visit to the school during 2005. He has been at the school for a short while. SS has an office upstairs in the chapel building and is accessible to the whole school. The chapel is exceedingly well-kept and exudes a sense of pride. The fact that there is a thriving Christian book club at the school indicates much interest in faith issues. Almost a quarter of the total high school attends this Christian book club. The club is run by the librarian as a help to the chaplain. There are a majority of practising Christian teachers at the school, according to the librarian. The opinion of other staff members was that the school truly has managed to make Christianity important in all aspects of school life.

Site 26

This prep and secondary urban school for boys is in the process of establishing girls' schools as well. There is a new fulltime chaplain, TT, in the high school. The prep has a lay male teacher chaplain, UU. The previous lay chaplain in the prep was a young woman who also taught at the school. Her successor is enthusiastic about sport and teaching. UU does not regard it as

necessary for effective chaplaincy for him to journey towards ordination. There was contact with the previous chaplain in 2000 and with the present prep chaplain since 2002.

Site 27

The present school is on a new site combining two very old schools for girls in a city. The chaplain, VV, has only been appointed recently after being involved with the school on a part-time basis as a youth pastoral assistant at a nearby church. He is a lay preacher and the girls call him Pastor. When the school has communion, ministers from a number of different denominations are invited as the school holds an interdenominational stance. Many of the girls come from churches where there is no bar on who officiates at communion and they are frustrated that their pastor will not do so as he abides by his Church's discipline. He arrived as a "gift from God" just when she was hoping to appoint a chaplain, according to the head. She has a warm relationship with him. The chapel is modern and the girls lead worship. There is a great deal of enthusiasm at the school about the Christian club. VV is evidently well liked and relates to the girls very well. The researcher visited in 2005 and has been able to have contact with VV for a few years.

Site 28

This is a Christian school that claims to be interdenominational and is linked to the Church Unity Commission, (hereafter referred to as CUC) an organisation uniting Congregational, Anglican, Methodist and Presbyterian churches. There is an older prep school attached to the new coeducational high school that is set in rolling farming fields not far from a large city. There are some boarders and some day scholars. A previous chaplain at the school was deeply involved in the survival adventure course. He was well liked at the school, but left for a British school where he settled happily. The next chaplain, WW, was not yet ordained, did not like teaching and found it difficult to relate to the head, who then refused to renew his contract after the initial two years, a step which proved deeply traumatic for him and his family at the time. He left the College fully believing that the chaplaincy there had been terminated, but the next head decided that the College definitely needed a chaplain and appointed the acting chaplain, XX, a teacher who ran the Christian Union and who taught music, as the new chaplain. His duties

include being part of the management team as an executive committee member. There is a tendency to only value spiritual aspects of school life when there is a special occasion. The school was visited in 2004 and there has been contact with the previous two chaplains as well as the present acting chaplain (not yet appointed fully at the time of writing) for many years.

Site 29

One of this large city's oldest schools is for girls, boarders and day, prep and secondary school, with a greater multi-cultural mix than many other Independent schools. It claims to be a Christian rather than a Church school, but has close links with the nearby parish and boys' Church school as well. The previous middle-aged White male chaplain was also the psychologist in addition to running the parish part-time. The chaplaincy is run by the priest of this parish on a part-time basis and there have never been full-time chaplains. The Bishop is very supportive of this ministry, but the chaplain, YY, felt the school simply regarded it as useful on special occasions and it did not reach deeper than a superficial level. He felt that most of the staff took a neutral stance towards chaplaincy, but some were in definite opposition.

YY described the attitude of the learners as having guarded respect for the chaplain. Parents were mostly not aware of the chaplaincy role and appreciated the psychologist role that YY had far more. He spent most of his time debriefing trauma victims at the school. YY was answerable to the head of the school. Although he described a previous head as understanding and said she consulted him for advice in difficult situations, YY did not get on well with the new head and claims he was squeezed out of the school. (Here we have a common thread once again. A number of chaplains have claimed to be squeezed out by heads who happened to dislike them.) YY subsequently became the school psychologist at another institution until leaving for private practice. He still interacts with chaplains at school counsellors' meetings. The school continues with very limited chaplaincy on a part-time basis. Although there was consistent contact with the previous chaplain and visits to the school, there has been no contact with the present part-time chaplain.

Site 30

This school for girls has recently started to include some boys in the lower grades due to financial constraints. Chaplain ZZ is not ordained. A chaplain who asked about the position was told that the school is not able to offer the remuneration she would expect as an ordained chaplain. ZZ is a young woman who is a local preacher and youth worker. She teaches and has confirmation classes and Christian clubs. Chapel services are informal with the girls leading worship with a band. The researcher visited the school in 2001 and had contact with the past two chaplains at the school and also the head.

Site 31

The school for girls from all grades is a popular boarding facility for the wealthy children from the city as it is set in a small university town relatively close to a large centre and is steeped in tradition. There have been a number of chaplains over the years. The school chapel is very old and well-kept. Chaplaincy started on a part-time basis about twenty years after the chapel was built. During the sixties there were fulltime chaplains employed and all seemed to remain at the school a long time. The first woman chaplain was killed in a car accident whilst taking a group of school girls on a tour, so the present chaplain, U, also a woman, came to the school after a time of great grief. She teaches RE separate from Life Orientation and says although the school is faith based; there is a lack of actual religious commitment. Her major role and true preference is in counselling and pastoral work, so it is not surprising that I met U at a school counsellors' conference. She felt that chaplaincy may well be squeezed out at her school.

U visits girls in their homes and shares in their lives as much as possible. Involvement in broader school affairs is through being a member of the Executive Committee of her school and the Outreach Committee. She has a strong liaison with the chaplain of another Church school in the area. U was one of the few respondents to my rather lengthy second questionnaire. A visit to the school in 2005 left the researcher with an impression that faith was taken seriously at the school, but the conversations with the chaplain left her wondering about the depth.

Site 32

This is a boys' prep school that has the part-time chaplaincy of the nearby parish where there is one ordained woman priest and a male youth pastor who plays the major role at the school and is keen to do more teaching. Presently the school wants to terminate the part-time arrangement and employ a fulltime chaplain. Chaplaincy has obviously been regarded as valuable enough for this decision to be made. There has been contact with the part-time chaplains since 2001.

An outline of the chapters

In Part one, chapter one, I seek to root the chaplaincy within the context of the emergence of Church schooling in South Africa from the British public school recipe, which automatically included chaplains. This took place mainly in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, just as a considerably powerful sector of Enlightenment thinking was crystallising into a cultural and intellectual challenge to Christianity and a challenge to the Church. Chapters two and three focus on a selection of issues involved in the development of modernity from the Enlightenment through to aspects of secularization, postmodernity and modern science in particular. These have all affected the status and prospects of school chaplains.

Part two identifies the contemporary chaplain as the straddler between Church and school and seeks to open up the challenges and possibilities of the chaplain, beginning with the liturgical and pedagogical roles, that of preacher and teacher, in chapters four and five. Chaplains straddle between Church and school, having to deliver chapel services and even officiate over solemn Christian sacraments, such as the Eucharist or Holy Communion, in an environment that may not necessarily welcome this. Whether it then remains acceptable to continue to enforce chapel services is part of the question of the continued viability of chaplaincy. I illustrate that some chaplains feel their work is being squeezed onto the borders of school life, but others are more successful in integrating the work of the chapel into the rest of school life.

Most chaplains are expected to teach whether or not they are specifically trained as school educators. Some have managed to do their work successfully without classroom teaching, but others are involved as educators of examination subjects that swallow up more of their time and energy as syllabi expand. I identify as a condition for the continuance of the chaplaincy some form of teaching training for chaplains if they are expected to take the role of educators in school. The more qualified they are, the more they are likely to be able to interface with other teaching staff and this may open up inter-curricular discussions about foundational spirituality, which I believe can be a key role for chaplains. Specific approaches to teaching religion in school may range from adherence to a vague spirituality to encouraging Christian conversion. This opens up debate about the difference between Church and school, a difference I believe must be maintained.

Chapter six introduces the pastoral role, which is almost universally expected of chaplains. The growing place of psychological services in schools, in some cases, may be seen to infringe on the traditional chaplaincy counselling role. What some may regard as “wasting time with people” (a phrase used extensively by Monahan and Renehan for pastoral work, 1998), may lead to important life-changing interactions and relationships that are described as the key factors of the chaplaincy presence at schools. This pastoral work becomes all the more critical not only for the children but also for the teachers and parents of the school community at a time when people are crying for help to cope with accelerated change, stress and depression.

Chapter seven continues with the theme of Christianity in action and concentrates on several social responsibility issues, but particularly community service partnerships, which are increasingly emphasised in schools. Community service has become a possible niche for school chaplains, but is by no means reserved for chaplains. Some chaplains combine Bible teaching with community service outings with astonishing effects. Basically this is the social justice angle of chaplaincy, but some argue that an over-emphasis here is detracting from other crucial elements.

Dialogue is a key issue in all aspects of chaplaincy and is crucial to the fairly recent understanding of community service as an alternative to charity, giving to needy recipients. Instead there is a willingness to enter partnerships that presuppose both giving and receiving. The context of wealth, class consciousness and gender issues as well as physical and intellectual well-being, creates many areas of dissonance for chaplains in Church schools and further opportunities for dialogue.

Having identified a basic role-set of four areas, the pastoral, liturgical, teaching and social areas of functioning all rooted to the spiritual centre, chapter nine explores the importance of balancing all aspects in relation to the spiritual. There is a need to dig beneath the artificial barriers between subjects at school and find spirituality. The question is always, "Where is God in this?" Immediately this creates the need for a broader chaplaincy that no longer focuses only on Biblical knowledge and worship but also facilitates a broader conversation about the whole of life and how this ties into spiritual reality. The aim is to balance the need for children to develop a sound knowledge of their own faith and the faith of the founders of the school and also to relate this to the whole of life.

Although some schools have veered far from their original foundational Christian faith, prospects for creative chaplaincy remain to be explored. There may be many ways of using the school context to open up conversations that encourage a deep exploration of foundational spirituality for the whole of life. Business as usual as part of the traditional recipe for school chaplaincy is no longer a likely option for most school chaplains in the light of pressures from various aspects of modernity. There is a new opportunity within the present openness to the spiritual to seek to balance the intellectual and experiential, praxis and principles, in a broader chaplaincy role. Some may find their "Church" school has become an essentially secular establishment with religious services pasted on. They may find it difficult to continue under such circumstances. Others may see this as a creative situation to find new ways of operating to open up spiritual conversations with at least some members of the school community. As one of the few members

of staff with access to the entire school, the chaplain may be placed in an ideal situation to be a catalyst to open up stimulating thinking about truth and foundations for the whole of life. The appeal is for flexibility for chaplaincy. This is necessary for that which is normally expected of chaplains, the concentration on helping learners at least to learn about the Christian faith of the founders of their schools not only in terms of cold facts, but also to see modelled in the chaplain's personal lifestyle, and to be given opportunities for response in worship and social action. It is also necessary for a broader approach, not only to learn about other faiths, an essential in a pluralistic society, but to explore every avenue of school life with questions about truth, spiritual reality and an integration of knowledge into a holistic, life-sustaining belief system. Chaplaincy is thus to be broader than the Church presence in the school. The chaplain represents a Spiritual Presence and this must lead to an exploration of spirituality as such.

Part one - The context of chaplaincy

Chapter one - The institutional context

The heritage of Church schools

In this chapter we discuss how the Church schools of South Africa developed from the necessity of Church involvement in education from the time when Roman state provision was crumbling and it became necessary to train clerks, choristers and priests, (see Randall 1982, Lawrence 1970, Gathorne-Hardy 1977, Rae 1981, and Rodgers 1938). English-styled Church schools where chaplains are still employed, developed as part of this heritage and spread across British colonies, including South Africa. Details of the South African schools are mainly from the unsurpassed historical research of Peter Randall's "Little England on the Veld", (1982). There were a number of reasons apart from religion for the establishment and continuation of these schools after modern states had taken the major responsibility for education. Church schools that developed from a model of British public schooling, have remained as fee-paying providers of quality education to a minority, approximately two percent of the South African school-going population today. (The total for all South African Independent schools is about three percent, Hofmeyr and Lee 2003). It will become apparent that although the Church's roles (and thus chaplains), continues, this is not without controversy.

Having been forced to play a major role in the development of education to train clergy, clerks and choristers, by the eleventh century Church provision of schooling had spread all over Europe. Church schools were originally attached to cathedrals, monasteries and churches as virtually the sole organised educational facilities except for a few exceptional palace schools. "Education became the handmaid of religion," claims educational historian Rodgers, but there was more likely a great deal of mutual influencing, a symbiotic relationship between education and the Christian faith from this time onwards, (Rodgers 1938:9, Wetherell 1996 claims influences are never one way). Song schools taught choristers for cathedral worship and grammar schools trained priests and clerks for vocations in the Church. The Church

exercised complete control over this education throughout Europe until the time of the Reformation when the state gradually took more responsibility for schooling. It was from the heritage of the Church grammar schools in particular that the English public schooling model was developed. This became the pattern for Church schools in South Africa and throughout the British Empire.

The English model of schools in South Africa

British rule and influence in South Africa has left a dominating heritage in education. Denominational schools were being established in Britain at roughly the same time as the Cape Colony was finally under British rule. British settlers transplanted the English public schooling recipe practically intact, with chaplaincy as one of the expected trimmings paradoxically at the time of growing, though not entirely negative, Enlightenment challenges to the Christian faith. Enlightenment thinking shaped the Victorian times that structured and caused some of the expansion of Christian thinking at this time. The power of bishops in schools increased as they assumed the role of hiring and firing staff, including heads. The heritage of this influence of bishops is still evident in many South African versions of Church schools, (many have bishops represented on governing bodies or as chairing trusts and thus in most powerful positions).

Church schools in South Africa developed a British flavour with such intensity that they could aptly be described as “little England on the veld”; (Randall’s title, 1982. “Veld” is a South African term for grasslands). Anything British was elevated, while local was regarded as inferior. Little effort was made to foster South African culture. “The church schools .... were intended for white, middle class Victorian English people in a colonial situation. Surrounded by ‘natives’ and Dutch-speaking colonists, this community was anxious to retain its cultural identity....” (Randall 1982:68). There was a deep-seated and not unfounded fear of “Afrikanerisation” and a swamping of English language and culture that led to a veneration of anything British, (Randall 1982:182f). Wealthy South Africans sent their sons “home” to England, to schools like

Eton. Girls were not expected to develop a career outside the home, so the added expense of education abroad was deemed unnecessary. A number of Independent prestigious Girls' Schools, such as St Cyprians, Cape Town, were thus established in South Africa.

Gradually a number of boys' schools were founded as well, initially as a case of second choice for a number who could not afford English public schools, such as prestigious Eton. Virtual clones of Eton, but even more passionately British than their British model, emerged in colonies such as South Africa. These less costly versions of the desired educational recipe were built to resemble British architecture on country estates staffed by mainly British Oxbridge staff. It was possible to imagine this was "home", a little piece of England. Michaelhouse is merely one Natal school that exudes a British colonial image.

Although some Church schools floundered due to financial problems, as has always been the threat for any private education venture, a number of the earliest continue today. Some were taken over by the South African state due to financial constraints, but two negotiated special permission to retain their chaplains, (St Michael's and St Andrews, Bloemfontein).

Church schools continued to employ mainly ordained Oxbridge British staff members until it became increasingly difficult due to World War II circumstances and South Africa's political situation. Even when local teachers were employed, chaplains and heads were still preferably ordained Oxbridge scholars, (Randall 1982:14f). British public schools and their colonial counterparts clung to tradition and yet were forced to change their conservative classical scholarly image. Pressure from fee-paying parents mounted for better preparation for the increasingly complex modern working world dominated by science and modern languages (see Rae 1981, Randall 1982, Gathorne and Hardy 1977, Cookson and Persell 1985, Smurthwaite 1981).

Change accelerated with the intellectual heritage of the Enlightenment and the pressures of the industrial and scientific advances to open up new challenges to faith, (see chapters two and three). Religion was regarded with increasing suspicion in certain mainly intellectual circles as a dying relic of a past phase in humanity's groping towards maturity. "Progressive" attitudes distanced some from "confessional faith in the insistent interest of making adaptation to modern worldviews", but chaplain and chapel remained, (Hughes 2005: ix, comments about universities, but apply to Church schools as well). Perhaps this was due to a sense of stability that people sought during a time of rapid change, but it is one of the paradoxes of modern life that while all that is solid seemed to be melting, the thing that remained was chapel and chaplain, (Bauman's *Liquid Love* takes the Marxian theme popularised by Berman, that everything once thought solid melts, to apply to relationships that are presently "until further notice", 2003). One of the paradoxes of modern technological society is a profound ambivalence towards history and institutions and generally that which is thought of as old.

Randall expressed surprise that Church schools not only survived, but have remained powerful, still thriving today. He reveals his opinion that they were likely to disintegrate under the pressure of the challenges of secularisation on the modern world, (see Randall 1982:23). Part of the complex bundle of reasons why chapel and chaplain remained must include the need for a British pattern of schooling that would be a bit of home amidst the unsettling political changes that faced the South African English in the wake of rising Afrikaner nationalism. There is evidence that many of these Church schools are thriving all the more over twenty years from the publication of Randall's work. Some appear to have changed very little from their original recipe. Whether the Church is merely there as a disintegrating façade or as a vital part of these schools is to be examined in a later part of this enquiry into the work of school chaplains, the official representatives of the Church at these schools.

Religious and other motives

Those who founded Church schools stated a specific religious aim, to supply the Church with trained choristers, clerks and priests. St John's College, one of the oldest and most prestigious schools in South Africa, was established to provide choristers for cathedral worship and to teach a particular denominational religious education that was assumed to be unattainable in state schools, (Randall 1982:15). The school certainly achieved the goal of producing a number of candidates for ordination and may continue to do so, given the continuing strong religious influence.

Interest in Church vocations apparently dwindled from the nineteenth century, yet religion remained a major motive claimed for the founding and continuation of Church schools, (see Gathorne-Hardy1977:437, writing from a British perspective. The application of much from this perspective is due to the great British influence on South African Church schooling, but I use current British sources with some caution as there are indications of a far more marked decline of the Church there than in South Africa, see Davie 2002).

To claim that more Church schools were established even during times of seeming religious disaffection should not imply entirely religious motives. There have always been an entanglement of religious and business as well as quality issues in the continued support and establishment of Church schools, see Roos 2004:126). Protests against real or perceived political or educational threats throughout the history of South Africa led to expedient partnerships with the Church in education. Part of the rationale was also "Anglophilia", love for all things English, (Cookson and Persell 1985:12, 87). This was not only a desire to protect "superior" English language and culture against threats from Dutch and later Afrikaner Nationalist ambitions to overpower it, but also to preserve the Anglican Church stake in education.

Today the Anglican Church remains the dominant influence in this genre of prominent Protestant Church schools where chaplains are employed. There are a few Methodist schools such as Kearsney, St Stithians and Kingswood, as well as a minority of other denominational and non-denominational Church schools. Those claiming non-denominational status include what is probably the most salubrious and indeed expensive school in South Africa, Hilton College, (see McAllister and Everingham 1991, *A Comprehensive Guide to Independent/Private Schools in South Africa*).

Numerous mixed motives remain for the continued existence and founding of more recent Church schools, but the majority still claim God as the foundation for education as for "true meaning and purpose in life", (Smurthwaite 1981:51). In years gone by Church schools that affirmed this principle clustered to form the Head Master's Conference (HMC). The Conference was open to only Church school heads, but recently this group expanded its membership to include other school heads, (the name changed to South African Heads of Independent Schools Association, SAHISA).

The English gentleman

The education of Church schools aimed at the formation of the English gentleman, "the versatile, clean-cut, well-mannered, prudent man of affairs, who, favoured by the circumstances of his birth, plans his life and invests his time and money carefully with the goal of becoming rich, respected, and influential – a pillar of society," (Kraushaar in Randall 1982:2). Gentlemanly education was thus in collusion with furthering WASP interests, (WASP stands for White Anglo-Saxon, Protestant). Ingrained in this concept is a style of manners, proper accent, and stiff-upper-lip control of emotions, dress and character which was simply described as "Christian", but no doubt had more to do with British middle to upper class culture than essential Christianity; (see Randall 1982, Smurthwaite1981).

The brand of Christianity required was mainly liberal mixed with the classical heritage of Greco-Roman stoicism, humanism and an eclectic combination of

philosophical thoughts on courage, leadership and other characteristics that would turn out the “brave, truth-telling English Christian gentlemen of character” with the “right” type of social graces. These were to be cultivated in the “right” type of social environment and required just enough religion, but not too much, as any vestige of fanaticism was categorically forbidden, feared and denigrated. The Christian identity was perhaps something of an “afterthought” soon superseded by Arnold’s stereotypical “manly” rugby player, (Arnold was head of the famous school, Rugby, see Randall 1982:31).

Games and house spirit were firmly entrenched as substitute forms of religious fervour for many by the end of the nineteenth century, (Randall 1982:19). The emotion and sacred atmosphere of a school war cry before a major sports event remains tinged with “religious” connotations. Rugby has retained its place as the main manly sport of boys’ schools today. Chaplains are asked to pray with teams before important matches. One school devoted an entire chapel service to the game, to the exclusion of the usual Christian sermon by the chaplain; (the researcher has a copy of the head boy’s address to the school on this occasion, illustrating the sacred nature of the game at this school.) The fact that certain schools have rugby festivals over the most sacred time on the Christian calendar, Easter, speaks about the substitution of games as a secular religion in some cases, (see Appendix 6).

Besides the importance of rugby, many of the admired Victorian public school ideas from Arnold became part of South African schools, especially the “novel idea that education involved character training and moral improvement,” (Randall 1982:30). In order to underline the importance of this, Arnold made himself the chaplain as well as the head and gave religious and moral lectures prior to flogging offenders. Chaplains generally continue to encourage character development, but even though every teacher is a disciplinarian to a certain extent, they do not necessarily wish to emulate Arnold’s conflation of pastoral and disciplinary roles, (Chaplains have had vigorous debates about this role at almost all the chaplaincy conferences the researcher attended. Some no longer take part in disciplinary hearings, even in a pastoral capacity, as they do not wish to be both judge and pastor.)

The gentlemanly ideal of discipline remains important. South African school literature for prospective parents states the goal to provide "a Christian atmosphere under *disciplined* conditions with an opportunity to develop leadership and character" and to "train thoughtful, *disciplined* Christians". These could have been direct quotes from Arnold, (Randall 1981:31, italics are mine)! The present narrow focus on examinations may be judged as overshadowing the once dominant character-building mission for the education of a "gentleman" or "lady", but Church schools are still advertised as virtually the "last outposts of classic values, discipline and honour", (a claim made for American versions of public schools by Cookson and Persell 1985, but which can be related to South African versions increasingly as private schools on the whole have not had any of the problems of violence and disorder that has ravaged some South African state schools, see Metcalfe's 2007 *Education at a Glance,* April 11, Star, p13,).

The "gentleman" has a carefully cultivated image of hard work, supposedly related to the Protestant work ethic. This originally included Spartan-like elements to cultivate toughness in many schools, but eventually the Protestant frugality and self-denial was uncoupled from the work and lifestyle of many in the Independent school community. Smith plausibly suggests that hard work began to be linked to getting rich without the checks and balances of the faith principles that were there when Weber first named the Protestant work ethic, (see Smith 2003). Hard work still remains a very important element of Church schooling culture.

Liberal education

Many of the schools established in South Africa claimed to be founded to provide "liberal" education. This theoretically combined the classical heritage of the gentlemanly ideal with intellectual freedom, independence of mind, breadth of outlook and understanding of human nature in order to discern connections and make unbiased judgments with a "certain generosity or charitableness toward divergent opinions," (Woodhead et al 2000:75).

There was often an ambiguous embrace of intellectual liberty that went only as far as it did not hurt the vested interests of the stakeholders of private education, the elite WASP business community as a whole, (Randall 1982: Chapter 7). Independent schools did not always encourage intellectual independence in their clinging to tradition that may be seen to have fostered conformity to rigid rules enforced in a Spartan-like discipline to produce the manliness and character of the gentlemanly ideal. Those who favoured progressive trends in education were in the minority, says Randall, (1982:Chapter7).

In practice theory is probably never adequately translated from book or head knowledge or public rhetoric into transformation. Liberals may not be free from certain traditions and habits of mind connected with rationalism and the French revolution Enlightenment heritage that led to fresh forms of fascist oppression, (conversations with N Prinsloo, Methodist theologian, Feb 2004.). Prejudice in terms of race and class in particular may have clouded many of the nobler features, (Thiselton 2002:169-170, Rothblatt and Witrock 1993:28). We note the fear that prevails even today that some "liberal" educational institutions may lure those who "attempt to buy apartheid" and entrench past privilege, (Malherbe 2004:23).

In spite of attitudes of paternalism towards blacks and superiority claimed for whites, there was possibly more tolerance for blacks than for Afrikaners. There was a certain element of hypocrisy in condemning intolerance and then perpetuating the prejudice and cultural divide between the English and the Afrikaners, (Randall 1982:115, 116). Vestiges of this still remain as a challenge for chaplaincy and the faith stance of the Church school at the present when there are many Afrikaners flocking to Church schools.

Elitism

A visit to just about any Independent school of today will make it difficult to remember that originally Church schools were established for the poor. As

Dearing says “The Church created schools in huge numbers .... to offer basic education to the poor at a time when the state did not. It did so to enable human beings made in the image of God to realize their potential and to escape from poverty and degradation, (Dearing 2001:3). The poor have been practically pushed out of the picture, except for a few bursaries perhaps. Church schools were gradually appropriated by successful captains of business and professionals to fill leadership roles in society, the aspirations of the gentlemanly middle and upper classes. The underlying educational philosophies transmit power and privilege that helps to maintain an elite social standing. Established on country estates, they are almost like “country clubs for the pampered children of privileged homes” to prepare them for upper class life, with access to the best universities and an exclusive network of old school tie business and career contacts, (Smurthwaite 1981:255).

Outsiders may never even dream of access to the hallowed grounds. These educational opportunities are guarded by entrance examinations and a complicated web of gate-keeping mechanisms, not least the expense, (Cookson and Persell, 1985). A number of scholars all perceive that these schools were established with the express intent of elitism, (for example Smurthwaite 1981:252 and Randall 1982:12, Anderson 1987, Daniel speaks about the “privately sponsored beginnings”... “shrouded in a competitive atmosphere, focusing on the best and the brightest, with the idea that students must be the successors and eventual caretakers of the nation’s leadership future”, Daniel 2004:65,). Upper and middle class values, fundamental to the gentlemanly ideal, were not necessarily regarded as in conflict with Christian values at the time when many Church schools were established. “The rich man in his castle and the poor man at his gate” were regarded as predestined to their respective positions in life. Any idea that this is unjust is fairly recent, even though now taken for granted; (These words are from a once popular hymn no longer politically correct since the emergence of egalitarianism, Taylor 2004. See also Malherbe 2004:9-28, Beckman and Prinsloo 2004:133-145, Davies 2004:109-110, and Nieuwenhuis 2004:55-63 on debates surrounding equity in South African education).

In this brief review of the establishment of Church schools, we note that the power of the Church was initially exercised at Church schools through bishops and ordained heads in particular, but also highly respected chaplains who remain part of the recipe. The original intentions of founding schools firstly to train clergy, clerks and choristers for ecclesiastical offices, and secondly to provide for the needs of the poor, were hijacked by those who aspired to use Church schools for their WASP ambitions. This was to provide a good liberal education that they could provide the necessary social capital for the perpetuation of a lifestyle of privilege and power, (Social or cultural capital is associated with Bourdieu, Loury and Coleman. Cultural resources, skills and qualities which individuals possess, such as linguistic ability, social style and manners, provide cultural capital. This is an accumulation of advantages in terms of the labour market, status and even health, See Bilton et al, 2002:107f, Denny 2003:1).

Certainly the old school tie continues to forge connections. Any member of staff, including a chaplain, may find an old school tie grants immediate acceptance not readily available to any who have been educated at a state school. "Anglophilia" and English language proficiency also remains important, probably more so than Christian elements that are supposedly part and parcel of the Church school recipe, (Cookson and Persell 1985). Certainly Anglophilia was more pronounced in colonies like South Africa even than in Britain.

In this chapter we have opened up some areas of potential disagreement between Church and school, particularly in terms of whether the Church really wants to be associated with the covert aim of those who frequent these schools, namely the furtherance of the aspirations of the Upper class. At a time when human rights makes egalitarianism essential, the Church may not be that eager to associate with the retention of privileges of an elite minority, particularly in the face of the abject poverty of the majority of South Africans, (see Smurthwaite 1981:255). This leads on to questioning whether Church (and chaplaincy) should remain part of schooling as we examine aspects of global social and religious issues.

Chapter two - Cultural contexts and intellectual issues

School chaplaincy, as a specialised genre of religious work within Church schools in South Africa, must take into account the broader issues of the local and global context, particularly as this affects religion. It appears that there is a faith crisis, a crisis for institutional religion, Christianity and thus the Church base of the Church school. It is difficult to investigate these broader issues in too much detail, however, without losing the focus on chaplaincy within South African schools. This chapter will thus begin to unravel some of the conditions giving rise to a complex concurrent recession and expansion of Christianity in a growing variety of faith brands, including many new expressions labelled as "fundamentalism", (Lawrence 1989, Armstrong 1993, Woodhead 2004, Woodhead and Heelas 2000, Woodhead 2002). Issues from the Enlightenment, secularisation, postmodernism, technocratic and scientific development entwine to compose some of the untidy, apparently incompatible strands of multifaceted, contemporary challenges for Christianity and thus for chaplains. This has a direct affect on questions relating to the continuation, relevance and the possible reinterpretation of the role of chaplaincy in Church schools today as will be developed in this thesis.

The predictions of certain sociologists about a smooth progression from attacks on faith to a steady process of secularization that would wipe out faith, have not happened as expected, (Bainbridge 1993, Bruce 2002, Berger 1993, 2004). The death of religion has not taken place, but what emerges is a complexity of paradoxes, theories and practices that combine to question the continuation of religious workers at school. However, we shall also ask if this pattern of a shrinking public influence for the Christian faith in Europe in particular, need necessarily be applied to Africa, (see Berger 1999). Even though Christianity is now seen as one contender among many religious and secular choices of life orientations, there remains apparent growth and even vibrancy, at least in certain forms of Christianity, particularly in the Southern hemisphere. Africa is claimed to be developing as a new axis of the faith,

(Jenkins 2002, Bediako 1995, Bosch 1980, 1991, Sanneh and Carpenter 2005).

The Enlightenment heritage

The Enlightenment period from approximately the eighteenth century may be described as a philosophical movement, with diverse intellectual and political contexts and contents, but allegedly enough in common to be designated a project to which the majority of thinkers of the time subscribed, (Gray 1995:122). A growing consensus is that just about the only common thread is a link to a new epistemological paradigm of faith in human reason. This was largely, but definitely not entirely, in opposition to Christianity, (Chadwick 1975, Bosch 1991). The Enlightenment fashion of dividing history into eras, led to the designation of the Middle Ages as the "dark" ages of religious superstition and ignorance after the golden classical period, (Stark calls the so-called "Dark Ages" a lie. "The idea that Europe fell into the Dark Ages is a hoax originated by antireligious and bitterly anti-Catholic, eighteenth-century intellectuals who were determined to assert the cultural superiority of their own time and who boosted their claim by denigrating previous centuries as – in the words of Voltaire – a time when 'barbarous superstition , [and] ignorance covered the face of the world'. Views such as these were repeated so often and so unanimously that, until very recently, even dictionaries and encyclopaedias accepted the Dark Ages as an historical fact", 2006:35. ; also see Freeman 2005, for the opinion that faith and reason are incompatible, as is clear in his title, *The Closing of the western mind: The rise of faith and the fall of reason*).

Christianity was presumed to have provided a "sacred canopy" during medieval times, a cover that some interpreted as smothering rather than protecting Europe, (Berger, 1967, uses the analogy of a broken sacred canopy to depict the alienation and dislocation of society without a uniform spiritual covering, which he says the Christian faith once provided. Chadwick joins in the detractors of the Middle Ages as neither as uniformly Christian nor

as united in the faith as presupposed by the image of the sacred canopy, 1975). The Christian canopy had begun to fray under the influences of the Renaissance, Reformation and particularly Enlightenment thinking. It was thus proposed that Christianity was a major contributor of superstitious nonsense that would fade away as the light of Reason grew brighter, (Day critiques Dawkins, Dennett, Hitchens and other prominent current popularisers of the view that faith is nonsense, 2008; also see the BBC interview of Dawkins, www.bbc.co.uk/religion/).

The longing to return to the golden age intensified and the challenge to traditional Christianity was sharpened with literary and redaction forms of criticism applied to biblical documents, (see vii for an explanation of these terms). Much of this was based on naturalistic presuppositions denying divine existence and thus any kind of divine revelation in any form. Radical Cartesian doubt became the starting point for critical questioning of every aspect of faith, including the historicity of Jesus of Nazareth. Subsequent archaeological and biblical scholarship exposed some theories as baseless speculations, (such as the discovery of the Dead Sea scrolls that confirmed a great deal about the life and times of Jesus as authentically represented in the New Testament rather than the imaginary fabrication of legendary material from the second century onwards, see Bruce 1966, Mansoor 1964).

Numerous speculative explanations about the human origin of religion were devised by a new breed of professed atheistic scholars such as Feuerbach, Durkheim, Marx, Freud and others, (Thomas 1963, Struik 1982:10-18). Instead of being seen in terms of a response to divine revelation, religion was reduced to human projections, mere fantasies to help the weak to cope until humans “came of age” and had the courage to discard the comfort of cherished childish security blankets. Various claims, such as Marx’s, that religion was a form of opiate escapism for the uneducated, may have had some truth, but share the fallacy of all reductionism in ignoring divergent factors. Anti-religious sentiments were said to have trickled down from an influential minority of the intellectual elite to infiltrate the thinking of society at large, (Taylor says this trickling down results in the emergence of a “social

imaginary", something thought of as completely taken for granted, but initially filtered through to the wider population from groups of thinkers, 2004).

Growing suspicion about the intellectual respectability of faith, in addition to pride in humanity as a result of new scientific advancements, resulted in God being shunted into a siding of the gaps in human knowledge. God was seen to have little influence on everyday living according to the popular religious brand of deism, that proved to be a stepping stone to "a new plausibility structure" to explain the world largely "without any recourse to God at all", (see Bosch 1991:268). As the expectation grew that humans would shortly conquer all remaining mysteries without any further recourse to a Creator, the next step was to declare God intellectually inadmissible and blot God out the picture entirely. A great leap in confident intellectual respectability for atheism was provided by Darwinian theories in particular, (Dawkins describes himself as a Darwinian passionately opposed to religion in www.bbc.co.uk/religion/, see also McGrath 2005 for a critique on Dawkins, McGrath 2004, Polkinghorne 1998. Further on this matter, see chapter three on issues of science and faith).

Atheism developed into a zealous "religious" option for a growing number, fuelling many debates aimed at decisively dealing with the question of the existence of God, (Alberts 1996, McGrath 2004). This impossible task had long been the subject of so-called traditional "proofs" for the existence of God since medieval times, but these merely point to a probable first-Cause, no more than a manufacturer or Designer, who could then abandon any further interest in the product once it left the production line. The end product of these attempts to prove God never amounted to the Christian concept of God. Even the category of existence may not be appropriate, as God is no "Superman", a human writ large, somewhere up in the sky. It is precisely such a caricature that theistic religion suffers to overcome and it is such a "god" who may be disproved, (Armstrong talks extensively about this, 1993).

Confident announcements were made that only atheism or agnosticism is intellectually acceptable. Part of the problem may have been the stereotyping

of Christianity as obscurantism without taking into account the intellectual reasoning that remains vital to Christian theology, (Peterson and Vanarragon's anthology of scholarly debates between atheists and believers is merely one example of the existence of a thinking variety of faith, 2004). Ongoing religious vibrancy amongst all peoples, not only the uneducated, contradicts the assumption that Christianity would fade away in the light of reason. Philosopher Anthony Flew was once a prominent atheist who has recently come to believe in God. On the other hand, Dawkins also claims what Flew does, that he is willing to go wherever evidence may lead, yet he remains firmly anti-religious, (Flew 2007,Dawkins on bbc.co.uk/religion/). The point is that it is not a foregone conclusion that religion is not intellectually acceptable, a "backwater where the action isn't", (Aldridge 2000 quoting Eldridge).

Stark contends that it was not merely pagan thinking, but largely Christianity that formed the rational base of the intellectual, political, scientific and economic developments of the Enlightenment era, (Stark 2006, also Templeton 2000, Atkinson 2005, Polkinghorne 1998). Tawney, however, was not that confident in the Church's investment in broad thinking. He points to a narrow focus on ecclesiastical matters from approximately the Renaissance and Reformation onwards. This provided some justification for the Church being portrayed as the arch-enemy of the French encyclopaedists who furthered the development of agnostic and atheistic humanism during the Enlightenment, (Chadwick 1975:148-151, Tawney in Vidler 1961:92). The corruption and lack of engagement of the Church in France in particular may be said to have triggered the oft-quoted longing of Voltaire for the day when the last king would be strangled by the gut of the last priest, (quoted in Taylor 2004, McGrath 2004). Vidler remains emphatic, however that it is by no means accurate to suppose all intellectuals opposed Christianity, (1961). There was indeed a thinking brand of Christianity concurrent with the many intellectual attacks on faith during the Enlightenment onwards.

Part of the problem may be the popular, simplistic identification of the Enlightenment almost entirely with the much publicised aggressively anti-

religious French intellectual version that certainly precipitated not only the most vicious onslaught on faith, but also a bloody revolution. Enlightenment disenchantment with religion was never complete. It must not be forgotten that a number, particularly British intellectuals, were involved in both Church affairs and scientific discoveries, (Hooykaas 1972). In spite of the attacks from prominent sceptics such as Hume and others, it is inaccurate to depict the entire Enlightenment period as a time of growing crisis for faith without conceding that it was concurrently a time of growing influence for the Christian faith as it spread to become a world faith, (see Latourette 1975). Enlightenment tensions, ambiguities and conflicts affected faith as do the fashions and paradigms of any period, but Bosch makes a case for his contention that there were a number who were optimistic about a credible brand of Christianity, (Bosch 1991:285).

Credible Christianity presupposes the exploration of ways of relating faith to present challenges, (Woodhead 2004). Although there will always be some who prefer retreating into a pietistic private religious cocoon to avoid challenges to their faith, others have always been prepared to engage positively with the intellectual issues of the time, (Vidler 1961:119). Certain Methodist and Anglican pietistic versions of faith managed to mix intellectual engagement and a warm brand of experiential faith to every aspect of living including the sciences, (Bosch 1991:276, McGrath 2004). Methodists and Anglicans, the main players in Church schools in South Africa, no doubt struggled with this balance. It always remains a challenge.

The point is adequately made that there was a thinking brand of religion before, during and after the Enlightenment, concurrent with many intellectual attacks on faith. Attempts to marry reason and faith have always been met with scepticism by those who believe the two are mutually exclusive. Sceptics may presume that any religious observance of the intelligent is merely a front hiding their inner questioning and uncertainty. Vidler thus assesses the increase in church attendance during the Victorian era as hypocrisy. “Beneath the surface of respectable religious conformity there was a turmoil of

doubt and uncertainty," (Vidler 1961:112, Berger 1999). I doubt whether this explains the entire enthusiasm for church attendance at the time.

The presence of ongoing uncertainty and confused thinking beneath an outward religious show is still an argument critics raise against the continuation of chapel and chaplaincy. The lack of inner conviction of some must not be projected onto all. It is a reasonable to assume a mix of doubt and full commitment for any religious expression of any age, and even in any person in the ebbs and flows of a lifetime. This is likely to be influenced by many factors including the dominant philosophies of the time. Doubt does not in itself prove the intellectual inadmissibility of any faith as such. A particular brand of thinking Christianity was part of the original recipe of Church schooling. Thinking with experience and social action is the brand of faith needed for a credible chaplaincy to continue.

Traditional Christianity struggles to retain a balance between the immanence and transcendence of the theistic God, (Woodhead 2000, 2002, 2004). An over-emphasis on transcendence leads to God as "frozen" and removed, without prospects of loving relationships with humanity. Certain sectors of Anglicanism were deeply influenced by the austere rationalism of deism that over-emphasised transcendence to the extent of leaving humanity to their own devices. God had no further intervention or interaction with any aspect of creation. Carlyle caricatured deism's Creator as sitting idly outside creation since the first Sabbath, (Thomas Carlyle, mentioned in Atkinson 2005). Not surprisingly, there were reactions against deism's clockwork understanding of the universe, (MacKay, 1974). Romanticism and pietistic forms of faith, such as Methodism, restored a sense of emotional engagement in rebellion against a deist eternal, natural, fully rational, moral religion. What was wanted was not merely an intellectually buttressed faith, but one infused with warm experiential elements that translated into social action. The Anglicanism of the Enlightenment was deeply affected by deism and this no doubt affected the religious expressions of their Church schools, including those in South Africa, (see Woodhead and Heelas 2000 for references to deism).

A burgeoning fascination and primary engagement with other faiths during the Enlightenment fuelled a speculative claim that there is an underlying universal spirituality covered over by layers of specific religious dogma. The belief that dogma divides unnecessarily and detracts from this common core is still widely held. In seeking to accommodate faith to modern thinking, certain liberal forms of faith declared a growing number of Christian doctrinal teachings to be superstitious and irrational. The modification process led to an insipid version of Christianity that could "dissolve in the bloodstream of culture", (Woodhead 2004:261).

Certain elements of theism were slashed to such an extent that only a form of nationalistic civic religion remained. Some chaplains appear to be coerced into propagating a form of school culture, a selection of hard work and other elements of "success" that elevates human abilities and the moral teachings of Jesus, without any of the unpleasant challenges of specific Christian faith. The vague inclusive preaching seems to lack practically anything distinctively Christian in some school chapel services, a progression from this Enlightenment heritage, (this will be amplified in Part two).

There is no doubt that western culture and Christian faith enjoyed an attitude of utmost superiority in their symbiotic relationship of mutual influence. Gray thus called the Enlightenment project an assault on cultural difference, an undeniable attempt to supplant all other cultures with western. Indeed the west was thought to have an ideal, universal civilization that embodied a generic humanism based on rational morality rather than traditional allegiances, (Gray says the core was "the displacement of local, customary or traditional moralities, and of all forms of transcendental faith, by a critical or rational morality, which was projected as the basis of a universal civilization", 1995:123). The destiny of Europeans was thought of as bringing education, moral reform, the eradication of poverty and restoration of justice to a waiting world, a vocation identified with nothing less than the kingdom of God, (Bosch 1991:271).

Such triumphal dreams remain important to mainline churches, but today are mostly divested of western trappings. Realism and cynicism since the two Great Wars (World Wars I and II), exacerbated by the growing litany of atrocities of the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, have unmasked some of the utopian Enlightenment confusion of God's kingdom with western culture and civilization, (see Moltmann 2002 and the cynical Soelle 2006. She criticises liberals for confusing their views and values with the kingdom of God). In spite of this, modified western imperialistic thinking persists alongside postmodern reactions to continued western (and Christian) optimism to bring about lasting solutions to the problems of humanity, (see Bauman 2002, a pessimistic view of the future in contrast to Adams, 1995, who appears to maintain optimism in the face of multiple risks encountered by society).

Disenchantment exists paradoxically intertwined with remarkable continuing faith in western education to produce answers for world problems, (see Bosch 1991:339). There remains a continued faith in reasoning and the steady improvement of humanity in educational philosophies. "Enlightenment thinkers differed greatly in their degrees of optimism and pessimism," with some ascribing more to a pessimistic outcome for history rather than thinking along with the majority that humanity's future would not merely be vastly different, but on the whole much better than the past, (Gray 1995:123). Christian thinkers also straddled between optimism and pessimism, an embrace or a denial of culture and other aspects of human achievement, (See Fergusson and Wright 1988:183-184).

Church schools generally share overwhelming confidence in human efforts and the merits of education as a tool of advancement towards a better life, but also claim to base their education on Christian principles, (see Groome 1998). Christianity castigates human pride in its admission of human flaws that stop humanity from living in harmony with their true selves, the rest of humanity, the world of nature and God, leaving a trail of broken relationships, alienation and destruction. Humans are by no means autonomous, but radically dependent on God for every breath and sustenance every second of life. This

contradicts some of the pride of life of rationalism and the Enlightenment. The Church contends that human improvement is only through dependence on God, forgiveness for failure and the resolve to live a new life of love for God and neighbour, (see Tillich 1953, Macquarrie 1977). Church schools apparently attempt to marry what some regard as incompatible, namely pride in human effort with obedience to God, (This seems a rather simplistic summary as Sullivan points out the "ambiguities and conflictual nature of educational discourse", and the "heated and unresolved debates about educational values and priorities", so that it is not simply a case of pride in human achievement, but how to define achievement in the first place and then relate that to the Christian priority of allegiance to God before all else, 2000).

However, some brands of Christian faith attempt to arrive at a workable compromise as they lay more stress on original blessing and the goodness of humanity than the sinful aspects. The whole of life is said to be infused with spirituality that fosters flourishing rather than diminishing human dignity, (Hughes 1993). Humans need a sense of worth and respect for themselves and the whole of life as a gift from a benevolent God who gives the creativity and ability for humans to work towards flourishing. Ideally this form of Christianity holds in balance praxis and theory, individual and communal, spiritual, intellectual, social and emotional needs. This is clearly difficult, but this remains the ideal of certain liberal or humanistic forms of Christianity, (Woodhead 2004, see Ungoed-Thomas in Best 1996. He examines various philosophies of the self and finds some varieties of Pauline theology led to a version of education aimed at beating sin out of children, but on the whole the classical Greek ideal of a developed mind in a healthy body has greatly influenced modern schooling).

The effect of brands of faith

It is important not to lose sight of the fact that most Independent Church schools fall under the mainline denominations which are greatly influenced by brands of liberal theology, (Woodhead and Heelas 2000, who describe these brands as "religions of humanity" that are versions of rational faith with an

emphasis on humanity, human freedom, politicization, optimism and progress. There may be an accommodation to secular culture, which Berger describes as “an immense bargaining process with secular thought,” Woodhead and Heelas 2000:93. Religious subjectivism, “detradionalization” and flight from authority are further factors that develop anti-clerical trends or protest by clergy. Declining numbers may be part of the liberal religious scenario as Bruce claims this manifestation of religion cannot sustain itself, Woodhead and Heelas 2000:101. These religions are undermined by the collapse of modernist assumptions according to Gaustad, Woodhead and Heelas 2000:105). It must not be assumed, however, that mainline churches automatically follow a liberal stance. There are growing numbers of conservatives and numerous options in between the liberal-conservative poles.

While some theologians, including Norman (2002), claim that liberalisation was the cause of the evident decline in the mainline denominations, others, such as Borg, (Wright and Borg 1999), claim the Church has not liberalised far enough. They claim that historic liturgies, architecture and residual alliances with social power and institutional arrangements, as well as the hierarchy of priests to dominate the laity, undermine claims to the equality of all. There is concern about a growing divide between liberal and conservative forms of faith and a plethora of new varieties in between, (Woodhead 2004).

All varieties are prevalent in Church schools and complicate the role of chaplaincy. Part of the complexity of chaplaincy today is the pressure to accommodate both liberal and conservative strands of theology within schools that have traditionally been called “liberal” educational institutions, (as stated in a number of Church school web sites the researcher has sourced, see electronic citation list). Chaplains themselves are not necessarily liberal in their faith orientation. The tensions between various groups of Christians may leave chaplains being regarded as too extreme for some and too conservative for others.

While mainline churches may have adopted what Woodhead calls “a subjective turn to individual autonomy and rights”, unlike many of the newer denominations, they do not place individuals on centre stage or devote all their energies to cater for individual spiritual growth, (2004. Woodhead’s 2000 anthology includes articles by Roof and Gesch on the unprecedented nurturing of the self in our times, which also results in contradictory expressions of embracing and rejecting materialism and a search for spirituality in what is often called a new evangelicalism. Scripture and experience are twin authorities, according to Bebbington and the charismatic upsurge provides both order and ecstasy in a form of counter-cultural Christianity, according to Tipton, see Woodhead 2000:139,151, 152). Liberal denominations have allied themselves to the self-sacrificial ideal of service to every member of humanity, (Woodhead 2004:350). The liberal mainline churches thus hold a clear understanding of their historic and present role as being responsible not only for the welfare of their own members but for the whole of society.

This has had a profound effect on Church schooling in terms of activating pupils to engage in community service, as shall be seen in more detail in chapter eight, (Krige in Henning 2004). There remain tensions between the private and communal, the inner and outer dimensions of faith, that clamour for primacy. The fashionable “turn to the self” in particular produces stumbling blocks to the call to take responsibility to assist the most vulnerable members of society, (Woodhead 2000).

There is an apparent backlash against excessive Enlightenment rationalism that has probably contributed to a global renewal of spirituality, (Heelas 2005, Herrick 2003). This is broader than organised religion, but has influenced levels of commitment and the renewal of certain religious institutions, particularly those with an experiential focus. Many of these are commonly labelled “fundamentalist”, but Woodhead cautions that labels may have developed a polemical edge developed in a particular context such as the sceptical Enlightenment and post-Enlightenment periods that have influenced the categorisation of religious brands. The term “fundamentalism” is by no

means descriptive of all emergent evangelical forms of faith, (Woodhead 2000:30).

This thesis appeals for a balance between the experiential and the rational, faith and reason, as imperative for religion within the school context, (or anywhere else for that matter). This is not to deny a certain attraction in society for easy answers, that which Karen Armstrong calls fundamentalism's voluntary incarceration in the safety of the "cage", (1993).

The assurance of truth, eternal life and precise content for what and how to believe provides secure fencing that is very appealing to people caught in the world's permanent state of "ambient fear", where life becomes a dress rehearsal for death, according to Bauman, (2002, 2003). With the increasing uncertainty of life, a religion that promises God's faithful, loving presence beyond a shadow of doubt, is understandably attractive, but the question always lurking in the background is whether there is any substance or merely an illusionary comfort in this. Bauman's accusation that faith is a human construction to cope with the fear of death in particular, has been heard constantly. Those who oppose such reductionism argue that this emaciated version of religion does not do justice to many elements of faith not explicable in terms of fear management. The veracity of religion simply cannot be proved or disproved purely rationally, (Polkinghorne 1998, 2005, McGrath 2004, 2005, Alberts 1996).

All the chaplains who contributed to this research, irrespective of the position they may hold in the liberal-conservative faith spectrum, believe there is Ultimate Reality beyond any human concoction. This is clear from their submissions to the questionnaires, (see Appendix One). They would thus argue against any cynical assumption that merely because faith appears attractive and comforting, it is to be discarded when people have the courage to do so, as an adult no longer has any use for a teddy bear. For them, God is not only comforting, but also profoundly disturbing, far more than any teddy bear fiction. One of the most important roles of a chaplain is to encourage a fresh look at faith claims. Perhaps there may be an apprehension of "truth"

beyond illusion and the discovery that some forms of religion are indeed more credible than was first supposed.

The appeal of conservative religious varieties is but one aspect of renewed interest in spirituality. Gordon Lynch argues that teen culture in particular holds mostly tenuous links to any specific religion, until something better appears on the horizon or the novelty wears off. Lynch writes of Generation X experimenting with religion and his personal account of loss of faith is aptly called, “After Religion”, (2002). In particular he talks about loss of trust in institutional forms of faith and the search to find meaning and purpose beyond organised religion, as some do in “club culture spirituality”, (Lynch 2002:69f.). Lynch interviewed youth who claimed to live for the experience of clubbing. They appeared to lose their inhibitions and find some relief from a sense of meaninglessness on the dance floor and in the music.

Many construct personal meaning for life from eclectic varieties of “spirituality”, often described under the broad umbrella of the “New Age” movement. This very indecisive label accounts for religious phenomena often vaguely reminiscent of older eastern forms of spirituality, but with a distinctive new accommodation and appeal to the present, (Woodhead 2000, Marrs 1988, Miller 1989). Within the Independent school community New Age spiritual healing, holism and pre-Christian religious ideas as well as movements such as Wicca and occult practises have increased in popularity. All of the latter may either appear as a threat or an opportunity to open up interesting conversations that lead to a critical scrutiny of the underlying assumptions of beliefs.

Liberation and contextual theological movements are also among the challengers of the religious status quo. Contesting the Enlightenment’s assumption of western cultural and ideological hegemony, liberation theology called for alternatives to capitalism as this is averse to social, economic and political egalitarianism. Taylor describes egalitarianism as one of the most important social imaginaries of our times, (2004). The designation “social imaginary” indicates that a way of thinking has become totally taken for

granted. It has taken on this status only recently and possibly only partially when one considers the continuation of class consciousness, even though status is also conferred through educational and professional attainments rather than solely through aristocratic parentage, (see Beckman and Prinsloo 2004 and Malherbe 2004 on equal opportunities in education in South Africa).

Individualism

Individualism may be seen as part of a "turn to the self", a form of narcissism that encourages hedonism, self-growth, self-actualisation and possibly plain selfishness as typified in relationships Bauman describes as merely "until-further-notice", (Bauman's phrase, "until-further-notice" captures the transitory nature of postmodern relationships, 2002, 2003). Taylor sees this individualistic, atomistic conception of self as yet another important modern social imaginary rooted in Enlightenment thinking, (Taylor 2004). Cooke claims that individualism is linked to an escape into a private world of the individual, (1983). This privatisation of meaning robs us of the ability to make moral sense of either private or public living, (Bellah 1985).

There is a retreat into the world of the self to salvage some sense of personal meaning and worth in the solitude of withdrawal from community. Perhaps this then plays a role in the outworking of violence and crime in South Africa today. Although Africa claims to be far more communally minded than Europe, holding to the principle of Ubuntu, that life is necessarily within a community and that the self only comes to fruition within the community, the attempt to salvage the self is played out in anti-social behaviour as an exercise of free choice to construct a unique lifestyle rather than following any prescription. At the same time there remains a craving for social life, acceptance and belonging to a community that cares.

Even though extreme individualism develops a schizophrenic break between the private and the public spheres of life, forming two separate worlds, the individual may allow a select few such as family or friends to penetrate, although those allowed in are controlled. Modern individuals may still call

themselves a “family” while living behind the closed doors of their own rooms within a house. The word “family” no longer designates those who have meals together, for members may gravitate to their private space with their cell phones and televisions for company. Peers and celebrities may be more powerful than parents and family may be no more united that “those who wash clothes together”, (Musgrave 1965). That this is the case for many learners has been revealed to me in discussions over the years.

Church schools perpetuate the myth of a “family”, but the dislocation of modern family life as a whole has taken its toll. The myth of Church school life in a sheltered community permeated by Christian ideals may well have been shattered by the Enlightenment worldview that caused the reactionary development of individualism. There is no longer necessarily an automatic adherence to Christian moral ideals evidenced either in contemporary society at large, the homes of learners, the private lives of many of the learners or staff members of the school, or even in the chaplain.

Individualism may not be as rampant in Africa as in Europe due to the traditional principle of “Ubuntu”, that proclaims personhood only through the community, (Mbeki 1998, Tutu 2004, Battle *The Ubuntu theology of Desmond Tutu* in Hulley, Kretzschmar and Pato,1996:93). There is a well-known African belief that it takes an entire village to raise a single child, (see Mandela 1994 on the importance of the community). Community is still strong in many cases, although extended families are breaking down under urbanization and other western influences. In spite of this, church attendance and communal faith experiences remain important.

Ubuntu apparently resonates with the Christian conception of the Church as brothers and sisters to love and care for one another and God’s world. This ideal has been shattered in certain forms of faith that fail to hold in tension the personal and communal aspects. Africa struggles to implement Ubuntu with its group responsibilities and the bonds that tie a community to a lifestyle of sharing as it staggers towards modernisation. This involves debating whether globally dominating capitalist patterns of wealth creation are merely tied to the

survival of the fittest, the race of atomistic autonomous capitalists to the top of the ladder of success, or to job creation and the necessary liberation, rather than enslavement of the poor, from the cycle of poverty, (see Smith 2003, which is very critical of capitalism as rooted in materialism and basically opposed to Christian faith, in contrast to Stark 2005 that sees capitalism as a largely favourable development from Christian thinking. Carmichael explains some of the need for reconstruction and economic development within South Africa in Hulley, Kretzschmar and Pato 1996:182-198).

It is difficult to decide how closely South African Church schools follow European rather than African trends. There are still more learners of European than African descent at most South African Church schools in spite of the pressures to transform and become more demographically representative of the population of South Africa, (see www.isasa.co.za). The cry for African Renaissance from South Africa's President Mbeki is a challenge to the whole country to embrace the African principle of "Ubuntu", (Mbeki 1998). There is distinct ambiguity and co-existence of Ubuntu, communal elements that mingles with rampant individualism within South Africa. It has almost become a cliché that Ubuntu is what Africa can teach the world that has lost community in the individualistic embrace of western philosophies since the time of the Enlightenment. Perhaps we may forget how to apply to ourselves that which we are so eager to teach others.

Individualism may be seen as a form of rebellion against the Enlightenment presupposition that thinking human beings will necessarily have the will to create a better world for all, however that is conceived. Cold, rational talk alone can never be enough. People are never only rational. While this thesis proposes dialogue as a possible role for chaplains, even the most creative conversations that generate possible solutions to the problems of the world will not result in constructive action without an engagement of the will, the emotions, spiritual, individual and communal desires for well-being, rather than merely selfish ambition. At least dialogue may awaken the conscience and possibly spur on the passion for action. The Christian faith base of the Church school is never merely rational, but ideally involves thinking,

experience and action, a thinking and warm relationship with God that leads to constructive engagement with the world in a balance between personal and communal growth in faith and life, (see Willard 1998, Petersen 1994, Nouwen 1994).

Privatised religion

This relegation of religion to the privacy of the individual was partly a consequence of the complexity of Protestant religious emphases on individual responsibility to respond to God's invitation and be converted and continue to make progress towards inner purity. As each person was deemed to be accountable directly to God rather than through the mediation of any religious professionals such as priests, there was less dependency on clergy, the Church and Church membership, (see Woodhead 2004:208, Taylor 2004). This was probably not merely a recovery of past principles, but also a new slant on the doctrine of the priesthood of all believers, (Ferguson and Wright 1988:531).

Clearly there was a shift in power and control from the Church to civic authorities in institutions and in cultural activities such as art and literature. Religion was increasingly sidelined as mere superstition by a number of intellectuals. Aldridge contends that religion lost its significance not only intellectually, but also pragmatically and institutionally, (Aldridge 2000). This is the basis of the secularisation theory, a corollary of Enlightenment thinking that has long occupied sociologists. The assumption was that religions would decline and eventually die out completely, universally and irreversibly as science and other aspects of modernity act as acid eating away at their core, as evidence from Europe seemed to indicate.

Casanova saw this loss of religious power in society as concurrent with the increase in popularity of brands of personal private religion. Instead of personal faith being a return to former faith emphases, Casanova regarded the retreat of religion into privacy as a form of compensation for the new loss of religious influence in society and its institutions as a whole, as part of the

Enlightenment move towards secularization, (Woodhead 2004, Casanova in Berger 1999). In effect religion was said to have become a privatised leisure activity, no longer important enough to impinge on all aspects of living, (Luckman in McGuire 1997).

Church attendance gradually became a peripheral leisure activity that could be reserved for times of need such as illness or bereavement or even something to indulge in when there was nothing better to do. Humans were seen as emancipated, autonomous individuals and there was a distinct demotion of authority figures not only in the Church but also in society at large. This still has repercussions for teachers as well as chaplains in schools to this day. The popular mindset of extreme individualism broke down older conceptions of authority, integrity, truth, ultimate meaning and belonging, (Berger 1999, 2004, Bauman, 1987, Davie 2002). This lack of respect for any authority presents a challenge for educators and religious practitioners to substantiate their foundations rather than presume they can continue business as usual.

When the sacred is divided into a separate compartment from the secular, the whole of life is no longer regarded as profoundly sacred, God-infused. It is split off according to the Kantian Nature and Spirit, secular and sacred, or a "split-level universe" instead of "multiple interlocking dimensions", (a statement of the world preferred by Wright in Wright and Borg 1999:16). Throughout this thesis I argue against such a split on the grounds that a healthy form of Christianity, that is claimed to be foundational to the Church school, is possible and involves every area of life rather than a diminishing religious compartment.

It has always been a struggle within the Christian faith to integrate cerebral, experiential, personal and communal belief with every other aspect of living, so that faith is a way of life rather than artificially separated off into a private realm. It is my contention that chaplains must contest any rigid division of life into segments. Such compartmentalization leads to the loss of interaction with spiritual roots. It has been suggested that eventually the lack of

nourishment from the roots may result in the crumbling of the civilization built upon these severed roots. (Will Durant showed that Christian and pre-Christian ideas mutually influenced each other to form western civilization. Any breakdown of Christianity would then lead to the breakdown of the civilization that was built on a creative synthesis with this faith. Durant's thesis opens the question of whether faith needs to be foundational for ethics and sustainable lifestyles, a perennial problem that is outside the immediate scope of this particular focus on the role of school chaplaincy. Sanneh proposes a new synthesis in Africa, the new axis of world Christianity. Sanneh's comments on Will Durant, Sanneh and Carpenter 2005:222).

There has always been the prospect that personal faith may be held as a private possession that has little to do with community or the rest of life. Religion as such is never a strictly private personal philosophy as there is a necessary communal consensus of content, identity and plausibility, (see Berger 1999). This is not to deny that many concoct their own eclectic varieties from the growing variety of religions in the contemporary world. Many brands focus more on a solitary relationship with God rather than Church or community. This is particularly evident amongst the expanding number of mega-churches that are springing up throughout Africa, largely based on American models and contending in an atmosphere of renewed interest in spiritual development for individual conversions.

The pendulum appears to swing constantly between world-denying and world-affirming versions of faith, between religious preferences ranging from an emphasis on other-worldly pietism, to concentration on social issues for humanity. All this affects the brand of chaplaincy at schools.

Straddling secularization

Much of the writing about the state of religion in the world has emanated from Europe and uses European developments as normative for the supposed evolutionary paradigm of civilization and religion. Taylor and Beck pose counter arguments that Europe is not necessarily the pattern for the rest. They recognise multiple patterns of modernity rather than an evolutionary

paradigm set by Europe, (Taylor 2004; Beck and Willms 2004). Bruce sees religion as inevitably destabilized as modernization gains momentum, but Stark sees modernization as a carrier of the essentials of Christianity, (Bruce 2002, Stark 2005:235). Bruce traces modernization to industrialization that placed an increasing strain on communal life as families moved from rural to urban areas and the workplace moved from the home. A number of sociologists agreed with Bruce that the decline of European church attendance that accompanied the successes of industrialization and technical advancement indicated that modernity was inevitably accompanied by the acids of modernity that would result in the inevitable demise of religion not only within Europe, but eventually the world when the rest caught up with European development.

Davie began at this point, but then regarded Europe as an exception to what she saw as a growing interest in the sacred rather than a blanket secularization process. She took the evidence of church decline in Europe seriously, conceding that there was no longer the same pressure to attend Church in order to be classified respectable as in Victorian times, (Davie 2002, Chadwick argues that evidence about Victorian church membership may have been inflated. No reliable statistics were available until the mid twentieth century, Chadwick 1975). Even Europe's evident retreat from Church attendance, Davie decided, was not an overall atheistic and agnostic haemorrhage, but that Europeans prefer "believing without belonging". This was not an entire rejection of the Church, but a limited affiliation during the passages of life. Such tenuous links with institutional religion may also be the predominant pattern for Independent school communities within South Africa, according to the findings of this research, (see chapter five). Many return to the Church during crises or the celebrations of weddings and baptisms, even if they are basically "unchurched and residually Christian", wanting a "do-it-yourself" concoction of personal beliefs chosen eclectically from diverse sources in preference to any specific religion's doctrinal teaching, (Davie 2002:ix). Davie thus holds that it is an unproven assumption that religion is dying based on signs from European experience. Europe does not necessarily indicate the global pattern either or dictate that there is going to

be inevitable religious and spiritual erosion, (Davie 2002). There are strong indications that the tide of secularization has already turned towards a renewed sacralisation, (as indicated in Herrick 2005, Woodhead 2004, McGrath 2004, Martin 2005 and others). Religion as such is not necessarily the sidelined "backwater where the action isn't" that so many European sociologists had confidently assumed, in spite of a different space for the institutional Church within European society, (Eldridge uses this phrase, as quoted in Aldridge's introduction, 2000). There may thus remain a future for school chaplaincy.

Africa is not as secularized as Europe

Africa does not necessarily embrace western individualism or appear as secularized as Europe. In fact it is rapidly becoming part of the new southern axis of a growing Christianity rather than witnessing an overall decline, (Jenkins 2002, Bediako 1995, Sanneh and Carpenter 2005). It is going to be difficult to discern just how much this may influence South Africa with its more developed western economic base than the rest of Africa. Independent schooling in South Africa produces economic global players who may be far closer to European than African trends. A greater allegiance of Africans to Christianity then may have little effect on the majority, even if there are a growing number of black pupils at a Church school. They may not necessarily be more open to the Christian faith as they may have become more subjected to secularizing influences in addition to a more affluent lifestyle that may encourage materialism as an alternative to religion, (hence Bauman's expression, "the worship at the mall", in his 2002 critique of materialism).

South African society remains religious in many ways. It could be said that institutional Christianity, the religion of the majority, still retains some capacity to influence the culture. This is in spite of the politically correct expectation of sensitivity to other religions, of doubtless importance for a country where Christianity once held the privileged position as the official state religion, but with an accompanying notoriety of being in collusion with Apartheid in certain instances as well as being part of the struggle against this ideology in other

instances, (see Summers' Introduction by Metcalfe 1996 for an explanation of the necessity of this sensitivity, www.pluralism.org research project on the study of religious pluralism). The state has been declared to be secular, but the constitution provides for religious freedom. This freedom presently allows for specifically religious schools, such as the Church schools under discussion, (see www.acts.co.za/ed sasa/ *South African Schools Act 1996*).

A recurring question is whether the schools where chaplains serve merely call themselves "Church" schools as a formality, perhaps even a marketing tool to attract the religious sector, without much evidence of practising their faith foundation. Even if there is an indication of the European pattern of secularization rather than African sacralisation, it is not inevitable that religion will no longer be wanted or regarded as useful in these schools. South African Independent schools straddle global and local trends. There may be an ambiguous, complex embrace of global and local factors that appear incompatible at times. Certain pillars of the secularization theory have been brought into question, such as the inevitability that the rest of the world, including Africa, must follow a European paradigm, or that modernisation always erodes religion, but there are indications of secularization both as a distinctive break between the sacred and the secular in some instances, and concurrently as a loss of significance of the sacred within the rest of life. There are also signs of sacralisation and an opportunity within postmodern society to explore religion, (Heelas 2005, Jenkins 2002). Signs of religious revival are hard to deny. Apparently this is opening up new prospects for chaplains.

Various modifications of secularization theories continue to preoccupy sociologists, with little agreement between two major camps of those who hold to a revised theory and those who stick to the original pronouncement of the doom of religion, (See Aldridge 2000, Berger, 1999, Davies 2002, Giddens 1986, Martin 2005, McGuire 1997, Woodhead and Heelas, ed., 2000, Woodhead ed., 2002, Woodhead 2004). Those, like Wilson, who tenaciously hold to an outcome of complete secularization, have to assume signs of religious life are merely the last euphoric flings of terminal religion

cancerous at the core, secularised from within behind the brave façade of recent renewal, (Wilson in Bilton et al ed., 2002). If this is so, then it is just a matter of time before there will be no chaplaincy at all, but Martin's latest revision of his general secularization theory appears more plausible. He points to the sketchy evidence of overall secularization as suggestive of an alternating secularisation and sacralisation in the modern era, (Martin 2005).

Martin sees the Church as moving through successive challenges, not merely surviving, but passing through periods of retreat to fresh expansion as the wells of faith produce fresh answers to face new challenges of new times, (2005). This dialectic expansion and contraction of the Church seems to fit Church history, (see Bosch 1991). The content of Christianity is able to be transposed to a new situation without necessarily violating the core distinctiveness of the faith. This by no means denies the much-publicised failures of the Church throughout history, but emphasises that the Church rises from failures to fresh approaches and new initiatives. This is the task of theology and one of the primary tasks of chaplains at schools, the search for answers to the questions of the time through relating current issues to the well-springs of spiritual resources.

This dialectic approach that searches to accommodate faith to the questions of the times is grounded in the theology of Paul Tillich, (1953). He favoured a process of correlation in which theology responded to the questions that society asked. In a sense religion is always engaging in some such exercise. It will no longer be a living religion at all should it fail to communicate to a new generation. "The Churches would not have been able to survive, except as monuments on the margin of society, unless they had to some extent changed with the times and adjusted their teaching and practice to the new climate of thought and the new structures of society, " (Vidler 1961:272). This is the ongoing challenge.

This survival involves what was called "apologetics", a reasoned explanation of how the faith fitted society, daring to challenge it, but also applying elements of the faith to answer specific societal needs, (Richardson 1947).

This rational approach must never be isolated from a practical demonstration of veracity of any claims made in a credible lifestyle. Cerebration and celebration must always be balanced.

The question most relevant for school chaplaincy, and indeed for Christianity in the modern world, is whether there has been so much accommodation to the spirit of the age that the original faith is no longer recognisable. There are forms of postmodern Christianity, sometimes called “radical” Christianity, that have modified what others regard as certain core issues. This may well have been in reaction to the nub of the faith being seen as ”sin management”, as if it is just about gaining personal forgiveness rather than the fullness of life under God’s management, what Jesus called the kingdom of God, a broad response to God in the whole of life, (see Willard 1998).

There is no doubt an overturning of a great deal that was once socially respectable. What was once black and white, right or wrong has become a grey area in many instances. Christianity is accused of modifying its message from time to time to relate to current fashions, but the reality of our times is that there is confusion not only about morality, but also about what may constitute the non-negotiable core of Christianity. It is not within the ambit of this thesis to elaborate on the exact nature of this core, but the nub of the crisis of Christianity in the world today probably revolves around confusion about the parameters of Christianity. Sometimes it appears as if the most vociferous public opinion is elevated to sanctity even in the Church, while other matters are ignored, (see Baumann 1997:107).

The reverberating question is about the point at which there is no longer the retention of integrity for the faith at a Church school. Would it then be necessary for chaplaincy to be discontinued? There is a need for an adequate explanation of Christian perspectives to relate to the postmodern mindset in schools claiming to be Christian. What is an adequate benchmark for the integrity of the faith and who will decide if and under what conditions the chaplaincy is to be discontinued? Further questions are opened up as we consider postmodernism.

Postmodernism

Postmodernism is an ambiguous acceptance and rejection, but nevertheless, mostly critical protest against the rationalistic pretensions of the Enlightenment and modernism, (see Rundell in Beilharz ed. 1992 and Thiselton 2002:233). Beilharz thus declares it is like a "parasite feeding off the achievements and dilemmas of modernity", (Beilharz 1992:145). There is the prospect that the parasite may eventually destroy the traditional institutions of the Enlightenment, but it may clear the way for something better.

One of the most important questions postmodernists raise is whether people are so firmly planted within the circumstances of their birth that there is no possibility of rising above personal perceptions of immediate problems. If this is so, any universal applications or overarching meanings applicable to all circumstances will be out of the question. The contention of a lack of a common narrative, a universal story, is the launching pad for much postmodern thinking, (Thiselton 2002: 233f).

Postmodernists thus raise the need for sensitivity to contextual differences and for an attitude of critical suspicion when dealing with any global generalisations. Whether this then leads to a total denial of generalisations, however, is to be questioned. Obviously not all factors may be fitted neatly into any configuration, but any conception of a world faith, such as Christianity, would imply an overarching narrative, some elements at very least, applicable for all people of all times. Postmodern thinking has led to wide acceptance of applying "a hermeneutic of suspicion", which implies a careful and critical attitude. This has been applied extensively to theology, but there is still a conviction that theology is primarily about a search for truth, which in itself is a major point of contention for postmodernists, (Swinton and Mowat 2006).

Certainly Bauman, who writes extensively about postmodernism, identifies as the key feature the end of the exploration for ultimate truth, a protest against

traditional perceptions of truth in particular; (Baumann's extensive writing on postmodernism is mentioned frequently due to his skill in providing rich descriptions, as seen in Bauman 1987, 1990, 1997, 2002, 2003. While much of his analysis seems pertinent to the European situation, however, this research raises suspicion about imposing this onto Africa). Nietzsche was the forerunner of postmodern suspicion that truth claims were merely power bids. Although Atkinson plausibly argues that Christianity cannot be reduced to power bids about local values, his overall conclusion that Christianity must then stand in a clear "opposition" to postmodern thinking, is not clear, at least not with regard to all aspects of postmodernism, (Atkinson 2005). Postmodernism renders a service to Christianity in its reaction to excessive rationalism.

Christianity is far more than truth claims about rational statements. The dialogue which this research considers a vital role for school chaplains is not to be seen at the expense of the experiential or practical elements of faith. Credible Christianity must be holistic. It is necessary to reject postmodern skepticism about overarching meanings, as Christianity cannot be reduced to a local language game, (see Thiselton's argument against postmodernist Rorty's reduction of meaning and truth to linguistic strategies for coping with life, 1995:33). Practising Christians regard their faith as relating to Ultimate Reality rather than merely a game for coping with life, a diversion constructed and deconstructed to produce local meaning to make life reasonably tolerable. There is no external objective reality or purpose beyond such constructs.

Quest for meaning

In contrast Christians regard meaning and purpose as integral to the design of life in this universe, to be discovered in relationship with the Designer. Berger has been criticised by others as being obsessed with the question of meaning that haunts humanity and will not disappear, (1999, 2004). There is a persistent, insatiable, deep-seated quest for meaning within the core of human beings that science alone cannot satisfactorily answer. Humans are

propelled into a search for some connection and explanation for events, (see Templeton 2000:63). The quest for meaning evokes religious reflection, but religion is more than this. The search itself does not guarantee that there is any substance beyond the longing, such as the writings of Camus, the theatre of the absurd and plays like “Waiting for Godot” illustrate very well. Templeton asks, “Would it not be strange if a universe without purpose accidentally created humans who are so obsessed with purpose?” (2000:84). Some claim to find meaning for living, giving a reason to others to continue the investigation until they reach a conclusion for themselves.

There are positive contributions that postmodern thinking has made to Christianity, such as forcing a re-examination of hermeneutical principles. The contextualization project of theology has stressed that the contexts of bible literature are indeed crucial before there can be understanding of what was intended for the original hearers and how this can be transposed to be understood and applied to present culture, (see Deal and Beal 2004). Some forms of faith have engaged in very selective applications of the bible and yet claimed to take every part with equal gravity for all times and places. Postmodern thinking criticizes the naivety of such an approach. Sometimes there is a complete identification of Christianity with a brand of faith and then Christianity may be dismissed with relative ease on the basis of a weak intellectual version. Willard asks for a fresh, honest examination of Christianity that is so widely presumed to be known in the postmodern and sometimes called, post-Christian era. Sometimes what is known is a caricature, (1998). Postmodernism has had a positive effect in leading Christians to engage in a contemporary contextualization project that has led to better examinations of specific contexts prior to making generalised interpretations according to mainly European-mindsets. Perhaps postmodernists may take up the challenge to re-examine Christianity.

One of the problems Christians find with postmodernism is the lack of criteria for the selection of values and issues, beyond the whims of personal choice, sometimes swayed by what is regarded as politically correct, passionate, fashionable and media driven, (see Lynch 2002). It appears as a

contradiction that such issues may be pursued with fanatical zeal, but similar fervour shown for aspects of religion may be vehemently denounced. Christians are by no means impervious to the dictates of fashion and pressure from society in their selection of issues, but clearly disagree with Bauman's reduction of meanings to matters of discussion, argument, interpretation and reinterpretation, mere suggestions rather than truth, (see Bauman 1997:103, 106). Benson and Strangroom argue against postmodern scepticism of truth and extol the merits of scientific verification, (They explicitly state their atheism, 2006).

Christianity does not deny the postmodern claim that meaning is related to social contexts, thus making multiple interpretations possible, but claims a definite core of content for Christianity. This renders certain truth claims applicable for all times and all cultures. Most chaplains agree that such a core of non-negotiable truth exists at the base of Christianity. The exact content remains a matter of tension within Christianity itself, (see Woodhead and Heelas 2000, Woodhead 2004). Adherence to a fixed standpoint may not jeopardise dialogue, which is regarded as a core function of chaplaincy in this thesis. Every discussion begins with a standpoint. Complete neutrality and impartiality is never truly possible as no one is able to step outside the world and view reality from beyond human existence. Whether acknowledged or not, people have their own assumptions and can only step outside their own situations in the limited sense. Sociologists call this temporary "bracketing" of personal beliefs in the earnest attempt to understand the views of others, (Berger 1999, 2004). It is possible to do so while preserving the integrity of a personal worldview if one is resolved to seek an intense quality of listening and profound respect for the person with whom one is engaged in dialogue.

At the same time anyone engaged in dialogue is open to the risk of persuasion to change. One's foundations may in fact be shaken in the process of engagement with differences. If God is Ultimate Truth and dialogue is in the interests of greater understanding of truth, then this risk must be embraced as part of the process.

In some ways postmodernism challenges the core not only of Christianity and the very existence of truth, but also of education. It is not an exaggeration to say that modern education is based on optimism and a hope in progress, one strand of Enlightenment thinking. Postmodernism comes with absolutely no grounds for hope in the future and thus questions everything, including education. The best that can be done under the circumstances of meaninglessness is to make life into a playful exercise of deconstruction and reconstruction.

This is the melt down of everything solid as all is negotiable in a world without stable values to designate boundaries, (Marx predicted a world where “everything solid melts”, Bauman 2003). When the structures of institutions, rights and wrongs, and conceptions of truth disintegrate, there is overwhelming anxiety. The ease with which things can be demolished does not match the difficulty of rebuilding. This is vividly illustrated in the attempts to rebuild South African society after Apartheid.

The deconstruction of traditions, the degrading of authority and the corresponding demotion of intellectuals obviously affects chaplains and schools. However, it is doubtful whether any school operates on core postmodern principles rather than an Enlightenment paradigm of faith in rationality, even though this is tempered by postmodern scepticism and other influences.

Postmodernism questions the optimism behind schooling itself as it questions the “cult of education, truth, science and reason” to necessarily produce “a glorious new and improved future” simply through learning to apply science, reason and logic, (Bauman 1997:121). A logical conclusion of the growth of radical doubt in truth, science and reason is the breakdown of hope in the future resulting in the escape into postmodern living for the moment, concocting experiences to dull the pain of a universe that seems to be closed to transcendent meaning.

Lynch describes as the spirituality of the club culture a search to live for the experience of losing the self in the ecstasy of the dance, sometimes with recreational drugs and alcohol as part of the recipe, (2002). Youth (the term is used to indicate young people under the age of thirty-five in CASE study, 2000) develop their own counter-culture. "Nothing can satisfy the capacity for shock, violence and deception," (O'Neill 1995). The craving for extreme sports that dangle one on the edge of death is a growing feature. The utter hopelessness inherent in this postmodern philosophy O'Neill describes as "stations of the cross without any Easter" (1995:15).

Counter to this global culture of hopelessness, Christians claim there is still hope not only for making a difference to a better quality of life for everyone, but also in terms of transcendent meaning. There is a desire to engage in debate with those who say there is simply no light at the end of the tunnel, the kind of despair that is stoking a cyber "sport" of suicide pacts. To a certain extent the spread of the AIDS pandemic is more about grasping the experience of the moment and not caring about the future than any lack of knowledge about virus transmission. What was once thought to be solid morality has liquefied. Ethics can be made and unmade at whim, with no imposing rules but merely individual choices from numerous possibilities. All of this makes for a difficult situation for chaplaincy and other youth ministry or caring professions, but there is greater pressure to give some helpful intervention.

Many of the most pessimistic strands of postmodernism are not openly visible in Independent Schools in South Africa. The researcher found mostly a clear hope in the future, evidenced in positive attitudes towards work, sports and cultural achievements in the hope of achieving a better tomorrow. Part of the hope is probably due to the contradictions of the struggle of life in South Africa that make good education a promise of power to change towards a better future. Perhaps the Christian faith foundation of these schools adds something to the quality of life of those who attend. They are probably more aligned to the Enlightenment than to postmodernism's reaction to this rationalistic project. Perhaps they are yet to go through a period of

deconstruction. Presently, however, educators and chaplains in South African Independent schools work within an atmosphere of hope.

Many Christians may find themselves in agreement with postmodern disillusionment about modern lifestyles, particularly the destructive implications of the escalating rush of urban congestion in post-industrialised, impersonal technological crime-infested and increasingly isolated patterns of living. The accelerating rate of change may be said to have militated against retrospective thinking about past significance that was exacerbated by increasing incidence of obsolescence in technology. A corollary of this has been anxiety about any investment in lifelong achievements, careers, loyalties and a fear of commitment in relationships that could be devalued or discarded, as fashions, professions and jobs disappear to make way for the new.

This opens up the question that is asked constantly throughout this thesis of the possible redundancy of school chaplaincy. Will this be merely another discarded profession? The researcher argues that the traditional profile of the school chaplain may have to change to incorporate a broader role to open up dialogue across the artificial parameters of subjects at school. Postmodernism has uncovered some dissatisfaction with modernity's obsession with technocratic society. This disillusionment may either lead to despair or to a new search for meaning beyond what one can concoct for oneself, perhaps even to Mystery at the core of the universe, as one dares to dialogue.

The necessity of dialogue

I envisage chaplaincy as answering the call Bauman passionately makes for more dialogue as absolutely essential in all spheres of life, (2002). Dialogue requires the humility of respectful listening that gives dignity to all concerned, whether they represent individual, group or national identity. At the same time there is merit in the postmodern impatience that sometimes talk results in

nothing more than venting that does not translate into action. Conversation on its own without the will to act is probably counter-productive as it may raise hopes about change and new prospects only to find disillusionment at the end of the process. It is precisely because of this that there must be a balance between reason and experience, theory and praxis, an essential element of a brand of credible Christian theology.

Bauman's insistence on a stark choice in today's world between the acceptance of a common humanity or common destruction seems to make sense, given the dangerous alternative of nuclear implosion, (2002, 2003). Even after the end of verbal threats of nuclear retaliation, the mushroom cloud still hangs as a threat over the entire globe, (Bauman 2002, 2003). Al Gore's *An Inconvenient Truth*, a film about a campaign to depict the disastrous effects of global warming and the political tensions surrounding the economic repercussions of timely action to save earth from ecological destruction, is merely another warning of impending disaster that must be addressed. (This film was viewed by clergy at a seminar in Johannesburg, August 2007 and Gore subsequently received a Nobel Prize).

Aaron Wildavsky disagrees with the voices of doom and gloom. "Overwhelming evidence shows that the economic growth and technological advance arising from market competition have in the past two centuries been accompanied by dramatic improvements in health – large increases in longevity and decreases in sickness," (Wildavsky 1988 quoted in Adams 1995:183). Wildavsky also questions the ecological predictions of global warming, but a few years after his statements, there is even more evidence of a threatened implosion of the world as toxic unforeseen side-effects mount, (see Adams 1995 and Beck 2004). In spite of the paradoxes of technology, the side-effects must be addressed as all human beings are increasingly dependent on each other. Bauman thus says that the postmodern world is one where there is an absolute necessity to take responsibility for others in a network of interdependency as we share vulnerability, a "humiliating, infuriating awareness of helplessness", (Bauman 2002). Since nine eleven, there is the chilling awareness that even a marginalised sect may act with a

potential to affect the fate of the entire world. Perhaps it is not as Nietzsche supposed, that clergy create a sense of helplessness as part of their power bid, (see Thiselton 1995). It is there already.

Dialogue is essential. There is no time to lose if some of the grave ecological reports on the state of the planet are true, in spite of the optimism of Wildavsky and others, (Adams 1995). The state of the globe will affect the next generation even more. When we add to this the issues of good governance and the fight against rising crime, there is a clear need for some thinking that leads to action. This may begin with dialogue about all aspects of life in the hope of arriving at some solutions to benefit all. This exercise needs to start at school level and yet most teachers are too busy focusing on producing results for the entry of their pupils into the world of material gain. Chaplains may begin, or must begin, extensive inter-disciplinary discussions.

Globalization

Modern nation states are one of the new inventions of modernity, a conception that became a social imaginary, (Taylor 2004). New world alignments are leading many sociologists like Beck, to believe that they will disappear and “there is no way of turning the clock back”, (Beck 2004). The ideal of individual countries operating as separate well-oiled machines is held as no longer viable in view of global power shifts as new power blocs and economic partnerships such as the African Union, Amnesty International and Red Cross organizations, form across national borders,.

These inter-governmental, protest and social service agents are part of globalization, a complex, multidimensional process that intermingles and mutually influences global diversity to form a certain degree of homogeneity. This semblance of global unity may mask the paradoxical submergence, but not disappearance of unique cultural phenomena that resurface in a new appreciation of local contexts. Ostensibly this seems to contradict globalization theory, but globalisation is an untidy combination of unifying world cultural strands. These are intertwined with new postmodern

fragmentation, deinstitutionalization and subjectivism in contemporary social life, (see Baumann 1997:83). All of these features have an effect on schooling and chaplaincy.

Globalization, as the creation of a relatively borderless world with world markets and the movement of capital, products and people freely across the globe, Beck differentiates from globalism, a new form of colonialism, a different form of conquering the world through western conceptual imperialism, (See Balasuriya, 2000, Beck 2004:13). One way of spreading this form of imperialism is no doubt through the western educated elite who form a unique homogenous cultural global entity and are able to influence world opinion totally out of proportion to their numbers. This wealthier educated group is often educated at Church schools.

To a large extent globalisation is part of the culture of materialism in the world where business leaders and trans-national corporations dominate to the extent of being able to manipulate government policies. Shareholders demand the maximum possible profits from their investments. Real power is shifting from governments to shareholders, largely wealthy elites, some of whom are parents of children at Independent schools. These powerful executives may operate in a number of countries travelling extensively and often include their families. The Independent school community may then have an identity more as world citizens than nationals linked to the country of their birth. This global community affords a unique opportunity for rich conversations that breaks through mere parochial interests.

It is thus no wonder that school children who have the privileges of wide travel may sometimes seek to leave South Africa with its evident poverty and crime; (It is alleged that many return because there are many other favourable factors). A frequent litany of school speeches encourages people to stay and build a better South Africa. Even though there is probably more general optimism than pessimism about the country's future since the first democratic elections, in spite of levels of crime and poverty that are extremely disturbing, it sometimes seems as if Independent schools are preparing learners for

export, at least for an extended period of international travel until a decision is made to settle down somewhere.

Chaplains along with other teachers may be coerced to join in propaganda to stop the brain drain to wealthier and presumably more crime-free nations. A chronic skills shortage is resulting in those who work in skilled professions being overburdened. This affects their homes and the children in particular. Governmental pressure is imposed on educators to instil national pride and educate with a huge focus on producing sufficient skilled workers. This national obsession may squeeze out other aspects of holistic education. Among these may be the chaplain's spiritual department and time for a focus on broader issues in class as teachers are more forced to have a narrow focus on preparing pupils for examinations.

Constant mobility that is characteristic of the Independent school community may breed a sense of homelessness and lack of roots, the "tourist mentality" of postmodern people prepared to move on at a moment's notice, (Bauman 2002, 2003). This results in a lack of commitment to home, culture and country. It also extends to other areas of life, including the Church. Robert Putman, in his *Bowling Alone*, claims that this is having disastrous effects on all voluntary organisations, (Putnam 2000). This is not that evident in South Africa as the country faces daily humanitarian crises that are not as hidden as in other parts of the world. There is concurrently an attitude of hardening towards foreigners and yet an outpouring of compassion towards suffering people. South Africa seems to be a country of vast contradictions, (see Chapter Eight).

Global citizens may be part of a corporate culture that operates in cyberspace across porous boundaries with only the time it takes to fly to get to previously inaccessible places on earth, but whether they will acknowledge any continued need for their education to root them in a faith foundation, is not to be taken for granted. I think the very homelessness of postmodern people may well lead many to want to explore the prospect of a spiritual base that

can provide a sense of belonging and meaning in their lives, provided they stop long enough to give this time and attention.

Apparently people simply cannot live in consistency with certain strands of postmodern thinking, such as not caring about the future, completely living simply for the moment, a tourist mentality of taking in only what one wants, of homelessness and a turn to the self rather than any global concern. Being human means that there is at very least a spark of caring that can be fanned into flame through dialogue. There are alternatives to a purely, materialistic, naturalistic philosophy that denies any transcendence or mystery beyond the rationality of what Tolstoy declared to be “particles and atoms”, (Willard 1998).

There is no doubt a great deal of global influence on different forms of Christianity within South Africa today. Many of the young people at schools are alienated from the form of worship as represented in the mainline denominations that established the schools, as we shall see in more detail as we examine the challenges of chapel and liturgical contributions of chaplains in Part two. There are brands of faith that are greatly appealing to youth, notably varieties of Americanised Pentecostal free worship. Most of this worship uses modern music, such as that of the Australian “Hillsong” band, to create an emotional atmosphere of worship that is largely focused on the individual’s relationship with God rather than any cerebral or even social responsibility orientation. Global trends of turning from mainline denominations, particularly as far as youth are concerned, may begin to have a major impact on the way worship is conducted at schools. There is also much questioning about the distinctiveness of any one religion and an openness to learn about other faith traditions that must be exploited in terms of constructive dialogue to seek to understand one another if we are to learn to live in peace in a fractured world.

Chapter three - Straddling science and faith

Many Independent Schools today excel in teaching mathematics and science, subjects highly necessary for access to the highest paid and status-conferring professional positions. The shift towards the emphasis on mathematics and sciences from the humanities in Church schools came about as a matter of necessity and even coercion as the modern scientific revolution gained momentum. Exceedingly fruitful technological applications of scientific theories led to new inventions that produced new wants which became new needs that generated new jobs for those with the necessary skills. Schools are increasingly squeezed into preparing candidates for the work place.

A result of this is a shift from a broad education as the holistic preparation for life. In some instances, science begins to assume the nature of a quasi-religious opponent to the faith base of the school. There are certain assumptions about modern science that must be uncovered and discussed as part of the debate surrounding the acceptance or rejection of faith and thus of the chaplaincy at a Church school.

Religion and science are not mutually exclusive

In the previous chapter we began to explore the changing place of religion within this accelerating, innovative technocratic society. Since the time of the Enlightenment, a growing number of scholars were deeply influenced by Feuerbach, Nietzsche, Schopenhauer, Freud and others who saw religion as an illusion created by humans for comfort. Instead of God creating humanity in God's image, a factor which encouraged some early scientists to see their work as partnering God, God was said to have been created in the image of humanity for weak humans who could not cope with the problems of life. It was confidently predicted that religion would be discarded as humans came of age and no longer felt the need for a projected parent-figure, the imagined god of infantile religion.

The assumption that religion would disappear was fanned by certain scientific developments that made it plausible to live without religion. It was alleged

that religion only survived as a form of denial or ignorance, a screen to hide from the full implications of scientific theories, (Bainbridge 1993). A logical inference would be that no honest academically-acclaimed scientists would confess to being religious. This is simply not the case, (see MacKay 1974, Dowe 2005, Templeton 2000, Richardson 1947, McGrath 2004, 2005, Thiselton 1995, Polkinghorne 1998).

Templeton claims that there are probably as many religious as unreligious scientists in the world today, (2000). Religion is not a criterion for discrediting scientific ability as one would assume if religion is only possible through a denial of scientific advances. Any assumption of religion as illusory, illogical, wishful thinking and even the deliberate suppression of scientific knowledge results in questioning the credibility of many intelligent well-educated religious people, particularly the scientists among them. Science and faith are by no means mutually exclusive.

Any allegation that modern scientific education should inevitably eliminate religion, poses a major challenge to the continued existence of religion in the modern school curriculum and thus to the position of any religious appointments such as chaplains. If science and faith are indeed totally incompatible, then any form of religious teaching has no place at any educational centre. This is particularly the case for schools that claim to focus on providing top quality scientific teaching, (often the very same schools that employ chaplains) as part of their stated goal to give an all-rounded education.

Bainbridge (1993) and those who hold staunchly to incompatibility theories go beyond the field of science in their speculations about religion. They apparently ignore a great deal of modern scientific and religious trends that move science and faith towards a growing rapprochement rather than stereotypical combat, (see Templeton 2000).

Neither necessarily precise nor objective

The word “science” is not only linked to strict standards of empirical verification, but becomes like a portmanteau that holds any element within society that needs a status-conferring label. To announce something as “scientifically proven” captivates enormous credulity from a public that lingers in a modernist mindset of faith in empirical science as a panacea for all problems. This is in spite of growing disillusionment from an increasing vociferous minority objecting to the detrimental side-effects of many aspects of scientific application today. Careless usage of terminology portrays the confusion surrounding the scientific project in postmodern times and the new openness of many scientists to holistic evidence beyond strict laboratory conditions.

The evident fruitfulness of science in combating various diseases led to an elevation of status and wealth for those trained in various branches of science, but also a growing challenge. One of the results of egalitarianism has been a certain loss of status for those claiming to be educated. There is a growing scepticism about education in general, and even science is no longer heralded as the panacea of all ills. That everyone has an opinion with a right to be heard is part of the popular understanding of egalitarianism. Countless talk shows are aired over the media. Bauman claimed that intellectuals were once like legislators who were looked upon as those who made decrees in society for the rest to follow, but now they have been demoted to the status of an interpreter, merely giving one opinion among many, (Bauman 1987).

However, even as undreamt of side-effects of certain scientific and technological procedures are uncovered, so are realizations of dependence on expert knowledge for the survival of humanity. A growing litany of problems that ordinary citizens are simply not equipped to face, have emerged. Fears are heightened as new unseen nuclear hazards, germs and viruses threaten humanity and demand urgent expert research and knowledge, (see Beck 2004 and Adams 1995). The loss of status and

respect for “experts” in some fields is thus strangely accompanied by a concurrent elevation in others, particularly in certain scientific areas.

There is thus an ambivalent attitude to science. The growth of disillusionment about the side-effects has rendered some aspects a new form of oppression that hastens a search for alternative natural therapies, medicines and even pre-scientific mystical beliefs. These increase side-by-side with that which is supposedly tested painstakingly in laboratories. The Utopian dream, that science would solve all the problems of the world, has been shattered as even some of the ills it boasted of obliterating some years ago, have returned with vengeance in new strains. One of these is tuberculosis, an opportunistic disease of the AIDS pandemic. Some of the much-publicised side-effects of modern technocracy could never have been imagined as accompaniments of the scientific fruitfulness of recent years. “Science” has assumed multiple meanings and careless usage in modern parlance.

The New Webster’s Dictionary, (1992:895), defines science as “knowledge acquired by careful observation, by deduction of the laws which govern changes and conditions, and by testing these deductions by experiment. It is a branch of study, especially one concerned with facts, principles and methods….. a technique based on training”. This definition seems to fit school science, but definitions of science as “the study of observable facts and the attempt to give a systematic classification by means of making and testing hypotheses in the light of all available evidence”, (see Richardson 1947:40), imply a fallacy. “The notion that natural sciences work simply from observation of empirical facts tested by experiment and prediction tends to hold only for the simpler segment of ‘schoolroom’ science,” (Thiselton 2002:280).

School science may not necessarily be up to date in terms of the latest theories even though many Independent schools claim that their teachers stay on the cutting edge of research. School science may also simplistically imply observation from a “value-neutral factual perspective” without divulging the “contextual assumptions of the observer”, (Thiselton 2002:281).

The question of total objectivity

Science alone out of all disciplines claims to be thoroughly objective, but this is not so. The choice of a point of view and interpretation, the hermeneutical task, is inevitable even in science. Both Polkinghorne and Thiselton declare that it is not simply about what is observed, but the way in which it is, (Thiselton 2002; Polkinghorne1998). Hermeneutics is thus not only important for religion and philosophy, but also for science. How one interprets texts can generate very different views on both science and religion. There are a number who claim that even science merely produces what is regarded as "truth" for the individual, from an individual's perspective rather than relating to external reality, (Newbigin 1989 writes about this relative concept of truth extensively). If taken to its radical conclusion, such epistemology would eliminate the very possibility of any science.

In the previous chapter we already alluded to the enormous problems of claims of objectivity and that the best humans can do is to acknowledge their own standpoint and seek to bracket their opinions in a limited way in order to understand another view. There is no total independence unaffected by cultural, religious, philosophical and other life experiences. It is thus a grave misconception that any scientific methodology is completely objective. Sociologists have uncovered factors of social conditioning in all thinking. All disciplines, including science, base new experiments on unproven presuppositions which are taken for granted.

Taylor claims that seemingly self-evident knowledge gestates as innovative thinking in intellectual spheres and then seeps through into popular usage to be taken for granted, (Taylor calls these assumptions "social imaginaries", 2004). Values and assumptions embedded within each discipline push research in particular directions rather than others. Although Benson and Strangroom write out of an almost evangelistic zeal to proclaim scientific verification as the road to truth, even they acknowledge some of the commercial interests surrounding many so-called scientific tests, (2006).

Presuppositions about what constitutes reality play an enormous role. One of the universal assumptions on which the scientific enterprise is based, is belief in a stable universe. Without any semblance of order within nature, no research would be possible. Even so, science (and also religion) generates what can only be truthfully called provisional interpretations that may conceivably change as dramatic paradigm shifts may yet provide new evidence. There is the danger that certain aspects of science solidify into ideologies rather than hypotheses. They then become untouchable "proofs".

This also happens in certain brands of Christianity, (Woodhead 2004). No living religion can be completely rigid, however as there is always the necessity of fitting what is regarded as essential elements of the faith to an ever-changing context of culture. Without making cultural transpositions, religion would not possibly relate to modern circumstances as a way of life. It would become an archaic anachronism that is merely upheld for sentimental or traditional reasons. Such criticisms are levelled at aspects of school religion by some who claim that science and faith have no commonality. In a world of accelerating change, it simply has to be conceded that it is inevitable for both science and religion to alter the way things are done in order to relate to the present context and the latest scholarship.

A humbler approach

Those who propose that religion and science are totally incompatible, often cite Galileo's denunciation as proof. Atheistic writer Stephen Hawking depicts himself as the intrepid forerunner of naturalistic science when he associates himself as Galileo's heir. He may be guilty of what Herbert Butterfield termed the "Whiggish" tendency of rewriting history in the light of present circumstances and interests, (Butterfield 1931 mentioned in Dowe 2005:9). Galileo may not have been an atheist at all, judging from his avowed continued allegiance to the Catholic Church in spite of its censoring him.

Religion is seen as the enemy, as in the writing of Hume, Huxley, Russell, Mackie, Hawking, Dawkins and others who presuppose a closed universe

where alleged experiences of transcendence are explained as delusional or infantile aetiological tales the need for which science will eliminate. Logical positivism added to this the declaration that religion constituted unverifiable meaningless nonsense.

Part of the problem here is the unproven assumption that the physical universe is all that exists as a matter of sheer chance. It may be argued that part of myth of total incompatibility between science and faith has been due to the parasite-like growth of ideology around science. "It is never too easy to distinguish hard scientific data from the philosophical extrapolations from them which are put about in the name of Science," (MacKay 1974:9). Science with a capital letter is what MacKay differentiates as philosophical extrapolations to be distinguished from scientific observation. This is the belief system that feeds the theory of total incompatibility between science and faith as scientific methods "become overextended" due to that which is empirically observable being "transposed into a metaphysical or ontological world-view", (Thiselton 2002:280).

Science has not shown, and indeed *cannot* show with empirical methods, that a spiritual concept of life is unrealistic or invalid. Recent disillusionment with the elevation of Science to god-like status in a world of HIV and other problems is clearly indicating a growing openness towards Mystery and less insistence that everything must be inductively or empirically verifiable.

The view that religion and science are engaged in mortal combat is thus fed on a predominant atheistic habit of mind that developed from a rational, triumphal Enlightenment hope in autonomous, omnipotent Science to solve all of life's mysteries. La Place's famous declaration to Napoleon that the hypothesis of God was no longer necessary to explain reality is based on the assumption of a self-sufficient, impersonal, mechanistic, material world that is discoverable by autonomous science, a world where God was squeezed into the ever-shrinking gaps of knowledge. Templeton and others proclaim such a world, rather than God, to be a figment of the imagination, (2000).

Alan Richardson says the atheistic presuppositions played a major part in what he calls the “closing of European minds to Christianity”, (Richardson 1947:27). Freeman argues that Christianity closed the western mind, (Freeman 2005). Even in an attempt to be open-minded, there is filtering and selective openness according to criteria that are not always acknowledged. The fruitful scientific empirical method that dominated all spheres of knowledge, may have led to amnesia regarding cultural, aesthetic and Christian values that influenced the beginnings of the modern scientific revolution. There are definitely paradigm shifts in science that have broken down some past certainties and left a new openness to revision and also to spirituality, (Dowe 2005:193, see Templeton 2000).

Part of the change of mood is from the admission that more questions are generated with each new discovery. Surprises, mysteries and questions multiply to the extent that there is a new humility that present human knowledge is merely a tiny fraction of what is yet to be discovered. There is thus a very different attitude towards what was once regarded as the superficially simple structure of nature. Gone forever is the optimistic Enlightenment hope of conquering all mysteries within a matter of decades.

Einstein was not alone in marvelling at what he regarded as the great mathematical beauty in the depths of nature, the logical simplicity of the order and harmony that we can only grasp imperfectly. He proclaimed that all human science is but fumbling beginnings. There is more to the vast universe than we ever imagined. “The most incomprehensive thing about the universe is that it is comprehensible,” (Templeton 2000: 84). There is more order than chaos and more to the cosmos than matter.

There is no attempt to answer what explains science if science is said to explain all else. Many scientists are now willing to concede that the factor of unseen spirit has to be part of the equation. This calls for the humility to acknowledge many unseen elements within the universe that defy empirical verifiable. The old antipathy between the spiritual and physical may well be out of date, but perhaps the news has not yet filtered through at school level

that there is no longer a total war between science and faith that will lead to the eventual death of religion, as Bainbridge and others have proposed, (Bainbridge 1993).

Science must be open to paradigm shifts and dramatic changes in theories, as seen in the displacement of earlier rigid clockwork images of reality by quantum theories. There has been a growing recognition that the universe is multi-dimensional, open to dynamic newness rather than a closed deterministic system of rigid cause and effect that cannot tolerate miracle or mystery. Recent developments have thus led to a "humbler approach" amongst many contemporary scientists, (Templeton 2002).

This humbler approach may lead to inter-disciplinary dialogue so that mutual learning can take place. Subject teachers may be too engrossed in their particular subjects to entertain this. It is conceivable that a chaplain may have a role to play in facilitating dialogue. If this does not materialise at the invitation of teachers in their own subject periods, then perhaps it may take place in specific chaplaincy periods where these are still available in Church schools. As chaplains believe spirituality is an important core of all reality, they should place themselves in a position to risk dialogue with science and indeed all subjects at school. This is not to presuppose they will be experts in this field, but a living faith orientation cannot be divorced from any and every area of life.

Although chaplain C is a scientist, (the head of a biology department), most are not. There will obviously be areas of dissonance, disagreement and mystery. "The best account of the relation between science and religion is that they are in harmony, with a considerable amount of fruitful interaction…. In Western history religious belief as given in the Judeo-Christian tradition is neither incompatible with nor a hindrance to science; there is no philosophical conflict between the two," (Dowe 2005:195). Dowe's is among a number of harmony theories that presuppose that religion and science can coexist in some form that may be mutually beneficial. There is also a conflict model

that relies on a naturalistic view of reality. Naturalism denies any possible metaphysical reality.

As a word of caution, in approaching dialogue it is not helpful to associate all areas of disagreement between science and faith with the stereotypical view that religion is based on inerrant revealed truth and so science must be wrong. Those who label themselves as "creationists" hold a literal interpretation of the Genesis stories, to the embarrassment of liberals who hold a metaphorical approach. On the other hand, naturalists also interpret Genesis as literal accounts of primitive people. If these stories are taken literally, they are then regarded as being proved false by scientific accounts. A focus on the origins of life apparently revolves around either creation or chance, but often avoids consideration of why and how there is continued existence, (Polkinghorne 1998).

Children learning about evolution in schools often find this aspect of the syllabus threatening to their faith as they are exposed to what McGrath calls "sensationalised claims" that Darwin's theories have rendered atheism plausible, as Dawkins argues, (see his "The Devil's Chaplain," much quoted in McGrath 2005 and having nothing to do with school chaplains). In a discussion about evolution and faith, chaplain D said she never attempted discussion on specific details about the scientific theory, but preferred to ask questions about philosophical and theological presuppositions.

So-called proofs for the existence of God at best proved some kind of Aristotelian Prime Mover rather than relating to the personal God of the Christian faith. God is beyond empirical proof, yet an honest approach may unveil certain rumours of immortality, intimations of transcendence or indications of purposeful design, (Yancey 2003). This is in a universe that displays exactly the right conditions for the development of life on planet earth, (the Anthropic Principle, see Pearcey 2004, Pearcey and Thaxton 1994, McGrath 2004).

Such precision is taken as an indication that life did not develop through blind evolutionary chance or the whims of the "selfish gene", (see McGrath on Dawkins' God, 2005, Dawkins' defence in www.bbc.co.uk). Evidence of order is hard to explain naturalistically. While heeding the caution that scientific theories may change, this principle may still be seen to add intellectual plausibility to belief, (Swinburne 1977; 1994). At the same time it bears repeating that there are no scientific proofs to totally convince either of atheism or belief, even though the dominant Enlightenment view was that faith was part of the earlier stages of evolution, to be superseded by more advanced science. Such overt or covert assumptions ought to be the subject of scrutiny.

Compatibility or compromises

Some hold that science and religion are each legitimate in their own right albeit different, occupying different domains of life. Others find the two realms entirely independent of each other, with a different methodology, standards and form of logic. They are then regarded as separate forms of "truth". This is in line with later Wittgensteinian thinking, (Thiselton 2006). Life is divided into fact and value components. Empirical verifiability is only appropriate for the factual, not for the value category of life. Religion is relegated to a "values" compartment not applicable to scientific or other forms of verification. It is declared that religion has a form of logic of its own. In effect religion becomes private and science deals with public life. If this view is correct, the existence of God becomes a value rather than a fact. We then ask if this reduces God to a metaphor, a psychological cipher.

Church schools claim to be based on Christian values. This opens the question once more of whether such values can exist without the existence of God, a question wider than the scope of this particular thesis. It is incompatible for chaplains to remain in their positions if they begin to believe in values alone without the existence of God, especially in the light of ordination vows, which many chaplains have taken. These vows explicitly

confess belief in God and a way of life as a fruit of a relationship with God, rather than merely decent living or “values”.

There are certainly different possible interpretations of many Christian beliefs, even the crucial belief in the resurrection of Jesus. Chaplains within the research sample genuinely believe, as far as can be ascertained, that their religion is based on at least some non-negotiable facts that are potentially scientifically verifiable if firm historical evidence could be established. For example, they claim that the bulk of archaeological and other evidence has led to the conclusion that Jesus indeed lived and was by no means merely a mythical figure concocted by innovative religious people, as was once assumed, particularly by eighteenth century sceptics. If Jesus could be shown never to have lived and thus never to have died and risen, the entire edifice of Christian faith would collapse, (see Stott 1992). To isolate religion from scientific scrutiny and science from theological questioning is not satisfactory, (see Dowe 2005:5). It is the contention of the researcher that the fragmentation of life into compartments is detrimental to fruitful living and thus dialogue that taps into possibilities for genuine beneficial interaction is proposed throughout this thesis.

It is possible to have partnership between disciplines. Francis Bacon claimed that his Judeo-Christian beliefs stimulated more diligent scientific and technological work. The South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission recently exposed some of the abuses of modern science in chemical warfare, (see Tutu’s *No Future without Forgiveness,* on the TRC. Wouter Basson’s trial was much publicised in South Africa after the TRC as it was proposed that he should not be granted amnesty for his crimes involving chemical warfare). This is merely one indication of the desperate need for the scientific project to be grounded in a sustainable ethical foundation. Chaplains may be in a position to help a school think through the ethical implications of scientific and other studies.

Inter-disciplinary dialogue

If one wants to break down the superficiality and destructiveness of increasing competition between the humanities and sciences, a reality since the extra-ordinary fruitfulness of the technological era and the demotion of a classical in favour of a scientific emphasis, there has to be inter-disciplinary dialogue. This is not simply as a matter of personal preference, but may be needed for the sanity and even survival of humanity. Science that is detached from the rest of life can become a dangerous pursuit.

Adherence to realism implies that any truth is related and not simply a construction of any individual that has no bearing on reality per se, (Moore 2003). Basically then, if there is truth in religion, it must be linked with scientific truth, mathematical truth and all other areas of truth, even though our finite minds may not yet grasp the implications or connections. If suitable chaplains are available for this task, then there may be no objection to use them in opening broad conversations about issues concerning the enormous macro- and microcosmic universe in which we live. This universe is being shown to hold far more than sensory perception and empirical verification alone can fathom.

It is not assumed at any stage that chaplains will be the best catalysts to provoke the change necessary to relate religion to present perspectives and all areas of knowledge, including science. However, because science in particular has assumed such huge importance to modern people it is non-negotiable for Christian teaching at a Church school to seek to relate issues of faith to science. As Lyotard has said, “Science is the dominant narrative of modernity”, (Lyotard 1979, quoted in Atkinson-Grosjean, *Illusions of Excellence and the Selling of the University* in www.sociology.org). It thus becomes non-negotiable for a chaplain to engage with scientific debates to a certain extent, even if this is not a personal major interest. It must be emphasised again that this is not to propose that a chaplain should be an expert in every field, which would be impossible. What is needed is a person

who is willing to seek to understand and sift for connections between disciplines.

One of the problems is that there is no time for such dialogue. Chaplain E is at a prominent boys' school in Johannesburg. He invites the science master of his school to join him for discussions on faith and science with his classes. At another school a science teacher was reprimanded by a parent for discussing material not for examination purposes in class, so it is becoming more difficult to focus on broader issues. The chaplain can still get away with such discussions as there is no examination pressure.

There are ample indications that the multiplying mysteries of science opens up a new appreciation for spirituality as a legitimate part of being. Research over six years of interaction with my sample of Independent schools in South Africa has shown that school chaplains are often understood to have the broad task of nurturing the spirituality of a school, even though that is interpreted in different ways. If spirituality underpins all disciplines, chaplains may then become key staff members in facilitating inter-disciplinary dialogue at school. They may become catalysts in facilitating thinking about the possible spirituality of all of life. There is sense in Polkinghorne's plea that dialogue rather than competition is needed between religion and science as well as other disciplines (see Polkinghorne 1998:84).

Chaplains are thus to attempt to engage in dialogue about the nature of the universe. There is always the prospect that theories and paradigms may change and there is a need to exercise caution. It may be that they latch on to a "proof" that becomes redundant. The thrust of this chapter is that chaplains may learn to give good reasons why there may well be the mystery of a divine stamp on the world, a link between science and faith. Although giving reasons for faith will obviously involve far more than issues of faith and science, this will need to be addressed as a major emphasis for South African chaplains. The government constantly calls for science to be given the top priority within schooling because the country is struggling to contend with a skills shortage and the need to develop the economy that will be a global

player in terms of technological expertise. Science has an aura of superiority and dominance and therefore it is non-negotiable to relate faith to it, as faith must relate to every single aspect of life. Some of the major attacks on Christianity have come in scientific guise, (see McGrath 2005, Day 2008, for a discussion of Dawkins and other atheists in this regard). Dialogue is part of the education for life, and this will include dialogue about aspects of science and faith, (Groome 1998).

Part two - The contemporary chaplain: straddling domains

Chapter four - Straddling the challenges of chapels

Creeping erosion

The Church schools we are considering all continue to claim to operate according to a Christian ethos. It is extremely difficult to assess what they mean by "ethos". "It seems to convey a vague atmosphere of Christianity, but bear little resemblance to the robust Christian faith on which the schools were established", (Discussions on chaplaincy in Benoni 2007 - Comment by a head). Some may wonder if such vigorous faith is at all possible in this day and age, given the heritage of the Enlightenment, scientific revolution, secularisation and postmodern influences or even if any such vital faith ever existed in Church schools. Chaplains themselves are not always clear what they wish to achieve given the parameters of their work straddling Church and school, two institutions that have had a vast, but ambivalent effect on contemporary culture.

What is the present position of chaplains within South African Church schools and what projections can be made about the future? To begin with, there is a need to identify the relationship between the Church and the Church school. Although chaplains were part of Church schools from their inception, there is evidence of growing discomfort in a number of instances, of chaplains straddling between Church and school, battling to retain a footing on both sides, in danger of falling into what appears to be a widening crack in the relationship between Church and school.

Originally the Church was the dominant partner in provision and governance, but the school seems to be taking over. It is not that there is evidence of deliberate rebellion. Some schools have slowly drifted into being merely residually religious and lost any form of distinctive Church identity in their daily modus operandi. They have apparently detoured from their original faith journey through educational pressures squeezing the Church to the margins of school life. In this and the following chapters we will explore the allegation

of a slow process of erosion of time, influence and respect for the Christian base of Church school life and the implications this has for the work of chaplaincy.

The heart of the school

Allegations of an erosion of the stated intention to build school life on the faith symbolised by the chapel must be investigated. The exact phrase that the "chapel is the heart of the school" is used by numerous schools both internationally and in South Africa, as their web sites indicate, (See Randall 1982:120 and my listed electronic citations). This presupposes that faith is the core of school life, that life flows from the chapel to sustain all of school life. Is this mere rhetoric that is foreign to practice? Has the chapel ever truly been the heart of any school? Has this core only recently been eroded or is it a distinct possibility for some schools today?

The cynical opinion of British head John Rae is that this was the "ultimate delusion of Victorian heads", (1981:100). For him chapels (and chaplains) are like monuments rather than centres of spiritual life. If they retain any significance at all, it is merely in terms of social gathering. Such a completely secular view denies the prospect of re-sacralisation, as Martin proposes, (2005, also Woodhead, 2004, Berger 1999). If Martin is correct, even if there has been an erosion of the worship and the work of the chapel, this would then not necessarily indicate a sealed fate.

Chaplains are appointed to oversee the work done in the chapel as a primary duty. This liturgical role includes leading regular worship services, among other things. Although chapels can function without the appointment of chaplains, at least two heads have agreed that a chapel building loses significance unless a chaplain directs its work and worship. At one school it was said that it was "as if the lights in the chapel were out when there was no chaplain for an entire year", (interview during August 2004 research visit to schools in Cape Town). There was thus a great affirmation of the role of the chaplain within these schools, but in spite of this and other examples of

appreciation for the chaplaincy, there seems to be a concurrent diminishment of the work and influence of chapel and chaplain at a number of Church schools.

An apparent problem is that what is done in the chapel appears largely cut off from the rest of school life. This was confirmed by interviews with some pupils. However, others insisted that chapel services provided a good start to the day and helped them to focus on their work, (transcripts from pupils, Johannesburg in 2003, Appendix 4). Investigating the way in which many schools operate it becomes clear that even in cases where worship is regarded as vibrant and relevant, chapel services can be mostly isolated from the rest of the school day. Spirituality can be hedged into controlled slots that fail to influence the whole of school life that then becomes practically secular.

A number of chaplains conceded that what they did was mostly divorced from the mainstream of school life, but a few claimed that religion infiltrated the entire ethos and practice of their particular schools. Many schools apparently have a gap between the intention and practice of Christian commitment. The preference to appoint Christian staff to uphold the faith ethic of the school is tempered by the practice of employing the best candidate for a particular position. This may be irrespective of any faith stance except perhaps for agreement to the minimum requirement of causing no offence to the Church, as set out in certain Church school constitutions. No doubt some schools are more successful in allowing their stated Christian philosophy to guide daily school life but there is clear evidence of erosion of the life of the stated “heart of the school” in many cases.

“People always have some kind of god because there is always something they “fear and love above all things” (Luther),” (Soelle 2006:81). The true god at the centre of school, the golden calf to whom all bring sacrifices and work for and from whom they expect security, is the “god of success” in academic achievement, worshipped through “hard work and fatigue”, (Cookson and Persell 1985). The claim that the chapel is the true “heart” may be questionable at best and hypocritical in some cases.

Erosion of time

The erosion of time for chapel and other religious activities is clearly a problem for chaplains in certain schools. Contact time for chaplains to be exposed to the school body has decreased significantly as anxiety about academic time has accelerated. It incurs the wrath of teachers when chapel periods go over the specified time, usually approximately half an hour. Sometimes this includes time to get to and from the chapel before the next lesson. I have experienced this in my own chaplaincy years.

While quality and depth are not necessarily related to frequency or length, African Christians find it difficult to understand how church services can be circumscribed by time constraints. This stems from a sense that God must be given as much time as is necessary in a service of worship. Such an attitude simply would not work well in modern schooling that is dominated by slicing the day into neat time segments of subjects. Teachers at Independent schools are generally conscientious and value their own teaching time for their planned lessons. They do not appreciate it when chapel or anything else interferes with this. This in itself indicates that what they do in their individual classes is often cut off from the larger picture of holistic education, which may include chapel.

Not only the duration but the number of chapel services has been cut in many schools. Initially there were services daily, but now most retain only two or three services a week, some less and very few, the daily pattern, (see Rae for the British pattern in diminishing chapel services, 1981:99-103). I must hasten to add that at one rural school the daily rhythm of chapel services is regarded as non-negotiable and the pupils nearly rioted when it was suggested that they ought to attend chapel less frequently. They were so keen to have their chapel periods that they were prepared to fight for the privilege. This is in line with what the researcher has experienced in other African congregations where worship takes a solemn priority over all else and

will take as long as necessary and as much energy as needed. Nothing is more important than worship, so it was natural for these pupils to object to any suggestion that this be curtailed. However, within the majority of Church schools there are indications that religion is the victim of the growing overload of the school timetable. It is being squeezed out, possibly because it assumes a lower priority.

Erosion of respect

This low status is also evident in the erosion of respect for certain chapels. Lack of caring for the physical building may well indicate a lack of respect for God, the chaplain and the faith foundation of the school of which the chapel is symbolic. Many Independent schools in South Africa have beautiful chapel buildings that stand out as the most striking feature on the campus. Chapels range from grand miniature cathedral replicas to plain, stark buildings. Some have elaborate stained glass windows, icons and other decorations. One is housed in a converted cow shed.

Most school chapels were built specifically for worship and the ministry of the Church, but there is a general trend not only for fewer worship services but for more secular usage of the chapel. It may not be an indication of a growing secularization, but simply pragmatic necessity that has led some schools to use the chapel as a substitute for a hall for all kinds of functions not directly related to the sacred purposes for which it was dedicated. At least three newer schools have deliberately chosen to build multi-functional halls instead of conventional chapels. One has padded seats and a stage, more like a theatre as is the trend for the design of many newer churches. Another has a dedicated altar area that is closed off with a screen when the building is used as a hall. In this way there is a sacred area solely for worship. The third has an amphitheatre structure that is used for drama and worship.

In one chapel there are regular band competitions and concerts, but this in itself is not necessarily evidence of disrespect for chapel, chaplains and possibly indirectly for God as well. What is disturbing is that equipment such

as the communion table and pulpit are moved without consultation and not replaced. Chaplains reported that the chapel lectern was frequently taken to the school hall for a function. At one stage the baptismal font was missing just when chaplain D had to conduct the baptism of a grandchild of the donor. The grandmother arrived to polish the font's memorial plaque and silver basin. She panicked when she could not find the font and the embarrassed chaplain had to make arrangements for an exact replica to be constructed. Weeks later the original suddenly appeared at the back of the chapel without any explanation or apology.

This careless disregard for the chapel and chaplaincy is one among a few incidents I have noted in my research. Although a minority may well be responsible for acts of disrespect, when a number of such incidents occur at the same school, it points to the erosion of respect and care for their chapels and by implication, all that this symbolises, in spite of any continued claim that the chapel is the "heart" of the school. The visits of the researcher indicate that many schools take great pride in keeping their school chapels immaculate. Perhaps this reflects something of the genuine dignity and strength of these schools' Church connections.

On the other hand, Rae suggests a chapel may have become like a museum, symbolising past vitality of faith, but now a symbol of school nostalgia, (1981). For Rae school chapels are showpieces, centres of friendship, community, memories of songs and routines without any transcendent faith significance, in line with Durkheim's reduction of religion to the values of society, (see Goodliffe 1961, Rae 1981, Struik 1982). There is a definite social role of community building as schools gather together in chapel services. In some schools it is only in the chapel that the whole school meets together. Unless chapel services have more to them than this social dimension, there may as well be assembling in any building for purposes of notices and assembling the school body together without any pretence of sacred connotations.

Erosion of Influence

Schools now "provide secular alternatives to the socializing effects of religious and community institutions and of the family," as they have taken over from the church as the primary institutions for nurturing the young, (Glenn 2000:19). Some parents and children only experience any sense of community belonging at school, but schools are presently so busy that they may merely contribute to a disintegration of relationships. They have grown in importance concurrently with a certain loss of significance for the Church, (see comments on Casanova in Part One and in Berger 1999). Media currently blames school educators far more readily than clergy or even parents for failing to inculcate morality to fight against escalating crime. This was highlighted after a number of violent incidents at South African state schools during 2006 and 2007.

If chapel services are merely about school social life, it is unlikely that life outside school will include Church membership. This may be particularly so if chapel services were associated with coercion, army-like discipline, conformity and collective identity, without individual significance, (Rae 1981:101). Chapel services are more like army parades than worship services in some schools. During my visits to schools I have witnessed prefects standing on guard forcing the entire school to remain absolutely still and at attention for the duration of a "service". Heads sit up front in a display of solemnity and authority while the chaplain conducts the service from the pulpit in this atmosphere of stern discipline. This is in sharp contrast to the joyful, vibrant atmosphere of services I have experienced elsewhere.

If the medium is the message, this formality of tradition may block receptivity to the message. There may merely be a form of "nostalgia" that Gathorne-Hardy says attracts even past pupils who fail to go to any other church, to return to the school chapel on annual pilgrimages for speech days and other important events such as weddings, baptisms and funerals, (1977). Such sporadic attendance of school chapel services may in fact fuel excuses to avoid any further church attendance, (Goodliffe 1961:59).

In spite of this, a number of past pupils claim to have been drawn to church membership later in their lives allegedly due to the foundation they received at school. (Transcripts of conversations are available from the researcher as part of her field notes.) It is difficult to assess how many eventually find a spiritual home within some church and how many are put off any further association with any church at all as a result of school experiences. In conversations with parents I was told that some of them no longer attended church, but they were quick to add that their children at least had chapel services at school, as if this was a form of vicarious attendance on behalf of the whole family; (merely another version of "believing without belonging", Davie's theory about women attending church vicariously in societies where men in particular still claim to believe but no longer participate in any faith community, 2002).

The fact that alumnae come for baptisms and life's special rites of passage to the school chaplain means that they have not entirely dismissed religion. They still indicate some awareness of the need to celebrate these solemn moments in the context of worship in the chapel. This may be because they have not yet found any spiritual home outside school or they are simply still attached to the school chapel with its wistful memories of camaraderie and school friendships or perhaps even some signs of transcendence, (see Berger 1967, 1999) .

No chaplains believe that what they do in the chapel can be reduced to a mere social influence, (as Rae 1981 and Gathorne-Hardy 1977 advocate). If they do, they had better resign, because a loss of faith is inadmissible for a chaplaincy role, (particularly if, as is the case with most chaplains, there have been ordination vows that pledge the ordained to be faithful to God within the Church and the world). Most chaplains express the hope that through chapel worship services some seeds of genuine spirituality may be sown and may begin to germinate into practicing faith, even if years later.

Chaplains repeatedly expressed an overwhelming consensus that even if what they do has positive effects in only one or two from time to time, that is enough to convince them there is real value in their work. They hold to a sense of "calling" from God to look beyond outward success and find satisfaction in doing what they believe God requires of them. Perhaps it is difficult to make sense of this "calling" in the modern world, but it appears to motivate chaplains to remain at schools even when it appears they are failing to move the majority closer towards any appreciation of worship or religion, (which is apparently not the case in all schools as some chaplains do claim there are a majority of practising Christians in their schools. Most seem to indicate a lower percentage, however).

Erosion of religious freedom

Those who come to the school from church appointments may interpret the policies they encounter as an erosion of their freedom as they have to operate within very controlled parameters. Religion is under surveillance at school. It is probably not an exaggeration to say that never before in the history of humanity are we more aware of the danger of certain brands of religious enthusiasm. Need nine-eleven and the fear of mass hysteria and intolerance shown by certain fundamentalist groups even be mentioned? Many heads have given the impression of fearing religious fervour. The result may be to block any emotional religion and only allow a cerebral variety in compliance with the "gentlemanly" desire for just enough religion to foster honesty, integrity and harmony, but not too much lest it overpower.

Chaplains G and D experienced a school hovering on the brink of hysteria after the death of a pupil. The situation had to be handled in a very sensitive, disciplined way to give emotion a rightful place as a legitimate part of the grieving experience while somehow discerning a fine line between that need and hysteria. There is of course a great difficulty in how one defines "excessive" emotion particularly in the light of the South African cultural milieu that is no longer necessarily acquiescent to an Anglo-Saxon stiff upper lip mentality.

The management of exposing children to faith experiences at school is indeed difficult and of utmost importance, (Glenn 2000, Norman 2004). Parents have entrusted their children to the school for nurturing and learning. There is a great responsibility to keep religion from becoming destructive rather than nourishing a foundation for life. Checks and balances are essential in the school environment, for there are many varieties of new religions that are allegedly hazardous to mental and emotional sanity. Certain groups target children and young adults in particular, (Enroth et al 1983).

Religion can be used to abuse others, as was the case when a child was threatening her peers with spells as an expression of her Wiccan beliefs. No doubt followers of Wicca would say that she was overstepping their requirement of first doing no harm, but chaplain D had to deal with the fear of pupils. Perhaps this is an extreme example, but even if religion is regarded as a strictly private affair, as is a popular conception, this will not necessarily contain its influence, as what people believe will affect their behaviour and affect the overall atmosphere of a school, (Peter Berger denies the prospect of a completely private "religion", 1961, 1999). There is always an inward and outward component in religion, a necessary balance between private spiritual nurturing and a communal transformative aspect, a journey inward and a societal role to implement a lifestyle that is fed from personal spirituality. These inner and outer components need to be balanced as part of the traditional Christian foundation of the Church school.

It may well be imperative for the wellbeing of children to give them a managed environment to discuss all aspects of religion and worldviews openly. In this way they will hopefully be equipped with intellectual knowledge and critical tools to weigh up the differences, commonalities, fruits and roots of cults, sects, world faiths, occult phenomena and other religious factors. Without this they are at the risk of exposure to elements that may be harmful not only spiritually, but also emotionally and psychologically. It is thus necessary to impose certain parameters on religious freedom to protect all. Schools must therefore devise religious policies to keep religion within certain orderly limits.

It is necessary to allocate sufficient time and seek for a reasonable depth of skilfully managed, age appropriate discussions for children to development discernment to cope with the growing varieties of spirituality they may encounter. If there is too much erosion of time and opportunity for this essential element of education, we may be leaving the door open to excesses and further problems. Chaplains can be helpful in this regard.

Still compulsory

The entire school body has to attend chapel services compulsorily in all the schools of my sample, with the exception of one Sunday service for boys of other faiths in one boarding school. The prominent educationalist head of one of the oldest schools in South Africa declared that compulsory chapel services are essential to the life and quality of a Church school. He insisted that his school would be inconceivable without chapel and chaplaincy, (conversations with heads on a visit to the Eastern Cape, September 2005). Surprisingly also newer schools have chosen to appoint chaplains and insist on compulsory chapel services.

Should children be compelled to attend church services at school, especially if their parents never do or if they are from another faith or no faith tradition? This may be regarded as gross hypocrisy, (Rae 1981). While church attendance may be greater in South Africa than in Britain, (Rae's context), whether this applies to the members of the Independent School community as a whole is not known. It is my hunch that they are more likely to follow the European example of being more detached from the institutional elements of the faith they claim as their own, (Davie 2002). Some pupils rebel by bunking or use other evasive tactics, but most comply, at least by attending physically. The question is whether this is counter-productive in the end. Is more harm than good done through this compulsion? This remains a key tension for chaplains. They are aware that parents send their children to Church schools for a number of different reasons, not least for what they regard as sound education. That this comes packaged with chapel and religious teaching appears unfortunate to some.

The merits of compulsion were debated at a meeting of five chaplains on 24th February 2005. The discussion was precipitated by a Muslim father asking a chaplain to excuse his child from RE and chapel services at school. The school had a clear policy that all educators and learners attend all school religious ceremonies irrespective of their personal religious affiliation. Parents had assented to this in writing before enrolment. The father was testing this in his discussion with the chaplain, but the chaplain did not have the authority to consent to the request to excuse the child. This was a matter of school policy that was within the legal requirements of the South African constitution's provision for religious groups to establish their own Independent schools, (South African Schools Act 1996, www.acts.co.za/ed_sasa). Those who do not wish to comply were free to enter state or other schools of their choice.

In the discussion on this issue chaplains were not in agreement that coercion was helpful. Arguments ranged from pleas to uphold the status quo of continued compulsory attendance, to those that advocated voluntary participation. Religion is an emotive issue often regarded as private. Numerous things are expected from children simply because they are regarded as good for them irrespective of the child's personal choices. Matters of personal hygiene are an example of an area of life initially imposed by adults in the hope that the child will recognise the value of this later. Schools may force pupils to attend or even take part in certain sports, which is generally regarded as a category of choice. There is a certain ambiguity in the general acceptance of compulsory school lessons in prescribed subjects such as languages and mathematics for the sake of the education of the children, but debate and possible resentment regarding compulsory religious education.

The Minutes of a Students' Representative Council meeting at a Church school illustrate the irony of two pleas about compulsion. The first was a bid to stop compulsory chapel attendance and the second, appearing only a little lower in the same minutes, was an appeal to enforce compulsory attendance at major rugby matches, (information gleaned from a school notice board,

2002). While sport is regarded as neutral, it has taken sacred connotations as it has become the ultimate passion of some learners. In some instances, it may have taken the place of the chapel (the symbol of God) as the “heart” of the school, the matter of ultimate concern.

Children may feel they are a captive audience for what they may regard as irrelevant religion, perhaps even indoctrination. They may resent compulsory religious services and thus the chaplain who represents religion. Parents may have chosen to send their children to a Church school, but discussions with parents have shown that some barely tolerate the religious focus of the school. Their own values are often not reflected in the school. They chose it for reasons other than religious and even if they prefer a religious slant, that is by no means always the case with their children.

Glen places as the top reason for sending children to a particular school the hope of acquiring quality education, (2000). Most South African parents would resonate with this. This is bought at great cost as part of the flight from alleged poor standards at state schools in South Africa, where widespread media reports concentrate on poor educational performance. Quality is one of three major considerations Glenn identifies for the choice of schools, (2000). The availability of places is crucial and the sector to which the school belongs is the third factor. Whether a school is linked to the Church or not would thus only come after the first two considerations.

The fact that many choose Church schools irrespective of places available at other Independent schools may be some indication of perceived quality. We ask if the chapel and chaplain have anything to do with this or is there a hope that this part of the Church school will eventually disappear? Some chaplains said they would remain at schools as long as they could to give compulsory chapel and Religious Education because they felt responsible to provide distinctly Christian teaching to all members of the school, irrespective of the reception and whether there were members from other faiths present or not. They felt that Church schools not only had the right, but the duty to teach the Christian faith openly as long as they still were called “Church” schools.

Other chaplains disagreed on the grounds that it was offensive to force children to attend religious classes and services. The school had offered hospitality to all the children to whom they had granted places. It would be preferable to build positive relationships with them through positive engagement in conversations rather than "forcing religion down their throats". Some claimed that committed adherents of other religions made impressive contributions to class discussions and were generally afforded a respectful hearing. They felt that the real issue is not whether to continue with compulsory religious teaching, but how faith is presented at schools. Sometimes there are allegations that it is deadly, dull and boring, (see Gathorne-Hardy 1977). This is what is counter-productive rather than the imposition of compulsory classes.

The attitude of the recipients is important, however, no matter how exciting the chaplain seeks to make presentations. The researcher has had experience in both Church congregational work and in schools and found there is a critical mass of people who respond favourably to the message and affirm what the minister is doing in a church service, but chaplains may have to contend with attitudes of resistance, resentment or even indifference and boredom in services. Such attitudes certainly make any presentation of the chaplain more difficult. Some girls in a confirmation class said most just switch off because they "decided beforehand that they are simply not interested in either chapel or God"; (This was part of a conversation with a group who had changed their minds about the value of the Christian faith and were preparing to be confirmed during 2004). The question then naturally arises as to whether chaplains are wasting their time and valuable school resources in trying to minister to people who are either hostile or apathetic.

Most chaplains wanted compulsory services to remain, but Chaplain I said he preferred to work with a few who wanted to explore the Christian faith as a voluntary option instead of the whole school being exposed to it through compulsion. I's appeal to make chapel services voluntary at the school was rejected by management. Evidently there is still a strong desire to keep

regular services and religious classes at Church schools, even at schools that insist on more inclusive forms of worship and Bible readings that do not offend.

In the case of some schools, the priority for chapel and RE is to cause no offence to anyone. This may cause some disturbance to chaplains who wish to challenge and arouse people from complacency towards constructive transformation of personal and public life. At a number of schools the growing conviction is that egalitarianism extends to all religions. This is apparently leading to an insistence on a bland form of ethical spirituality as a form of common denominator to replace distinctive Christianity. Most of the chaplains in the research sample would find any such coercion to make chapel services merely light, uplifting and appealing thoroughly objectionable, but it is a reality for some.

Ambiguity

In spite of growing estrangement between Church and school in some cases, there remains an ambiguous embrace that further complicates the relationship. While some may appear to have little remaining of their distinctive faith foundation they still claim this as their own and continue to announce full support for chapel, chaplaincy and RE. At the same time their daily operations appear less informed by religion than in accordance with secular norms and assumptions. Religion has been firmly confined to a slot and its influence, along with that of the chaplain, is seen to be diminishing in certain schools in spite of any grandiose claims that the chapel is the heart of the school.

This is by no means due to any compulsion or pressure from government policies, as is the excuse for less religion in state schools in South Africa today. I have reached the conclusion that this is more as a result of schools gradually consigning religion to a lower priority with the resulting gradual erosion over a number of years. In some schools any excuse, even rain, may serve as sufficient to cancel a chapel service. In some cases there seems

very little to differentiate Church schools from any others, even though there is state provision for their distinctive religious stance, (see Glenn, 2000:22).

Less erosion in South African Church schools

Losses of significance for the Church connection are obviously exacerbated by broader forces of secularization that operate in modernity, (see Part 1, chapter 2). The tendency to privatise religious convictions can lead to a loss of their social value and even their connections with communities and traditions, (Berger 1999). They can become vaguer, more general and abstract over time not only for those outside church affiliations, but also for insiders, perhaps even chaplains and other clergy, (Norman 2002). Materialistic concerns, which Bauman calls the worship at the mall, (2002, 2003), can erode faith to the extent that secular ways of thinking can replace the religious perspectives that once inspired the creation of Church schools in the first place.

Gradually any specific Christian position can become a general desire to "do good to others", which may possibly be said of the replacement of Religious Education classes with community service projects in some schools, (see chapter 7 and Glenn 2000:243). However, the researcher does not agree with Glenn's thesis of the secularization of Church schools entirely, as there has always been an ambiguous intertwining ebb and flow of both secular and sacred tides of influence in Church schools. It is not a simple matter of the secular replacing the sacred or even of the sacred being submerged in the secular, (see Martin 2005, Taylor 2004).

Initially the researcher assumed and thought the field work was pointing in the direction of a universal erosion of respect for Christianity as secularization made progressive inroads on faith. She has since revised this opinion in accordance with reflections and analyses of schools following extensive visits and interactions with chaplains, heads and pupils. The works of Davie, Jenkins, Bediako, the later Berger and Martins have also had a substantial effect on the reversal of this opinion, (Davie 2002, Bediako 1995, Jenkins

2002, Berger 1999, 2004, Martins 2005). The situation is far more complex than was at first discerned.

There may well be only a small percentage of professing and committed Christians in some Church schools, but others claim a majority of practising Christians according to chaplains. There is some evidence for this in an overwhelmingly large Christian Student's Association at one school at least. At this same school there is an almost tangible reverence in chapel services, unlike the atmosphere of disciplinary tension in some other schools. While the majority of a Church school may claim the Christian faith, there is no doubt that many do not practise this at least in any institutional form outside school. They may thus be nominally Christian or not yet decided about their own religious beliefs. There are also generally a small number of adherents of other religions in each school.

In some schools there is no doubt about a considerable amount of respect and appreciation for chapel, chaplain and their Christian faith foundations. I have observed this to be particularly the case in certain boarding school contexts. Day scholars may belong to churches outside the school, but even then, school church experiences may remain the only link with any spiritual education as many parents are delegating this task to the school. This is precisely why Hill pleads that we "deschool Christianity". His desire is to force parents to take their responsibility seriously for the overall care of their children, including spiritual nurturing, (Hill in Francis and Thatcher 1990).

There is overt encouragement of Christianity at some Church schools. At one school a major annual event is a Christian arts festival organised by the chaplain, (I gleaned information about this from a visit to the school, their website and conversations with the chaplain, teachers, parents and pupils). This is a specifically Christian faith-sharing week. The place of the Church is apparently as a valued partner at this school, unlike the damaged relationships in certain other instances.

At some schools there is a curbing of chaplaincy not only through cutting time, but also other resources, such as equipment, classrooms and even salaries of chaplains. This gives a message that Christian teaching and chapel services are marginal in spite of the façade at speech days and other public ceremonies. Chaplains may be on display officiating in rituals that give lip service to the supposed Christian allegiance of the school, but all this may appear hypocritical at worst and merely hoped for at best.

While it must be acknowledged that there is no single model for the way a Church school may operate, a legitimate assumption must be that the claim to be a “Church” school must be evidenced not merely as a superficial addition, like the frill of a petticoat, a decoration for special occasions. Unless it is demonstrably part of the fibre of a school, it may be a mere label that is able to be dispensed with as soon as it becomes uncomfortable. According to Glenn, “It is very easy for a school to add a label or statement of purpose that does not emerge out of the sort of process that clearly marks how a school lives day by day,” (Glenn 2000:148).

If there is indeed sufficient evidence to point to a distinct break between the beliefs and values upon which the school has been founded and how the school operates daily, it may be time for that school to dispense with any pretensions to uphold these beliefs. This is a logical conclusion if absolutely no evidence exists outside the specific religious rituals and dedicated religious classes that a school is indeed a Church school. In such a case the label has apparently become meaningless and the sooner it is discarded the better, but I very much doubt if this will happen. Even though such schools may as well give up any further pretence, religion may still be one of their attractive marketing tools to lure the religious sector. In a day of fierce competition between numerous schools, it may be useful to play any cards available. The actual state of the religious life of the school may be skilfully masked, known to chaplains and those who care to dig deeper, but generally not the parents or public at large, (see Wilson 1962).

Superficial school religion and chaplaincy was dramatically depicted in the Lindsay Anderson film “If”. It was set in a public school at the time when youth unrest in British schools was gathering momentum. The ineffectual chaplain gave “hearty but hollow” chapel services, according to Rae (1981:108). The rebels eventually shot the chaplain. Rae implied the time has come to do away with all school chaplains and chapels in a bid to get rid of pretence. Unless there is more to the work of a chaplain than a nod of respect, he may be correct, but even South African heads who felt their chaplains were under-performing, have not wanted to do away with the position as such; (I gathered this information from numerous discussions with heads during 2002, 2003).

In spite of the evidently more favourable climate for chaplaincy in South African schools compared with Britain, there is no guarantee that chaplains will not be retrenched in the future. Job security is simply not to be taken for granted and has been eroded in society as a whole, according to Zygmunt Bauman who describes all social bonds, including that between employer and employee as “until-further-notice”, (2002, 2003). There can no longer be any realistic expectation of being able to stay in a particular position for a lifetime, even if one would want to do so, which is also not taken for granted in a milieu where people are extremely mobile and loyalty to any particular employer is apparently a thing of the past. Goods and people are currently regarded as disposable. Even so-called “specialist” knowledge is no guarantee for continued employability in a fast accelerating world of change, (Bauman 2003:91). In such a context Ulrich Beck says we have to get over trying to predict the future. “Not only is the future indeterminate, but its indeterminacy is part of the meaning of the present…something we need to incorporate into the way we think,” (2004:34). Chaplaincy is thus no longer a secure position for life, as it may well have been presumed to be traditionally, but then very few employment arrangements are still for life.

Given these insights, one wonders about the wisdom of asking if chaplaincy will or can or should survive. The researcher believes she makes informed opinions based on her observations and investigations. In the South Africa

there appears to be enough interest in faith issues and the Christian faith in particular to justify the continuation of chaplaincy in Church schools. This is by no means an unqualified vote of confidence to all school chaplaincies. There are some Church schools that have become “Church” in name only, with very little besides having a chapel and a show of religiosity that is virtually the distillation of commonality and not true to any faith tradition as a result. Perhaps it is in the best interests of both Church and school to avoid hypocrisy and remove the chaplains and any further reference to such an establishment being a “Church” school. However, this may not happen as there is apparently still a certain amount of cultural capital within South Africa and even prestige in this Church affiliation, (see Bilton 2002 re cultural capital).

New prospects

Before such a step is taken however, chaplains at these schools may wish to reconsider a new slant to their work, the quest for dialogue. It is essential for anyone who claims to have a philosophical or spiritual stance to weave that into a viable worldview. Chaplains are therefore to hold up for scrutiny to the school a Christian worldview that will try to include all the strands of life under the umbrella of the Christian faith. Faith that is merely in a watertight compartment is totally unsatisfactory as it contradicts an essential ingredient, that faith is intrinsically a way of life and not merely a cerebral philosophy.

The task of the chaplain is then to encourage a broad analysis of aspects of life and every subject of the school curriculum to uncover underlying assumptions and worldviews embedded within various approaches. A Church school can then begin to question what it would mean to apply to each learning area, a consistent framework of values compatible to the Christian faith ethic of love for God and the neighbour on which the school claims to be built.

This is not to be in any way an imposition of any one view or brand of Christian faith as a kind of straitjacket. There are apparently some Christian

school models that have rigid parameters for their understanding of Christianity. The Church schools under discussion are not to be associated with such rigid branding. A heritage of liberalism within Church schools opens the way for dialogue across disciplines, (see chapter one and two for discussion on liberal education). Conversations can be initiated at various levels of complexity with staff and children. The aim is to break down the artificial compartmentalisation of daily life so inherent in the structure of schooling and to uncover hidden presuppositions that can be affirmed or renegotiated to help to construct a holistic framework of Christian values. This broad project must not stop short of a skilful application to the various contexts and intricacies of modern life.

It may well be a viable task or at very least a vision worthy to begin to pursue for the chaplain of a Church school, but it will preferably become a team effort with all members of the teaching staff as partners engaging the entire school community. There is no doubt of the need to guard against merely adding religion as a frill. It is imperative for chaplaincy to seek to integrate spirituality as foundational for holistic education and the whole of life rather than a narrow concern for a fanatical few. Business as usual, the drive towards success in careers and making money, has led to crises in too many of the products of Church schools.

This broader project is necessary, but is it not too ambitious? Is it at all possible? If we don't begin somewhere, we resign ourselves to the prospect of further fragmentation and disintegration of our humanity in a fearful world that needs a spiritual anchor. If such an anchor is available, as chaplains believe, they can at least share their perceptions with others and encourage a search. If they are wrong, at least others will have the satisfaction of seeking to understand the perceptions so many in the world share, (South Africa still has a majority of professing Christians).

Certainly this dialogue seems an over-ambitious project. Can one even hope to weave together the whole of life under a particular faith foundation? Glenn apparently agrees that this is an important task for Church schools, but he

seems to doubt whether such consistency is possible in this day and age, (Glenn 2000). It is precisely because there is a lack of consistency that the task becomes imperative. Glenn is certainly correct in supposing that it is far more likely that there will be continued fragmentation. This certainly seems to be the status quo of schools.

In spite of fragmentation, however, Christianity may and should indeed become a strong contender for a special hearing in dialogue with various issues and worldviews at schools that claim to be “Church” establishments. This special hearing of Christianity is essential as those who go to a Church school should at very least know what the Church stands for. The Christian liturgical role is, however, meant to be far broader than just teaching religious knowledge. It involves ritual and symbol, acts that facilitate an experience of the faith that presumes humans are able to make a connection with God that is able to sustain every part of life. This is obviously far more than verbal religion that is required of the chaplain to facilitate in the chapel. Such faith cannot be passed on without receptivity and this is the very requirement which is allegedly lacking when coercion leads to an attitude of rebellion against chapel services at certain schools.

There is apparently only a sugar coating of religion in some schools, a caricature that is probably an insult to those who take their faith seriously. In such an instance, Wilson may well be accurate in his allegation that the all-pervasive influence of the Church at school is an illusion, a public mask “painted on with great skill and can only be removed with considerable effort” (Wilson1962:34).

The conception of a Church school is said to be embedded in the chapel, often called the centre of the school. When one asks what the school would be like without chapel and chaplain, the question of whether this is a necessary part of the identity of the Church school arises. Following on from this is whether the chapel (and chaplain) play any part in the overall success of the school, which is often said to produce excellence. Is human flourishing possible without anything higher, without God? Stark and Berger deny that

we can excel without God, but many other sociologists such as Wilson find it a foregone conclusion that we not only can but do. Neither can prove their positions conclusively, but that is all the more reason to keep the conversation going, (Stark 1996, 2006, Berger 1999, 2004, Wilson in Bilton et al 1981).

Initially Wilson's pessimism about Church involvement at schools was thought to be accurate for the majority of South African schools. The researcher was under the impression that day by day, religion and chaplaincy is being eroded at Church schools, but subsequent research is yielding a different, far more complex picture with a variety of prospects for the future. There is however, a distinctive tension between the liturgical role of the chaplain, the propagation of the Christian faith mainly in the chapel, and the teaching role in the classroom. This is where there is a critical rather than devotional approach. There will be a more in-depth discussion of this in the next chapter.

It may be that there will be more advocates of the view that faith should be confined to religious institutions such as the Church rather than remain as a component of schooling in either chapel or classroom. However, if faith is not intellectually inadmissible, there may yet be room for the Church and chaplaincy to remain in an intellectually stimulating school environment. There may be room for a chaplain to add inspiration through engaging in challenging dialogue, but whether the chapel is the right place for this, is as difficult as deciding whether chapel services ought to remain compulsory. It is conceivable that chaplains may come up with fresh ideas to lift up the Christian faith for scrutiny. They will have to balance this with their solemn responsibility to lead believers in worship or they will betray the essence of the chapel. It may be better to leave questioning, debates and dialogues to the classroom and focus on worship in the chapel.

Chapter five - Straddling preaching and teaching

The classroom is a venue for a different form of ministry than that of the chapel. In this chapter there is an attempt to explain and debate some of the complexities surrounding the classroom activities of chaplains. Many chaplains teach extensively as part of their duties at schools. Some tend to teach by default rather than from a sense of passion or vocation. Some teach as much as any other member of the staff in addition to other chaplaincy duties. Many teach approximately half a normal load and then concentrate on pastoral and liturgical chaplaincy work or management tasks if they are on management committees. Others are employed not only to teach the religious subjects normally associated with chaplaincy, but also another teaching subject. Some chaplains hardly teach at all, except for the traditional Church teaching of baptism, confirmation and marriage preparation classes or Bible Studies.

There are thus many variations of the teaching role for chaplains at school. Some, but not all, share the frustration that not only the chaplain's liturgical role in the chapel, but also the teaching of the faith on which the establishment of the school was originally founded, is being eroded in terms of time, content and respect.

Teaching time lost

Chaplains traditionally taught or at least monitored the teaching of RE, (Religious Education), to the entire school body, approximately once a week or during a learning cycle. Generally RE had been overtly Christian in many Church schools with little learning about other faiths until the higher grades. Chaplains often had an intentional focus on the Bible rather than general religious education, particularly at Prep school level as it was found that it was not possible to assume any Bible knowledge at all, as may have been the case in the past. Chaplains mostly had the freedom to work out curricula to help learners to accomplish at least some grasp of the main characters,

stories and structure of the Bible and sought to apply the principles from these stories and passages in an age appropriate way to their lives.

In some cases RE is now only taught to the lower grades. It may be combined with some form of Community Service or removed as a separate timetable entity entirely to make way for LO, (Life Orientation), a new subject developed by the National Education Department to combine some form of physical, religious and life-skill education that is to be taken by the entire school as a school-leaving requirement. Some chaplains have experienced a dilution in the time, depth and influence of their religious teaching as RE seems to have been distilled into another learning area or occupies the bottom rung of school priorities if it continues to exist separately.

Chaplain D was distressed when Grade ten learners suddenly were no longer required to attend RE classes due to timetable difficulties. There had been no advance warning or prior consultation with the chaplain. It came as a shock to arrive at school at the beginning of the school year and find the subject had simply been squeezed out for this grade. It had already been dropped for grades eleven and twelve some years ago. Timetabling problems with other subjects would presumably not have been tolerated by school management, parents and pupils, but there was only a weak protest about RE. It was treated like a frill that could be removed at whim according to current fashions.

The Grade tens of that school have evidently discontinued RE ever since. Although chaplain D arranged for a day of workshops on ethics during the first term in lieu of RE periods, further requests for workshops never materialised allegedly due to time constraints. Other subjects were a priority for passing or failing at school, but the debatable issue is whether they are more important for the whole of life. Even Grade nine lessons were in jeopardy the following year, as once again the timetable expert declared that it was impossible to fit RE in. This time the head intervened and the timetable was duly altered.

This school is not alone in diminishing RE/divinity contact time with the higher grades in particular. Religious teaching is now generally only for juniors in

many, but by no means all Church schools. An attitude may thus develop that religion is something the older ones grow out of. It is conceivable that the curbing of contact time with classes can be a deliberate way in which a chaplain who is not respected may be marginalised, but heads have ways of squeezing out undesirable staff members without necessarily diminishing a subject. Of course it is far easier for RE to become a casualty as it is a "soft" subject that presumably does little for the academic reputation of a school, which may have become the ultimate concern in a competitive environment. Secularization and the tendency to privatise religious choices, merely aggravate this lack of intellectual respectability. Summers calls RE Cinderella whom only imaginative, dedicated, informed educationalists will raise to a status of respect, (Summers and Waddington, hereafter referred to simply as Summers, 1996:191). Is this a possibility and will chaplains be able to do this work?

One of the major problems is the obsession of present schooling to prepare pupils to take part in the economy, which is what Elizabeth Lawrence calls a "narrow phase" of education focussed on results and learning areas important for entry into the world of work, rather than what Groome says should be education for life, (Lawrence 1970, Groome 1998). This affects education as a whole.

A teacher was called to account for having spent valuable class time discussing issues not in the syllabus. This narrow conception of education indicates the oppression of examinations. Under such circumstances one wonders if there remains any hope at all for RE and even if examinations are introduced, this will not necessarily upgrade the status as it is not related to the job market. Some aspects of RE appear in the examination subject of LO, but whether this enhances or detracts from RE in the long run remains to be seen.

Life Orientation

The recent introduction of this subject into all South African schools incorporates some aspects of RE in a very simplified, diluted and generalised form to accommodate the pluralism of South Africa. The previously non-examinable subjects of RE, Life Skills and Physical Education were lumped together to form Life Orientation. The subject is to be continued to the end of the Further Education and Training (FET) Phase, which is to the end of schooling.

Since the legal dismantling of Apartheid there are anxious efforts to inculcate respect for diverse cultural and religious traditions, according to Prof Mary Metcalfe, (Head of school of Education, University of Witwatersrand, see Summers and Waddington 1996: preface). The LO syllabus deliberately swings towards an emphasis on learning about other faiths rather than just Christianity, as was the case in many schools in their RE in the past. There are adherents of religions other than Christianity at Church schools and even if there were not, there should presumably be some attempt made to understand the people who are followers of Islam, Judaism, Hinduism and African religions, among others, besides the dominance of Christianity within South Africa. A certain body of factual knowledge exists about all the major world faiths. This is regarded as essential basic knowledge for contemporary schooling with the aim of inculcating respect and tolerance.

In spite of this, one wonders if the bare facts will be able to produce these values that are not merely by-products of head knowledge, but have to be appropriated into lifestyles. This is always the conundrum of education, relating theory to practice. There is a gap between what may be taught and what may be learnt, (Cookson and Persell 1985).

The introduction of LO initially was not met with fears from parents, teachers and clergy that it was swallowing up RE, which is precisely what has happened in some cases. The form that RE took within LO fell far short of what Christian parents said they had hoped for when they sent their children

to a Church school. Nationally there was a huge outcry and some aspects were modified as a result, (, (the debate that raged in the media during 2002, included Olivier's *Outcry over Religion in Education, www.methodist.co.za/newslist2,* van Wyk and Venter's *Commentary of the Deputies for Christian Education of the Reformed Churches in South Africa on the Proposed Revised National Curriculum Document of the Minister of Education,* www.gksa.org.za.co.kommentaar and others. There were also debates with parents).

One of the main objections to the basic knowledge of religion as presented in LO is that this is not sufficiently broad enough to engage with spiritual formation which goes beyond the presentation of mere cold facts. A counter claim is that of relief to have an informative approach to religion at school. It is argued that it remains the domain of the Church and family rather than the school to nurture faith, (see Hill's *De-schooling Christianity*, in Francis and Thatcher 1990). Some parents advocate that the educational responsibility of a school remains that of giving information about different faiths and equipping students with the critical skills to weigh up and assess their own beliefs and opinions. Others say this is the minimum that may also be done in state schools, but Church schools have the right to go beyond such basics to allow the Christian faith to be propagated in terms of knowledge, worship and action, to enrich the learning of children rather than be sidelined.

Best points out how children are vulnerable and open to please powerful adults in their lives. This opens them to the potential abusive use of the power of religion. Great caution against manipulation is to be exercised, (Best 1996). Such caution, however, does not necessitate that faith becomes a bland, meagre, syncretistic, general knowledge, which is the impression many have of the RE component of LO. Integrity to personal faith is best kept in an atmosphere of listening and respecting the faith positions of others. In this way one's own convictions can be sharpened. One of the risks of dialogue is that in this process one may be persuaded to think differently. The very important fact that Church schools are hospitable to members of various faith varieties is an indication of the need to engage in such dialogue with great

care. This goes beyond merely displaying a syncretistic concoction that uses the lowest common denominator in the interests of peace or even what may be thought of as a less threatening version of faith.

Chaplain J was successful in his application for the position to head the newly formed LO Department of his school. He applied on the grounds that it was a good opportunity to enter into life skill conversations and bring in his Christian ethics, other than through his traditional RE classes. The introduction of LO has led to his school being one that has abandoned separate RE classes. There is a mixed reception to this among chaplains facing similar circumstances. Certain chaplains regard this as a great loss, but others are optimistic that it remains a fresh challenge for them to interact with more classes.

Clearly there is a difference of opinion as to whether the introduction of LO has actually eroded religious teaching in schools, or whether it has created space for chaplains to be more involved in general discussions and so relate their faith principles to life issues. This was evident at the chaplains' conference in Natal, in August 2005. Chaplain K felt LO would give him more credibility than RE amongst the staff and learners of his school. Chaplain L was among others who had persuaded their heads to keep a period of RE in addition to LO. He said he felt distinctive faith teaching was not provided for adequately simply through LO. The crucial difference is that LO is more neutral than specific chaplaincy periods. Chaplain I relinquished all LO teaching in favour of concentrating on chaplaincy duties. Among those who do not teach LO at their respective schools is chaplain M, who concentrates on Leadership programmes and specific chapel duties. There is presently no consensus as to the gains or losses that this learning area is bringing. It is still new and the first learners to take this through to the end of school have yet to do so at the time of writing.

The authorities claimed that the new examination status would upgrade the status of the LO combined subject trilogy and stated that religion was specifically included as an acknowledgement that it was important in the lives

of many. The claim that the mere fact of writing an examination makes a subject more serious, is not necessarily true. There are allegations of low standards over the past few years for the GETC LO examinations. The result has been that most children in Independent schools found these so easy that they were regarded as a joke. The children passed well without much effort or learning, so the work of the LO teacher, often the chaplain, was also not taken seriously. Even though there are efforts to improve this subject, some chaplains express dismay that their workload has increased greatly even as their flexibility in lessons, has decreased. They have had to attend numerous regional meetings with other LO educators, monitor and mark projects and fear being swallowed up by LO to the detriment of other chaplaincy tasks.

While she initially complained about having to facilitate an assignment consisting of the creation of a poster depicting ways to deal with tuberculosis, an opportunistic disease very pertinent to the South African AIDS pandemic, chaplain D found this an opportunity to discuss issues about suffering, medical science and related issues definitely applicable to RE. Perhaps this illustrates the need for more creative chaplaincy rather than the need to change the LO programme. A major task for chaplains is to seek to apply faith principles and ethics to all of life.

The degradation of RE

RE classes remain in certain Church schools mostly as the domain of the chaplain. Chaplains D, G, H and I all experienced the tendency of certain staff members to hold an automatic assumption that pupils will be allowed out of the chaplain's classes to catch up with other learning areas or music lessons, for which parents paid extra at certain schools. The implication was that these subjects took priority over the chaplains'. It was subtly conveyed that there should be absolutely no objection as these were virtually free periods anyway. These chaplains set to work systematically to dismantle this attitude over time by consistently denying appeals to let pupils out of class for other activities and challenging the music department about their policies with

the support of the head, who took a stance that what a chaplain was teaching, was of equal importance for holistic education.

Respect for XX's work was gradually carved out over the years, but this proved fragile as a new chaplain arrived and allowed his classes to relax and play soccer during RE. He said this was his method of making time to engage in pastoral work, but when he left the school after only two years, N arrived and found it a great struggle to restore any serious work and eventually gave up after three years.

The fact that RE has been associated as a free period in certain state schools may have infected the attitude to the subject in some private schools. The expectation that schools that take their Church affiliation seriously will consider RE a key performance area is not demonstrated in practice in many Church schools. One can arrive at the conclusion of a contradiction between that what is stated and what is actually practised. The attitudes of chaplains as well as the support of heads can be critical in maintaining any credibility for religious teaching at school.

Retaining Religious Education

It is valid to retain some religious teaching in a school curriculum, even if the majority of the pupils may be more secular than religiously orientated, (the veracity of which is far more complicated than initially imagined by sociologists, in spite of declining church attendance for many, according to the recent research of Davie, 2002 and others). Rothblatt emphasises the need for balance in education as there is "a habit of thinking about the importance and value of liberal education" as if it were "an autonomous and independent set of ideas," but "to learn one thing without learning another is to invite imbalance", (Rothblatt and Wittrock 1993:21, 24, 25). The liberal ideal of a broad and balanced education must thus include some religious studies.

On the other hand it is probably no longer possible to have the liberal label of being "educated" if this is meant to imply even a little of every branch of

knowledge. There is simply an overload in the modern context of a veritable explosive acceleration of knowledge, (see Bauman 2003). Religious education may be one of the casualties, squeezed out, as some think it should be at a time when it is presumed by many that life can be lived comfortably as if God does not exist. It may be argued that even those who claim no interest in religion at all need some knowledge about the biblical influences on western civilization.

There is growing ignorance about even the very basic biblical stories, probably mostly due to a generation-by-generation drop in religious teaching from the home combined with a drop in regular Sunday school and Church attendance and possibly also a drop in the standard of teaching at some of these institutions. The end result is that a number, who may still wish to claim to be Christians, may retain little beyond a vague sense of believing, (Davie 2002). Moran makes a strong appeal, “Children growing up in our culture ought to have the chance to acquire a knowledge of the nature and influence of religion in their lives…. to get a thorough immersion into the documents concerning the history of their people. Even if they wish to reject religious practice later, they ought to have an elementary knowledge of what they are rejecting,” (Moran 1983:189).

Most of the chaplains interviewed for this research resonate with this view and concentrate firstly on the Christian faith to give a solid foundation of the particular religion on which their schools are said to be based and which the majority of pupils attending these schools still claim as their religion. Failing this, it may be possible for children to go right through years at a Church school and not really know what the Christian faith stands for.

Knowing a particular tradition of religion may help pupils to identify any dangerous “sick obsession” (Moran 1983:195). Religion is fraught with possible harmful or healthful prospects. Those who are able to recognise the genuine will be able to spot the fake, (as in diamond dealing, so for religion, this is true). RE may then assist children with the critical ability to weigh

options from all angles and so guard against exploitation through being informed.

Parents no doubt fear to expose their children to elements within religions and viewpoints that they deem to be undesirable and even harmful. There is always the question of the timing and extent to which the understanding of the child may be stretched, (see chapter 6 for further discussion on age appropriate teaching). Moran's argument that children first need grounding in their own faith as a platform to understanding others, and even as a parameter to decide their own position within a particular faith, seems sound, (Moran 1983:200). Even a narrow RE approach may help a child to be able to compare and plot a personal position, but Summers heartily campaigns for a broader approach as a tool for discernment, (Summers 1996). Excessive sheltering may leave young people vulnerable to unwise life choices after the confines of schooldays are over. It may be argued that to develop sound critical judgment and be able to weigh conceptions of good and evil as part of the school learning environment is healthier than waiting until after school.

To have some grounding in the Christian faith at a Church school is then not necessarily incompatible with openness to a concurrent broad exposure to diverse views. While recognizing the cultural heritage of Christianity and that it is indeed the faith base of the school, there is also a need for learning about other principal world faiths and viewpoints. To respect the personal integrity of each pupil in their right to be responsible for their own spiritual futures, is always important, claims Dye, (1980:19, in Best 1996:177). While agreeing with this, I propose that it is legitimate for a Church school to concentrate on teaching Christian faith in such a way that each child will be able to exercise their own rational choices as a result. There is a supposed tension between the task of the evangelist, who seeks to persuade others to convert, and the teacher who holds up a subject for critical scrutiny. This brings us to the difference between chapel and classroom.

Straddling chapel and classroom

Many exercise vigilance in differentiating what they do in chapel or even the confirmation class and what they do in the classroom, lest they preach when they should teach. The classroom is not a pulpit. Summers proposes that the teaching of religion involves "serving, raising questions, to challenge comfortable assumptions, to act as catalysts in the making of personal decisions. They are accompanists to those they teach, they are people of dialogue," (Summers 1996:149). This dialogue is what distinguishes the classroom from the pulpit and which many chaplains currently use in their lessons. As an accompanist the chaplain can seek to transpose the faith message from yesterday into a key able to be recognised for today.

Some chaplains, such as E, definitely focus on conversion as their most desired end result, while others, like V, concentrate on the nurturing of children, presuming they are already children of God. This may lead to the perception that what they do is merely an extension of church, (Summers 1986, see next chapter for further discussion on conversion). Many chaplains were in agreement with the sentiment that Church school chaplaincy is probably more about planting seeds for future faith than about catechizing, although this may be part of confirmation classes, where there is work amongst converts or new members of the Church, (conversations with chaplains at 2007 conference in Johannesburg). Chaplain E thoroughly disagreed and said he chose to engage in every opportunity to convert the boys at his school.

Before beginning as a chaplain, I recommend a new chaplain should devote some time to orientation to the school environment and the specific issues of school chaplaincy. Chaplains G and H experienced a great shock to find that the institution they had presumed was a "Church" school, had little evidence of Church identity when they arrived as new chaplains at their respective schools during 2001. They both seemed to display elements of culture shock and found teaching unbearable in an environment of cynicism mixed with various degrees of apathy and rebellion. There is a definite need to

distinguish between a school and a seminary or even a church where a certain amount of faith can be assumed and people are there on a voluntary basis.

One head said in exasperation, “The school is not a church. It is first and foremost a school and this is what some chaplains confuse. Education is in itself a sacred calling and chaplains must support the educational side of the school. The Church school is essentially a mission to those who are not Christians. Christianity is no longer taken for granted as in the Victorian era when the schools were founded,” (discussions in Benoni with chaplains in 2007). School is thus an institution established for educating and chaplains ought to be abreast of educational trends and philosophies as much as is expected of any other teacher. Without this there is bound to be a certain loss of respect from educators. This is of great importance if chaplains are to relate their theology to the school context and build bridges between the school and church communities, which is important to most.

Most of the chaplains interviewed over the years would resonate with Hill who says Christian scholars seek the highest levels of scholarship not in spite of their Christian commitments, but because of these, (Hill in Hughes 2005:xii). This means “a radical search for truth that simultaneously embraces particularity and ambiguity, knowing and not knowing, affirmation and investigation,” is there as a simultaneous effort to honour the Christian faith and also “take seriously the diversity of perspectives that abound”, (Hughes 2005:xviii). This straddling position is of vital importance. Basically as Luther claimed, religious teaching “is not about absolutistic principles, sterile legal codes or moral imperatives that require from us no reflection, no creativity and no imagination”, (Hughes 2005: xxix).

To take another’s views seriously is the beginning of all fruitful dialogue during which a person becomes open to reflection, creativity and imagination. It is no wonder then that Rose and others who plead that RE can be useful to equip people for life in a plural society, advocate that this requires more qualified teachers who understand other faith positions and are able to

present them in a respectful way, (Rose in Best 1996). This leads back to the question of the profile of the chaplain. Many heads are adamant about retaining chapel and chaplain but often frustrated by the lack of teacher training of most chaplains. Only a few have dual qualifications as teachers and clergy.

Every teacher as a chaplain

Practically no teachers have dual qualifications as chaplains, yet it has become clear in a number of instances that there is little respect for the particular expertise, training and position of the chaplain in certain schools. This was clear in a particular school context where it was a matter of policy for each and every teacher to take spiritual responsibility in addition to their normal teaching. There was thus no chaplaincy appointment. All teachers were made chaplains and yet the experiment apparently failed and was revised after twenty years. The school management had begun to perceive that spirituality was slipping between the cracks. The job that was supposed to be the task of every single educator at the school was being completely neglected. There was the growing consciousness that some specific training in theology and ministerial formation would indeed be invaluable for the spiritual direction of this school.

Since then a chaplain was appointed, (Interviews were conducted with the school's two school chaplains, 2000 - 2003, and with the head, some teachers and pupils in 2003). Chaplain Q currently has a minimal RE teaching load and is able to devote the majority of his time to other aspects of chaplaincy and his passion of coaching sport. The head of the school also happens to be ordained and works closely with the chaplain to ensure a school focus on Christian spiritual formation. There are numerous opportunities to discuss the integration of a Christian worldview into every aspect of life, which I propose is a major task for school chaplains.

At this school all teachers are still selected primarily as practising Christian educators and are expected to integrate their faith into their life both in and

out of school. The chaplain thus encounters a supportive team, in sharp contrast to the situation in numerous other schools. This team now realizes from experience that they were not sufficiently equipped to do the chaplain's work and that teaching and chaplaincy roles could not satisfactorily be conflated, which is precisely what is so often required of chaplains. The staff of this school had straddled uncomfortably between their teaching role, (their primary identity), and the chaplaincy role. This was assumed as part of the belief in the priesthood of all believers, but they found they needed people who were more specifically trained and equipped to handle the intricacies of chaplaincy, possibly those whose primary identity was as priests (or chaplains) rather than teachers.

Straddling chaplaincy's roles

Various heads and chaplains tend to favour different combinations or value one above the others of the general chaplaincy pastoral, teaching and liturgical roles, according to Stevenson, (1997). Most heads appear to over-value the teaching role and this sometimes leads to chaplains struggling to balance the rest. One of the problems with teaching is that it can swallow up all one's time and energy. Chaplain R articulated this when she said she felt there was less time for any other chaplaincy duties with each passing year as her teaching duties were growing more onerous. She had a full weekly timetable of Religious Education and the senior Biblical Studies classes, so that the rest of chaplaincy became very much of an extra-curricular item that was being pushed out. She is among many chaplains who struggle to straddle the very varied demands of their role-set of classroom, chapel, counselling and other duties. Unlike her, some chaplains would love more formal teaching as they find it enhances opportunities to forge relationships with learners, a key in opening up spiritual conversations.

There may be room for greater flexibility, but which duty is to take priority most likely does not depend on the predilection of the chaplain, but mainly on the preference of heads. In most cases heads seemed to be locked into a mindset that necessitates chaplains to be competent educators who regard

teaching as their primary duty. Not all chaplains fall into this category. Certainly chaplain G did not. There are several who were regarded as incompetent in the classroom, yet effective in the chapel and the other areas of chaplaincy. Some of these, such as chaplain S, were squeezed out of their schools.

Some heads go further in expecting chaplains not only to be competent in teaching religion, but also an additional subject. They claim this breaks down the compartmentalising of faith by giving the chaplain, the symbolic bearer of the Christian faith, the opportunity to teach a “normal” academic subject and carve out respect as an educator. The underlying assumption here is that priests, the claimed primary identity of most chaplains, are not necessarily respected, but educators are.

There have been strands of this opinion filtering through since the Enlightenment and Nietzsche certainly held an extremely cynical view of clergy as power-hungry manipulators, (see Thiselton 1995). There are perceptions that religious workers are placed on pedestals as icons, somehow not human beings and perhaps with the derogatory connotations that they have not been able to carve out some “normal” career. There is no doubt that teaching an examination subject at school gives more exposure of the chaplain to learners as there is a greater time allocation for these subjects than for the diminishing time of chaplaincy periods; (Many discussions were held with a retired head who had absolutely insisted that chaplains should teach examination subjects).

The demand to teach does not come without the added stress that is part of any private school teaching struggle to complete increasingly overloaded syllabi. Competition with other schools for an ever-improved reputation of excellence in examination results continues to ferment. This extra pressure proved to be detrimental to other aspects of chaplaincy for senior, ordained chaplain C who heads a biology department at a school. Chaplain T, her lay chaplain colleague, was head of the English department at the Prep school. Both found themselves overstretched by preparation, research, marking,

subject meetings and felt these detracted from chaplaincy pastoral, teaching and liturgical work, (interviews during the 2004 chaplaincy conference).

The problem of integrating the diverse responsibilities of chaplaincy is dramatically increased when there is an added teaching responsibility. Some chaplains wonder if there isn't a confusion of roles when there is an insistence from heads or in one case, a bishop, that chaplains should teach an academic subject just as well, or even better than any other teacher in addition to any other chaplaincy role.

On the other hand this may afford a unique opportunity to interact with teachers, which may be even more vital to the overall aims of chaplaincy in upholding the holistic claims of spirituality within a school context. One of the issues of vigilance for chaplains is that people who have lifetime careers associated with schools are in danger of reducing education to school knowledge. Moran claims they may thus constrict "questions of origin, destiny and deepest meaning", which are of vital interest to chaplaincy and which requires a broad approach rather than the narrow confines of any one particular subject, (Moran 1983). It is precisely to break away from such narrowness that broad interdisciplinary dialogue is vital.

Thomas Groome asks if there is any Christian education that is not religious, irrespective of the area one is teaching, but Moran warns that "Much of modern education is idolatrous; it offers the false hope that, if only you can acquire an education, then you can settle down safely and securely, with the world under control," (Groome 1998, Moran 1983:193). To what extent then are chaplains complicit in this idolatry? Do they have enough courage, conviction and capability to transplant something more authentic in the place of this false hope or are they confined to a slot where they are expected to provide entertaining light upliftment alone, (see Gathorne-Hardy 1977)?

Certainly the modern world indicates that there is not real control or security anywhere in the world, as the implosion of the symbol of wealth and power in the bombings of New York's twin towers has indicated strongly. Education

may assist in giving a quality of life, but educators may become so engrossed in a particular subject that it becomes isolated from a bigger picture and is made into a matter of ultimate concern absorbing all their time and energy. Some dedicated teachers are practically enveloped in their schools, even their own narrow section of the school.

To overvalue any part of life, be it something good even, like family, job and schooling, is to create a problem and this is where a chaplain may come in and give another perspective by seeking to open up broader conversations across disciplines, for the sake of balance and the wholeness of the community. For this reason it may be useful to retain ways to build relationships with teachers and gain the invitation to enter into such conversations, rather than being an outsider on the edges of school life. One way to do so may be to retain a teaching slot.

To teach or not to teach

That a chaplain ought to teach is by no means to be taken for granted, according to the Rector of a prominent school. He questions the suitability of chaplains teaching in the classroom at all on the grounds of the perceived soundness of the Jesuit principle that the priest must not be associated as a disciplinary but a pastoral figure. Teachers necessarily have a disciplinary role not always compatible with a pastoral or priestly, liturgical one, (various interviews with a Rector from a prominent school, Johannesburg 2003-2005).

Most chaplains are bound by the wishes of the heads of their schools and possibly their employment contracts with regard to their teaching. A few have had the freedom to teach as much or as little as they wished as long as they did their chaplaincy work. Chaplain L is a very successful spiritual leader not only in his school, but also the broader church community that was centred on the school chapel. He played a major leadership role in the school in addition to the Church leadership position, (I have conducted conversations and formal interviews with chaplain L from 2000 to 2005 and again in 2007).

Occasionally he takes some classes for chaplaincy periods and he gives them the opportunity to ask any question and discuss broad issues of life. He also has a great deal of involvement with the Grade Eleven leadership programme and the Grade ten confirmation, which is very well supported. He gives pastoral care to the whole school, including the head. Chaplain L has been at the school longer than the present head and the heads with whom he has worked in the past have stated clearly that they valued his insight and wisdom. As a member of the executive committee he is part of a team that manages the school and also interviews for new staff appointments, as a few other chaplains also do in their respective schools.

Chaplains are not often afforded the opportunity to do their work without formal teaching. Most advertisements for school chaplains mention the expectation that the chaplain will teach besides perform other duties. Chaplain L is however apparently one of the most successful chaplains in the country, in my opinion, judging from what I could discern from my extensive exposure over a number of years to a number of different Church school chaplaincies in South Africa. For him flexibility is invaluable. Not every chaplain will have the same teaching abilities and possibly there should be a reassessment as to the suitability of any non-negotiable teaching role for every chaplain.

Questioning qualifications

The stress of having to teach in the classroom can become a major factor for chaplains who are not necessarily trained as teachers. They may have entered the position with an idea that they would be able to manage chaplaincy on the strength of their theological training, and the ministry formation programme of their Church denomination. It may not be recognised that this does not necessarily include the skills and qualifications required for school teaching, just as I have indicated above that school teachers do not necessarily have the skills and training required for chaplaincy.

Even though a certain amount of teaching happens within a church context, this is generally vastly different from school requirements. Chaplains may not be familiar with the theories and complexity of school teaching, particularly with the fairly recent changes and requirements of Outcomes Based Education in South Africa. There are probably only a minority of chaplains trained as both teachers and ministers and even then they may not be abreast of the vast changes in theory and practice in schools. Those who have no training may struggle even more.

All chaplains may be required to obtain some teaching qualification in the future or forgo any formal class teaching. I deduct this from the fact that there is a legal requirement for all educators to be registered with the South African Council of Educators and renew this annually. Even though temporary registration is currently available for those without a recognised teaching qualification, there is an expectation that they will eventually upgrade this to permanent registration when they gain a teaching qualification. Even as other countries have made it a requirement that only qualified teachers registered with the government can teach anything at all in schools, it is logical that South Africa may soon follow suit and bar any who are not able to produce the necessary certificates from formal classroom teaching, (See Stevenson 1997 for an example of the Scottish situation). Obviously such legislation is intended to safeguard schools and provide quality control.

A further implication of chaplains not having adequate teaching qualifications may be that teachers regard them as not suitably qualified and treat them as “guests” in the school rather than colleagues who share an educational profession. Chaplains may straddle even more awkwardly between the world of clergy and educators, not fitting in either group very well, as sometimes they are not only marginalised by teachers, but their clergy colleagues regard them as selling out of priesthood to gain better salaries and conditions in schools, (this was clearly expressed at a training workshop on school chaplaincy for student ministers at John Wesley College, Soweto in 2000. It is not necessarily true that they do have better stipends and conditions, as I myself have discovered when I moved from a school to a church position).

Numerous interviews with heads indicate that their schools are committed to retain chapel and chaplaincy. As most insist on teaching, it would make sense for the Church to begin to regard school chaplaincy as a specialised ministry and give those who discern a calling to this the opportunity to obtain specialised qualifications over and above general clergy training. This is particularly important if chaplains are going to be skilful in opening up spiritual conversations across learning disciplines, as I propose. Failing such training, a chaplain may study teaching in a part-time capacity during the first years as a school chaplain, even though this would obviously not be ideal, given the time constraints of part-time study and the frenetic school environment.

Anglican chaplains have already been suggesting the recognition and training of school chaplaincy as a specialised ministry but Methodist clergy all undergo the same basic training that often leads to the accusation of a general practitioner approach. Unless some specialised chaplaincy training is added some chaplains may still find themselves out of their depth in the classroom.

Delivering a desire for dialogue

Retaining RE classes at school is not only important because there is a need to have some biblical knowledge to be regarded as educated and have the wisdom to differentiate between destructive and helpful religious phenomena. It may also provide some opportunity for thinking broader than the confines of any particular subject compartment. Broader thinking is most necessary given the dangers of prescribed thinking, which Armstrong describes as the safety of the cage, a form of prison, (1993, also Woodhead 2004, Heelas and Woodhead 2005). South Africa has not long emerged from the restraints of Christian National Education that supported the Apartheid government's ideology. A form of Christianity that denies the use of the intellect to investigate every area of life is indeed defective, (see Blamires, *The Christian Mind* 1963, Stott 1992). It may possibly lead some to discover whether it is true that there are rumours of transcendence, (Berger 1961, 1967, 1999, 2004, Yancey 2003).

The mere fact that there is such an urgency to do well at school in order to have economic security is all the more reason to provide a breathing space for spiritual reflection and discussion in the school curriculum. To avoid school life becoming a rushed fragmentation of time slices that make up the subject compartments of the school day, I have suggested inter-disciplinary dialogue that will search for a spiritual foundation to weave the various strands of school life into a consistent worldview. Obviously this goes against the notion of certain postmodernists that this is not possible as there is no foundation, no spiritual base possible, but the passing show of experiences without any anchoring hope or unifying overarching meaning, (see Bauman 2003, Thiselton 2002).

If such dialogue is to take place, a school chaplain may be a potential key person. One reason is that the chaplain is probably the only staff member besides the head to be exposed to the entire school body on a regular basis rather than only a select group in classes. With this in mind I propose that chaplains should seek to be suitably trained in teaching and broadly educated so that whether they retain the teaching slots of divinity or RE or LO or even other subject teaching, they may constantly be thinking in terms of opening up dialogue to explore spiritual connections between subjects.

This is in addition to the expectation that they will present the Church's faith in a way which enables pupils to present their questions and their own perspectives in an open forum. While it must be recognised that the place of religious teaching in schools is eroded by the necessity of the academic emphasis, particularly in scientific areas, this does not mean that a school may not attempt to carve a niche for such dialogue. I do not think it an option to concentrate on broad dialogue to the exclusion of the specific focus, but wish to see a balance. The chapel will naturally have a major focus on specific Christian teaching while the classroom may usually, but not exclusively, host broader issues.

Some chaplains reported holding debates on topical scientific issues such as cloning. Others took the opportunity to discuss the intricacies surrounding abortion when the termination of pregnancy laws changed considerably in South Africa. Chaplain D said her classes assumed she would punt a pro-life approach, as this has long been stereotyped as the religious position, but the chaplain introduced a number of the complicating nuances that need to be debated. The complexity of issues of poverty and feminism within male dominated societies that allowed reproduction to become a female rather than a human responsibility, were part of the problem. The chaplain thus facilitated a critical debate that was related to scientific issues and relevant to the life of all within society, particularly the girl students who could conceivably face such choices personally. It appears as if this chaplain wanted to help the pupils to uncover some of the principles involved and the overall spiritual implications rather than punting a particular view.

The classes that entered into this debate were diverse in terms of religious persuasion. Some of the strongest proponents of the pro-life position were in fact Muslims rather than Christians at that particular Church school. Provided that such debates are sensitively handled, they have the potential of fostering compassion in society. Obviously such debates could take place within another subject. Dialogue should not be the task of the chaplain alone, but the theological expertise of the chaplain hopefully can add the value of including a spiritual dimension, possibly more overtly than other staff members may experience the freedom to apply. If a chaplain is able to engage in such important debates at school, it may indeed be one reason for retaining the position.

This leads to the question of the possible enculturation of the faith in the school. Church schools state they give Christian teaching, (this claim can be seen in comparing the constitutions and advertising prospectuses of Church schools). This involves more than Religious Education. It implies a basic philosophy of education that indicates all teaching is carried out in accordance with Christian principles. Presumably then, mathematics and other subjects could be taught from a Christian angle.

This opens the question as to whether the whole culture of the school could become Christian in nature and activities. Most likely this would only be possible if the majority of teachers employed at the school are practising Christians who seek to relate their faith to their daily living. They would then have to reflect on every aspect of their subject from a Christian point of view and this should somehow filter through to their teaching. Roman Catholic schools plan for this in their admission policies that seek to ensure a majority of practising Catholic teachers and pupils to uphold the Catholic character of the school.

A former chaplain asks if this is possible without having a kind of Christian National Education model, (Roberts 1991). Does Western education during times of democracy and postmodernism allow for any such Christian enculturation or is it a return to a pre-modern theocratic conception? These are questions way beyond the scope of this thesis on chaplaincy roles. Here I state that the implications of the faith base of the Church school must be given some reflection. Unless it is to affect every aspect of life, it may be like an accretion that is easily discarded as there are no roots or indeed fruits. Fruitful life is more likely if there is integration across all borders and an elimination of the compartmentalization of life into sacred and secular.

Roberts goes on to say that teaching the Christian way of life as a subject implies that the person doing so is committed to that way of life and is able to demonstrate that it is a credible and desirable option for life, (1991). I agree wholeheartedly with his description of RE as teaching a way of life rather than the learning of bare facts. I also regard as a non-negotiable for a chaplain to live the faith as children are quick to pick up hypocrisy.

Faith is not an academic exercise or cerebral philosophizing, but includes the exploration of experiential spiritual practices such as prayer combined with offering some grounding in the faith of the school that then opens up into a broader conversation. The first task is to bring the Christian faith into focus through rigorous examination combined with liturgical acts that invite

experiential elements and social action, to point towards the transformation not only of individuals but also communities and the wider society. Here we have a focus on inward and outward, personal and communal, experiential and intellectual, theory and praxis, held in balance as the ideal.

The aim is thus not simply theory, but sifting and applying insight into truth claims to affect lifestyles. Mere knowledge does not necessarily translate into actions or attitudes and chaplains engage in the hidden curriculum of demonstrating the credibility of faith claims in lifestyles of compassion and respect for all. This is an integral element in the chaplaincy's teaching role. It is to be a matter of head, heart and hands, the whole being, (see Sullivan 2000). Even at this point there is probably a sense that no one will fit this high ideal, but to aim for anything less would be to betray a vision for what is best. At least this high standard gives something worth striving for.

It is strongly recommended that chaplains should preferably be both excellent educators or at very least, good communicators who are able to use every opportunity to fulfil their tasks with distinction, and also be persons of deep religious conviction who are able to demonstrate what they teach in both word and deed. To place a person of deep conviction without the skills to implement discussion will not be suitable. The chaplain is then to be a specialist able to engage intellectually with the best minds, as many members of the staff at private schools are certainly of such a calibre and some of the pupils as well. It is not a satisfactory option for chaplains to be only people of deep religious conviction without the ability to demonstrate this. If there is to be a continuation of chaplaincy, then this is important, particularly if a broader mission of mending the compartmentalization of the sacred and the secular in a fragmented society is to take the place of business as usual in a Church school.

Chapter six - Different approaches in chapel and classroom

It is not a case of business as usual in RE in schools. This chapter will seek to assess a number of the issues facing chaplains with regard to RE and the newly formed Life Orientation subject. There is some concern that religious teaching should not suffer from neglect or continue with the stigma of being regarded as a "soft" subject.

There is some jubilation that the way RE was originally approached in many South African schools has been dismantled. Potterton claims there was an over-emphasis on biblical and even fundamentalist instruction rather than broad education. Religious Instruction classes practically made an idol of the Bible and discouraged critical thinking. In addition, there were political overtones of propaganda from Christian National Education (CNE) ideology, (Summers and Waddington, hereafter referred to as Summers 1996. See Introduction and references to Potterton 1981 throughout Summers).

Even though there have been changes, RE is still tainted with the perception of being a non-critical intellectually "soft" subject. Part of the problem may be a lingering suspicion stemming from CNE and the past Apartheid ideological abuse of the Bible, but also the erosion of respect for the intellectual status of religion as such stemming from Enlightenment thinking onwards, (see chapters three and five). All of this has contributed to the erosion of the time and status of religion in schools.

There is thus a serious allegation of a lack of intellectual rigour applied to RE in general or when dealing with the bible specifically. This leads to a somewhat thin version of Christianity that fails to stimulate or relate the Bible and religious teaching to the present, let alone the future. The researcher agrees completely with Moran's declaration, "If and when religion is taught in the school it needs more, not less, intellectual substance than it has had in most of its educational history", says Moran, (1983:189). The way in which

religion is taught is of vast importance and in some instances dissatisfaction with this rather than the subject as such, may be at the root of some of the erosion of time and status allocated to the subject in certain Church schools. Potterton's concern that RE should not be taught in such a way as to deny critical thinking, is vital, but he concedes that the subject involves more than critical thinking. Any focus on learning content without critical thinking is obviously inadequate, but there must also be critical reflection and life application, (Potterton 1981 in Summers 1996). In a Church school where there is allegedly room for the experiential side of faith as well, many chaplains incorporate prayer into their classes, at the beginning and the end of each lesson. The question is then whether they use adequate critical methodology or fail to encourage necessary critical reflection.

Certainly the teaching of thorough methods of textual exegesis would require critical analysis of the content, with thorough contextual considerations for the time in which the text was written and for the present as well as reflection on possible applications. This exercise of exegesis can be an antidote against undue abuse of the bible and part of the duty of Church schools to engage children in scrutinising a credible version of the faith that faces up to rigorous investigation. There is a legitimate fear that the alternative is a somewhat inauthentic shadow caricature of faith.

Different to indoctrination

The word indoctrination is used in a derogatory sense to imply coercion or the presentation of only one viewpoint as if this is the only one. Indoctrination is mostly associated with attempts to bypass the reason, (Best 1996:175). Peters identifies indoctrination with passing on fixed beliefs in a way that discourages rational argument or any questions about validity, (see Summers 1996: 177). Even more than the actual content of the message, the method of indoctrination mainly engages emotive persuasive techniques to authoritatively tell people what to believe as the only and absolute truth without question or discussion and in isolation from other views and influences, (Summers 1996: 179).

Having observed chaplains in action over a number of years, the researcher remains confident that none of them has any intention of engaging in indoctrination in the sense of foisting the Christian faith onto anyone. Genuine faith commitment requires freedom of choice. Those who are secure in their own beliefs are generally able to engage in dialogue without feeling threatened. They also do not confine faith to the rational, but seek to include the entire spectrum of human experience.

It is an incorrect assumption that holding a faith position fervently must necessarily involve one in these negative connotations of indoctrination. There is no neutral education. Numerous hidden agendas and motives exist even when there is an attempt to have a so-called "neutral" approach. Hughes holds that many who vehemently claim neutrality have veiled attempts to convince about a naturalistic stance, that nothing beyond the empirical world of nature exists, which in effect is the "religion" of atheism, (Hughes 2005). Rose points out the irony that popular culture allows for a certain positive indoctrination to inculcate health and safety, but as soon as there is any attempt to persuade in terms of religion, the immediate assumption is that this amounts to unacceptable indoctrination, (Rose in Best 1995).

The tendency to relegate religion to a private realm of faith and conscience is part of a recent popular social imaginary that accentuates the accusation that those who fail to keep their beliefs to themselves wish to indoctrinate others. They do, however, have the right to speak about what they believe and why they believe as they do as part of the freedoms of speech and religion. The latter is applied selectively sometimes, as if Christianity does not apply, partly due to the history of domination and oppression linked to this faith. Perhaps it is time for a fresh hearing that is not tainted from the start as indoctrination.

Throughout this thesis I oppose any such relegation of religion to a private compartment as a misunderstanding of the necessity for faith to be a way of life, a worldview that influences all of life. There is no attempt to bypass the

brain, (brainwashing) to believe what is essentially unbelievable in this day and age. Summers plausibly argues that the danger of indoctrination is only present when open discussion is not allowed, when there is pressure or coercion to adopt the teacher's beliefs without the freedom of personal choice, (Summers 1996). Much open discussion takes place in most of the RE classes that have been observed for this thesis.

The emphasis on dialogue is not to imply that RE, or any education for that matter, is merely cerebral. The teaching task is beyond helping pupils to pass tests and obtain good reports, although anyone working in a school may be squeezed into this mould. Chaplains may remind pupils to make space for wonder and amazement, which is part of spirituality. This allows for seeing in nature and experiences "a way of praising God, even if God's name is not mentioned," (Soelle 2006:64). Children are the greatest conveyors of amazement as they do not bypass anything as too trivial or mundane, simply available, usable, or to be taken for granted, claims Soelle; "Through them we unlearn triviality and learn amazement; we again see the magnolia tree, and we see it as if for the first time," (Soelle 2006:87, 88. See also Alexander 2004 and Best 1996, on spirituality of children).

Chaplains may be facilitators who help to keep open the door to spirituality that seems to be in danger of being tightly barred as children grow older and join in the rush of more and more school activity, and indeed modern life (see Monahan and Renehan 1998). Obviously a formal classroom experience is not needed for this and may even be a hindrance if the chaplain is too busy preparing a class for examinations, as some claim to be. This celebration of life and the spiritual involves the whole being. In contrast indoctrination involves a bypassing of the brain and coercion to conform.

In 1994 Archbishop Carey stated that the aim of RE is not indoctrination and winning converts, but education, (see Rose in Best 1996). Does winning converts then imply indoctrination? There is no reason why conversion should be excluded, provided the desire to convert arises as a result of open, free choice arising from dialogue based on sound educational principles.

Many chaplains hold Christianity as their core identity. They are convinced that it holds truth today in spite of all the contradictions, faults and failings throughout its history. Because this is so integral to their lives and gives meaning and purpose, they would love to see others embrace the faith they have experienced as life transforming.

Most chaplains are generally cautious that any commitment must be freely taken by those mature enough to weigh the consequences. Even that is by no means a destination as much as a very important step on a journey of faith. There is always more spiritual growth necessary over a lifetime. No one is ever able to know and experience all there is to discover in the richness of a relationship with God.

Conflicting convictions on conversion

Any approach to religion in schools is influenced by the view one has of the person to be educated, (see Ungoed-Thomas in Best 1996). The heritage of Augustine has influenced an evangelistic strand of thinking that regards all as sinners. If all children are sinners, education may be seen as preparation for conversion. Augustinian preoccupation with guilt and original sin was contested by Matthew Fox, who preferred the emphasis on original blessing and goodness. People are created in the image of God. The theological argument has long been waged as to whether this is entirely obliterated or merely damaged by sin. Those who stress original sin may focus on a conception of God as disapproving and judging. Placing more stress on the love of God may lead to flourishing as God's love breaks through to enable love for God and others, (Hughes 1993:19, 32).

A theological slant that places less emphasis on original sin may result in the perception of children as needing to be nurtured in faith so that there is a steady growth towards Christian maturity rather than any need for conversion, at least for children of Christian families. Bushnell and Coe thought of conversion as unnecessary and RE as facilitating a natural unfolding development within the child, (Moran 1983:22). Their liberal optimism was

that children could and would thrive simply through being provided with the right conditions for their education without any attempt to impose or press them into any prearranged mould.

Moran objected that this was a case of naïve nineteenth century optimism in the innate goodness of all, as if children could emerge out of the wrapper perfect simply if allowed the freedom to do so, (Moran 1983:22). Bushnell and Coe's educational theory somehow missed the realism of potential human decadence. Educational experiments of freedom by Neill at the British school *Summerhill* failed to set any boundaries for children and had to be modified when chaos erupted, (see Lawrence 1970). The analogy of caring for children like young plants is only part of the task of the educator, (Lawrence 1970). Children, unlike passive plants, need more than organic treatment and the right environment to thrive.

While not denying that the environment and nurturing is very important, children have their own wills and the capacity to choose or reject that which is regarded as the good life, however that is conceived. There are complicated factors of human choice and dare we say, human rebellion as well that makes the educator's task more than simply nurturing. There remains a need for confession and forgiveness even as Menninger the psychologist says is lacking for modern people, (Stott 1992). Conversion is about changing a lifestyle and this is seen in the important Christian rituals of baptism and the Eucharist that symbolically depict dying to the old self and rising to the new, receiving the forgiveness and determining to live a new life. Conversion, the turning from self obsession towards God and a life of love for others, remains a vital part of the normal spiritual journey of the Christian faith.

Knowledge or wisdom

Feverish activism militates against giving attention to this spiritual journey. Chaplaincy can include in religious education elements that give the rest, quiet and the peace of religious devotion, a kind of stillness in the storm to provide a fresh perspective for the battle of keeping up with the pace.

Perhaps in these times of stillness the question may be revisited about what is the real goal of all the feverish activity. What kind of people does the school wish to produce not merely at the end of schooling, but ten or more years afterwards? Are we producing wisdom rather than simply the accumulation of knowledge for examination purposes?

We live in a world where there is a constant criticism about a lack of national and international leadership. Where are the truly wise to guide communities? "An ultimate test for our conception of education is whether it is oriented to bring forth wise men and wise women who in the later years of life can be sources of wisdom for the whole community," (Moran 1983:173). There will be much within the school programme that will be forgotten sooner rather than later, but wisdom will remain invaluable for all of life and will be something to build on.

Wisdom is the ability to apply knowledge in such a way that life as a whole is taken into account, the big picture, so that not only the individual but the life of the community is enhanced rather than diminished. Unless chaplaincy works towards this goal, it may prove to be merely another item that can be dismissed and if that is the case, perhaps the sooner the better.

Growth towards wisdom brings one back to the need for conversion, or even several conversions along the way. Transformation is at the centre of the Christian faith. This is not merely improvement or development but radical turning from all that degrades life towards that which bring wholeness and balance, (see Moran's arguments against Coe and Kohlberg 1983:34). This applies religion to all of life rather than ignoring the controversial or seemingly outdated and thereby diluting faith. A rigorous examination is necessary for integrity's sake.

Common spirituality

When there is no courage to face controversial issues of faith, the result may be a bland spirituality not recognizably Christian. One asks if this is perhaps

the form a “common essence of religion” will assume, the form that Maqsud applauds as more suitable for a pluralistic society, (Maqsud in Summers 1996:131).

Religion is more than belief in a supernatural intelligent being or beings, as this would exclude some forms of Buddhism. It is more than a worldview interpreting the significance of human life or belief in an experience after death or a moral code sanctioned by any supernatural presence. It is not simply about prayer and ritual, sacred objects and places, or even an experience of awe, mysticism and revelations. How then does one concoct a form of common religion and is it even desirable as it robs all faiths of distinctiveness? Any attempted concoction of commonalities may land up being a travesty of the presentation of the Christian faith at a Church school.

There are different perspectives held by Christians regarding the position of the Christian faith in regard to other world faiths, ranging from one among many equals to a unique expression of the truth. This is an area of basic disagreement and growing division between liberals and conservatives, (Woodhead 2004). Chaplains face a distinct tension between the dialogue approach that opens up conversations across religious boundaries and the promotion of one particular faith, Christianity.

It is often alleged that differences between religions have been eroded in the modern world. This view postulates a common ground for all faiths, but there are indeed differences, such as Islam insisting that Isa (Jesus) did not die the death of crucifixion, a matter that is absolutely basic to Christianity. Any emphasis on differences is said to add to the lack of plausibility of any one religion and add to the general sense of weariness about confessional differences as causing religious wars and strife. This is even more marked since nine eleven and the threats of religious groups such as Bin Laden’s Al Qaeda. The ecumenical movement has attempted to restore Christian unity, but the fragmentation into more groups continues.

In a school context there is a strong likelihood of a desire to highlight common ground rather than differences. Christians, and indeed chaplains, remain divided as to how to approach different religions, (see Cotterell 1990 for an exposition of various options Christians take in terms of accommodating other faith positions). The researcher advocates engagement in both respectful dialogue and also distinctive Christian teaching in a Church school context. Although there may be some overlapping, in general the broad dialogue that is desired will take place mainly in the classroom and Christian worship and teaching is primarily facilitated in the chapel.

Respectful dialogue recognises the distinctiveness of each position without denying any differences. There is a search to arrive at true understanding. Such an approach may help learners to hone their own positions in interaction with others. This approach is recommended for the classroom as any faith position needs to be scrutinised in terms of providing a credible life option. Certain chaplains may wish to focus on commitment to the Christian faith rather than compare faiths. Chaplains expect to focus on the Christian faith in chapel and especially in confirmation classes where pupils are being prepared for Church membership, but bearing in mind that the school is not a church, one may presume that there will be more openness to dialogue and perhaps even a comparative approach. One of the premises of this research is that those who hold their own religion securely are not threatened by dialogue with others.

“As a religion it (Christianity) has had a wider geographic spread and is more deeply rooted among more peoples than any other religion in the history of mankind (sic.),” (Latourette 1975: ix). A spirit of triumphal optimism infused a resurgence of Christian missionary activity in the nineteenth century with the belief that all other religions would die out as Christianity advanced all over the world. Instead of disappearing, older religions were rejuvenated and new forms of faith emerged. Although Christianity was indeed being more established globally than ever before, the optimism of the 1910 world mission conference, that declared the evangelisation of the world within that

generation, had to be re-evaluated in the light of a growing recognition of pluralism, (Bosch 1980, 1991).

Pluralism requires the recognition of many faith orientations and that Christianity should be regarded as one among many religions in the world. This was by no means new. Christianity was birthed in a multi-religious environment within the Roman Empire, (Stark 1996). The success of this religion eventually led it from a position of persecution and marginalisation to dominance. The dominance has once more faded and Christianity is no longer protected by governments as a state religion. Gone is the thought that to be a citizen of a certain country means that one is born a Christian.

Granted that there is within the context of pluralism in which we now live, much pressure to concentrate on more general issues of religion, it may be even more necessary to first have a sense of one's own beliefs. This allows children to be rooted somewhere and cultivate a sense of belonging to something as a point of reference for the inner and outer journeys of faith.

One of the key issues is to seek to balance the struggle to teach respect for others and yet avoid a generalised spirituality and compromised integrity in the place of the distinctiveness of the Christian faith of the Church school founders. This is an enormous tension for chaplains that may only be possible if there is an honest search for truth rather than indoctrination or even faith sharing, but in actually demonstrating in life and word "a world worth seeing" and inviting others to join "an adventure to find closer approximations of truth", (Moran 1983:200). Moran's "adventure" strikes a chord of resonance even though what is proposed for chaplaincy in this research may appear overwhelming for some. The researcher agrees with Benson and Strangroom that "Truth matters", even though their naturalistic conclusions are rejected. There is full awareness that many are sceptical of any such thing as "truth" in a largely relativistic context of postmodernism, (Benson and Strangroom 2006).

Confessional approaches

In a confessional approach to religion, there is an aim to convince students to accept the Christian faith. This approach is not opposed to critical evaluation and an emphasis on apologetics. The end result could be an intellectual acceptance of the faith without much regard for other aspects of belief, "cerebration rather than celebration", whereas both are necessary, (This phrase came from chaplain B during the 2007 conference. See also Summers 1996:89). This would imply more of an emphasis on facts without any emotional manipulation or indoctrination, so that the choice to accept or reject the faith is free. I find this appealing for a school classroom situation, but in Church schools, one may presumably go beyond this to the celebration as one is commissioned as a chaplain to be conducting worship. The latter is certainly part of the liturgical role in chapel.

There was a debate at a chaplains' conference in 2003 regarding the extent to which a chaplain could engage in seeking to persuade pupils to convert to the Christian faith. There is an understandable fear of proselytism at school level and also of religious extremism, given the dangers of religious manipulation and abuse, (see Woodhead 2004, Armstrong 1993). However, from time to time chaplains are faced with children of other faiths seeking conversion to Christianity.

Discussions with chaplains about this scenario resulted in a general consensus about the need to encourage children to discuss their religious preferences with their parents and honour this parental guidance and opinions while they are still at school. That does not deprive them of the right to choose to believe personally. Chaplains on the whole found it advisable that children ought not to antagonise their parents unnecessarily by public conversion if their parents are opposed to this, until they leave school. Not everyone will find such a suggestion satisfactory, but it does uphold the delicate duty of respect for parents as well as the right to engage in personal choices. There could be exceptional circumstances where parents engage in

lifestyles or religious positions deemed incompatible with Christianity, in which case the person would need to take a stand.

Chaplain F had his contract discontinued at a particular school due to what he described as his “different perception of faith”. His head perceived him to be somewhat fundamentalist in his approach. He regarded his position as merely upholding his faith commitment and his ordination vows. F was overtly seeking to convert members of the school community, (I have email correspondence with him at the time of his dismissal). The head questioned if such a view on conversion is appropriate to a school context as it is not a Church. We may add that it is also not a Sunday school or seminary, but an educational institution.

There remains a distinct tension for chaplains to straddle ordination vows that require one to seek to persuade all concerning the Christian faith and the school context where this may be deemed inappropriate. In a prison environment chaplains are absolutely forbidden to convert anyone, (Beckford and Gilliat 1998). Why should it be different in a school, which is also a public facility not reserved for members of only one faith orientation? This policy may be followed in certain schools, but presumably a Church school has a religious base which may allow for religious teaching to be accepted by the recipients.

“Conversion is that act of turning from sin and self towards God through Jesus Christ, often as the result of some form of Christian proclamation”. There is a part that God does and a part that the person concerned should do, but which others cannot do for that person. It is part of a personal response to God, (Ferguson and Wright et al.1988:167). Strictly one is then not able to coerce genuine conversion. It is a matter of choice. People may merely act as catalysts. Perhaps it then makes little sense to push people towards what one considers to be conversion, because the result may not be genuine.

To push towards conversion or some religious commitment and to engage in evangelism are not necessarily the same things. Some chaplains, as was the

case for F, find a moral dilemma in any suggestion of avoiding evangelism, reasoning about the Christian faith in the hope of persuading some to consider commitment to Christ. They argue that even if religious diversity makes it attractive to steer away from any emphasis on commitment to a particular faith, ordination vows make it imperative for ministers to do so, (see the Methodist Year Book, 1999, 297-308.) However, even given the fact that chaplains are not chosen on the basis of religious neutrality, but rather for having religious convictions, it is necessary to exercise great restraint with regard to encouraging children to commit to a particular religion. On the other hand, we are reminded that there is no such thing as a neutral stance when it comes to religion, or even science, regarded as the most objective of all studies, (see Polkinghorne 1989, 1998, McGrath 2005 and section 2.4 below).

It is nevertheless commendable to seek to bracket one's own faith from time to time to empathetically make room for listening and seeking to understand others, allowing considerable freedom of thought in discussion so that divergent opinions can surface. The school context is specifically to open up thinking. This may perhaps lead to personal decisions of acceptance and commitment to a particular faith, but I believe that the nature of school as opposed to church means that any element of persuasion is suspect. Smart proposes we can teach RE with the aim of "creating capacities to understand and think about religion. It is one thing to present a faith sympathetically but openly but another to teach people that it is true while remaining silent or prejudiced about alternatives – one thing to present an understanding and another to preach," (Smart 1967 :97). Chaplain E disagrees. He openly and definitely seeks to convert the whole school and is well supported by a number of influential parents, although I imagine there is opposition as well.

Multiple Approaches

Part of the difficulty for the chaplain is that there is no one "Christian" opinion about this. A chaplain must straddle between different groups of people and seek to do the work of spiritual formation in a milieu where the perception of this work is so varied. The chaplain's personal presuppositions will obviously affect how and what is taught, covertly if not overtly. Mission in the school

context is worth discussing in a broader forum at school so that the principle of a great degree of discipline and respect is seen to guard against opening up the wounds of divisions between different groups, not least of which are liberal and conservative Christians, (see Woodhead 2004, who claims the divisions between the latter are presently far more serious than ever before. See also Atkinson 2005, Berger 2004, Bosch 1991, Cameron 2000, Fergusson and Wright 1988, Ford and Muers 2005, Norman 2002 and Reardon 1968).

Liberal Christians may see mission as fulfilled in human growth and in various social justice actions that liberate the poor. Conservatives may insist on a form of religious experience as a paradigm to judge whether they would indeed term the person a "Christian" or not. The question that remains important for the future of chaplaincy at school level is, "What is the Church's mission at a Church school?" A chaplain will necessarily straddle between different Christian groups as well as those holding other or no religious orientation.

The phenomenological approach requires that religion is viewed as a phenomenon, but a problem with this attempt at a neutral approach, in my opinion, is that God may then be viewed as an "object" of study, (Potterton in Summers 1996). The aim is to set aside assumptions and seek an "insider" perspective as much as possible. This may be more acceptable in a school context than a confessional approach, but a Church school is presumably able to concentrate on the Christian faith without being "neutral" about it. The right to religious freedom is presently taken seriously. Instead of enjoying a position of privilege, in some schools Christianity may be given less than a proportional allocation of time in RE.

Other faiths have become the focus. Some parents are clearly unhappy about this as they have specifically sent their children to Church schools for Christian education. In any case, it is no longer to be presumed that children who call themselves Christians know much about the religion they claim as their own in an age of basic biblical illiteracy. "The evangelizing view in any

event seems to be incompatible with the demands of a secular, neutralist society. On the other hand, if a majority of people, for whatever reasons, wish their children to be given religious and moral instruction, it seems that then a democratic society is committed to some version of the evangelizing view…"(Smart 1967:96).

Different levels of religious development

Some chaplains have to give an RE assessment on report cards and find it extremely difficult. Stages of religious development are not necessarily concurrent with psychological developmental processes or automatically linked to chronological age. Cavalletti stressed that cognitive development does not parallel religious development and religious potential should be developed to the full, (see Summers 1996:120). This is in agreement with Fowler, who used a semi-clinical interview method to identify his six stages of religious development from birth to forty, (ibid).

Fowler found his research pointing to the conclusion that people do not necessarily develop religiously from one stage to the next as in normal physical development or as in the theories of Piaget and Kohlberg. They are capable of remaining at one stage of development for the rest of their lives without proceeding or developing to the next stage. Further adding to the complexity of religious developmental theories, Slee found that children develop uniquely, not always measurably or logically in terms of their religious understanding and the Bloxham Report simply calls religious development "unmeasurable", (Slee 1991:144 in Summers 1996:109f, Cameron ed. Bloxham reports 2000).

What is clear, however, is that in spite of the difficulty of measuring religious development, the common assumption that young children should not be taught any abstract aspects of religion for fear of damaging their religious development later on, is clearly wrong. This is according to a number of more recent studies that have questioned the findings of Piaget and Goldman, who exerted a great influence over religious education with their theories

discouraging an early start to many aspects of religion, (see Goldman 1964 in Moran 1983).

Cornelia Roux is among a number who claim that children possess an “inner, a spiritual, potential which develops even earlier than certain psychological aspects,” an inherent religious potentiality related to a common developmental process in human nature, (Summers 1996:107, Roux 2005, Roux and duPreez 2005). Sometimes spiritual understanding seems far in advance of the cognitive development of a child and this spiritual understanding means they are capable of learning about religion from the earliest stage.

Moran also contests Goldman’s and Piaget’s conclusions about the limitations of children’s minds implying they are pre-moral, pre-religious beings who must be guided by rules and only taught what they can comprehend cognitively, (1983). Piaget only recognizes religion for the upper years of school. Although Goldman demonstrated the severe limitations of Piaget’s approach to RE, he still finds young children pre-religious and leaves religion to the adolescent stage. “The change from concrete to abstract modes of thought appears to become possible in religious thinking about the age of thirteen years,” (Moran 1983:188).

In my view the incorrect assumption here is that religion is equivalent to abstract modes of thinking. Goldman reduces religion to the abstract and suggests children cannot develop religiously more rapidly than in cognitive areas, (Moran 1983). It is no wonder then that Goldman limits children from birth to five years to a pre-religious stage and disregards any religious instruction at this stage. If it happens at all, he claims it is really for the adults to feel that they are doing their duty, but I disagree, having seen in some very young children a very remarkable capacity to love God and to want to find out more.

Moran also views children as capable of being religious from the earliest age and chaplains in the Junior Prep phase can verify this. They say children are profoundly capable of being religious, being made in God’s image and thus

having inherent religious potential. This is not to deny that their understanding is underdeveloped at this stage, but it is to disagree with Goldman's conclusion that they therefore have neither feeling nor thought about religion.

Goldman goes on to claim children between seven and eleven are sub-religious, with no adequate grasp of basic religious categories. God is still part of a fairy tale, full of magical powers. Roux claims her research denies that children saw God as a fairy tale character with magical powers, but rather related to God as a loving Parent, (Summers 1996). A possible overemphasis of the miracles performed by Jesus in the New Testament while children are still young could have led to Goldman's view. A child's religious development occurs not only in the cognitively measurable terrain of science.

Goldman's testing methods may have been too clinical and the child's rich experience intermingled with his or her religious potential cannot yet be measured, according to Roux, (ibid). She shows that children from three to six could already begin to form ideas about religion. "The idea that a child's level of comprehension must, in fact, be taken into account in formal Bible education is certainly important, but the general statement that young children should be excluded from formal instruction because of their level of cognitive development is unacceptable," (Roux in Summers 1986:112, Roux 2005, Roux and duPreez 2005).

Those who receive religious education at home or attend a religious institution from an early age are even said to be likely to be more advanced in religious development, (Matthews 1980; 1984 and Tamminen 1991:20 and Roux all in Summers 1996:107 - 109). Chaplains often mention that they are amazed at how they may underestimate children, (conversations at Chaplains' Conference 2007). Roux's research agrees, particularly when it comes to younger children. "Children whose religious concepts develop quickly are not given enough scope and are restricted in developing with the others, and consequently, their religious development is retarded," (Roux in Summers 1986).

Montessori stresses the importance of stimulating the mind of children before seven and this is in fact in keeping with Roman Catholic theory that children form their basic religious foundation before the age of seven. In contrast to Goldman, she also says it is possible to teach the child religion before the child's cognitive thinking has been developed. Placed in the right conditions a child between three and a half and seven can absorb an immense amount of knowledge spontaneously. "Given the right atmosphere and guidance, the child can only benefit from religious education, even at a very early age…Just as the education of physical and psychic life is nothing else than co-operation with the natural forces of growth, so the supernatural education is nothing else than co-operation with God's grace, which provides the real urge to true process of growth in the divine life" (Montessori 1965:15, 58 in Summers 1996:119).

Goldman suggests that only children who are older than twelve can think normally and formally about God in what he calls the "personal" religious stage, with a full capability of understanding, accepting or rejecting religion. In contrast chaplains claim to have known children to be truly committed to faith from very young and to have grown in this steadily. Robinson's research also corroborates the view that children have religious experiences that are not observable in psychological analyses, prior to understanding their true meaning, (Moran 1983:40). Robinson says the life experiences of children should be taken into account in religious education, (Roux 1988 in Summers 1996).

Perhaps there are so many high school chaplains and so few at the lower ends of the school because theories such as Goldman's make us believe that this adolescent stage is far more crucial. Perhaps there would be fewer adolescent crises if we concentrated more on younger children. There is enough evidence to verify that even if children may not be able to explain everything they experience in religion verbally or visually, they are still capable of having religious experiences and some understanding. Rizzuto agrees that a special relationship between God and a child is possible from an

early age and able to take place, even directly without any intervention from adults, (Summers 1996:117).

There are definite implications for chaplaincy if children as young as four years old are capable of religious development, as Roux's research has shown, (Summers 1996). Chaplaincy should not be reserved for high school as so often happens. Certainly chaplains working with Junior Prep schools are finding that children have a depth and desire to pray, often far more moving and full of compassion than older children. They are convinced that chaplaincy should be involved from the earliest school days.

Generally young children are positive about religious gatherings or church and public worship. They love going to chapel and sing their religious songs heartily and with feeling. They also show a warm appreciation for their chaplain provided they sense that they are loved. Positive religious experiences are important to the child and influence subsequent stages of religious development. Experiential religion is very important as this may affect relationships to people as well as environment. It is possible to lay foundations for lifelong conceptions of God during childhood, either of God as identified with the experience of being loved, or as a stern disciplinarian. Roux says symbols must be explained to children and advises that they ought not to be excluded from ritual and sacrament because they don't yet understand, (Summers 1996). In some churches all children are invited to the communion table, but generally schools only do so for the older children or those who have taken their first communion in their own church.

Roux says concepts like love, care, hope and faith must be explained. She advises against an inappropriate choice of biblical and other religious tales that can lead to fatalistic attitudes, (Roux in Summers 1996). Storytelling is important as a way of establishing and providing identity. A religious story must be placed in perspective so that a child can understand. Children can have great trust in adults and educators and so they must model what they teach about religious faith. The whole school family, juniors and seniors can be involved and chaplaincy can serve each age group. This also means that

conversations must begin at the level of the child and not underestimate that they too have much to teach the adults at school.

Different or simply deadly dull

Both school and Church may be accused of being conservative institutions that are painfully slow to change. Tradition is sacrosanct. Has much really changed in many classrooms even in private schools over the past few decades? Has much changed in the chapel and Church over the past few decades? In many schools the answer to both these questions will be negative. There may have been a great deal of technological innovations, but that is not the point.

I have observed some chaplains still engaging in a form of "chalk and talk" one-way lecture rather than encouraging interactive learning deriving from outcomes based educational principles. We noted that some chaplains have no teaching experience or training at all prior to arriving at schools. It is thus not surprising that they do not appear to have set outcomes they hope to achieve. This approach will not achieve what I have in mind for the task of RE as an integrating subject that brings spirituality to the centre. It is therefore imperative to have trained and specialist chaplains rather than any clergy member who wants to be at a school.

One of the problems is that some versions of Christianity, including some offered at schools, may approximate with Fowler's criticism of that offered by television preachers. They give a brand of sentimentalism in the name of religion, "vicarious interpersonal warmth and meaning, which becomes a parody of authentic faith", (Moran 1983:112). Gathorne-Hardy's cynicism about school religion is that it is not even filled with any such vacuous meaning, but is simply deadly dull and boring, (Gathorne-Hardy 1977). However, many excellent lessons given by chaplains that certainly do not apply to either of the above criticisms have been observed by the researcher.

Many chaplains in South Africa today are working at improving their teaching skills and knowledge of educational theories. This is an expectation for any

member of a teaching staff in the majority of Independent schools. There are numerous opportunities for conferences and courses to develop skills in this learning context. Independent schools would not be as successful as they are in producing results if they were static and completely conservative, as some critics seem to allege. There are profound changes in education today and Independent schools are renowned as being on the cutting edge of education in South Africa, (this is part of the lure for places at these schools as sometimes salaries are hardly much better than at state schools in spite of public perceptions that teachers are well paid at private schools). The competition to fill places keeps schools having to keep up with as much educational and technological innovations as is plausible within budgetary constraints. They claim to keep up with the best international educational practices. The chaplain supposedly is compelled to keep up with the rest of the staff.

The brand of chaplaincy proposed thus requires a person who relates to the social, cultural and inter-generational context in which they live and work in order to introduce a brand of credible Christianity that can be seen as ageless and yet relating to the present in a fit like a glove. This may be regarded as total wishful thinking by some, but personal faith is invested in the chaplaincy role, unlike other posts at a school, where personal religious commitments are by no means scrutinised and essential for appointments.

The appeal for dialogue is in spite of the volume of knowledge that increases beyond the scope of any one person being able to digest all subjects. There is a proliferation of specialisations and an almost overwhelming emergence of new disciplines. Experts concentrate on smaller and smaller fractions of subjects. This has obviously affected the ideal of the broad education of the English gentleman, accomplished in all areas and able to converse knowledgably on a wide variety of subjects, even if not being an expert in any, (see chapter one, “The English gentleman”).

Merely to keep up in any field requires passionate commitment, but the researcher is convinced from her interactions that many with such passionate

commitment teach in some of the Church schools. To defuse potential inter-departmental rivalry relating to destructive competition makes interdisciplinary dialogue essential. There is a need to scrutinise the underlying values of all subjects from many angles and examine how each may contribute to life holistically rather than ferment further fragmentation.

At school there can be a process of facilitation to develop skills to enable staff to examine and sift through overt and covert values and presuppositions implied in any and every subject. Polkinghorne's proposal that all aspects of knowledge need more integration in a spiritual grounding appears plausible. He appeals for interdisciplinary work based on the assumption that knowledge is one, (Polkinghorne 1998:84). His assumption is not necessarily acceptable to secular thinking influenced by postmodernism; however it is a common assumption of those who believe in a Source of all truth and knowledge.

The school programme that operates by chopping the school day into what are hopefully manageable bites of time, thirty to forty minute periods devoted to different disciplines, needs to be reviewed to facilitate more integration and application to the whole of life. An aim is to create synergy and dissipate artificial competition between teachers under pressure to achieve not only excellence in their own fields, but also the completion of the vast amount of work that needs to be covered annually.

What is needed is a broker who can respectfully open up discussions on common threads of spirituality that may bind subjects together. Chaplains trained in theology may assume this task in the school context. This is not specifically about engaging in an apologetic exercise or seeking to make a defence of Christianity aimed at converting others to the faith, (Polkinghorne 1998:84ff). It is also not a take-over bid for any area of knowledge, be it science, mathematics or religion. It is definitely also not an attempt to apply a coating of religious gloss over what is done at school. What has been detected at a few of the schools in the research sample is indeed the use of the chaplain to give a superficial coating of religiosity that seems to make no difference to the rest of school life.

No wonder there is little respect for theology or chaplaincy if this is the perception. Perhaps it is such superficiality that leads to remarks such as that passed to a theology student, “You are far too intelligent to be doing this with your life. You could be studying medicine.” A young chaplain received similar comments from learners at a school during 2005, “What is a young person like you doing in this position? You could be in a really good job.” This points to the loss of respect for theology as an intellectual discipline, but there is hope for change as a number of universities may yet reinvest in theological departments that were closed during the height of what is apparently a recession of secularization in many ways, (Martin 2005, see chapter two).

This chapter concludes with an appeal for a rigorous search for truth that relates and brings together isolated areas of knowledge. If truth exists and is discoverable, then it can be integrated into a consistent worldview and the construction of a plausible worldview then become the broader task aimed at. This task should be balanced with learning one’s own religion and various school subjects, but is against the competitive strain to give attention to each isolated subject as if it was the most important. Schools add more bits and pieces of academic, cultural and sporting activities without necessarily considering the overall value or the big picture of purpose, meaning and life priorities. This is to be a top priority for chaplaincy.

Chapter seven - Christianity in action: the role of counselling

Dialogue implies listening and this is a key component of counselling, traditionally thought to be the major role of the chaplain. To a certain extent this role is being contested with the advancement of psychological services at schools, but in this chapter there is an appeal for a team approach rather than the exclusion of spiritual angles and the work of the chaplain.

A crisis of safety

"Hope is …the core and precondition of all education," (Schweitzer in Alexander 2004:88) and pastoral care at schools rests on the hope of giving sufficient assistance towards restoration to resilience and healthy living for those who are struggling. This task becomes all the more urgent in a culture that increasingly emphasises "health, relaxation, production, entertainment, success," (Louw 1994: Introduction). Any who fall outside these parameters and fail to produce what is expected, for whatever reason, run the risk of being stigmatised in an impatient, frenetic society. This is happening at schools. Although they claim to be child-centred, many Independent schools fall into a frenetic production orientation.

They simply have to produce good educational results to attract pupils in order to survive in a competitive market. As a consequence, they run the risk of becoming harried, toxic environments that grow progressively emotionally unsafe, particularly for the weakest and most vulnerable members, according to Bluestein (2001:119). I agree with her observations that part of the problem is that children no longer merely have to produce results, but strive for excellence and standards of perfection that add a weight of unbearable pressure. This renders it unsafe to fail at anything or even make mistakes. A context where imperfections are unacceptable and have to be covered up becomes contaminated.

In South Africa we have a tragic educational crisis where parents are taking children out of certain state schools not merely due to perceptions of lowering standards, but because there is a real risk to the physical safety of their children. This was amply indicated by horrific statistics of serious incidents, including school murders, highlighted in the media during 2006 and 2007. In addition to the legitimate concern for physical safety, is the worry about emotional and spiritual abuse. This is not confined to state schools and is a critical factor leading to many hours spent creating and reviewing policies on bullying. Schools are simply not always safe or helpful, fulfilling places. Sometimes pupils leave school scarred internally, (see Bluestein 2001). The fact that a school charges high fees and thus has access to better resources, may not necessarily mean it provides high levels of emotional and spiritual safety for learners. The growing need for "comfort, consolation and compassion…to impart some humanity", is the imperative pastoral task, (see Louw 1994: Introduction).

Not only pupils, but their parents and teachers are at risk. The potential emotional harm of unrelenting, increasing pressure to handle a growing load, particularly in the academic sphere, leads to the absolute necessity for schools to provide "safe" spaces where members of the community in distress may find at least one listening, caring person. Mary Finley confirms that such a caring and supportive relationship may be a key protective factor that helps build resilience, (Bluestein 2001:84f). Marla West claims that an increasing number of children of all socio-economic groups have no significant adult to talk to, (Bluestein 2001:229). The fact that even children mistreated by significant adults in their lives can ultimately thrive if they have access to even only one caring adult, is reason enough to encourage all players involved in schools to do what they can to alleviate the sheer volume of need in the field of pastoral caring, (see Bluestein 2001:148).

This desperate need for "safe", active listeners has become imperative as busy parents leave children craving to be heard, (see Alexander 2004:150,

Bluestein 2001, www.acornchristian.org). While listening may be less complicated than full counselling, without someone to give this gift, staff and children may find their personal trauma and feelings have to be buried because they become an inconvenience for a school that is focused on achievement. Chaplains can be part of a team providing a safe space of listening and caring. Listening is an integral part of their task of entering into conversations, which I identify as of major importance for school chaplains.

Surrogate parenting

"Schools are being forced to be homes", writes Paul Clements, (Bluestein 2001:84). He attributes some of the insecurity and problems in children to the lack of extended families, which to a certain extent a school community can become as it takes on a more serious caring role, (ibid). English private schools often described themselves as "homes away from home", whereas European schools deliberately steered away from detracting from parental nurturing or even extra-mural activities, (Williams in Norman 2004:36-7). At boarding schools chaplains and staff are even more important as surrogate parents, as children are isolated from their families for the long stretches of school term time. The growing reality is that even children who do not board, can spend the bulk of their wakeful hours at school in academic and extramural programmes. They thus have teachers and school staff standing in as parents for an increasing proportion of every day.

They may spend very little time with their own parents not only be due to the overwhelming problems many parents themselves face as they struggle in dysfunctional relationships, but primarily because they may be swallowed up in work pressures and have no reserves of energy to spend quality time with their children. Some day-school children report that they are asleep by the time their parents come home at night and also when they leave for work very early the next day. It is then no surprise that basic ethical training in moral values previously thought of as part of any home environment, increasingly is neglected and becomes part of the escalating expectations society places on schools. On top of the wish list of many children at Independent schools is

that they should spend more time with their parents, (this is reported by a chaplain who asked classes this question repeatedly over a number of years).

Le Compte and Dworkin have written in *Giving up on School*" that "people feel that neither the institutions that govern their lives nor their personal and social relationships are as efficacious and meaningful as they once were," (1991:13). I resonate with Bilton's conclusion that too much is expected of education in post-industrial society, (1981:272f). Parents are meant to be the primary educators and yet they have increasingly dumped their personal responsibilities for the emotional, moral and spiritual nurturing of children onto the school.

No wonder our children need help. A school psychologist claims we have to deal with an increasing number of children who have mental health problems. Those with even severe psychological problems are no longer always being isolated from the main stream of learning, (ISASA meeting of school counsellors October 2003). Of the forty-four percent of South Africans under the age of twenty, adolescents are twenty-one percent. Fifteen percent of these have some kind of mental health problem according to SAHR (SA Health Review) 2000. Very many suffer from depression and have suicidal thoughts or even a major anxiety disorder, which does not come as a surprise given the South African crime statistics. "Many at school may not get the help they need as they mask their problems by engaging in secretive substance abuse and eating disorders that are growing in frequency and severity", said this psychologist at an ISASA meeting of school counsellors during October 2003.

Add to this the scenario of sub-Saharan Africa having the highest rate of infections of HIV and AIDS and we have a potentially explosive situation where caring is critical. Boredom about the frequent mention of HIV fuels the attitude of denial that it is not a problem for the socio-economic status group of the Independent school community, (conversation with a school counsellor, at the "Courage to Care" Conference on HIV/AIDS at Bronkhorstspruit, 2004.) Chaplains and all counsellors are urged to address the matter of sex in a

manner that will uphold the need for parameters of safety, not only physically, but emotionally and spiritually. The messages about sex that are given to young people in popular music and media are sometimes lethal in the face of the AIDS pandemic together with substance abuse ravaging Southern Africa.

With all the urgent problems facing the school community, the key speaker at a meeting of school counsellors suggested that “a wrap around team is needed to help”, a team that could include the chaplain as well as other counsellors and teachers.

The tutor model

Schools have devised a family model to take on the support role, the tutor group comprised of a teacher and pupils. In a tutor group children are meant to relate as siblings to the “surrogate parent” teacher and be able to share the high and low moments of their lives together. Time is allocated for the groups to meet, so yet another item is added to the overloaded school timetable, yet it is deemed worthwhile as a primary unit of caring. Children may be able to share their problems more easily in groups if they feel a sense of belonging, (see Best 1996).

In my assessment, groups work well if the surrogate parent is able to love the children in his or her group. Teachers sometimes interact very closely with their groups. I have come across complaints by certain chaplains that they have felt left out of the caring circle of the school when they have not been notified by tutors about crises such as a sick child being hospitalised. There is a tendency for some to clutch their little groups possessively, treating chaplains or counsellors as intruders rather than helpers. On the whole chaplains and counsellors are generally happy to share the pastoral load with tutors. It really does not matter who does the caring as long as members of the school community are able to get pastoral help when they are in need, but some have more training, gifting and experience than others. Tutor teachers are particularly helpful in dealing with minor problems and referring more serious cases to those more qualified.

Chaplain I said that he was able to take the role of a tutor teacher. “This is one of the best ways of getting to know a few learners really well”, (conversations with chaplain I during 2004 and 2005, Johannesburg). Other chaplains have not been able to participate in the system due to being in Prep and Secondary schools and thus not able to be available every day for a particular group as this system requires.

In some schools the tutor teacher role had been added as a non-negotiable to every teacher’s job description. This meets with some opposition from those who claim that their primary identity as teachers has expanded to include a pastoral dimension they neither chose nor received adequate training to deliver. They may claim their vision to teach a particular subject has been clouded by having to act as amateur social workers. McLachlan, however, argues that all teaching is about children first and foremost and only then about a subject’s content. Holistic education demands caring and listening skills, (McLachlin makes this point repeatedly in his contributions in Best 1996 and Alexander 2004). The avalanche of problems children face has led to far larger numbers of children crying out for attention than ever before. There is no doubt that many teachers are overstretched and it is with them in particular that chaplains may have an increasing pastoral role.

Teachers at risk

The surrogate parents are themselves suffering on the brink of burnout and compassion fatigue, (see Hudson’s *Compassion Fatigue*, 1999). This may go unnoticed on open days, when Independent school grounds will be showcased and the educational philosophy spelt out as superior, balanced and developing the whole being. The fact that Independent schools have the advantage of being able to experiment and claim to set the trends will be highlighted. First impressions of the private school may conceal underlying conflicts not least in competitive and even contradictory educational philosophies embodied in various school subjects.

Parents pay high fees and naturally expect a good return for their money. Pupils also have to pay a price to belong by hard work and the fatigue that goes with an overloaded programme, (see Cookson and Persell 1985). They may become locked into a narrow production of good examination results that has eroded time for the soul and for broader thinking about the meaning and purpose of life, (the specific niche of the chaplain). The outward calm and beauty of the campus may deceptively mask a deep underlying exhaustion and discord that led a member of staff to propose that a chaplain must be "the centre of calm in the storm". Her plea was for the chaplain to be available to deal with the stress and stormy problems of all in the school environment, (conversations with teachers during 2003).

Teachers pay a price in coping with the ever-growing pressure on education from employers, government, parents and pupils. The attrition rate from the teaching profession is growing even more staggering with every passing year. The accelerating competition to produce even better educational results every time is added to a new form of "emotional labour" that weighs down on teachers, (See Layder for a frequent use of this term, 1993).

This "emotional labour" is increasingly difficult and onerous as it far exceeds teacher training or previous practice. It has always been part of the normal work of chaplains, however, but has added to the growing crisis, stress and dissatisfaction of teachers, probably to a far greater degree than when Jaye first wrote about it, (Layder 1993:100, Jaye 2002). I can corroborate some of her findings from my own research gathered from staff discussions; (These official "open" discussions are facilitated by school psychologists and happen on a regular basis at certain schools for staff to air grievances).

It is being acknowledged worldwide that educational tasks are becoming increasingly complex even without the additional demands of students' emotional, social, psychological, behavioural and personal development issues, (see Bluestein 2001). An overwhelming stressor was the growing need for care was not compatible with the growing work load for the examinations that barely allowed time to give learners personal attention. Any

time devoted to caring would lead to a loss of lesson time for crucial work that would have to be fitted in somehow, (see Norman 2004 regarding the frustration generated by so much need for caring).

It is obvious that the emotional and spiritual states of teachers reverberate to the children they teach. Crises in teachers' homes affect their classrooms. Unless teachers are cared for, the wellbeing of the entire school is at risk. Chaplains often state that giving pastoral care to teachers is one of their crucial roles. This is even more important than being available for children, the reason for the existence of the school in the first place, simply because these are the surrogate parents who have a frightening level of power for good or harm in the lives of their charges.

Chaplains are able to give pastoral care to staff members

Chaplain D facilitated workshops on listening skills and conflict management strategies to assist teachers who were struggling with what they declared were "difficult parents". This chaplain also invited teachers and their spouses to weekend marriage enrichment programmes. A number, including chaplain H, facilitated marriage counselling sessions for any members of the school community in need. The extent and variety of pastoral services offered depended largely on the individual gifting of the chaplains concerned. Many spend a considerable time relating to teachers, administrative and ground staff.

Some chaplains, including chaplains H, J, M and N, organised worship services, prayer meetings and discussion groups on life issues for school workers, sometimes in the heart language of the people concerned, such as Xhosa. School gardeners, cooks and cleaners expressed great appreciation and often appeared far more interested in faith issues than some of the learners or teachers, according to a few chaplains. Perhaps the care shown to them is even more valued as many schools outsource service jobs and workers claim to lack a sense of belonging in the school community.

Every organisation has undercurrents unknown to outsiders, but that contribute to an ethos and atmosphere. Teachers can feel threatened by colleagues and compete for promotions. A chaplain may come across as "neutral", in a specialised category that poses no threat in terms of promotion prospects, (although one chaplain was deputy head at his school). The chaplain may appear as a "safe" person to consult, but this may only be the case for those not involved at a management level and thus possibly involved in processes of hiring, firing and assessing staff. Some chaplains regarded representation on executive management structures as far more important than assuming a neutral stance to staff as it gave the opportunity to be influencing the entire school ethos.

Pastoral care to staff is largely confidential and hidden from the public eye. Chaplains accept numerous invitations to listen to and pray even with those who are not practising their religion. If chaplaincy were to be discontinued at schools where the chaplain has gained the confidence of at least some the staff in terms of caring, it is certain that this particular hidden role alone would lead to the chaplain being greatly missed. The holistic care of teachers affects the whole school and yet few chaplains are able to make this the priority they wish it to be as they endure the frustration of straddling between various tasks.

A blanket of caring

The counselling blanket has had to be stretched to cover not only the children, but their parents and the staff at schools as a matter of growing necessity and urgency. This task of weaving a blanket of caring that restores well-being has always been a primary concern for a school chaplain, as the very title "chaplain" has connotations of covering, protecting and helping, from the original Latin for "cloak". This caring role and not that of teaching, remains uppermost in the public perception of chaplaincy, according to my conversations with pupils, parents, past pupils, school staff and governors.

In spite of this, clergy, once respected as repositories of educated spiritual wisdom to deal with the complexities of personal, social and moral issues, may not necessarily be consulted in crises any longer. Until fairly recently, says Best, religion was thought of as essential in dealing with life's problems, to the extent of consulting the Religious Education teacher in the absence of a priest at a school, (Best 1996, writing from a British perspective). It is no longer taken for granted that even in death and the marking of the high and low points of life, any religion will be desired. Secularising processes have reduced the role religion plays in many spheres of modern life, even if less so in African than European society, and paradoxically alongside recent resacralisation trends, (see previous section on the secularisation process).

Religious or neutral

A major problem for some is that the chaplain is the designated Church's caregiver and as such is always associated with a specifically religious role. This may not be acceptable to those who wish either for a more neutral or scientifically acceptable approach, such as psychology is presumed to be. Religious beliefs are said to be value laden, subjective and thus lacking in neutrality. Scientific research is supposedly thoroughly objective and based only on observable facts, but Thomas Kuhn has effectively argued that even science is founded on chosen presuppositions and worldviews, (Kuhn 1970, in Benner 1987 and see chapter three of this thesis). This affects overall perceptions. There is simply no neutral stance, (Bergin 1980 in Benner 1987). Pastoral care will thus never be "value-free", as those who engage in pastoral care "either implicitly or explicitly communicate their values and personal religion. Therefore, the question is not whether the therapist has certain personal values or goals but how these influence the therapy process," (Benner 1987:21).

Any methodology rests on foundational assumptions, even if these are not acknowledged. Atheistic presuppositions at the base of many of the social science disciplines are a problem for some theologians, as are the faith presuppositions of theologians for some social scientists, (Milbank 2006,

Swinton and Mowat 2006). There are numerous views ranging from total acceptance to complete avoidance of psychology by Christians.

The perception that these are fundamentally incompatible is held by Bobgan and Bobgan. They claim that "psychotherapy (and thus we may infer, all counselling based on techniques derived from social sciences) is not a neutral set of scientific techniques but rather a religious system and a false one at that…leading to the erosion of the spiritual ministry of the church," (1979 in Benner 1987). This view is refuted by others who affirm the usefulness of certain secular theories of therapy, even if they are built upon non-Christian presuppositions, as long as one starts with the foundation of the distinctive Christian perception of humanity as made in the image of God, (Benner 1987:14). Benner contends that in spite of different perceptions of counselling among Christians, the clear biblical perspectives on human nature, the unity of personality, creation in the image of God and the reality of sin influence counselling, (1987). Many chaplains agree that these underlying assumptions must affect both theory and praxis of pastoral work.

The fact that many diverse theoretical orientations use the same techniques indicates that these can be tools used on numerous philosophical foundations, (Benner 1987). I resonate with this conclusion. It is not necessary to judge a technique on the founder's presuppositions if this is the case. However I do think it is always necessary to examine how one uses techniques and theories. For this purpose it is useful to seek to uncover and examine presuppositions and engage in critical reflection how assumptions may filter through to affect the overall construct. It is easier to engage in effective empathetic listening when one has first clarified one's own world view, aims and objectives so that one will be able to bracket inordinate subjectivity. Some chaplains may experience a tension between their specific Christian ministry and a supposedly politically correct expectation of "spiritual neutrality" in counselling situations. While I do not believe absolute neutrality is possible, it is necessary to listen with an absolute focus on the person in an attitude of unconditional acceptance.

Chaplains may choose to begin with a Rogerian non-directive approach and switch to a specific Christian teaching angle or prayer intervention as part of their counselling. Popular Rogerian non-directive listening is regarded as neutral, but van Belle sees as the logical product of this methodology a person who is autonomous and driven by compulsion towards endless growth to the extent of intense restlessness. There is no question of dependence on structures, others or God. The dominating value of personal autonomy and the internal growth principle forms the essence of a person's being for Rogers. "Experience is, for me, the highest authority. The touchstone of validity is my own experience. No other person's ideas and none of my own ideas are as authoritative as my experience. It is to experience that I must return again and again; to discover a closer approximation to truth as it is in the process of becoming in me. Neither the Bible nor the prophets - neither Freud nor research - neither the revelations of God nor man - can take precedence over my own direct experience," (Rogers 1961:23, in Benner 1987).

Roger's theory thus revolves around the growth of experience as a matter of ultimate concern. I agree with Van Belle's assessment that the central thrust of Roger's view of therapy is a problem for a Christian, but that does not mean his system of therapy may not be used as a resource of valuable insights built on the foundation of Christian presuppositions about humanity and God, (Brenner 1987:225). I say this with caution, endorsing the concerns of Guinness and Berger about bad faith, a distorted view of God that does more harm than good, (see Guinness 1976:203, in Benner 1987, Guinness 1996 and Berger 1961). Chaplains obviously believe that there is a possible positive use of faith.

Most chaplains tend to use a number of tools in pastoral work, incorporating both so-called "secular" and specifically faith resources such as prayer, Scripture reading and laying-on of hands. Merely to add one of these does not make pastoral care specifically Christian, however. The use of these may also not be appropriate under some circumstances. Care needs to be exercised in

the use of any techniques as there are both psychological and theological dangers in such usage, according to Johnson, (Benner 1987:32).

Prayer is the most frequently used religious resource in Christian counselling, (ibid). Broadly this focusing of attention onto God is meant to be a way of life, an ongoing conversation with God, a relationship issue and not simply a tool to help in trouble. It is possible to misuse prayer to surreptitiously veil what is wished to be said to the person, or to imply that God will make everything better and rob the individual of personal responsibility. A positive use of prayer may be to divert a person from complaining to thankfulness.

Like prayer, the use of the Bible can focus attention on the divine and help towards finding meaning and purpose in life. Johnson says the use of certain readings of Scripture to direct thinking along certain lines, such as the value of forgiveness, may be valuable. He calls this bibliotherapy and chaplains have long used this. This may be criticised as foisting the values of Scripture onto people, but again and again Benner and associates assert strongly that there is no value-free therapy, (Benner 1987: 34). "Scripture and prayer in the hands of a sensitive therapist can be agents of change and growth," (Benner 1987:36). Many chaplains agree, but it is not uncommon that religion may be tried only when all else has failed, (see Weatherhead 1962). It is not unusual for chaplains to be consulted as a last resort.

Vulnerability

Pastoral care is clearly stated as one of chaplaincy duties in the job descriptions I have seen. It is still an expectation, a non-negotiable linked to the work, part of a chaplain's major role-set trilogy that includes teaching and liturgical duties. The balance between these work areas depends not only on the gifts of individual chaplains, but on school requirements, especially whether other pastoral services are available. There has been a curious transition in the use of the term "pastoral". Originally this shepherding metaphor was applied to clergy specifically. It has now been appropriated broadly to apply to all nurturing roles at schools, including tutors and other

teachers, peer counsellors as well as professional psychologists and other counsellors.

One of the results of the increasing help in the pastoral role may be that chaplains (and sometimes also other professional school counsellors) could be consulted less. On the other hand even when there are other counselling services available, the needs of the community may dictate that every possible helper, including a chaplain spends much time in this area of work. We are experiencing the "counselling boom" that Bauman talks about as a prominent feature of modern society, (Bauman 2003). All indicators are that it has indeed reached our schools. One of the questions of this particular chapter is whether other forms of counselling are eroding the traditional position of the chaplain.

In some cases the chaplain serves in a dual capacity as both school counsellor and chaplain, so the issue is not as pertinent as when a school has a specific counselling department. One of the problems associated with a dual role is that it is highly unlikely that a chaplain who regards counselling as a passionate calling may be able to give the desired attention to this role unless special arrangements are made to cover the other aspects of chaplaincy.

There were a few school chaplains at a counselling conference, (ISASA School Counsellor's Conference Pretoria 2004). Some in the dual role of school counsellor and chaplain recommended this as it afforded more time in counselling, but others expressed frustration. Teaching commitments often impinged on counselling time and during counselling crises classes would have to be left unattended. This is a common periodic experience of all chaplains who teach. It is only in very rare cases that counsellors and chaplains have no teaching responsibilities. Clearly some find far more job satisfaction in counselling than in other roles and spend a disproportionate amount of their time thus engaged.

Even when a chaplain is seen as primarily pastoral, one has to ask if the chaplain is called upon less frequently and preference given to more "secular" counsellors. Is this part of a legitimate job security concern for some chaplains? This was confirmed in an interview with chaplain U who was at a boarding school for girls. She was in the process of studying psychology with a view to qualifying as a school psychologist, as she suspected that chaplaincy could be made redundant at her school in the near future. She thus wanted to apply for the position of the school counsellor. The interview took place at a school counsellor's conference, (Pretoria 2004). Chaplain U had not been allocated funds or time to attend school chaplains' conferences for the past six years, yet had been sent to this counselling conference. This may explain her perception of the greater status of counselling at her school.

At the same conference there was an ex-chaplain who claimed far more job satisfaction in his present role as a school counsellor. He was able to work in partnership with the chaplain of his school and still take part in some of the chaplaincy work he had loved. He said he was relieved that he was no longer a chaplain. He had experienced a constant struggle to carve out a place for chaplaincy at his previous school, but now had far more access to children in need of his services as a school counsellor. This was conceivably partly due to his more positive frame of mind that no doubt affected his relationships at his new school. Nevertheless it does confirm what has emerged consistently in interviews with a number of chaplains, that the chaplain is by no means the first to be consulted and may not even be considered at all in some crises.

The prevailing mindset at a number of schools appears to be that the "secular" or "neutral" school counsellor is the one able to deal with problems. This may be part of the popular tendency to relegate faith to a matter of private opinion, even delusion, in some cases. It may also be partly due to the current high status of disciplines associated with psychology. This may be seen as factual science far more suitable for the modern schooling environment.

The right to enter into the sacred places of people's private lives is thus no longer afforded to a person by virtue of a title, be it chaplain or Reverend, or Father, or even Counsellor. It is said to be by invitations based on building caring relationships, according to Dawn and Petersen, who claim that pastors (and thus chaplains) are invited rather than automatically part of the lives of modern people. They are not necessary, even for the significant events that mark the passages of life, such as weddings or funerals, hence their title *The Unnecessary Pastor*, (2000).

When invited, the chaplain may be part of a team asked to assist in crises. Often they will work in tandem with psychologists and other counsellors and sometimes also medical practitioners. These now share with priests what was once the traditional priestly role of being consulted about the full spectrum of human problems. There are times when the chaplain may be excluded entirely, as was the case when a girl was threatening to commit suicide at a school. The school psychologist and the doctor were called at once. Chaplain R found out only as the Deputy mentioned it to her in the school corridor as she raced past.

Teamwork or competition

An ex-chaplain who became a school psychologist said, "There are fewer opportunities for chaplains to do counselling as the path to this is usually directed through the Student Counselling department (the school psychologist's domain). The chaplain is seldom called in unless there is death or some crisis where this is specifically requested." Perhaps this even leads to some element of competition between the various pastoral role-players in some schools, as was evident in numerous discussions about the formation of a pastoral care policy in a particular school.

At one stage the acrimony between chaplain H and the psychologist was no longer able to be veiled. It apparently revolved around perceptions of the superiority of certain fields of training in counselling, (the discussions at an

Independent School took place over a number of meetings and extensive workshops between 2004 and 2005).

A certain amount of rivalry is understandable in the context of the multiplication of numerous intellectual disciplines since the time of the Enlightenment. Each area of knowledge seeks prestige, not only for the satisfaction of status, but for financial viability. In school counselling rivalry may surface between those trained in social work, practical theology, various branches of psychology and the growing complexity of specialisations that flood the field.

While other schools may not have experienced overt conflict, it may simply not have emerged due to superficial working partnerships in some cases. In the above case study, it only surfaced after some rigorous debate delved beneath the external politeness to probe what counsellors are actually trying to do. Then differences had to be faced.

While not denying the need to analyse where our differences may lie, I strongly advocate a respectful teamwork approach that makes the most of common interest. School may then become a place of sanctuary for hurting children rather than harm them further. Every player will then provide some covering from a specific area of expertise to weave a blanket of caring around those in need, (see Bluestein for more about collaboration to make schools emotionally safe places, 2001).

Entering into dialogue may help to break down at least some of the suspicion that hinders partnership. While the aim is not an impossible complete agreement, it will at least expose underlying assumptions and help to create some common ground for partnership, irrespective of differences. My assumption here is that there is indeed adequate common ground in a shared humanity and a desire for the wellbeing of the school community at least, to proceed in partnership.

Lack of consultation and conversation was at the root of a serious clash between a school psychologist and chaplain G. The former took over the chapel for grief debriefing when a child died and proceeded to arrange the funeral in the chapel with a guest minister, excluding chaplain G from all arrangements. Understandably this was interpreted as a lack of respect. Both were highly qualified in their respective fields, but there seemed to be some suspicion about the credibility of each other's credentials. Most of all, the chaplain was indignant that the faith base of the Church school had been ignored in the process, (insights gained in conversation with both during 2002).

Attitudes of lack of respect for particular academic attainments, such as psychology degrees, could lead to further polarisation between chaplains and other counsellors. One of the features of postmodern society, however, is the pragmatism that accredits value to work by people who have gained respect through experience rather than simply qualifications on paper. The theory is that wisdom gained through a life of empathetic caring relationships with active listening, is probably more important than any academic counselling qualification, whether in the social sciences or practical theology. Any member of a school community, including the chaplain, may be empathetic and able to help others find courage and resilience. Such a person will then continue to be approached to engage in counselling.

The current fresh evaluation of the spiritual within a holistic perspective of life may favour the growth of the chaplaincy position, provided the chaplain builds strong relationships. In the school context, however, educational qualifications have a high status and currently psychologists mostly enjoy popular acclaim.

In the public eye

It may be said that school counsellors appear to be carving out a stronger position concurrent with a diminishing status for school chaplains in many schools. This indicates the veracity of Henri Nouwen's claim that "psychologists, psychotherapists, marriage counsellors and doctors are often

more trusted than (clergy)," (1989:19). Perhaps this is the underlying meaning of a certain school's lack of signage to the chaplain's office, but clear signs to the counselling department that enjoys a central location and an entire suite in contrast to the chaplain's small office tucked away in an obscure corner of the building. The layout indicates the power of the counselling staff and possible embarrassment about the chaplain, or at least the present incumbent, (unless I may be reading far too much into the physical evidence).

To a certain extent all positions in the modern world are subject to ambivalence and questioning. Like chaplains, psychologists also experience an ambiguous reception, with some degree of elevation and some humiliation. Berger however says the fact that there are currently numerous jokes about psychologists reveals that they are very much in the public consciousness, (Berger 1966, 1997a). Jokes reveal some serious cultural features and indicate aspects of the collective mindset of communities. The lesser number of current jokes about clergy may indicate that the psychologist has taken the place of the priest in modern society, a claim curiously echoed by the lecturer of a second year class in psychology at a leading South African university. One of his students said he calls psychologists the "priests of post-modern society", (from a 2005 conversation with a student). The connotation of priesthood is to be set aside for a sacred task and this elevates psychologists to the position of being the mentors and guides of society.

While there certainly is a great deal of respect for school psychologists within an Independent school community as a whole, there is also cynicism. One parent expressed her impatience about what she saw as "psycho-babble that comes with a huge price tag and does not always produce the goods," (from a 2005 conversation at a Prep school). She was one of many who were in fact turning to chaplains for help.

Have they then been demoted in the modern imaginary and become interpreters, giving one rendition among others, rather than legislators, laying down the law? (Bauman uses this analogy of the demotion of the intellectuals

in the modern mind. No longer are they able to speak with authority but are simply one voice among many, one interpretation, 1987). Have they really lost so much influence that they are truly in danger of being disregarded and retrenched? Is this perhaps more likely to happen in Europe where there is greater secularization than in South Africa? Chaplains affirm that African students still seem to hold a great deal of respect for the “collar”, but even the rest of the school population seems to return to some religious rooting in times of crisis rather than only consult with psychologists.

They certainly do consult with the psychologists in many schools, to the extent of perceiving them to be experts in a general range of problems unrelated to their training. Some thus feel out of their depth. There is little public recognition that general educational psychologists are not experts in grief counselling and other spiritual or emotional problems. At one school this scenario was the opportunity for collaboration between the educational psychologist and the chaplain that alleviated some of the stress of this public confusion of educational and general or even clinical psychology. The ongoing conversation between the two led to mutual benefit as well as several outside referrals when both felt it necessary.

Many schools are engaging more practitioners in an ever-expanding number of therapies to consult with those in perceived need. Some parents are cynical about the number of children supposedly needing therapy and wonder if the costs are justified. Many therapists are afforded space to practice at schools and appear generally on a part-time basis as “guests” at the school, not fully integrated into the staff.

The school counsellor and the school chaplain may both experience a certain lack of belonging to the teaching staff as they become associated with this image as guests, not truly part of the school. There will always be some debate as to the necessity of these “guests”. They are not in the same category as teachers for academic subjects and will always be vulnerable when market considerations have to take primacy. In some ways the school chaplains and school counsellors share the same vulnerability.

It takes time

There should not only be enough time over a number of years, but also enough time available in each day for a significant counselling ministry to develop. Chaplains with full teaching timetables are at a disadvantage when it comes to counselling. There needs to be what Monahan and Renachen call "wasting time" or other chaplains call "loitering with intent" to open up spiritual conversations, (1998). This is increasingly difficult within the accelerating pace of school life. If building relationships is the most important factor for counselling and spiritual formation, then it stands to reason that chaplains need to have time to be with people, to listen, not to have to rush off to the next lesson, the next meeting or the next sports event or whatever else fills the time. Most chaplains do not enjoy this luxury. They are caught up in a rushed environment with the resulting plethora of superficial relationships that they diagnose as a significant contributor to social ills.

A counsellor who stayed at a school for thirty-seven years even though he had lost his eye sight after only a short while at the school, had a most effective counselling role and was renowned for his wisdom and deeply admired for the way in which he coped with his disability. At the same time, during many of the years that he was at the school, the chaplains changed on average at a rate of every two to three years, so they did not stay long enough to build up the trust required for an effective counselling ministry. Not surprisingly, the chaplaincy lost prestige and the school counselling department gained respect during that time.

Curbing who can do counselling

Professional bodies are seeking to make it a legal requirement that the term "counsellor" should only be applied to those assessed as appropriately trained and thus allowed membership of a regulating council. There is an aim by the Southern African Association for Pastoral Work, for example, to investigate and make "suggestions for amending legislation, and initiating new legislation with regard to pastoral work as a science and professional service in order to secure the protection of the public." Furthermore they seek "the registration of

pastoral workers …. to regulate the field of pastoral work…" (Leaflet on South African Association of Pastoral Work handed out at the Spring Seminar of the Methodist Church Central District, Johannesburg 2003). Such a body has a strict code of ethics to which members must adhere and seeks to include only people with a qualification in pastoral work. Effectively it will land up barring those who do not attain certain specified criteria, not only from membership, but also from practising counselling.

It may be argued that when anybody and everybody assumes the role of counsellor, it is similar to someone with a broken arm going to a next door neighbour instead of consulting a doctor for medical care. In some cases, it could work, but it is likely to be very risky. Counselling is thus rapidly being reserved as an expert profession, the domain of psychologists. This is no doubt being done with a concern to preserve the mental health of people and prevent so-called "counsellors" abusing the confidences of people. It also is to ensure legal issues, such as the reporting of certain cases to authorities when the safety of a person is at stake, but I think it may also be that there is a veiled element of job reservation and elevation of the social sciences in this. If there is a minimum requirement for counsellors, there are bound to be implications for their status and remuneration.

On the other hand, some parameters are clearly necessary, as it cannot be emphasised enough that there is an enormous responsibility attached to any counselling role. Chaplains have some training in this area. They, along with others used in counselling roles at schools, are probably not as fully qualified in specific areas as certain professional boards may seek to impose as the minimum requirement. Some do have some level of psychology as part of their accreditation towards ordination or towards their teaching diplomas. All ministers in the mainline denominations will have to attend constant in-service training programmes. Some of these programmes will be specifically geared towards pastoral skills and trauma debriefing exercises as these are part of the daily tasks clergy face. There are also numerous staff development programmes available for all involved with counselling at Independent schools.

This may not be enough. It may be that professional bodies will push through legislation to bar those who do not meet their criteria from counselling. Chaplains may then have to become fully qualified in this specific area or lose the right to practice their counselling skills formally at school. They will not lose the right to engage in serious listening however and this is an important component of pastoral work.

Death and pastoral care

Chaplains don't presume they will be called upon even in the extraordinary events of death and bereavement, profoundly spiritual life-changing events. There may be a fear that the chaplain will turn the event into an opportunity to preach rather than counsel. Considerable anger may accompany the grieving process. Sometimes this may be directed to the chaplain as the representative of God at the school. Some simply want no religion at all or to seek their own religious assistance outside the school context. For whatever reason, the last person some people want to see when they are in crises is the chaplain. However, my research has revealed over a number of years that those who have encountered a caring chaplain value the presence of this person during their time of need. Clearly the chaplain is expected to have some expertise and answers to the big questions of life.

I have experienced some school funerals to become harrowing spectacles of public speaking oratory and concert-like displays of music with the religious aspect almost appearing as an afterthought. This may not be surprising given that members of the school community who are not linked to their own religious congregations will generally seek the familiar services of the school chapel for funerals.

Characteristic of teenagers is a perception that they are invincible, so the shock of death, particularly of a peer, is very hard to bear. This leads to the necessity to discuss death at school and several chaplains have mentioned joining with counsellors to help learners to face such issues. A great deal of

hysteria or even sentimentality may surround bereavement. As Bauman has said, our society makes it very hard for us to come to terms with death. On the one hand we whip the dying away from sight into hospitals and hospices. On the other hand we watch an endless spectacle of death on the media and it loses its significance, “put on display, made into a never ending street spectacle that, no more a sacred or carnival event, is but one among many of daily life’s paraphernalia. It becomes too familiar to arouse high emotions – we are drilled not to desire eternal life,” (2003: 159).

As a young woman was walking to chapel one morning she suffered a massive heart attack. Chaplain D was immediately involved, able to be at the hospital with the parents as she died and able to break the news to their other children and family members who arrived in intense grief and shock. The whole family requested the chaplain to pray and arranged prayer meetings at their home every night before the funeral as is the custom for many African Christians. News of the death brought a great deal of sadness and trauma to the school, so that the counselling department and chaplain were all involved in bereavement counselling. Chaplain D organised the funeral with the family and involved chaplains H and G as well in some of the bereavement counselling. The whole school was debriefed and given the opportunity to talk about their grief in the chapel. This moulded a strong partnership between the chaplains and counsellors. My conclusion is that it is not only possible but desirable for counsellors and chaplains to work together rather than in competition or in isolation, particularly at a time when growing needs are stretching caring resources.

It is plausible that in some schools the tutor system together with the services of secular caring professionals can create a framework that could make chaplaincy redundant and even lead to the relinquishment of all ties with the Church. This is most unlikely for a number of schools that state their clear commitment to retain chapel and chaplaincy as part of their primary identity. There certainly are still members of the Independent Church school communities who value a faith basis. People who recognise spiritual dislocation in their lives may value help from people who were set aside by

the Church, recognised as having the spiritual resources, gifting and training to be ordained. Clergy may still be called to assist even in schools where there is a vibrant and effective counselling department.

In a time of crisis such as the present where the capacity to give care to those in need is sorely stretched, there is ample room for a synergistic model of collaborative service, a teamwork paradigm for caring personnel to enhance a school's caring capacity. All players may become valued partners with a specific contribution, but dialogue and careful consultation is required. Chaplains can play a unique role in nurturing the spiritual aspects of pastoral care and may facilitate dialogue between the various partners.

Chapter eight - Christianity in action: social responsibility

Partnership is not only required in counselling, as we saw in the previous chapter, but in practical ways to alleviate some of the problems of society at large. Children need some help in developing lifestyles of compassion and caring for the most vulnerable within society. This chapter explores the possible role of chaplains in the development of social action programmes and in fighting discrimination as champions of the vulnerable.

Wealth and poverty

Chaplains in South Africa straddle communities that have access to the two extremes of educational provision in South Africa. On the one hand the majority of schools in South Africa are still struggling to catch up with resources and facilities to educate children who have previously been educationally and economically disadvantaged. At the opposite end of the spectrum are superior private schools available for a minute minority of the South African school-going sector. These have even better facilities than most of the state schools with a good infra-structure and standards, previously barred to Blacks under Apartheid, (see Lolwana 2002, Henning 20041-3).

Within this group of private schools are the Church schools under discussion. They are often set in country estates, boasting global educational standards. Like traditional finishing schools, they hold the promise to prepare the young people of the largely upper classes for admission to the best universities and an exclusive network of social contacts for business and career opportunities. Without a doubt many of their learners reached their goal of becoming captains of industry, academics and leaders in all spheres in society and the heritage continues.

Democratic movements within modern society are said to have largely broken down aspects of class distinctions, but private schools are still perceived as guardians of upper class privilege, (see Taylor 2004 for the development of

the social imaginary of egalitarianism). There is absolutely no doubt that society is still wracked with class divisions, even though there may be more upward mobility possible through access to education that provides professional possibilities. Classes are defined as economic interest groups ranked hierarchically in terms of status and power. This is conferred according to occupation, family, education, style of life, appearance, accent, social network and fashions that change at whim, (see Banton 1965:200). Victorians drew particularly sharp social distinctions and many of the prestigious Church schools developed within this era and so took these ideas of breeding and wealth into their perceptions of "a thoroughly good and liberal education for the sons of gentlemen", (Randall 1982. He quotes from one of many prospectuses that have similar wording).

In spite of optimistic Enlightenment liberal predictions that social deprivation was merely a "temporary hiccup in otherwise smooth and relentless progress towards equality," even sharper divisions remain, (Bauman 1997:156f). The expected trickle-down effect of wealth from entrepreneurs to all classes, as Adam Smith imagined the fruit of capitalism would be, has been blighted by an ever growing gap between rich and poor, (see David Smith 2003). Greed is apparently being baptised as the blessing of God, with some scant allusions to Abraham, in many emerging Conservative groups. As David Smith says, the Protestant work ethic was uncoupled from its frugality and self-denial to enable ostentatious wealth to become socially acceptable, (Smith 2003).

Anyone listening to the news broadcasts of South Africa may regard as of primary importance a drive towards production, job preservation and producing wealth. This is what Ulrich Beck regards as a legacy of the Enlightenment faith in industrial progress, (Beck 2004). While South African news broadcasts focus very little on international issues, there is always space for economic factors and world market trends. It is no exaggeration to claim that economic interests far outweigh all other considerations as the base of modern warfare in spite of nobler or even religious rationalisations. Postmodern society apparently opposes poverty and oppression and rejects anything that clashes with progress, production, preserving jobs and

producing wealth. There is an uneasy embrace of capitalism mixed with the quasi-socialism of the welfare state.

The global climate of uncertainty leads to a growing popular escape into local constructs of meaning to replace universal ideals in what is called a “turn to the self”, (Heelas, Woodhead et al 2005). Church schooling however, seems to straddle the ambiguity of enhancing self-interest in encouraging learners to seek their own development, and also turn them from self to the cultivation of caring for others, which has always been part of the stated aims of such schools. An intrinsic belief in progress and development is, however still at the base of the educational enterprise and such progress is interpreted in economic terms most often. It translates into hard work to gain university entrance qualifications for lucrative job opportunities. The domination of the global free market economy constrains nations to concentrate on education that contributes towards the generation of wealth and even Church schools are pushed along this trajectory.

Private schools are extremely good at creating captains of industry and generators of wealth. The pupils of schools are given the mission in life to provide jobs for the development of a stable and growing economy. The hope may be on the liberal humanistic presupposition that the provision of the right circumstances will help to eliminate poverty and cut down on crime, (see chapter 3). Capitalism has certainly developed within postmodern times to become practically global in what David Smith calls the “ideology of economism”, (2003, also expressed in Taylor 2004).

A “culture of economism” occurs when “economic factors are granted primacy ‘as the main source of cultural meanings and values’”, (Collier and Esteban, 1998 quoted in Smith 2003:23). “The main sites in which people meet in urban areas are the ‘cathedrals of consumption’, such as shopping centres or entertainment parks”, (Ritzer, 1999 in Lynch 2002:28). There is a great ambivalence within Christianity regarding materialism. This is indeed another profoundly important tension for chaplains. On the one hand there are strong ascetic strands that oppose all accumulation of wealth and advocate the

simple life, using Jesus' command to the rich man to give away his wealth. On the other hand there is an elevation of the one who is wealthy as showing the blessing of God. Abraham is used as a paradigm of this model. Presently the latter is probably more emphasised, particularly in the private school community. Smith claims materialism has infiltrated the Church and resulted in a compromise with materialistic values, (2003).

There is also a strange ambivalence regarding materialism within postmodernism, both collusion and yet a minimalist rejection of clutter and excess and a hankering for neo-Romantic escapes from the city rat-race to "simple" country living, ("simplicity" sometimes referring to multi-million rand lodges). Money has by no means lost its lure or importance for fashionable fads that are not options open to the poor, whom Bauman identifies as "failed consumers", (2002). These global trends are very evident in the South African Church school community.

The development of a global economy with competitive world markets has accelerated a race towards more sophisticated technology to participate in the scramble of a favourable trade balance. Poor nations generally are tied up in a cycle of poverty that results in the export of raw materials to be bought back as products at considerably higher prices. There is a crippling cycle of debt that South Africa has largely managed to escape. Capitalism is driven by the creation of consumer "needs". Goalposts of world trade and even world aid are constantly moving to favour richer nations, according to Tissa Balasuriya, (2000).

One sees in South Africa an almost fanatical struggle to develop industries and hence an over-emphasis on training school children to fill work positions. Perhaps this is not surprising, given the high rates of unemployment and poverty, but even those who manage to get a very high level of education do not always manage to find work. The prospect of disillusionment lingers like "a shadow encircling the light", (Adams 1995, Beck 2004:150). Slow delivery of service protests, accompanied by the burning of schools and other amenities in some poor townships indicate the risk of uneven progress. As the

rich grow richer, the poor grow angrier that they too have no share in wealth. Sometimes this reaches boiling point. Corruption and what is seen as the greed of newly enriched South Africans, together with a policy of land redistribution and economic destruction in Zimbabwe has repercussions in South Africa. While people need money to live, there are those who grow weary of the cost of investing their lives in a frantic effort to gain more money. For some it even seems to border on idolatry that is destroying rather than enhancing well-being. In the meantime the schools which we are discussing are definitely set to prepare entrepreneurs and other captains of industry who will provide jobs for others, which is surely sorely needed, but often at the cost of chronic overwork and a faster pace of living. Where do we find the balance between working to death and not having any work at all? There are enormous tensions for chaplains in straddling rich and poor, in encouraging sharing and the redistribution of wealth and egalitarianism while encouraging the creation of successful business ventures that will provide for the work needs of others.

Baumann points to the growth of cynicism about the utopian dream that humanity can do away with social inequalities, (Bauman 1997:156f). In spite of this pessimism shared by sociologists like Bauman, Beck (2004), and others, the Church remains committed to fighting against poverty and has taken part in the “Make Poverty History” campaign with this in mind, (global campaign for social action against poverty accepted by most mainline denominations, particularly those within these churches greatly influenced by liberation theology). Liberation theology stresses the struggle for social justice. This is uncomfortable for those who already enjoy privileges, such as the clientele of private schools.

At a certain school a bishop is a frequent preacher. Members of the community boycotted some of his services, ostensibly due to his lack of punctuality, but in further conversation I discovered the displeasure over his emphasis on economic justice. He continues as a controversial figure with an ambiguous involvement at the school, heralded as a form of messiah by some

and pariah by others. I was not certain whether to assess his contribution as marginal or influential at the school and think only history will clarify this.

Apparent inconsistency exists in the Church rallying for the breakdown of poverty and yet favouring the Upper classes in its support of the Church schools under discussion. These have imbibed philosophies that transmit the kind of power and privilege to enable the continuation and even greater social standing of elite families; “You don’t go to a private school just for your education. You go there to be separated from ordinary people,” (Cookson and Persell 1985:53).

Chaplains have experienced vigorous questioning about their involvement in such schools by Church colleagues and others. Some hold that it is totally unacceptable for the Church to remain involved in schools that uphold the aspirations and power of the rich. Hopefully this thesis will indicate that such a view does not necessarily take into account all the complex nuances of the chaplaincy role or the fact that rich people may in fact be Christians who wish their children to have access to the Church at school. They may even have a wish for their children to learn a lifestyle of compassion for others. This is certainly one reason given for the choice of Church schools. It is not simply a matter of chaplains, and indeed the Church, being used by the rich, even though at times it appears a betrayal of the mission priority of the Church to favour work amongst the poor.

There is, however, a pervasive tension about the association of Church schools with elitism. This is evident in just about any copy of the “Independent Education” journal of South African schools, (linked to ISASA, the Independent Schools Association of Southern Africa). There is a concerted effort to break down the widespread public perception that ISASA schools, to which the Church schools under review are affiliated, are reserved for the wealthy, (I have read this journal extensively over the past years of my research).

It is no doubt correct to say these schools are sought after by a growing number of families who are not very wealthy, but willing to sacrifice extensively for the prize of what they regard as a good education for the goal of entrance to a “better” life for their children. This is exacerbated by press reports of more violence in state schools. There are a few recipients of bursaries at private schools, but this form of education is mostly barred to ordinary citizens, including staff members who are employed to clean and do manual work at the schools. Irrespective of desires to make sacrifices, they simply could not raise the fees. Even teaching staff who receive subsidised fees as part of their employment packages, may battle with costs that accumulate over and above the fees. There is also the emotional costs of stigmatisation their children face due to not affording certain fashionable clothing and gadgets, in spite of uniforms supposedly masking the differentiation between the classes, (this has been clear to me from interviews with teachers, children and my own classroom experience. Sometimes there has been obscene flaunting of wealth).

The fact that fees at private schools are so high, then becomes a mechanism to do away with any human rights dream of “guaranteeing to every human individual an equal chance of access to everything good and desirable that society may offer,” (Bauman 1997:156f). Given the undeniably superior school results they produce, this privileged education is “desirable”, but certainly not available to the majority of the population. This is the hallmark of elitism. Elite education is a consumer item that Cookson and Persell claim may lead to an attitude of “gross entitlement”, (1985:27). Snobbery then becomes not only the perception of the public at large, but cultivated as part of the appeal, (ibid). This aspect of Church schools also poses a moral dilemma for chaplains, as for Christians in general. All people are meant to be valued as imagers of God, irrespective of their material attainments, but the model of schooling we find in Church schools currently perpetuates “wealth and power by design”, (Cookson and Persell 1985).

As Goffman says, the “sins of the parents, or at least of their milieu, are visited on the child…” (1963:15). The child and indeed the teacher or chaplain

is judged on whether he or she has or has not. While chaplains themselves may experience class discrimination, they in turn will be called upon to care for all who are stigmatized in any way. Most schools have a policy of inclusion on paper but not necessarily in attitude and practice. This inclusion policy is designed to integrate those who are different into the school community. This applies largely to intellectual and physical challenges and may also stretch to include children who are financially dependent on bursaries and other assistance.

Besides these class considerations there are also racial issues that cause anxiety for chaplains. In South Africa there is a history of spending substantially less on Black education in the Apartheid era. This has had a "marked, cumulative impact on the shape of income distribution, on the pattern of poverty," (Wilson and Ramphele 1989:197). While the ratio of Black students in all former White state schools increased rapidly as racial segregation broke down, there was a concurrent decrease of Black students in many fee-paying private schools. Some Independent schools had reached a healthy critical mass of about twenty percent of Black students. This is the percentage generally regarded by major institutions such as the University of the Witwatersrand as providing a psychological turning point in helping instil a sense of belonging in a minority group. Presently, however, many private schools have less Black students. Even when there are a substantial number, they do not represent anything near the demographic ratios of South Africa. One of the results of being a minority is that acute culture shock can take place, leading to a sense of alienation from one's own culture, (Mthembu et al, 2004).

There are allegations that some White pupils have fled state schools to escape being in a racial minority. There have been accusations voiced that they have thereby bought a form of Apartheid. Such racial allegations are obviously of concern to Church school management, as is the fact that the relatively small pool of White South Africans capable of paying the fees will not necessarily fill all the places in the schools and they simply have to cater for the growing Middle to Upper class Blacks or go out of business.

It is a grave matter of concern to chaplains, who have been commissioned by the Church to foster healthy racial relations as part of their broad mission to transform society. If prominent political and social analyst, Clem Sunter, is correct in saying that “lily white institutions are not even on the page in South Africa today”, this would make certain Church schools somewhat vulnerable to a charge of total irrelevance, (Sunter was quoted by Mr S Lowry, in a public speech at a Johannesburg school, January 2004). These schools may then be dismissed as isolated pockets of privilege, a convenient refuge for those who can escape from the poverty and needs of the African continent, unless their learners can somehow interact and make a difference in the broader context of South Africa.

On the other hand, the suspicion of a growing educational crisis in South Africa, more critical and exposed by media reportage since the teachers’ strikes of June and July 2007, has accelerated the flight to private schools as a kind of lifeboat. Church schools with a reputation to deliver sound education in what is apparently a good culture of learning and moral inculcation are all the more attractive. They are regarded as preserving sound moral, social and educational values, but there is also a greater articulation of the desire to be seen to make a difference to the overall wellbeing of the country. This is one of the rationales for community service.

Community service

Community Service is basically about models of partnership between Independent Schools and poorer communities. Chaplains are most often involved in one way or another as this relates to the social action application of the gospel they represent in their schools. The philosophy of community service is different from merely handing out goods to people. It is intrinsically about sharing basic humanity in spite of socio-economic and cultural differences, as work is done together, in partnership. The hope is that this will not only lead to an exposure that may then be forgotten and ticked off the list

as a tour, but awaken genuine compassion and a lifestyle of service to fight against the roots of the gripping poverty that plagues Africa.

Community service is not simply a case of altruism, but to a certain extent has become a competitive marketing demand. Nevertheless my participatory observations have revealed what I regard as many genuine educational, humanitarian and spiritually beneficial results. Being so convinced of the benefits, ISASA (Independent Schools Association of South Africa) educators appear to be reaching a consensus about the need for community service for every single learner. On the one hand is the struggle to break down the image of service as the option for the less sporty or socially conscious few who see it as their responsibility to transform society. On the other is the added incentive that hours of community service are included with job applications and form part of the point system for university entrance as well.

The South African government together with Church and business concerns also encourage greater community involvement in community service, so it is expedient for Church schools to do so. Even jaded entrepreneurs cannot fail to see the business sense of this aspect of education. Anglo American Corporation claims that their companies perform better when the surrounding communities are stable and prosperous. “Conducting business now with an eye to the needs of the future is the essence of sustainable development,” (Anglo American, “Good Citizenship: Our Business Principles”, April 2002).

Recognition of social problems through exposure at school level together with encouragement to think in terms of solutions can assist not only in creating better living conditions but also better business prospects. There is some tangible evidence that suitably organised community service projects can affect an attitude of lasting social involvement, (I have traced several pupils a few years after school and discovered this lifestyle of caring has continued).

Community service can be more than a philanthropic, humanistic or even civic building exercise. It is potentially a spiritual growth experience, in fact "essential to spiritual formation", (Anglican Bishop Rubin emphasised this in his keynote address at the ISASA conference on Community service, October 2003). I agree that service to others is indispensable for any holistic education's spiritual foundation. It is by no means only the preserve of any who claim to be religious, as the desire to help others is part of being human. Community service provides learners with exposure to real people who suffer in one way or another, people they would not normally meet. In the sharing with people face-to-face in common experiences of humanity it is no longer possible to reduce needs to mere statistics.

There are frightening crime statistics in South Africa today. While it is by no means the only cause, poverty exacerbates high crime levels. Educators at Independent schools have said that almost all of the children in their classes have experienced the ravages of crime through traumatic burglaries, hijackings or other incidents involving their own families or friends, (This information was uncovered as a result of extensive conversations with educators over six years as well as my own classroom experience). Counselling alone does not solve the problem. Positive action to alleviate at least one of the causes, poverty, can lead to far more healing. Many chaplains encourage or personally engage in community service educational projects as part of their desire to fight against poverty. "While the desire to make a contribution to the building of the nation is an aspect of the community projects of schools, they have another element ..... Judith Brown, Headmistress of the Wykeham Collegiate in Pietermaritzburg, expresses this: ..... "One of the most important aspects of education is the development of sound values and moral goodness. I see moral goodness as thinking beyond oneself; as treating others as you would wish to be treated; as bringing hope in unexpected places; in other words, having a generous spirit.... To live in a free and just society, people need to understand the interdependence of communities and of people and their environment Practical participation in outreach programmes, community service3 and environmental projects raises

the consciousness of the youth and hones their consciences.””, (Henning 2004:8.9).

The boast of schools with a vibrant community service programme is that they offer balanced education, but the researcher has observed that it is still all too easily squeezed out by academic considerations. This is even the case with schools where there is a definite philosophy of seeking to equip pupils for the whole of life, far more than the ability to earn a living. Pressures come from so many different quarters to diminish time for this, but community service certainly widens the horizons of pupils to a range of paradoxical joys and sorrows, chaos and celebrations, pain and possibilities, comforts and challenges of life from which they would normally be sheltered. The ideal of *partnership* rather than *charity* is meant to counteract paternalistic ideologies that presuppose giving is only materially. Human beings may be rich in far more than material ways. Krige is quoted in Henning as saying that community service is an essential part of a holistic education....essential “for the whole of life. Serving others is never an optional extra for Christians, but an essential part of loving God and others as one loves oneself. It is thus part of the basic ethos of a Christian school”, (see Henning 2004:9-10b).

There is always a hope that pupils will lay aside any traces of paternalism and be vulnerable to “kairos” moments pregnant with meaning, (kairos is a Greek theological term to indicate quality time filled with significance rather than merely chronological, see Taylor 2004 for a loss of kairos leading to secularisation as the loss of spiritual significance in everyday living.) This is the ideal. Is there real delivery or does community service merely add another item to the growing bundle of expectations for schools and also for chaplains as they straddle Church and school?

Kairos moments

Chaplain D claims to have had astonishing results from simple community service outings. After a visit to largely underprivileged and homeless children who attended a nursery school in the inner city, parents came to see the

chaplain. They said that for the first time their daughter had realised that she was one of the most privileged people in the country to have the level of food and shelter that her parents provided. She was overwhelmingly thankful and they expressed their gratitude to the chaplain for initiating this programme that had led to their daughter's great insight.

Chaplain D also accompanied a group of grade ten girls and boys to a remote rural community. "There are only about three thousand people in the area. We spent a week helping in the local schools and clinic as well as planting a vegetable garden for the community. A local minister illustrated poverty in the area by having a meagre basket a family of four would likely have for an entire month. (Many of the families of the visiting learners would spend well over ten times that much on food alone for a week without even taking into consideration other luxuries.) We visited a cemetery and were shown the many fresh graves of teenagers who had died of AIDS in this community. One boy said he really wanted to do something to help people living with AIDS, but he added that he first wanted to make his millions".

Community service instead of Religious Education

Community service is often far more acceptable to those who come from atheistic, agnostic or non-religious homes, than RE. At one school there was an experiment to incorporate community service into the RE programme. This involved reflecting on a Bible passage that was carefully chosen to help the students relate the message to the context where they would be visiting. This was part of a briefing before the groups departed for their visits. There was also time for reflection and discussion after the visit.

These learners in grades eight and nine were given a day for a visit once a term. During the year, each child would have visited three venues and been exposed to three different communities, such as disadvantaged children, frail old people and the intellectually challenged. Each class visited with a facilitator and a parent. Chaplain I, who co-ordinated the visits, says this made possible a good interaction with the parents and small groups of

children. Sometimes they enjoyed the visits so much that they continued with personal service. Youth pastors from the surrounding churches were also eager to help. One of the problems was that volunteers let the group down from time to time and lifts did not materialise.

Merely visiting and interacting with people began to evolve into actually working with them, such as helping to weed and plant vegetables at one venue. In the chaplain's opinion the learners engaged with the Bible passages far better in the practical setting of service than in the classroom. Some found it a transforming experience to discover people could be happy with so few possessions. After visits the learners expressed creative ideas on how to help with specific needs of the communities. Since the visits began, the school raised more funds earmarked for special projects. Sometimes the initial enthusiasm and good intentions wore off due to time and energy constraints in the busy school term and pressure from parents to excel academically.

Chaplains N and D reported an initial resistance from pupils when they were requested to visit old people. Everyone loved to visit children, but thought the old age home would be too depressing. Most of the old people at this particular venue were very poor, largely uneducated and from a different cultural and language group. Some of the learners displayed mature levels of empathy during these visits. A number said they found the stories the old people told fascinating and were deeply moved by the tales of neglect and abuse. In response to the visit the learners wrote letters to their own or an adopted grandparent.

D was delighted with a particular visit. "People in the care centre had lost so much of their dignity in their illnesses and frailty. One day a particular girl led the way and respectfully held out her hand and spoke with such care to a woman stooped in her chair. The others followed her example and there was a tangible change in the ward. We left with people smiling, a brief moment of delight and relief from the monotony of their day". D said debriefing session was a reflection on the sanctity of human life and a debate on euthanasia

resulted. This was enough to convince D that community service may be successfully combined with RE.

Choosing projects and partnerships

In my experience Independent school communities are often generous and want to find ways to help struggling communities. There is a sense of a growing number of people wanting to give something of value to society rather than simply live taking what they can get out of life. They may look to the school chaplain to channel their giving in monetary and other service options. Chaplains can be part of a team to help a school to think through a rationale, philosophy and theology for community service.

In South Africa the sheer volume of need may result in compassion fatigue or the condition commonly called “burnout”, when emotional resources are so overdrawn that there is no longer any ability to care, (see Hudson 1999:87-100). Hudson also points out the danger of compassion becoming compulsive and “addictive helpfulness” taking place. He cites Gerald May’s writing about “addictive helpfulness”, that we care compulsively when we do not take a “gap between feeling a person’s pain and doing something for or to the suffering person”. “We rush into the helpful role without first pausing to discern how best our compassion can be expressed, (so as) addictions of helpfulness fail the person for whom we care, they also open the door to compassion fatigue.” This Hudson explains as ignoring the replenishing of resources and becoming exhausted in frantic “do-gooding”, (Hudson 1999:94). A child psychologist cautioned that children could be overwhelmed, which is Hudson’s sense of compassion fatigue, unless projects were age-appropriate and manageable, (Dr Ruth Greef was consulting with D and a group of concerned mothers at a school during 2002). Small projects that can be sustainable are preferable to grandiose schemes. Basically we have to “show respect for our own limitations”, says Hudson, (1999:96).

With this in mind, a preparatory school chose projects for each class group from grades three to seven. The youngest visited a sanctuary for abused

animals, learnt how to help and care for them. They also raised funds for food and the needs of the sanctuary according to their "wish list". Grade sixes visited intellectually challenged children and helped with play therapy. Each group had a project that was regarded as age appropriate and was set up in conjunction with the chaplain and class mothers for a period of five years with an annual review mechanism. This was to ensure commitment and continuity as part of responsible partnership. The school had previously changed projects at whim, which is not to the advantage of service organisations or the learning process. The management council of the school received regular reports on the projects.

At the time of writing the projects are going well, but the school's new chaplain withdrew from this involvement altogether, leaving it entirely up to the parents. The point is, however, that it is a potential role for chaplaincy. It is also of interest that the chaplain was able to facilitate the discussions leading to the establishment of sustainable reviewable partnerships. Chaplains are able to be facilitators of dialogue leading to an investigation of life options.

Creating unrealistic expectations

A word of caution was expressed about creating unrealistic expectations, (Conference on Community Service at Independent Schools in Natal, 2003. Transcripts of lectures from this conference have been kept by the researcher). This happens not only when projects are changed without adequate consultation and without a suitable time for benefits to be felt on both sides, but also when offers of seemingly genuine sponsorship from schools evaporate as there is not sufficient vigilance to fulfil promises. The need to hold volunteers accountable is always a problem.

Schools receive many appeals. Sometimes chaplains are given the task of working through these appeals and advising the school about potential service partners. One school held a workshop on community service partnerships after having assessed that it had spread itself too thinly over a great many organisations with annual donations but no set criteria for social

policies. A structure for consistent, accountable community service was developed with the help of the Church and chaplaincy.

Using the poor

Humanitarian acts have always been part of the Church schooling recipe, but people can be regarded as objects of charity rather than partners in a project. Visits may be criticised as tours that do little to instil any real sense of social commitment to change socio-economic structures, mainly because those who enjoy privileges may not necessarily want to forgo these. Community service has also been criticised as a means of enhancing the prestige of the school and boasting about the generosity of its community rather than learning to engage in compassionate relationships.

A shed containing what could only be described as rubbish, stood tucked away at a farm for intellectually challenged people. The manager said those were “donations” from the public. Service organisations become dumping places of discarded goods, possibly to alleviate guilt about wastefulness, but leaving a burden rather than help. Junk is also left in the offices of many chaplains in the expectation that they will give this to the “needy”. They have to take time not only to distribute items of food and discarded clothing but also to dump outdated or broken items like computer printers no longer viable to run due to the expense, rather than foist this onto the poor. Organisations are now stating their needs to potential donors rather than waiting for handouts of unsuitable items.

The habit of many schools to collect Easter eggs for charity illustrates this problem. Some organisations receive more than they need of this luxurious item, but go without other necessities. D spent a considerable amount of the Easter break visiting organisations with an overload of Easter eggs. It is possible that there is a form of paternalism in any giving without an effort to consult or understand what people actually need. Community partnerships are meant to do away with such “charity” from a distance. Schools thrive on numerous collections of goods, but these can be more in line with actual

needs that are known through face-to-face interaction. It may be easier to write out cheques or collect Easter eggs or whatever else becomes popular, but the time and energy given to interaction with people who are different will result in a far more effective programme. It would be far more beneficial if pupils went to deliver their offerings themselves, with the help of parents if at all possible, rather than relying on a chaplain to do so. Perhaps this would lead to enough exposure to do away with inappropriate "gifts".

When parents suggested they would raise money to fix the air-conditioning unit of an inner city nursery school that the school had "adopted", D asked them to visit and listen to the expressed needs of those who were trying to run the school. It met in the basement of a church that could not afford basic running costs let alone the extra an air conditioner would add to the electricity bill, so it would have been a total waste of time, effort and money. The desire to give was channelled into more needed items as a result of the visit.

Compulsory community service

Increasingly chaplains are involved alongside other staff in school community service programmes. This includes drawing up policies for effective governance. Some schools have made it a matter of school policy to have compulsory community service at least for some years of the schooling experience. This is not always met with a positive response as learners do not necessarily want to leave their comfortable surroundings to interact with people who are different. There is what Bauman calls the natural trait of "mixophobia", the fear people sometimes have of mixing with those who are different. (2003:39). Meeting with people as partners rather than making them objects of charity in condescending or patronizing acts, Moltmann calls a "movement of openness", (1997, and 1981, in Soelle 2006). This is in contrast to "mixophobia". Bauman claims "the longer people stay in a uniform environment – in the company of others 'like themselves' with whom they can 'socialize' perfunctorily and matter-of-factly without incurring the risk of miscomprehension and without struggling with the vexing need to translate between distinct universes of meaning – the more they are likely to 'de-learn'

the art of negotiating shared meanings", (Bauman 2003:114). What Bauman seems to be saying is that the less people mix with those who are different, the easier it is to be preoccupied with their own parochial interests, to be turned in on their own selfish interests to the extent that they no longer bother about that which is not part of this comfortable focus.

In the context of the Independent school, children seldom have to share space with others who are different in terms of outward material, physical, social and emotional well-being. Community service gives them the opportunity to be open to others. As life experiences are shared, there is a growing understanding of the sanctity of all human life. Part of this experience may be that some become convinced that it is neither what is achieved nor what we possess that counts ultimately. It is by no means easy or popular to oppose the dominant philosophy that achievement and the acquisition of the means of wealth is of primary importance, (see Soelle 2006). This very philosophy degrades people into ciphers of economics, or in terms of what they contribute rather than who they are first and foremost as beings, before they even do anything, (see Smith's arguments about a society of economism, 2003). Community service thus opens a window to a life that questions the philosophy of activism of the success-oriented school community. It promotes the paradigm of servant leadership as an alternative. Many schools claim that this is their underlying foundation, but few live up to it in practice.

One school makes community service compulsory up to grade nine. Grade eight pupils have to do forty hours of community service for a certificate that seems to be highly prized. Other schools have similar requirements. There is a hope that pupils will get into the habit of doing service without seeking further recognition, but seniors tend to opt out due to study pressures. Service may then be regarded as something the juniors do until they come of age. It may not be taken seriously.

A new niche for chaplains

Some chaplains are turning towards community service projects as a new niche in their schools. I argue that this must by no means assume such importance as to become the only focus to the detriment of the other areas of the role. If community service becomes the dominating focus, as is apparently happening for some chaplains, there may shortly be a radical reinterpretation of chaplaincy, profoundly different to the traditional recipe, perhaps a short step from making the chaplain into more of a social worker than a priest. While social workers are expected to be religiously neutral in the execution of their duties, we have noted that there is growing pressure for some school chaplains to be less distinctively Christian in certain schools. Perhaps the gap between them and social workers will become even less as they assume community service as a primary niche.

I contend that religious neutrality is by no means an option for any chaplain, however, as religious commitment is invested in the position itself, but that does not mean the position is not able to change to the extent of being religiously vacuous in some cases. As a priest the chaplain engages in social action as a necessary component of Christian living, even though the balance is often lacking in various brands of Christian action. The social action of the chaplain will be accompanied by theological reflection and the possibly to open up a great deal of interdisciplinary dialogue as there is interaction between community service partners. I do not believe chaplaincy should ever be reduced to the function of facilitating community service. It is not necessary to have a chaplain for the community service portfolio of a school. In many cases other members of staff take the lead, even though the chaplains remain interested and supportive. If chaplaincy becomes reduced to facilitating community service without the other liturgical and teaching elements of the work, retrenchment could well be a prospect.

I suggest some work in community service for all chaplains so that they remain in touch with broader social issues within South Africa, but they will have to guard their time for the broader work so that their time is not

swallowed in purveying goods to projects, as I noted was a danger for Chaplain G. She was away from school increasingly due to her growing community service involvement, taking vegetables and other offerings to projects, but possibly neglecting teaching opportunities at the school. Unlike her, the majority of school chaplains still seem to regard community service as less important than their specialised liturgical and teaching duties.

Balance between all aspects of the work, such as the contemplative, intellectual and active social commitment of the Christian faith, is difficult. In the case of chaplains who focus more on social caring functions, it may be argued that chaplaincy is undergoing a complete revision and reinterpretation, particularly in schools where community service is replacing any specific RE teaching slots. These schools have abandoned formal classroom chaplain's lessons. The only set interactions their chaplains now have with pupils are in the informal groups on community service projects and the larger school body in chapel services. My personal opinion is that this constitutes a loss of the opportunity afforded by the structure of class time that can lead to dialogue and debate about the spiritual issues of life as well as give the opportunity for a scrutiny of the Christian faith. Chaplaincy should not be reduced to facilitating good deeds in the community. This is only one aspect of faith and it must spring from, rather than replace spirituality.

Tony Jarvis favours service projects, but insists that these cannot be substitutes for a broader engagement with the deepest questions students are asking. These are spiritual and not ethical. He says, "Heads of school now routinely want chaplains who will avoid the spiritual issues and focus on the ethical issues, but ….. religion cannot be reduced to good behaviour," (Jarvis 2002). He said that a clergyman who was considering the chaplaincy in a school found that the head had no interest in spiritual questions and only really wanted the chaplain to do the service projects. Jarvis is clear about the priority of spiritual questions about who we are, and where we fit into the universe, (Jarvis 2002).

It is precisely such conversations about meaning and purpose that should be seen as the primary task of a chaplain at a school. From this other aspects will grow, including social action. To do it the other way round is generally to put the cart before the horse. This is not a hard and fast rule as in some cases the experience of engagement in social action awakens deep ethical and spiritual questions. When people are thrown into the deep end and come face to face with need in community service projects, as opposed to sitting in comfortable desks in a comfortable school in a comfortable suburb and going home to a comfortable mansion in a comfortable community where need is only seen on television, they may begin to discuss all kinds of issues they would normally evade. Chaplains can retain teaching slots as well to facilitate further discussions. While religion is more than ethics, this plays a vital role and has to be part of the discussion at schools and part of community service debriefing sessions as well. I thoroughly concur with Jarvis, that religion cannot be reduced to ethics or community service projects and appeal for chaplaincy to be demonstration of a way of life in deed and word. In line with outcomes based education, I wish to encourage a faith approach that takes into account head, heart and hands, so that faith is approached in terms of thinking, emotions and action. Chaplains are to hold up to the entire school body a form of faith that can inform every single aspect of life. The alternative is for faith to become merely a frill that may as well be forgotten and is best dispensed with.

Community service is thus important but one strand of the complex nature of balanced chaplaincy. I therefore judge it a loss to reduce the work of the chaplain to the facilitation of social action programmes, as has been the case in a few schools. For chaplaincy to be swallowed up by social action projects may be a means of survival of the positions at some schools, but at the great cost of the overall nature and integrity of faith. Perhaps such schools ought to simply let go of the Church part altogether rather than change the nature of chaplaincy as such. Chaplains who almost entirely engage in community service may be losing some items essential to their identity as priests. I have attempted to illustrate the nature of this identity in this thesis. However, that is not to deny that chaplains may well find community service a key instrument

to teach compassion and some of the values that are closely linked to spirituality, which has traditionally been understood as their portfolio.

Straddling issues of prejudice

Prejudice affects community service, but can come in many forms to construct barriers between people and detract from what a chaplain hopes to do. Chaplains in South Africa have a unique situation of having to straddle between a western paradigm and African culture. Most will lean more to the Anglo-Saxon west, in line with the ethos and dominant culture of the school, although there are some notable exceptions. It must not be assumed that the Christian faith is intrinsically western. There is a core content that may be wrapped in a number of cultural wrappers, (including an African one, according to Bediako 1995 and others). Schools are becoming more anxious to appear South African rather than stereotypical little "Englands on the veld", so they are consciously aware of the need to move towards making themselves more African, (See Randall 1982, *Little England on the Veld*). I have chosen to illustrate some issues of prejudice that still surface and can be a problem for prospective and incumbent chaplains. Given the task of crossing barriers of compartmentalization in schools, this crossing of barriers of prejudice is an enormous additional task that may sap energy.

A black female chaplain in a mainly male white domain

The small number of school chaplains in South Africa is still largely composed of white males, (see Appendix 3). The most prestigious Church schools in South Africa are for boys, even though many are now co-educational. Historically girls' education lagged behind that of boys. Few girls' schools have female chaplains even today. Presently I do not know of a single boy's school with a female chaplain, but I did observe a black female chaplain being appointed to a predominantly white boys' school over a period of four years. Chaplain G convinced me that judging a chaplain on biological grounds such as gender is superficial. For four years G worked in her school community, largely unaccepted at first, but gradually carving her way into the lives of her colleagues, learners and parents, so that many were greatly upset when the

Church decided to move her to another position. The Bishop had appointed the very first woman chaplain to the girls' College and Prep a year before. This had been received as a novelty and also needed perseverance, but to then appoint a black female to the boys' College was regarded as insensitive and disastrous. Time proved that it was neither.

G said, "This place is not in order. The first two years were like hell for me. I just wanted to leave. I was sick a lot of the time - coughing - just not well, probably the emotional strain was too much". I confirmed that illness is often an accompaniment of severe culture shock in conversations with an expert on this matter, who was visiting South Africa in July 2007 to give workshops to a mission organisation on the topic.

G continued to say, "I felt I had stepped into a bit of Europe from the first time I attended the open day service. As an African woman I did not feel at home. I really had thought I was coming to a Church school, but many of the boys did not attend church and did not care (about religion) at all. They made it clear that chapel services were a nuisance. They wanted to play in RE. I hated the way some of them mocked my English. I have heard that some of them even called me "ousie," (colloquial term meaning older sister but used for a servant). I lost my confidence - thought they were a bunch of racists and sexists," (this is the gist of a number of conversations with this chaplain, using some of her favourite expressions).

Besides having the burden to adjust as the first woman chaplain for these boys, she was particularly upset by the lack of tolerance for her accent and use of the English language, which is not her mother tongue. Boys complained that it was difficult for them to understand until they became accustomed to her accent. "Power can be either intentional or unintentional. The mere fact of having knowledge brings some power," (Germond 2001). In this school context, knowledge of the English language gives power. English mother tongue speakers are able to articulate themselves in the language of instruction at the school. If they are able to speak in the "correct" tone and accent in addition, they acquire even more power.

G struggled with the “correct” grammar or pronunciation and was not initially recognised as the gifted and educated person she is. Pronunciation becomes a tool to divide society into classes. Diction and vocabulary are used to categorise people into social groups. The colonised English-speaking world expects even people who may have English as a third or fourth language to speak not only with perfect grammar, but also preferably an Oxford English accent. This is part of the heritage of Church schools.

G worked hard to improve her English with the help of a mentor. She practiced her pronunciation and grew in confidence through affirmation from her head, bishop and colleagues. One of the biggest breakthroughs she experienced was when she realised that her message was being heard, rather than her language being analysed. The journey was long and painful. She had experienced Randall to be correct in saying that schools with largely WASP constituencies impose conformity in attitudes, accents and manners, which amounts to snobbery, (Randall 1982:5, see chapter one).

Objections to having a woman as a chaplain do not only come from those who belong to churches where women are barred from ordination and teach that women are to remain in subordinate roles in the Church, (Hull 1987, Keener 1992, Field 1989, Edwards 1989). Women were stereotypically allowed to minister to girls, but G heard that the boys had wanted a “young white male”, (apparently the stereotype of the desired chaplain according to a number of parents and pupils at many Church schools). G felt like leaving, as a number of her predecessors did, after only two years. She looked for another position, but the thought of uprooting her family so soon and her sheer tenacity forced her to stay longer. The National Chaplains’ Conference became a “safe” place for her to express some of her fears, problems and anger about her school situation.

A senior chaplain at the 2001 conference, L, expressed concern that the Church had expected G to be in a post where she was obviously experiencing

much strain and turmoil. His sentiments were clearly that boys' schools should only have male chaplains. As a highly respected chaplain at one of South Africa's most prestigious boys' schools, L made it clear that his school would never have a woman chaplain. His main argument was that boys needed to be able to confide in males and would not find it easy to cross a gender barrier let alone a race and heart language barrier at the same time. L felt these barriers would impede the roles of counselling and pastoral assistance in particular and yet many women make effective counsellors. The male norm in ministry assists the assumption that boys should have men chaplains but the converse of a female at a girls' school, is not necessarily upheld. G was the only female chaplain at a boys' school that the researcher found during her investigations, not only in South Africa, but anywhere in the world. This chaplain certainly has been a history maker.

The biological difference of being a woman became the reason for barring women from many avenues of service within the Church. The question of natural gifting and talents as well as the theological rationale of God's calling for the work, was put aside. The issue of gender became paramount. Males who claimed to be called by God were examined for evidence of calling, but women faced a barrage of prejudice based on certain proof texts that were thrown as stones to kill off any thought of service alongside men in leadership roles in the Church, (see Best 1988, Edwards 1989, Evans 1983, Field 1989, Hull 1987, Keener 1992, Lees 1984, Penfold 1991).

The result of such prejudice is that women ministers, including women chaplains, face enormous pressure to prove themselves, to perform even better and to work harder than their male colleagues. They bear the burden of representing the entire body of women priests. Perceptions of failure of a woman chaplain may close the door to future female chaplaincy at a particular school, but no such link with gender will be made in the case of a male. Culture and traditions are often used as tools to exclude or frustrate the ministry of women. Women chaplains may have to jump over several hurdles of prejudice before they can accomplish their goals at a school, particularly if they are in a boys' school environment where levels of bias against women

survive in spite of the majority of teachers presently being females. It may indeed take a great deal of time to carve out some semblance of acceptance. Women priests can never take it for granted that they will be accepted by any new group of acquaintances.

G was told by a new member of staff after working very hard at being accepted for four years at the school, “In my Bible there is no room for female ministers. Your church is wrong and you should not be a chaplain.” At that stage she was about to leave the school and said she did not have enough energy to discuss her views on women in the ministry with the person concerned. There is also a clearly patronizing attitude in the example of D, another woman chaplain, being told, “I am so impressed that you really do funerals rather than leave that to your male colleagues.”

During the six years of being a chaplain, the researcher discovered that male chaplains A and HH clearly still felt very awkward about accepting women chaplains. In the Methodist Church, opposition to the ordination of women is currently hardly ever overt, but there remain some in the Anglican Church who vehemently disagree with the ordination of women and will not participate in a Eucharist service if a woman is officiating. Most of South Africa’s Church schools are Anglican. The few women chaplains in these schools may face subtle as well as overt opposition. Certain men are licensed as priests in their schools, but not one woman chaplain is presently given this privilege. This means that they have to be licensed at a nearby parish and conduct some services there in order to do their work as chaplains at their schools. This is a clear instance of gross discrimination.

Some of those who struggle to accept women priests were at the National Conference for School Chaplains regularly and specifically asked the women present to be patient and seek to understand their viewpoint. A said he was hurt when women refused to understand his standpoint, but QQ and PP were deeply hurt when men refused to take Holy Communion from them. The difference between the male hurt and that experienced by women is that they have not been the targets of discrimination simply because they have

professed a calling to serve God as chaplains. Women chaplains as with any women in ministry or indeed any job that was traditionally a male domain, continue in the hope that they will gradually win acceptance.

Young chaplains

A further common prejudicial assumption is that those who relate to young people ought to be young themselves. This requirement is not generally applied to the rest of the teaching staff, but is often heard in relation to the chaplain. Parents, learners and some heads sometimes indicate this preference. Does this mean chaplains have to leave at a certain age? Many of the current chaplains have been in their respective posts for a number of years and seem to be reasonably sure of remaining until they reach retirement. This is not so for Methodist chaplains who take a vow to go where they are sent and who can be moved by the Church should a need arise or even if a head happens to wish the chaplain to be removed for some reason.

A pupil at a certain school who was very involved in the Christian Union was interviewed about chaplaincy and maintained adamantly, “A youth pastor should be employed instead of the chaplain.” He felt that a youth pastor would be able to relate far better. One of his heroes was a teacher who helped with the Christian Union. The major factor that he mentioned in approval was “He is young. We like him.” Youth and popularity were the foremost qualities this young man in Grade eleven was looking for in a Christian leader. He was making a serious claim that young people would only really listen to young people in matters of religion, (see Codrington 2001, Lynch 2002 on youth culture). There was no mention of other spiritual factors. Chaplain BB was discarded as far too old and not popular enough.

The descriptions of chaplains at the beginning of this thesis reveal examples of those who relate to young people irrespective of their chronological age. Of primary importance is the ability to build relationships of empathy and understanding and marry theory and practice, (see Monahan and Renehan 1998).

The Grade eleven wanted a youth pastor to replace the chaplain. “That would be so cool.” He obviously felt that this would be a popular move. “Will the youth pastor cope with the responsibility for the Church part of the entire school?” I asked. He seemed to have no idea except a vague confidence in God’s help. Any thought of God using training and experience did not seem to feature. He had very little conception about the various demands of the chaplaincy role and saw it almost solely in terms of enjoyable chapel services and a greater support for the Christian Union group with which he was involved.

If a youth pastor was given the responsibility of chaplaincy there would presumably have to be an element of supervision. The incumbent would need to have had some theological training and display a measure of identifiable depth of spiritual maturity, however that was interpreted. Most chaplains have taken a vow to serve within the parameters of the discipline, practices and principles of the Church. This forms a basis for checks and balances that can help a school to exercise the necessary discipline should the need arise. These considerations were dismissed as part of the institutional baggage of the Church, but they could assume great importance in problematic situations where policies provide guidelines and parameters. Religion that goes wrong can be extremely harmful, (see Enroth et al 1983, Brockway and Rajashekar 1987).

A denominational structure can provide a framework for religious teaching and practice at a Church school. In a church a youth pastor would fall under the watchful eye of a senior minister but there would not necessarily be this theological oversight in a school context. Some chaplains, like I, H, G, N and D were able to satisfy the expressed need of young people to have youthful pastors by inviting youth pastors from surrounding churches to assist them. They were often most eager to help and to work under the guidance of a chaplain. Perhaps BB could involve more young people in the programme that he oversees in order to meet this felt need of learners to relate their faith to peers just a little older than they are.

In contrast to the young man who saw age as a focus of great importance, a young woman's comment about her older woman chaplain, PP, at a prestigious girls' school was simply, "She is a funky lady." For this pupil, the age of the chaplain was no barometer of acceptance or rejection. Much has been written about the great divisions between the generations, (see Lynch 2002, Codrington 2001). If one were to take all this seriously, it would be impossible to communicate across the generation gap at all. I have a hunch that much of this theory is culturally determined. From my experience with rural youth in a Church context, I think some of the generalisations simply do not apply to every context or cultural group either. If age alone is a criterion for relating to youth, one should ask why some young people do not relate to their peers, but some older people may. It seems as if one of the main requirements is that people do not try to act inappropriately younger than they actually are. Those who tend to deny their age and act as if they are still teenagers themselves do not often retain the respect of the teenagers they are so keen to impress, (Monahan and Renehan 1998).

It may well take longer for a person who is not that young to gain acceptance with youth, but in the long run, age need not be a prohibiting criterion for the selection of a chaplain or any teacher for that matter. Western society finds youth attractive and is repelled by aging. Dr Marlene Wasserman points out that we live in a youth obsessed culture, (Femmewell April 2002). Older people may have hard-won wisdom to share, even if the world changes in many ways, for basic human nature and core needs remain similar.

It is superficial to make age or gender primary considerations when it comes to chaplaincy. If one of the chief aims of chaplaincy, as stated by many schools, is the development of spirituality, then it is worth noting that there is no such thing as instant spirituality. People long for instant solutions to all problems. Nietzsche said "The essential thing 'in heaven and earth' is … that there should be long obedience in the same direction; there thereby results, and has always resulted in the long run, something which has made life worth living," (Petersen1980:13). Petersen claims that our world is too impatient for

results and immediate gratification to go on this long, steady journey. We want “everything worthwhile to be acquired at once,” (1980:11). Some things of value take time and with time we all grow older. Sometimes an older person may fulfil a real need at a particular school at a particular time. “You’re never too old to learn. Youth is a state of mind, not a time of life,” (Youth for Christ leaflet). It is probably more important for chaplains to be interested and able to relate to young people rather than being young themselves**.**

If a school appoints a young or an older chaplain, some kind of supervision from a mentor is advisable. In the social sciences there is far more supervision than is afforded to ministers in church settings. Debriefing and listening is invaluable for all, whether young or old, even though it is most likely to happen if younger people take the role. In a school it may be useful to include participation from younger people, provided there are some experienced, fully qualified chaplains, priests or mentors available who have theological and other skills to guard the integrity of the message and spirituality of faith in the school context. Parents have entrusted their children to these schools. The brand of Christianity should be consistent with that of the denomination. Some network of inter-school chaplaincy support groups in each region may prove helpful.

Other stereotypes

I have heard people apply general stereotypes of what they think a chaplain should be in terms of age, gender, looks or even things such as sporting ability. Chaplain G eventually carved out respect as a human being rather than as any particular label, (black woman chaplain in her case). Obviously not every boy was comfortable to seek her advice or counsel, as is the case with any chaplain. Does that disqualify anyone? No one will appeal to or meet the needs of everyone. She was not confident when it came to teaching Religious Education even though she had come from lecturing at university level. Her head enabled her to arrange her chaplaincy duties so that she was able to operate from areas of competency rather than doing things that

dissipated her energy because she felt that she was not coping well, (see Shawshuck and Heuser 1993). G gave up teaching RE classes and spent more time on community service projects, management and pastoral duties. She demonstrated that there are different ways of doing school chaplaincy. The traditional classroom-teaching model is not necessarily the only way. One day she went to her head and simply refused to go back into the classroom to teach.

Perhaps the school leadership was more tolerant and patient with her out of sensitivity to racial issues, than would have been the case with a white chaplain who had made similar demands together with related initial mistakes that are inevitable when one enters such a different environment. Most chaplains would probably not have dared to insist on dropping teaching RE on the assumption that this task was a non-negotiable for the job. The way the head handled the situation proved to be empowering and the eventual success of G's chaplaincy indicates that it is possible to break down many initial prejudices through sheer persistence. Being a person who demonstrated that she was not willing to remain a victim of circumstances but would use her gifts and be herself within the situation, she became an effective chaplain. Once again we are left with the conclusion that some of the best chaplaincy work will be in terms of being a role model rather than simply ticking off items on a job description list.

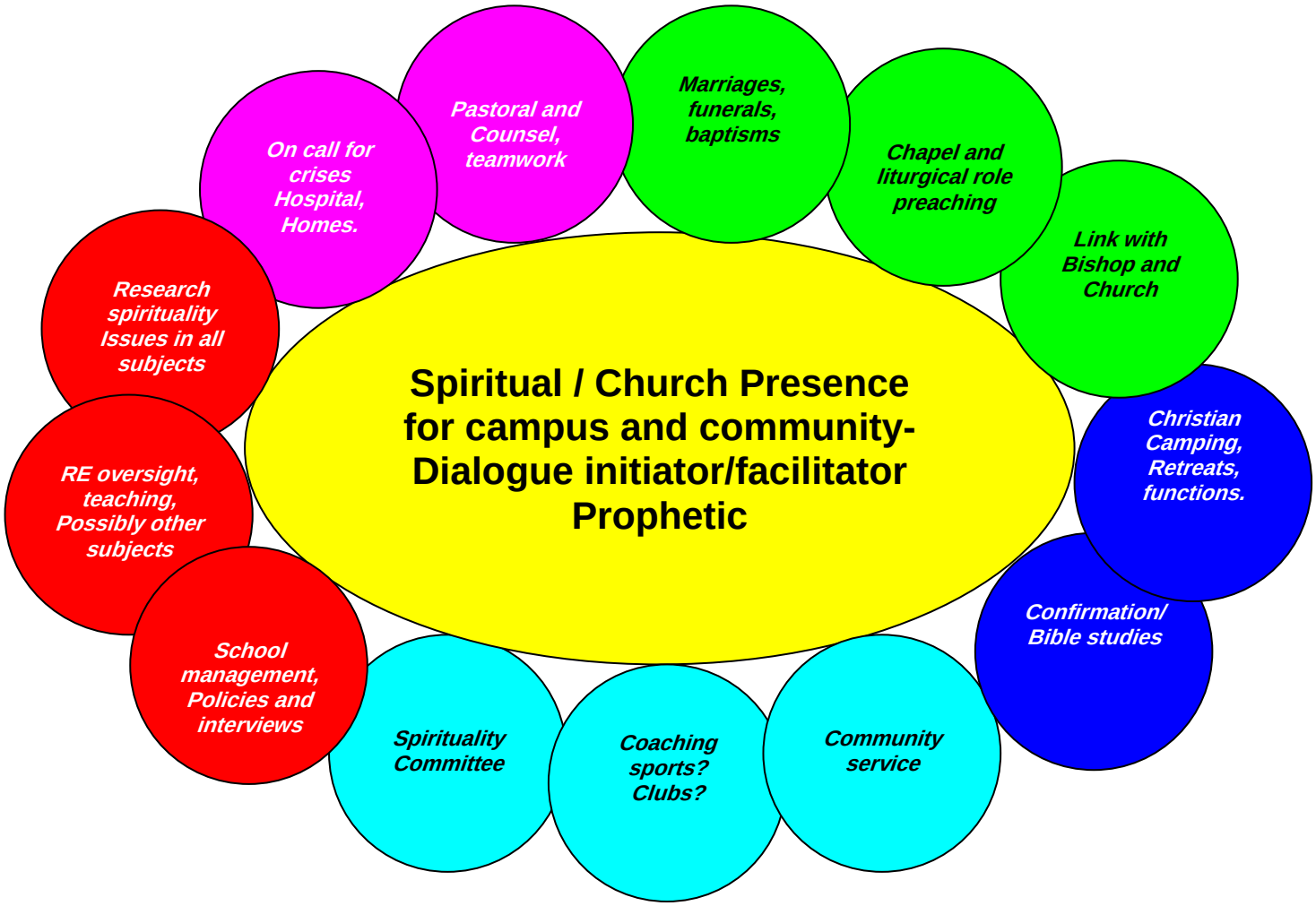
We have thus seen in this chapter that part of the social role a chaplain may be some involvement in the community service projects or even to incorporate this into the Religious Education programme. This will help towards the goal of breaking down prejudice between scholars and those who are challenged with poverty in material or other ways. It is also possible for a chaplain to help a school to enter into discussions so that prejudice can be unmasked and real transformation can take place. This is part of the broader dialogue and educational role envisaged for a chaplain.

Chapter nine - The prospects for success

Having discussed some of the complexities of the chaplaincy, we are rapidly moving to the conclusion that there are not only the traditional slots but some viable new areas for a chaplain to contribute to the well-being of the school within the twenty-first century. We begin with an overview of the roles and discuss the prospects of integrating these successfully.

A school chaplain's role

Possible areas of role function as depicted here may not be applicable to all versions of chaplaincy, but a role selection will be made according to the type of school, gifts and talents of the chaplain concerned and the expectations imposed by various key members of the institution.



The role functions represented in the diagram include the four basic areas of the pastoral - (pink), liturgical - (green), teaching - (red), and social – (light blue) as well as overlapping areas, not all mentioned, but represented by the dark blue. Each function is related to the spiritual centre – (yellow).

A spiritual centre

The yellow centre depicts the core matter, spiritual being that takes priority before doing anything. A chaplain is primarily a human being who is required to model personal spirituality prior to doing or saying anything. As the chaplain is engaged in Church schools, this "spiritual presence" will be specifically Christian, clearly rooted within the Christian tradition and relating to the framework of the Christian faith, with its specific historical narrative, and set of moral, ethical and metaphysical assumptions; a reflection on the nature and purposes of the practices of God in history is the basis for the practice of chaplaincy, (see Fererro 2005, p425 -432). What is required is thus a non-negotiable practising commitment to the triune God of the Christian faith and a willingness to live out that faith within the community in word and deed. If at any stage the chaplain is unable to continue a personal commitment to the core teachings of the gospel, excluding a short phase of doubt or disenchantment, it may be advisable for the chaplain to resign. Any persistent denial of faith is totally unacceptable, as the most important aspect of chaplaincy is to attempt to demonstrate as consistently as humanly possible through example that credible faith is possible and has prospects for successful living in this day and age. There is no room for an agnostic chaplain.

Although there is no agreement concerning doctrinal variances, there is a need to respect and uphold the particular denominational understandings of the founders. There is room for nuances in theological understanding along the conservative to liberal spectrum as this appears within the parameters of beliefs within the mainline denominations that have established Church schools within the South African context, (see Woodhead 2004, Reardon 1968, Armstrong 1993, Lawrence 1989).

Part of being a spiritual presence involves the art of respectful listening that seeks to understand first, rather than imposing a viewpoint. This does not exclude the necessity to present some rational vindication for the Christian faith that is part of the teaching role. It will also involve a prophetic role, which Cameron likens to that of the Court Jester, the one who is able to say anything and everything that needs to be said, (Cameron ed. 2000). There is some inevitable distance needed for the task of seeing clearly and hearing correctly not only to give support but also to challenge both institutions to which the chaplain is linked, Church and school, as well as individuals, (see Heischman 1989). The prophetic role is about speaking out and mobilising action against breaches of social justice, (Wilson and Ramphele 1989, Worsnip 1991). The chaplain will hopefully not only speak but also take an active part in, or at least encourage the community service of the school as one way of exploring issues of justice, inequality and poverty so that these may be applied to faith that claims as its foundation all of life, (see Krige in Henning 2004:9,10).

Prospects for a successful prophetic role are slim in most institutions if the message may not be what others want to hear. The influence of the chaplain on the school is tempered by the school's subtle influence on the chaplain over time, so that there is a gradual absorption of the ethos of the institution, (see Wetherell 1996). This renders all members of the institution vulnerable to a limited vision that is impeded by comfortable familiarity and group politics. A prophet needs to retain the ability to give a broader perspective and thus guard against complete absorption within any organisation. This prophetic role was described by Bauman as that of the gadfly, which Webster clarifies as irritating and goading. The prophet thus goads into action through what is hopefully constructive criticism, (Webster's English Dictionary and Bauman 1987).

The chaplain may be a watchdog of ethics at school, but this role is not likely to be popular. Public opinion has become a form of tribunal with enormous authority, a legitimation function in modern civil society, (Taylor 2004:87). It is

undoubtedly far easier to be swept up in a compromise of principles than to go against popular opinion and present a different perspective, particularly a religious one in some contexts. When economic interests are added it becomes risky to speak out and those who hold the power of the purse may silence the prophets, because the temptation to remain compliant and silent may be too great, yet a chaplain should risk being a fearless speaker of anything and everything that needs to be said. This must be done in such a way that it can be heard as wisdom rather than destructive criticism, even if others do not respond positively. The onus is on the chaplain to build relationships that will win the right to speak for effective prophetic ministry.

Being an example in terms of living out the ethics of a faith stance is particularly important in South Africa today. Practically every news report uncovers more corruption and scandals that point to the need of a renewed ethical base for the nation. Presently there are scandals about the judiciary, the police, various politicians and the Home Affairs Department, to name only a few. Scandals involving school chaplains also captured media attention within the past few years. This prophetic ministry is part of being a spiritual presence, but listening and being an example are always prior to speaking.

The spiritual foundation is also broader than any one religious expression of it, even though the primary focus of chaplains at Church schools is on a specifically Christian base, (see Rose in Best 1996:174). Spirituality is also broader than religion as such, although it is conventionally thought of as linked with religion, (Alexander 2004: viii, Herrick 2003, Woodhead 2004, Heelas and Woodhead 2005). Gur-Ze'ev sees spirituality as a "unique human quality of openness", "the possibility of the human dwelling in the nearness of its essence, its telos", (Gur-Ze'ev in Alexander 2004:223). He thus links spirituality with meaning and purpose, as does Berger, (1999). Such spirituality includes the balance of all aspects of development to prepare those at school for opportunities, responsibilities and experiences of adult life, (Best 1996:174). The spiritual "connects self and community to a glimpse of that which transcends the limits of space, time, and value", (Heubner 1999 in Alexander 2004: vii). The chaplain will thus straddle the Christian faith, to

which he or she is committed, and a broader spirituality. Truth found in any aspect of life will ultimately not be in conflict with truth found in the Christian faith. All of life is the subject of a search for underlying spiritual foundations. There must be an effort to balance the experiential, intellectual and practical aspects of faith at all times. What is most desired within Church schools, as shown throughout this research, is a broad Christianity that embraces spiritual formation, justice issues and compassionate caring. This is arguably the only viable option for this continent rather than the "safety of the cage", (Armstrong's description of fundamentalism, 1993). A safe, cloistered version of faith will by no means meet the needs of the twenty-first century school leaver. The balance that is required will always be extremely difficult to accomplish, but the attempt is non-negotiable in the troubled continent of Africa in particular. Church schools are already accomplishing some of these ideals as noted in the recognition of considerable community service portfolios. Some influence from the spiritual establishment of these schools seems to remain even when it may outwardly appear that there is little present adherence to the Christian faith or the Church.

Part of building a spiritual foundation will then be to open up prospects for inter-disciplinary dialogue across school subjects so that there is less compartmentalization and a genuine search for a sustainable worldview for the whole of life. A chaplain is generally given responsibility for the spirituality portfolio of the school, even when a head is regarded as ultimately responsible. It may be necessary to appoint as a chaplain someone who has a broad interest in every aspect of school life as well as a specialisation in theology and Church related subjects in order for the chaplain to become a catalyst to open up dialogue. The chaplain may then be useful as a reminder to all members of the school community to investigate beyond the superficial to discover whether there is any spiritual base for every aspect of school life. This digging beneath the surface may be a useful life skill that the chaplain encourages as part of the spirituality portfolio.

Teaching

The red area (on the left of the diagram at the beginning of the chapter) signifies the teaching staff responsibilities of the chaplain. Chaplains are most often called to teach religion at a school, although, (as mentioned in chapter five), there are a few who do not teach at all, while some teach subjects other than religion primarily. Teaching requires acquaintance with syllabi and academic requirements. It has been noted that in some schools Life Orientation has taken over entirely from RE or divinity classes. Some erosion of religious teaching has taken place in spite of retention of the title of "Church School" in a number of cases. The contention of the author is that chaplains who do still have the opportunity to teach religion ought to be given a certain freedom to open up broad debates and be able to engage in a variety of issues so that the underlying spirituality of all of life may be exposed.

Certain chaplains not only teach as staff members, but take part in management bodies that hire and fire staff members. Others resist this function as risky for their open and free relationships with staff members, which is certainly part of their pastoral role at schools. The role of being on a school management team is debatable and thus negotiable for individual chaplains. In some cases the chaplain can bring the ethical stance and wisdom of the Church to bear on management issues. In other cases a chaplain on a management structure may simply be a figurehead.

Some chaplains are valued for their research and writing skills. It is important for all chaplains to continue to read widely in every direction in order to engage with all members of the community on a variety of subjects. Spirituality is the foundation for all truth found in any aspect of life. Church school staff members are presented with many in-service educational opportunities and chaplains have no excuse not to learn alongside their colleagues.

Pastoral

The pink areas of the above diagram indicate pastoral matters, which were discussed in detail in chapter seven where we noted that certain chaplains

have a preference for this area of work. At some schools they are welcomed as part of a team together with tutor teachers, school psychologists and other helpers. For a chaplain, crisis hospital visitation must take priority even over set class periods. This can be problematic in schools where there is a rigid adherence to a set timetable, but genuine crises cannot wait. Pastoral and counselling tasks may be taken more and more by school psychologists, but this thesis argues for a team approach in a context of growing need within South Africa, as Reddy and his co-authors make clear in the "Youth Risk Behaviour Survey of 2002", (Reddy et al. 2003, a comprehensive survey dealing with issues of intentional and unintentional injuries, among which are violence, suicide-related behaviours and substance abuse). There is still an expectation that people will be able to refer to a chaplain when a word of counsel is necessary. This is particularly the case with those from communities where the priest still holds a great deal of respect in the community, as is the case in many South African communities.

Liturgical responsibilities

As a representative of the Church, the chaplain clearly holds liturgical responsibilities, (depicted in green on the diagram above). In chapter one we saw how this arose from the need of the Church to train its own personnel at a time when education deteriorated and the Church school model was eventually developed. We saw how these schools included chaplains as part of the recipe and school worship was taken for granted, but in chapter four we asked whether this should still be so. While there is an outward show of religiosity in some schools, however, there is a genuine appreciation of chapel and chaplaincy in others. This thesis suggests that chaplains ought to remain and make use of the liturgical opportunities, but do so in such a way that they relate to the present context of their schools.

Part of this sensitivity to the context implies that the chaplain is the school's representative of the Church, linking the school with the broader Church, not only the specific school denomination with its own structures and practices, but ecumenically. An implication of this would be that a person of broad

understanding of other denominations and indeed different religious persuasions and none, is required as a chaplain at schools. Bigotry about one's own particular stance may harm rather than facilitate work in schools. As can be seen from the diagram, the chaplain should be a link with the broader church, and specifically with bishops and other leaders, such as church representatives on school boards, besides the broader Church universal. There is thus a two-way representation. A chaplain represents the Church at the school and the school community to the Church.

The Bloxham report and David Wylde's research, as well as the Dearing Report from Britain depict Church schools as a field for recruitment for the Church rather than simply catering for the sons and daughters of Church members, as was once the case, (Cameron 2000, Wylde 2002, Dearing 2001). In South Africa statistics seem to indicate a larger percentage of church affiliation than Britain and Europe as a whole, (see Davie 2002). At least some members of the South African Church school populations seem to emulate the British pattern far more than the African one, however, and seem to avoid regular church attendance, except for the compulsory school services, in spite of claiming to be church members (according to consultations with heads and chaplains even at schools where there is allegedly a majority of Christian pupils).

Many, but not all chaplains engage in the liturgical functions of marriages, funerals and baptisms for the broader school community. Some seem to spend a great deal of time on this function. These involve preparation interviews. Such occasions may enhance the reputation of the school as outsiders enter the hallowed school grounds to attend. There is thus a great deal of pressure to create a favourable impression and this may result in discomfort when it comes to declining a marriage or baptism on various grounds, particularly if the person involved happens to be a respected beneficiary of the school. There is also a problem with retaining baptismal services when there is no faith community for the parents to attend regularly, as baptism is specifically about initiating a child into the life of a faith community rather than simply a traditional ceremony.

Other liturgical duties include what some see as the major part of chaplaincy, school chapel services, as well as possible wider Church duties assigned by the denomination. These may create compatibility problems as Church and school may call chaplains in different directions, as has been clarified throughout this thesis. Apparently some chaplains have very few church duties beyond the school and they are therefore able to concentrate on the school, which may detract from their ability to have a broader prophetic perspective for both Church and school.

Social Issues

The light blue categories of the diagram above depict areas where Christianity may be applied in action. We began to explore some of the questions surrounding community service and other transformation issues such as the need to confront and work towards the elimination of prejudice in the school context in chapter eight. Community service is becoming increasingly important and prominent in many schools. Not all chaplains are intensely involved in this aspect of school life, yet it is absolutely important for the chaplain to be supportive of these ventures. Some chaplains have made this the absolute focus of their approach. We have seen that community service has a distinctive role in opening up awareness for the prophetic ministry of the chaplain.

There is a niche to develop good relationships with pupils in taking part in coaching sports and running clubs. This may be regarded as a peripheral activity not strictly required, but it may be a matter of preference for some to develop meaningful relationships with children who seem to live for sport and extra-mural activities, perhaps even for those for whom the academic school day is a source of despair or at least something that must be endured as quickly as possible until the sporting and school club time can begin. There are generally a wide range of activities available and schools are stretched to provide the staff to facilitate these, so chaplaincy assistance is often welcomed.

A chaplain who enters pupils' worlds to be available at the sporting events or practices may find some of the most important aspects of the work done through this supposed "wasting time", the term Monahan and Renehan use for pastoral interaction, (1998). Sport is practically venerated in South African schools and rugby in particular assumes religious dimensions. A glance at numerous web sites will show that good rugby training is clearly used as a marketing tool for boys' schools. First team players may be hero worshipped. It is thus evident that sports coaches have unique opportunities to bond with children and build relationships, but not every chaplain may find this appealing.

Flexibility according to the individual incumbent is necessary as there are many models of doing the work of spiritual formation. Some may find other ways to be available for conversations within the school community. However, the freedom to decide the pattern for chaplaincy is not generally solely up to the individual chaplain, but may be imposed by other role-players at a particular school, like heads, deputies, sometimes alumni and other players in the school, who hold a certain amount of power and may be able to dictate their expectations in a certain measure. "Education is rarely, if ever, the practical realisation of an ideal form of instruction as envisaged by a particular group. Instead, the forms education takes are usually the political products of power struggles", (Archer in Sehoole 2003:139).

Even though sport coaching and involvement is a definite option for informal chaplaincy, it may not be helpful for school heads to be prescriptive about this. Like other staff members, chaplains have their personal talents and preferences. To insist that a chaplain must be as involved in these events as every other school staff member may be counter-productive in the long run, as a number of chaplains have found their school sporting involvement detracted from other specifically spiritual aspects of their work. On the other hand, others claim that there is a spirituality involved in sport and every single school activity and the chaplain can and should be in the forefront of uncovering and demonstrating that spirituality. They claim there ought to be a

difference in the way a practising Christian plays a game. To see all of life as intrinsically spiritual and faith infusing the whole is part of the rationale to be involved in sports and other activities at school.

Of course this is not only the task of the chaplain, but anyone who claims a faith stance. It has been noted that Church schools favour taking on as staff those who at least hold to the ethical base of the school and will do nothing against the conscience of the Church. Other schools go further and favour the appointment of professing Christian staff members.

Some schools have established spirituality committees to come alongside the chaplain and hold the chaplain accountable as well as listen to the spiritual needs of the school and present suggestions to the chaplain for ways to meet these needs. Arising from such a Committee was an initiative to start a Christian club at a school. This was established in the Prep school and was called JAM, “Jesus And Me”. Mothers took the major role in facilitation with the chaplain in a supportive role. When the chaplain left, the mothers continued in spite of less support from the next chaplain, but with a great deal of encouragement from the head. Unless there is a good relationship between a spirituality committee and the chaplain, however, it may be ineffective. Chaplains can refrain from calling meetings. It may be useful to have more involvement from parents who are concerned for the overall well-being of the school and their own children in particular.

Some overlapping items

Confirmation, Bible Studies, Christian camping and retreats, as well as the facilitation of functions at school are depicted in dark blue on the diagram above. These are representative of certain peripherals which may enhance the work of the chaplain. Most areas of the work overlap and straddle roles, particularly the social and teaching functions. These activities are not offered at all schools. It may be particularly important for boarding schools to offer confirmation classes as pupils are not free during term time to attend classes at a local church. Whether they then attend the local church after school is

one of the questions that is frequently raised when confirmation is held at school, (see Chapter four).

Some chaplains find camping yet another to build solid relationships with children. Spending time away from normal school activities enhances the opportunity for children to speak about their personal problems. One school allows Grade tens to choose to skip school for four week days to attend a confirmation camp. Some schools have allowed the chaplain to take staff members out to a retreat centre for a day. Chaplain D found that many staff members were too conscientious to take time off from their regular classes for this quiet retreat.

Having discussed the various areas of chaplaincy, we return to some role issues in more detail and continue to ask the most important question of this chapter, namely, what are the prospects of success?

Success in terms of numbers

It is unlikely that any chaplain enters a school thinking everyone will respond to the Christian faith if they only work "hard enough". Historian Owen Chadwick points to the difficulty in the Christian belief that this is truth to be embraced by everyone, (1975). Chaplains may find there are few who truly embrace the faith. Perhaps perceptions of success will have to be modified to include the building of bridges for relationships that will invite faith conversations to open up, rather than in terms of aiming for a full faith commitment. The school is not a church after all, even if it is a "Church" school, (Storey in Wylde 2002).

Clearly this research indicates that certain chaplains are happy to stay in their positions even if only a few members of the school community embrace their message. There seems to be consolation in the thought that some positive response may come well after school years are over. It may be virtually impossible to assess whether changes for the better are actually due to the chaplaincy or a host of other influences. Whether spiritual influences may be

sustainable for a lifetime is difficult to assess as so many factors are involved. It is popular to suppose that many teenagers pass through a “religious stage” that the majority rapidly leave behind, (see Lynch 2002). Such a perception may lead to some chaplains becoming cynical about the value of their work, but it appears that the majority are instilled with a sense of calling beyond visible results for their work. There is a minority who have lost their initial enthusiasm and seem to be waiting for retirement. As with any work, some may appear to go through the motions after a while, apparently having lost their core motivation, but others continue to grow and be creative. Many of the schools visited during the course of this research have resolved to keep chaplaincy, so perhaps there is still an open door of opportunity for chaplains to be catalysts towards what may become much more than a “religious stage”, a lifetime of spiritual growth.

Whether a lifetime of spiritual growth necessarily involves commitment to the Church is another debate. It is not at all clear if there is any measure to indicate a higher attendance of church from Church school pupils either during or after school years. We noted the opinion that the coercion of school religion in fact has the opposite effect, (see Rae 1981 and Chapter four, *Still compulsory*). No doubt some will continuously claim that they have had enough religion at school and are no longer interested, as a number of conversations with past pupils have shown. Chaplains continue to hope that as a result of the work they do in schools, at least some young people, sooner or later, will be led to discover a relevant and true faith that is able to sustain them throughout life and draw them into a lifetime of worship and wholeness in relationship with God, (see Groome 1998, Jarvis 2002, Moran 1983, Stevenson 1997, Treston 1997, Wallace 1999, Watson 2001, Wylde 2002).

If success is to be reckoned in terms of numbers of converts to the faith, this will be unacceptable for some who regard conversion as a product of unacceptable manipulation that has no place in the school environment. Whether chaplaincy aims to encourage conversion at all, generates a considerable degree of disagreement among chaplains themselves, besides

others. The problem hinges on whether it is ethical to aim to convert children within the school context or to modify the goal as that of helping children to see and choose for themselves as a result of a head, heart and hands approach to faith, involving intellectual, experiential and practical elements. Related to questions of conversion is the need to ask about the version of faith. Ample research amplifies the dangers of fundamentalist versions of faith. In particular there is a threat to the creation of critical thinking in fundamentalism. It is strongly affirmed throughout this thesis that no legitimate chaplaincy must bypass the mind, or in fact fail to relate to any aspect of being human, (see Lawrence 1989, Woodhead and Heelas 2000 on fundamentalist varieties of faith). Ungoed-Thomas claims the covert sub-text of some schools is "intellectual elitism .... and fear of the emotions", (Ungoed-Thomas in Best 1996:133, See also Chapter six of this thesis). Eugene Petersen maps the Enlightenment split between heart and head as the crux of the problem that, "schools have not been easy allies in a life of worship, prayer and the love of God," (1994:55). Chaplains want to make them allies in a life of worship, not just institutions where compartmentalised worship takes place and where this seems to have absolutely no bearing on the rest of life whatsoever. It is required of a chaplain to seek to discern the sub-text of school philosophy and engage in vigorous questioning of the viability of this for sustaining life today. As all aspects of living are integrated from a spiritual centre, there will be sustenance for the whole of life and this will indeed be true success rather than mere numbers in terms of church attendance or professions of faith that may fade as a phase of life. What is sought is ongoing, consistent spirituality.

Success in terms of focus

The focus is currently no longer on Bible learning as an essential element for any educated person. It is clear that each generation is becoming more illiterate in terms of the Christian faith on which the school claims to be built, (Codrington 2001, Best 1996, Norman 2004, Sullivan 2000). The chaplain may have to begin laying elementary foundations of knowledge of the faith over and over. There are signs that there is a renewal of interest in faith

issues that may revitalise the work of chaplains, certainly at some schools, (Martin 2005, Heelas and Woodhead eds. 2005, Sweet 2003, Woodhead ed. 2002, Woodhead and Heelas 2000, Yancey 2003). Even if all chaplains were to leave, there would remain a thirst for knowing, for exploring religion that has been such a seminal part of human experience. As Dawn and Peterson say about pastors (the preferred term for clergy in some traditions), so chaplains are not necessary, but can add value, (2000:1-6 in particular).

There are bound to be growing differences between Church schools that integrate religion into school life satisfactorily and those that compartmentalize and isolate religion into a diminishing gap, (see Chapter four). The latter are already appearing as no different from Independent schools in a similar socio-economic group without any claim to religious distinctiveness. In such schools chaplains will no longer be seen as necessarily part of the school recipe. Schools where chaplaincy has been entrenched over time will no doubt keep chaplains, even though some may well be coerced to change their methods of operation and content of services to a broader base of common ethical instruction, while still retaining the revered traditions of their institutions and taking roles in high days, bereavements and certain other crises.

Even with a steady erosion of its scope and influence within certain schools, there may be prospects for some limited success for a chaplaincy appointment, probably with a lower status and somewhat modified role than in the past. Groome's conclusion is that good education is always the work of God (1998) and the presence of the chaplain in the school necessarily conveys something of his or her spirituality. Certain chaplains may choose to remain and make the most of the opportunities they have to make space for spirituality within these schools, but others may find such a position untenable and choose to leave for posts where they are able to exercise what they recognise as their religious calling more fully.

Success in splendid isolation

In contrast, some schools may become even more religious and overtly Christian, perhaps at the price of withdrawing beyond the moat and retaining

an isolated “total institution”, a refuge to which those who wish to be religiously safe can flee, (see Goffman 1969 and the conference paper by Becker on *The Politics of Presentation: Goffman and Total Institutions* at http://home.earthlink.net). In such a stronghold the chaplain will be even more valued than in other circumstances, but if this is indeed in a context of screening from the real world, it may be difficult for children to cope with the challenges of life after school. They may be like greenhouse plants that cannot withstand any change. It seems as if only the very conservative and those derogatorily already labelled “fundamentalists” will isolate themselves from the challenges of our times. Armstrong has labelled this the “safety of the cage”, which is truly no satisfactory option at all, (Armstrong 1993). Although some of the Church boarding schools in rural areas in particular are labelled “total” institutions, they may not necessarily be isolated from outside influences. What does apply, however, is the likelihood of the chaplain becoming a surrogate parent figure alongside other staff. Pastoral counselling and the influence of lifestyle choices will play a huge role. Chaplaincy is conceivably more successful in a boarding school context than in day schools where there is immediate access to religious experts and other role models outside the immediate school community.

Success through steady perseverance

In order for chaplains to be successful there needs to be sufficient time to allow them to build their roles at schools. Chaplains who manage longer tenures at schools may thus find greater acceptance as individuals and for their faith message. Acceptance can be carved out over the years. This appears to be the case with those whom the researcher regards as the most successful chaplains in this sample of schools taken over eight years, six of which the researcher was a participant observer. There are many problems when the pattern of chaplaincy at a school displays what is interpreted as lack of commitment due to short stays. This is clear from a school where the average was between two or three years. The role of chaplaincy apparently lost social capital. This leads to the application of stereotypes rather than any breakthrough to discover the person beneath the label.

Women chaplains have to persevere to carve out acceptance as male chaplains are more easily accepted as the norm for the position. Females still face discrimination in many cases, as when some have to be licensed to preach at a nearby church, usually under a male priest, while their male colleagues are licensed to preach at their schools. This is a case of clear injustice and lower status. Women chaplains are thus still in the phase of seeking acceptance in the school milieu, although the majority of teachers may be women, (Evans 1983, Field 1989, Hull 1987, Keener 1992 who all support the ordination of women in contrast to Drilling 1991, who gives reasons against ordaining women from a Roman Catholic perspective.) "Male power has found it extraordinarily difficult to share this power. Every profession that has been closed to women has enjoyed high status. And once open to women the status goes down. Medicine and teaching are obvious examples," (Bührig 1993:124). Do we add to this ordination in the Church and the role of chaplaincy? There is no doubt that women chaplains may still do the work in spite of the difficulties, which include representing all women clergy, simply because of gender issues. It is a matter of steady perseverance until they are truly accepted.

There is also discrimination when it comes to the provision of chaplains, and teaching in spirituality as a whole, for younger children, (see Chapter six). Here educators who call for the best spiritual education for the youngest children, rather than reserve this for teenagers, will need to persevere in efforts to convince others. Apparently there is a perception that it is less important to have a trained religious expert for children than for teenagers, but Cavaletti and Roux disagree, (Summers and Waddington eds. 1996 and Roux 2003:133). Prep schools and especially the junior classes are particularly neglected when it comes to chaplaincy hours and Church involvement in spite of the frequent plea that children are not only the future, but important in the present. Most schools only employ chaplains in the senior and intermediate phases.

The research endorses the findings of Roux and others from her own experiences as a chaplain to the Foundation Phase and also as a mother. The very foundation of spirituality is formed in very young children and the practice of neglect should be reviewed, (Roux, 2003, 130-134; In this article Roux reports on research with learners in the Foundation Phase. They are neither necessarily confused nor even unduly influenced by the content of religious teaching when it is presented in the form of games that teach knowledge of belief and value systems. Roux wants schools to be places where younger children to feel safe about their own religion and gain knowledge about others so that they develop respect for diversity. "Young children can develop a special knowledge about religion", 2003:133 See also Chapter six of this thesis, *differing levels of religious development.*). There is a great prospect of successful chaplaincy with younger children.

There seems to be a greater prospect for success for Anglican chaplains than Methodists, as Anglicans have a special category of ordination to make room for specialised ministries such as chaplaincy. A person may thus be ordained specifically to the chaplaincy in schools. In contrast Methodists cannot set their hearts on long term appointments as their general ordination involves a vow to go where the Church sends them unless special secondment or non-itinerant ministry arrangements are made with the limitations that may be imposed by the need to have these ratified at annual synods, (Methodist Laws and Disciplines, eleventh edition). There may well be a clash between the Methodist Church leadership and individual Methodist clergy who wish to make school chaplaincy a chosen career, as is the case with some of my interviewees, unless there is more flexibility. Anglican chaplains are apparently not only more secure in their position as chaplains, but Anglican schools appear more convinced that chaplaincy is valuable on the whole. Methodists will have to persevere to make the needs for a more specialised calling to chaplaincy recognised.

Success in terms of Balance

There remains the constant problem of balancing the cerebral and experiential aspects of faith so that what is taught is more than belief in propositions or some form of consent to a belief-system, but a style of living anchored in a Christian belief-system, (see Swinton and Mowat 2006:5). Belief-systems and the outworking of these in practical faith are both necessary. The "gospel is something to be lived," (Swinton and Mowat 2006:5). Successful chaplaincy cannot be formulated in a neat job description as if it is a matter of ticking off tasks and implementing techniques. It has been noted that few chaplains had job descriptions to begin with, just as few ministers enter parish ministry with a clear job description. Meador and Shuman point out that "techniques are forms of action that are expected to produce specific objective results that are external and instrumental to the actions themselves, without respect to their embeddedness in particular ways of life. Practices may also produce goods external to the action, but that is not their primary point. The ends at which practices aim explicitly are always internal to the ways of life in which they are embedded; this cannot be said of techniques, because technique does not require to be embedded in a way of life," (Shuman and Meador 2003:91 in Swinton and Mowat 2006:22). Successful chaplaincy will thus necessarily be embedded in practical relationship-building, beginning and founded on a relationship with God, rather than in the achievement of techniques or outcomes. In the end chaplaincy is primarily about the investment of a life, a vocation, and a commitment to model Christian faith to the school community as a top priority.

Success linked with a vocation as a theologian

The practice of the chaplain requires application of theology to the work he or she does in the school. This is the requirement of doing theology in context, (see De Gruchy and Villa-Vicencio 1994, Ford and Muers 2005: viii and Part II, Responses to Modernity). The requirement is not merely application of theory, as every practice is historically grounded and inherently value-laden. Prayer for example will contain its own theological meanings, social and theological history and norms and moral expectations implicit within it.

Furthermore, practises are theory-laden, but these underlying theories are seldom noticed when the practitioner is thoroughly embedded in practises, (Browning 1983:6 in Swinton and Mowat 2006:20). The specific situation of the chaplaincy will affect the outworking of the practice through a process of theological reflection that seeks to reveal deep perspectives and meanings about the nature, purpose and intentions of the actions, assumptions of individuals or communities.

Success through Role flexibility

The insistence of faith for a chaplain is just about the only non-negotiable in the present context of social and cultural change. People are more flexible and less role-centred in postmodern times. It is not surprising, therefore that we see more varied and fluid models of school chaplaincy that reflect not only the variety of schools but also the preferences of certain powerful role players within schools, (see Beck and Willms 2004). For example we have seen the role of negotiation in freeing a chaplain from her conventional teaching duties, which she hated, (see Chapter eight). Dialogue plays a crucial role today as people have to work out roles within networks and take responsibility for their actions rather than hiding behind any rigid job description that they can tick off and say they are just doing their job. Beck and Willms identify this as a shift from a social role to a social network, (2004). This poses interesting issues for determining the role of the school chaplain. Of major importance is that s/he is no longer the sole person responsible for spirituality at the school. In actual fact the chaplain never was nor could be, but perhaps the elevation of clergy on a pedestal above others as the “spiritual” icon in the past was sufficient to create this illusion. Chaplains are aware that they operate within a network of all educators possibly as the key player responsible for the portfolio of spiritual development, but certainly no longer as soloists.

All education is claimed to have a spiritual foundation and thus all educators have a broad role in spiritual development. Why do we then not hand over to educators this task of Christian education within Church schools rather than retain the services of clerics? This research suggests that there may be opportunities for those trained in theology to focus on spirituality rather than

rely on all educators to keep this as a priority in whatever subjects they teach. We have noted in Chapter five that when every teacher is expected to be a chaplain, the task may slip between the cracks and virtually disappear from a busy school day. What is needed is an intentional focus and someone responsible to keep this focus in the forefront.

For this to be a worthy focus, chaplains should be set free from rigid syllabi to explore the questions learners are asking and dig for underlying spirituality. This implies a level of trust and autonomy. Religious education is not about imposing faith onto pupils. Such a perception is perhaps what leads Gur-Ze'ev to conclude Judeo-Christian spiritual education enslaves rather than liberates. He calls it miss-education, (Alexander 2004:154). He discards what he calls "religious irrationality" in favour of "Enlightenment rationality", but it is certainly not as simple as that. In Chapter two of this thesis there is discussion about the unproven presuppositions behind thinking. All thinking begins with certain taken for granted assumptions. There is no conscious attempt to "manipulate and control", but an agreement that the way ahead is to humbly explore together, because there is so much more that can be learnt by everyone, (see Ze'ev in Alexander:2004:155).

Applying faith rigorously to every aspect of life

The kind of chaplain this research proposes is one who demonstrates a vibrant faith that is applicable to every aspect of life. Such a chaplain will examine questions that arise fearlessly. The reactions that have been highlighted in postmodern times show that merely scientific explanations do not satisfy and there is some recognition of Mystery beyond the rational and cerebral, (Adams 1995, Alberts 1996, Alexander ed. 2004, Atkinson 2005, Templeton 2000, Polkinghorne 1998, 2005, Berger 2004, Bosch 1991, Brockway and Rajashekar 1987, Cassidy 2004, Codrington 2001, Cotterell 1990, Dallas 1998, Davie 2002, Ford and Muers 2005 Part III on theology's engagement with the natural sciences in the light of the impact of recent developments and the biological sciences in particular. Freeman 2005 holds opposing views). Basically chaplains want to teach prayer and the love of

God. The method proposed is to learn to discern God in the whole of life through the facilitation of conversations across all school subjects and activities, (Hughes 2005).

The primary reason for the chaplain being at a school according to this research is summed up in being a credible Christian Presence. In spite of personal failings, the chaplain remains a symbol of the Christian foundation of the school and the Church role in the school. It is possible for chaplains to retain a deep sense of vocation leading to the desire to demonstrate in lifestyles and teaching that the Christian faith is a viable and reasonable option for young people today, in South Africa with all the unique challenges and problems that nation faces. In order for this to happen, the kind of chaplain chosen will need to be willing to engage with the questions people ask and relate to conversations across all areas of school life. The hope is that the school community will then examine spirituality and sift assumptions in carving out personal worldviews. This requires a process of developing critical thinking across the disciplines, so that there may be a practical "focus on application of what one is learning to everyday life", (Paul and Elder 2000:15).

There is little point in producing students with straight A's unless they can think how to apply what they learn to all of life. Paul and Elder emphasise the traits of "intellectual humility, autonomy, perseverance, integrity and empathy" and "the basic abilities of disciplined thinkers", of "clarity, precision, accuracy, relevance, depth and logic" as disciplines for thinking, (Paul and Elder 2000:15). These are the very qualities Templeton mentions as necessary for the task of sifting assumptions that underlie modern life, (see Chapter three, Straddling science and faith and Templeton 2000).

Adolescents may be prone to self-absorption and embrace hedonistic lifestyles with little room for social consciousness unless they are challenged, (see Bellah 1991, Introduction). Life may become fragmented slots that isolate individuals from engagement with the wider contexts of communities,

countries and the entire global village. This thesis proposes that a chaplain may be in a unique position to journey with all members of the school community towards something better and more holistic as they are among the few school staff with the privilege of interacting with the whole school. They may use this opportunity to encourage students to connect their professed spirituality to all of life and to resist "peer group thinking" in the interests of more ethical holistic living, (Paul and Elder 2000).

While they will differ in gifts, abilities and interests, it is not negotiable for chaplains to have a wider vision than the school, to relate the school to the broader context of life and struggles outside the walls of privilege and power. Like doctors, they need to be able to examine the symptoms of societal breakdown and either help to build or work with an existing team of wounded healers to help towards healing, (the idea being that each human being bears their own scars and pain and yet may be used to heal and help others, see Henri Nouwen 1994). Unless the emphasis of schooling is broader than productivity and the narrow preparation for employment, there will be a distortion and a moral vacuum instead of a coherent spiritual focus that is embedded in a credible worldview with some substance as a truth claim, (see McIntyre1981, Murphy 2003:14).

Throughout this research it is stated that the truth claims of chaplains, what they proclaim in chapel and profess in word and deed, must be open to scrutiny and evaluation. Is it true, real and valid or is it a matter of wild flights of fancy, mere vacuous points of view, preferences, attitudes, feelings and moral evaluations without any foundation for belief, in terms of head, heart and hands? The chaplain will then use theology and indeed other fields of study, sift through challenges and help a school to think deeply about the spirituality that not only the chaplain, but the school, claims to have as a foundation. Part of this is, as Bok suggests, embracing the great responsibility to promote rigorous class discussion that will engage students in confronting and resolving ethical dilemmas, (Lee quotes Bok 1982 in Eric Digest www.ericfacitlity).

Chaplains may be regarded as nurturers of the spiritual at schools where many leaders of the future are developed. The plea then is not only for the chaplain to remind the school of the spiritual foundation of its establishment, but also to liberate spirituality from confinement to compartmentalised slots in the school programme so that it may indeed infuse every aspect of school life, in fact, the whole of life.

This may be hindered by the South African education system's obsession with outcomes that Jansen alleges "fragments knowledge into meaningless tasks that assign value to external behaviours rather than the multiplicity of ways in which learning and valuing can be experienced (if not always expressed)", (Jansen 2001:560-561 in Beckman and Prinsloo 2004:143). It is precisely this fragmentation that the chaplain is seeking to tackle by consciously seeking cross-curricular dialogue that seeks to arrive at spiritual foundations.

In summary then, what has been proposed is a larger task for a chaplain, to demonstrate an example of credible Christianity within the school context to relate this faith to the twenty-first century with all its challenges to any religion. The alternative is that chaplaincy is seen as a fossilised imprint on the school pattern from the past, retained for nostalgic traditional purposes alone. It is possible for a chaplain to be seen as part of the "institutional memory", then, representing the "old bureaucratic culture", while there is an attempt to create a new order and bring in change, (see Sehoole 2003:142). The task must begin with the building of relationships as a spiritual presence in the school, or there may thus not be sufficient trust in the chaplain, or the Church, to take the matter seriously. The liturgical, teaching, pastoral and social aspects of the chaplaincy role need to be balanced with an overall interest in the rest of school life in order to present the faith message as relevant to the concerns of the present age.

Conclusion

In the light of some of the problems chaplains in South African Church schools encounter as a result of the modern context, this thesis demonstrates that they may have a role to play even in schools where the initial Christian foundation has been somewhat eroded. In the first instance, they will continue to teach the Christian faith as a top priority as the schools that employ them still regard them as representatives of the Church. There is little doubt that it remains important for all learners to have some understanding of the Christian faith that has shaped so much of world history, as an integral part of their education, particularly in schools that claim as part of their rationale for being in existence a Christian base. It is also important that this teaching of the Christian faith should be in the hands of those who are adequately equipped with theological (and teaching) skills, rather than leave this to any teacher who happens to have a free slot on a timetable, as was the case with Religious Education in many schools in the past.

Teaching the Christian faith is thus part of the role of the chaplain who is qualified to teach religion. According to Roux, this may begin at a very early age, (2003). In addition to this, however, there is a need for learning about other religions, given the presence of many faiths within the South African context and a heritage of ignoring these as if they did not exist as far as national education policy was concerned. This is by no means a threat to those committed to the Christian faith of the school founders, but part of a broader exploration of every aspect of life in terms of spirituality and how people interpret this. This is indeed part of what is envisaged as the widening of the work for the chaplain. The current widespread acknowledgement of the importance of the spiritual may give the chaplain an opportunity to exercise an exploratory role that probes beneath the surface issues of every part of school life in order to find ways of living that integrate rather than fragment being.

The initial impetus to investigate school chaplaincy came about as a result of the researcher's own experience of being in a South African Church school

where there were debates involving Church and school leaders about the role and present possibilities for school chaplaincy. Submissions from chaplains from a large representation of the small number of Church schools with chaplaincy, confirmed that there was a certain amount of dissonance between the aspirations and expectations of Church and school for chaplains. Generally the research revealed an ebb and flow in school relations with the Church over the years, with some strengthening and reinforcing of the Church foundation noticeable in certain schools, but the opposite in others. Such a dialectic pattern is corroborated by Martin's revised secularisation theory, that the Church seemed to succumb to secularising influences and challenges that cause it to recede until there is a fresh resurgence accompanied by fresh answers to the challenges of the day, (2005).

There is indeed evidence of erosion of respect, power and influence of chaplaincy and Church in some schools. Originally the researcher expected this to be a general outcome, but was surprised to find growth in vigour and a fresh appreciation of spirituality, in addition to the strengthening of the traditional Church, chapel, chaplaincy foundation of a number of Church schools. It is certainly not a matter of merely perpetuating a tradition for these schools, but a genuine appreciation that the chaplain adds value.

Certainly at a time in South Africa's history when there is a great deal of political and economic instability, every cent spent on educational endeavours must count. There is a demand to account for the expense of the retention of chaplaincy as the dream of the "Rainbow Nation" seems to have turned into a nightmare of broken promises for the poor especially, instead of a better life for all, (the slogan of the ruling ANC government). We dare to ask for the retention of chaplains, who may be regarded as frills rather than essentials, at schools regarded as "elite" at a time when there are ample voices amplifying cries of doom and gloom. There are school leavers facing the prospect of unemployment. Global anger at food and fuel prices has spread here too. Daily we are aware of corruption and incompetence in all levels of leadership together with threats of diseases and crime that may lead to the conclusion that there ought to be a moratorium on school as usual, (South Africa has

gained the notoriety of being the “murder capital of the world”. At very least it may be said that there are “extraordinary levels of violent crime that sets the country apart from other crime-ridden societies,” according to Sibusiso Masuku of the Institute for Security Studies, www.iss.co.za. Although the crime statistics of 2004 rated murders down, attempted murders, rape, assaults and robbery with aggravating circumstances were considerably higher, according to www.capegateway.gov.za. See also www.sairr.co.za, for updates regarding social problems in South Africa from the Institute of Race Relations). The South African context is in a crisis of ambiguities that include exuberant hope only just beneath the face of the human suffering. Part of the hope lies in education to provide a key to a better future.

As South African education is in crisis, still battling with the heritage of appalling Bantu Education for the majority during the Apartheid era, Independent schools appear as a beacon of hope for some quality. They are indeed strongly criticised for serving a tiny minority, but continue to produce outstanding results; (They are beyond the financial reach of the vast majority of the population, as the Church schools are almost exclusively fee paying. In South Africa private schools only serve about three percent of the school-going population, Hofmeyr and Lee 2003). In addition to this exclusivity, is the question of whether private education is simply preparing children for emigration to greener pastures?

It may be argued, however, that the recipe of Independent Church schools is still effective in producing leaders within industry, government and society at large. Chaplaincy was part and parcel of the original recipe and can still be used to preserve an ethos of hard work and the prized “gentlemanly” ethic of decency, honesty and some adherence at least to Christian values, as we noted in chapter one and with reference to our major source, Peter Randall’s work on South African private schools, (1982). Randall is still one of the only comprehensive studies approximately twenty years after his depiction of such schools as little pieces of England. In a great many cases, his description still rings true in spite of efforts to contextualise and become African institutions.

In spite of postmodern scepticism and other issues that have eroded Church affiliation, there remains an attachment to chapel and the appointment of chaplains in most of the Church schools examined in this research. This then opens up a unique opportunity to broaden the scope of chaplaincy to be more than the normally expected facilitation of the liturgical chapel component or religious teaching slots of a school. There is a need to begin at school level to break down the increasing fragmentation of life into compartments that fail to interact and cross barriers. This involves digging beneath the surface of the disciplines that are taught at school to arrive at their spiritual foundations.

This is not an end in itself, but will hopefully provide the understanding of purpose and value for living as well as vital spiritual inspiration to work towards common solutions for humanity's pressing world problems. An implication will be the learning and application of critical thinking that involves every aspect of being, head, heart and hands, spiritual, cerebral and emotional faculties. These need to be harnessed to balance the seeming ambiguity of the needs and aspirations of every unique individual with the grounding and heritage of social and communal needs. The aim is to develop sustainable holistic worldviews to lead people from school to take their place in society, including civic, cultural, church and family responsibilities in the hope of creating a better future.

Schools must play a vital role in teaching critical thinking as solutions to global problems cannot be left to politicians. Education must not continue to concentrate on obtaining good grades in isolated subjects as the goal of the long process of schooling. Unless students have a strong foundation on which to build a solid lifestyle that will contribute to the good of the community, much of the effort of education will be nullified. There is a need to begin to dig beneath the surface of every discipline to arrive at spiritual foundations and find ways of decreasing the fragmentation of life into compartments that fail to interact. It is the development of a spiritual platform from which to launch into life that is required for the future leaders that a Church school is said to produce. The contention of this research is that this does not happen

automatically, but needs special attention and this special attention may become a specific new role for a broader conception of chaplaincy.

Chaplaincy is thus not to be defined solely in terms of the four main areas of work in liturgical, teaching, social concern and pastoral care roles, even though each of these is important and rooted in spirituality and the primary role of being a Spiritual Presence. The broader role envisaged for chaplaincy certainly does not do away with the prerogative of Church schools to teach the Christian faith, but rather enhances this teaching by relating faith to all of life. Schools that claim to be Church schools should at least allow for a credible version of the faith to be propagated rather than merely insist that chaplains concentrate on aspects of the school culture of hard work and the pleasant aspects of the ethics of Jesus without any of the unpleasant factors. There is a need for a thinking brand of faith that also balances social action and personal religious experience.

Diversity will need to be accommodated, but differences can prove to be gifts as they become the material for extensive dialogue that filters across all school disciplines and touches every aspect of work and life in order to arrive at sustainable worldviews. Part of this discussion should focus on the breakaway from frugality and self-denial that was once part of the gentleman philosophy of Church schools. The current great divide between the rich and the poor at a time of global food shortages and economic crises makes it important to begin at school to discuss issues surrounding materialism and economic structures. Furthermore, as Roux confidently says, all this teaching about religion and opening up spiritual conversations can begin with the very young, provided there is sensitivity to age-related needs, (Roux 2003). Far from being made redundant, there can be an expansion of school chaplaincy to the advantage of all members of the school community.

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E-mail correspondence has been vast. The following are simply examples. There are transcripts on file of other such correspondence.

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Prinsloo, N. (N.Prinsloo_mcsa@yahoogroups.com) 2004 "What is meant by Liberal?" e-mail to J.Krige (jkrige@stithian.com).

Many original minutes of numerous meetings pertaining to chaplaincy and other correspondence, including transcripts of conversations and conference sessions, as well as reports on work done and strategic planning meetings, are available on file. These include debates on the role of chaplaincy and extensive submissions by pupils, parents and teachers regarding aspects of chaplaincy. These together with the researcher's field notes formed the major sources for the research contained in this thesis.

Appendices

Appendix 1 – Formal Questions used for research

1 First Questionnaire for school chaplains, August 2001.

The questionnaire was given to chaplains who attended the 2001 school chaplain's conference at Pietermaritzburg, Natal.

Dear Chaplain,

I am seeking to do a research project on the chaplaincy in South African Christian independent schools. Please assist me by filling in this questionnaire and returning it to Rev Jeanette Krige, Box 44456, Linden 2104 or jkrige@stithian.com

1. Name of school
2. Boys or girls or coed?
3. What percentage day scholars do you have?
4. What percentage boarders do you have?
5. Your focus is preparatory, secondary or both?
6. What is the racial profile of your school?

7. Gender of the chaplain/s: - male / female?
8. Ages of chaplain/s: - Under 30 ____ 30-40 ____ 40 -50 ____50-retirement.
9. When did you start as the chaplain of this school?
10. Were you appointed or did you apply?
11. How long would you like to remain in this particular post?
12. What is the history of turnover of chaplains in your school?
13. Would you say that you feel specifically "called" to this chaplaincy position? Please elaborate on your answer.

14. Ordained or lay?

- If ordained, what denomination do you represent?
- How does this chaplaincy position differ from your previous work/ministry experience?

- What is your relationship with your denomination while you are in chaplaincy?
- Do you have extra ministerial duties over and above the chaplaincy in your school?
- Do you perceive that both the school and the Church understand your role? Please give reasons.

15. In what ways do your conditions of employment differ from other staff?

16. How do you perceive your role as a chaplain? What are your goals?

17. How does the school perceive your role as chaplain?

18. Do most staff view the chaplaincy in a positive or negative light?

19. How do you think the learners perceive your role and your contribution?

20. Would you say that you are effectively reaching young people?

21. How do the parents perceive your role and your contribution to the school?

22. To whom are you answerable as a chaplain in a school?

23. The Context.
    - What is the predominant economic status of the families of your school?

- How do you feel the economic environment affects expectations made on you and on the students?

- How do you feel the social environment of South Africa today is impacting your school?

- What numbers of those who are leaving the school are emigrating?

- What numbers of students and families have been directly traumatised by crime? What effect does this have on your chaplaincy?

- How is your school dealing with trauma? Do you have a role as a chaplain in this area?

- How is your school teaching democratic principles and civic duties?

- What problems does your school have with regard to racism, either overtly or covertly?

- In what way are you involved in a transformation process with regard to racism and other areas of discrimination?

- Is sexism a problem at your school?

- How would you describe the influence of the parents on your work?

Analysis – There was a very good percentage of replies to the first questionnaire, but not to the second one, below. Possible reasons were personal collection of the first during the relaxing atmosphere of a conference and relying on postage for the second (or e-mailing) during a busy term. There is also the aspect of the inappropriate length of the second. However, those who did respond were able to give some valuable details about their average working day/week to the researcher. In all the responses received

there is an overwhelming conception of being a Spiritual Presence in a school and having the priority to build relationships. This was confirmed at almost all of the Chaplain's National Conferences from 2000 – 2007. Minutes of business meetings and transcripts of many conference conversations and workshops are kept on file by the researcher.

2 – Second Questionnaire - 2003

Dear..... (addressed by name)
I would appreciate it if you are able to spare some of your valuable time to be involved in my research on school chaplaincy.

During 2002 I presented the first draft of my handbook on school chaplains at the National Chaplains' Conference in Pretoria. I am presently carrying this work forward and seeking to conduct a further analysis of the work of school chaplains through the Education Department of the University of the Witwatersrand. I am hoping that the eventual work will be of benefit to all school chaplains and our schools as well as the Church. My thesis is entitled "School Chaplains – Straddling Church and School." The emphasis of this research is on the role and expectations of school chaplains and how this work may be influenced by trends towards secularisation in society as a whole, but particularly in education. Western education is regarded as the major carrier of secularising influences, in the opinion of sociologists such as Peter Berger, but he does not agree with other sociologists that this is an indication of a generalised secularisation process. If education corrodes religion, then a possible implication for religious workers like chaplains could be that we are sidelined until we are eventually excluded from schools altogether.

Please would you be part of this research in the following way:-

1. Please write a few lines on the history of chaplaincy in your school. Include when it was first started and any details of interest surrounding the incumbents. Does your school have a large turnover and if so what do you suspect is the reason for the length of tenure of the position?
2. Please try to keep a log of all the things you do in a week as a chaplain and let me have these details. I will seek to analyse the roles chaplains play. Please indicate any things that are unusual and which activities are normal for every week.

3. What are your own perceptions about the role and expectations of a school chaplain?
4. How would you compare the work of a chaplain to that of a teacher on the one hand, and a parish minister on the other?
5. Please indicate if you would be willing to have me to visit your school and speak to you further and to various other people in your school community about their perceptions of the role of the chaplain.

All discussions will be dealt with according to research ethical requirements and I will not mention schools or chaplains by name in the final report.

Please return your writing to me at.....
I would like to have all submissions by.....
Thank you.

3 – Third Questionnaire addressed to chaplains

Questions for South African Independent School Chaplains – August 2005.

This questionnaire is designed to be used as part of an analysis of the work towards a PhD entitled "South African Independent School chaplains straddling Church and School" by Jeanette Krige through the educational department at the University of the Witwatersrand. Some chaplains have been taking part in this research for a number of years. **In order to protect all parties concerned, no schools or names of chaplains will be mentioned in the final document.** Please address any queries to Rev Jeanette Krige,

Thank you for your time.

Name _____ Address _____

Contact numbers/e-mail _____

Please delete what is not applicable or fill in blank spaces.

Section One.

The school chaplain – male/female, no of years in chaplaincy ____, fulltime/part-time, ordained/lay, invited/applied for position/sent by Church, denomination _____.

School - approximately ___ years old, day/ day and some boarders/ only boarders, Prep/ College/ all grades, coeducational/ girls/ boys, Church/ interdenominational. Religious composition is ____% committed, ___% nominal Christians, ___% others.

Chaplaincy role. Please fill in estimates for the average workload.

1. ___ hours per week **formal classroom teaching**, specify If you teach a subject other than RE/divinity/chaplain's period, please specify the amount of time and subject/s taught_____
2. ___ hours per week for **preparation** of lessons/worship,

3. ___ hours per week **counselling/pastoral** work, as the only/additional to other school counsellors,
4. ___ hours per week **administration**, specify any extra administrative duties in your particular school such as regular newsletter articles or a great number of e-mails to do each day, _____,
5. ___ hours per week in staff and other regular **meetings**.
6. ___ hours per week leading **worship/ chapel services/ Eucharist**, please specify the amount of time you have for the actual message _____.
7. ___ hours per week **community service**, specify your responsibilities in this regard

   _____,
8. ___ hours per week **extra-mural activities** with learners, specify

   _____,
9. ___ hours per week **confirmation/Bible Study** classes, specify

   _____,
10. ____ hours per quarter **baptism, marriage, funeral** prep and facilitation,
11. ____ hours per week interacting with the learner community (**holy hanging around/ ministry of presence**),
12. ___ hours per week with **staff/ heads**, specify special meetings with heads _____,
13. ___ hours per week on **management** tasks, specify your role

    _____.
14. ___ hours per term **interviewing** prospective staff as part of panel.
15. ___ hours per year on special **camps/outreach ventures/ Christian clubs**, specify any such events that you do regularly

    _____

Section 2

1. Looking back over the past two to five years, can you specify areas of **growth or loss of ground** in your traditional role and influence as a chaplain in the school?

2. In what ways if any would you say that work of a school chaplain is **different** in 2005 to the past and to what factors do you attribute the differences?

3. Are there any indications that chaplaincy or the Church part of your school may be under any threat or can you confidently put forward reasons to propose that chaplaincy will always remain a part of your staffing?

4. What role conflicts do you experience at school?

5. Would you say your school has grown more or less religious over the past years? To what would you attribute this?

6. Does the religious ethos of your school affect every area of school life or is it compartmentalized?

7. What do you perceive to be the effect on chaplaincy of the changes in South African education over the past decade?

8. Has there been any change in the attitude towards religion and the chaplaincy in your school community over the past years?

9. Would learners at your school describe the chaplain as indispensable/ important/alien/ part of the structure/ a relic of the past/ a valuable individual/ on a pedestal/_____?

10. Would your style of chaplaincy entail seeking to actively preach the gospel in order to convert as many learners as possible/ respect other religions but be open to requests for conversion/ leave conversions to the Church outside school/ concentrate on ethics and generally acceptable topics?

11. To what extent if any, is there an element of either competition or co-operation between the chaplaincy and psychological/ counselling services at your school?

12. What are your goals for chaplaincy in the next few years?

Thank you for your contribution.

Jeanette Krige.

Analysis – the above questionnaires produced valuable data that was used in all the chapters pertaining to chaplaincy within South Africa. This was further strengthened by the submissions from groups at the workshop in Cape Town, 2004, at which the researcher had a morning workshop.

4 - Workshop by Rev Jeanette Krige – Chaplain's Conference 2004

This was used at the National Chaplain's conference at Cape Town in August 2004. The researcher was given the opportunity of an hour and a half workshop and the following questions were used to discern understandings of roles of chaplains. During this time, three schools were visited and the questions below were re-phrased to ask the opinions of heads, teachers, pupils and parents as well as any other staff members who happened to be accessible. Similar questions were asked of past and present members of school communities in all of the schools visited throughout this research.

Chaplains straddling Church and School

Introducing three important questions -

1. What are we doing? Is anyone doing anything that is different?
2. What should we be doing? Is there anything we should do that we are not yet doing?
3. Does the school environment make it possible to do what we ought to be doing? What is the future of our work?

Group Discussion

1 - Describe your typical week. What do you normally do? What things do you find surprising or different about each others' "normal" work? What do you think your school head, teachers, pupils and parents expect of you as a chaplain? What does your Church denomination expect of you as a chaplain? To what extent is it possible to satisfy these expectations?

2 – What are the things you feel you would like to be doing or should be doing as a chaplain and what is the difference between with your actual work in a typical week? What takes most of your time and energy? Are these things important or merely detracting from that which you think is more important? Which of the things you have decided are really important do you believe are really possible to be accomplished within your school context? What are the reasons for inhibiting the actualisation of some of these things?

3 - To what extent do you experience a conflict in interests between the roles of priest on the one hand and teacher on the other? How many hours a week are you expected to teach, if any? Have you ever been trained to teach? Do you experience discipline problems and find any aspect of teaching in the classroom difficult?

4 – Why do you think your school may or may not consider having a chaplain of a different gender, age or race group? What is the demographic nature of your school? How do you work at bridging the gap between the genders, generations and race groups in your school community?

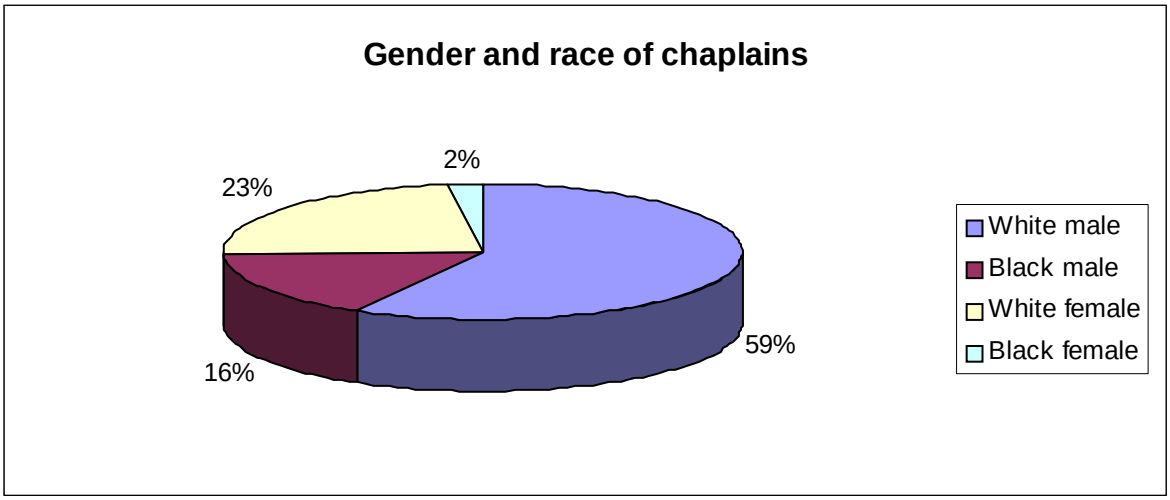
5 - Describe any extra-mural and sports activities that you do at school. Do you experience conflicts of interest as you seek to balance this with your specifically religious duties?

6 – Do you identify with any of these expressions, being Jesus, a Moral policeman, Judge, Wounded Healer, servant leader? If you are on the management team of your school, how does this impede or expand your chaplaincy? In what ways are you expected to be "Messiah"?

7 – Can you identify ways in which your school seems to be becoming either more secular or more faith–orientated as time goes by? Are there any indicators that the appointment of a chaplain may be at risk in your school and if not, what makes you confident that this post is not likely to become redundant in the foreseeable future?

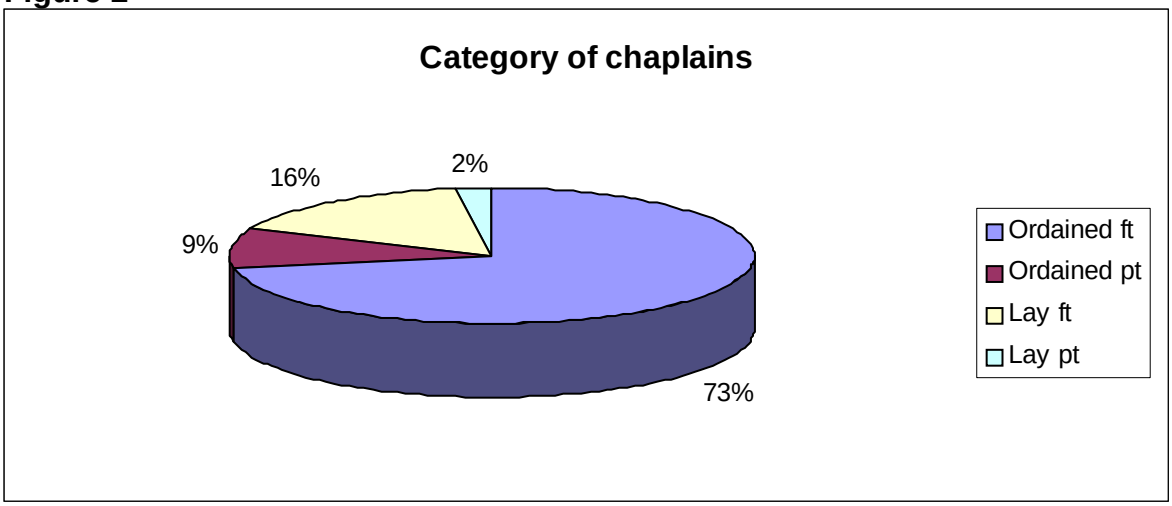
Appendix 2 - Charts and analyses of chaplains at thirty-two South African Independent schools

Figure 1



This shows that merely 18% of the chaplains in the sample are Black. Only 25% are female. The vast majority are White males. There is still a perception that clergy are male.

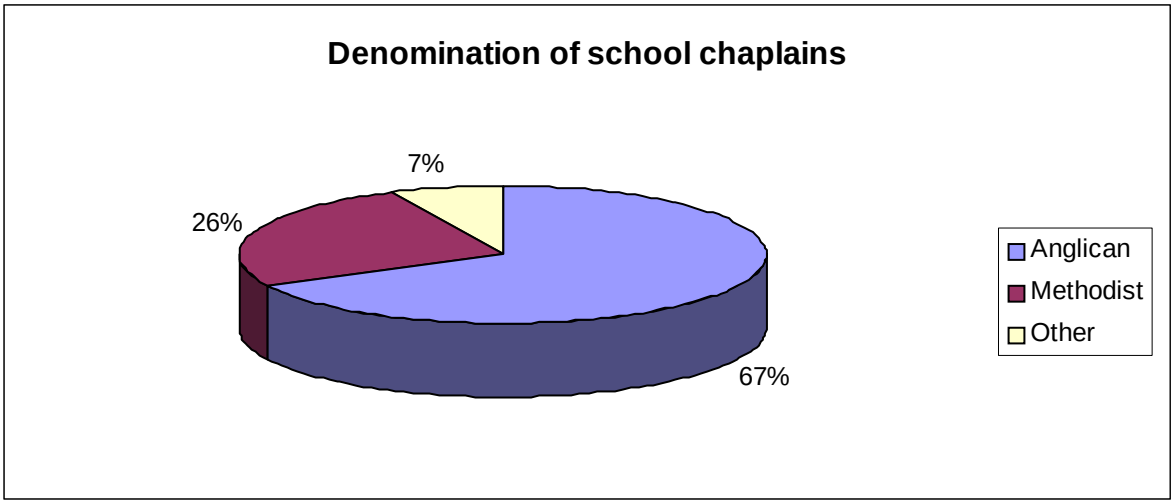
Figure 2



Most chaplains, 82% are ordained. The remainder 18% have only come into chaplaincy fairly recently. They happen to be younger than the other chaplains. Of the chaplains mentioned in the sample, but not recorded in the graphs, very few are under thirty, most are well over forty and at least four are

very close to retirement. The graph indicates that the overall recipe of chaplains at Church schools demanded ordination.

Figure 3



The majority of chaplains, 67% are Anglicans, as expected from the number of Anglican Independent Church schools and the British heritage of South African private schooling. There may be some reluctance for Anglican schools to appoint other than Anglicans to their schools, in spite of agreements with the Church Unity Commission that allow for appointments across denominational barriers for Anglicans, Methodists, Presbyterians and Congregationalists. The second largest group is Methodist. There are only six high schools and three primary schools established by Methodists in the category of Independent schooling under consideration. Most of the numerous other schools established by both Anglicans and Methodists were taken over by the state and were mission schools for poorer people. Often the founders desired that the schools they established should be for poor children, but they became the domain of the rich.

Appendix 3 - Submissions of written opinions of grade nine girls during 2002 about spirituality at their school

"In Grade eight we went to ….. (they mentioned the names of institutions the girls visited as part of their RE community service). We felt good about these visits because we drew closer to God because we were doing something good and helpful to others. Our chapel means a lot to us. There are many beautiful stained glass windows. The large front one shows the Good Samaritan helping a poor hurt man. RE really benefits us."

"As you enter our large chapel you are engulfed in an overwhelming sense of peace. Peace at the presence of God and Pride as representatives of the Good Samaritan window displayed on the sun wall. There is a sense of space, colour and silence. This is our chapel. Our school is surrounded by a spiritual happiness and thankfulness to God for the wonderful life experiences available to us as members of a (Church denominational) school. We seek to think and act to honour God, honour others, and honour self."

"Ours is not a school which forces religion on you, you have a choice. School life here is a rare thing."

"You have the choice to listen and accept or reject religion. Love and compassion are part of the close bond at school due to the (Church denomination) ethos. All are encouraged to live a moral life based on Christian values."

“The message of respect for self and others gets across but peer pressure can lead people to act as if these things do not matter. We think that RE will have a definite influence on girls later, if not now.”

“The teachers try their best to instil Christian values and the code of conduct represents good morals. We are encouraged to be servant leaders, to be humble and put others before ourselves. Community service is an important part of this spirituality.”

“Our badge reminds us of the symbolism of the cross and honouring God.”

"We find it inspirational to be able to get guidance from a Christian point of view."

"We have a lot of fun and enjoy our RE lessons a lot. Religion is an important part of the school. Loving God, others and the self is important to the whole of life."

"We are urged to make our own decisions regarding our personal beliefs and are told that we need to make up our own minds about our faith."

"We all thoroughly enjoy this school and the church aspect makes it a better place. Readings and lessons at chapel are spiritually fulfilling and RE lessons give us confidence in our spirituality."

"Confirmation is a great opportunity to confirm your beliefs and develop a better understanding of yourself and God."

"Every Tuesday and Thursday we go to chapel across the field. We sit and listen to sermons about God. It is good to go to chapel in the morning because it helps you get through the day with the message on your mind. It is really nice to sit in the morning and just listen about God. It helps put people in better moods for the day. Most people don't go to church on Sunday and so chapel is a chance for them to learn about God."

"There are some members of our school community who say that spirituality at school does not affect their lives. They would rather not have any of the religious aspects of school life. I am not sure about religion at the moment, but I came to this school because it is a good school and I enjoy it."

"The campus is such a happy, lively place, always a place to reflect and think about spirituality."

"As Christians we accept the Muslims and all others here without problems."

"At this school everybody respects whatever culture, colour or religion you follow. Chapel services are a time to unite as a school."

"Chapel helps to make us feel more complete, concentrate on spirituality and make our lives better."

""We hear God's word and name every day through pupils and teachers and this makes our faith stronger and helps us to grow spiritually."

"There is always something to think about from the meaningful chapel services."

"Our school does not drill things about God into us, but takes a more integrated approach about telling us about God."

"Religion at school is a way of life."

"We love some of the songs we sing in chapel. They are inspiring."
“The way of bringing messages and issues across in RE is so casual that we can feel comfortable and relaxed.
"It is not a case of a million sheets to stick in a work book in our religious lessons. We feel we can discuss as equals with our teacher in RE."
“RE teaches us to respect and acknowledge what God has done for us. We learn to forgive. RE is relaxed. This encourages us to learn, giving us a break from normal difficult school work. We need this time to pray."
“RE helps me to learn about what others believe and express my own beliefs.”
"Your own spirituality is something that connects you to God and helps you get through the bad times. God is like our own personal "Mother" whom we can talk to when we feel we cannot go to anyone else. God is always there for us."
"Most people don't give much attention to spirituality, but chapel and RE make us come back to reality and learn more about our Creator and Saviour. Spirituality at school is about realizing that there are more things to life than money and all the material things people tend to rely on these days."
"For those girls who have not yet discovered or let God into their lives, our school gives them this opportunity. A Christian school is different from a non-religious school because it works around a certain value and moral system. This in turn creates a positive atmosphere in which we can concentrate on our studies and know Jesus Christ is there for us."
"We respect and honour each other's spirituality and religion. "
"Spirituality is the basis of the school motto ….."
"Being at our school has changed us and affected us on a deeper level, a spiritual level."

Analysis

The researcher has these written transcripts available. The overall tone is very positive towards the chaplaincy. The chaplain was very surprised and pleased as a result. Generally Grade nines give the impression of rebelling against religion at school and do not often give the impression of finding what the chaplain does helpful. The chaplain who conducted this questioning of learners only had access to girl students at this stage and was not able to

compare these findings with those from boys, which probably detracts from the value of this as research.

The chaplain identified her school as a place where girls are encouraged to voice their opinions with forthright confidence. The fact that the submissions were anonymous would hopefully add to the hope that they would reflect fearless honesty. This would deal with what Nadar refers to throughout her paper on *Hermenuetics for transformation*, as a “hidden transcript” of rebellion masked beneath outward conformity, (2007, in Scriptura). It is possible, however, that some of the girls realised that the chaplain would be reading their submissions and did not wish to offend or reveal their true opinions.

Appendix 4 – Submissions from Grade Seven Girls

Every year questions were asked to Grade six and seven pupils at a certain school over a period of five years. They were free to write about what they wanted most in RE classes, including questions, topics and suggestions as well as comments or requests for private interviews with the chaplain. The researcher has a file of these responses. The question was asked what they pupils thought a chaplain did and what they thought a chaplain should be doing, what they thought about RE and being in a Church school. A sample of the responses is included below. Some of the answers were similar and so the following represents most of the differences for a group from 2005, one-liners from about fifty five learners –

A chaplain should be very close to God, lead church services and teach us on (sic) God, encourage us to follow God, sing, pray and explain God, doing a good job, tell us about God but make it fun, pray for us, spread the word, help us understand God, study God and make us realise how good he is, teach us that the Lord is our saviour, make God exciting so that we don't lose interest, be available at all times, make you feel special, implements Christianity in our lives, reads prayers, keeps people Christian, helps with problems, helps you know God in your own way, be more open to other religions, a wonderful and spiritual person helping us to learn about God, help us pray and that is good, person who is always there for you, a priest like thing who runs Church, speaks the word of god, One who needs to be in touch with their God, One who helps with faith.

About RE and having a Church school they said:-

It is good to pray before class. A Church school follows the way that God says we should follow. We always acknowledge our feelings in RE. Not all people are Christian in the school but there is a lot of love. A church school worships Jesus and the Holy Spirit. RE has always been a time to pray about things that happened during the week. We learn about God and give him time. We used to pray before class and get hugs after class. It is good to

have RE as it gives us quite (meaning quiet?) time with God. It is good because on weekends I'm usually busy and can't go to Church. It is good to go to chapel as chapel helps me keep my faith. RE is fun. We learn to respect God. We learn to appreciate ourselves and others in RE. RE is wonderful because we can talk about issues. If we did not have a Christian school we would not be a clean school.

Analysis – These transcripts are on file with the researcher. The submissions were anonymous unless the person wanted to make contact with the chaplain and request an interview. A number did so. The Grade sevens seemed largely satisfied with being at a Church school and having a chaplain. It is interesting that some felt the chapel was a substitute for church attendance over the weekend, when they were busy. Apparently some wanted more fun in lessons. Others were impressed with the time they were given to express their feelings and pray about their problems, as well as be quiet. It is not clear what the last comment means, but it probably is some perception of moral cleanliness that the child thought was at her school due to the presence of the faith base. Much of the responses about a chaplain are somewhat idealistic. One wonders from the request about the chaplain being available at all times whether this chaplain was away from the school often or whether it was an unrealistic demand for attention. There seems to be an emphasis not only on teaching but on prayer, so one gathers that this chaplain tried to include a great deal of the experiential elements of faith, even to the extent of the comment on giving hugs, which would probably not be appreciated by older pupils or boys. (This is a woman chaplain at a girl's school. It is with regret that similar responses were not available from boys at the time of writing).

Appendix 5 - Comparing the role of the church minister and the school chaplain

Having returned to a congregational ministry after six years as a school chaplain, the researcher was asked, "What is it like to be back in *real* ministry?" She was too astonished to ask what was meant. The implication seems to be that chaplains are somehow playing or not serious about ministry. The following is an adaptation of some findings from Swinton and Mowat (2006:180f) with some personal reflections from the research, but including an analysis from workshops on the role of school chaplains facilitated by the researcher at a theological seminary during 2000 and 2004. Many of the student ministers expressed the belief that school chaplains had forsaken their calling as ministers for an easier or more lucrative position at schools. Numerous conversations with ministers at synods throughout the years of this research reveal that this opinion may be widely held by both clergy and lay people. In addition to this is an opinion that certain clergy are school chaplains by default as they have failed to attain a church appointment. The table below attempts to clarify some of the perceived differences between a minister in a congregation and a chaplain in a school.

Minister	**Chaplain**
Central figure - regarded as important to head local church.	**Peripheral figure** - **optional** appointment. Head is central.
Finger on pulse of all that goes on.	**May not know** what goes on, unless on management committee.
May be first to be called in event of crisis.	Professional care-givers called instead of chaplain.

Minister	**Chaplain**
Generally clearly understood and **defined role**, to grow church, but some may expect countless visits to aging or ill members as main task. Stereotype may exist that ministers only really "work" on Sundays when they preach. Regarded as **called to the work, vocation, rather than job**. Basic identity of a minister of a faith community holds almost immediate **respect** in spite of caricatures and stereotypes.	**Less understood clear-cut role**, having to prove self, earn respect and face resistance of people who are forced to attend religious classes and chapel services. Likely to be less valued than teachers of university entrance score subjects. Religion regarded as a "soft" subject. **Ambivalent position,** not necessarily wanted or important, just another specialist or even senior staff member in charge of religious portfolio, or revered as **representative of God.**
Can be isolated by attitudes that ministers are holier and different, **marginalised** by society at large, but generally embraced by people who have called the priest to serve - talk same faith language. Serve **all socio-economic groups** within community, although may be predominantly one particular group.	Profile has to be worked out in different school context - **not necessarily supported, possibly marginalised**. Has to translate faith words into contemporary situation and seek to relate message of Church to mainly biblically illiterate school population - **missionary mainly to the rich.**

Minister	**Chaplain**
Competitive attitudes may be disguised as **supportive** by other ministers in same area - other churches could take people away. Laity may have **subtle anti-clerical attitudes** that result in an overly-critical attitude to minister and attempts to control. Alternatively ministers can be authoritarian and dominating. Held accountable to Church structures, councils and bishops. Larger church duties can clash with local needs.	**Supportive** attitudes from other chaplains as their positions are not threatened by helping colleagues in other schools. Many private schools have **competitive staff relations**. Each member striving for own area of expertise. Secular psychological services can compete with chaplain's pastoral work. Heads can dominate. Accountable to school and Church, complications of straddling between two institutions.
Agenda clearly to grow church - targets like filling pews, managing church like a business, watching finances, gaining numbers, introducing stimulating programmes and services. Spiritual growth not that easy to define and assess.	**Agenda** only clear when set lessons and services. Pastoral "wasting time" or intentional loitering to forge relationships and meet people where they are, to fit Christian ministry to specific situations. Spiritual formation agenda difficult to analyse/assess.
Teaching and preaching can be mainly to Christians who choose to be there.	**Teaching** and preaching as school requires, to children and teachers who may not wish to be there.
Functions and events as part of community life of church, shared with members.	**Functions and events** as staff member, with designated role, usually ceremonial, like prayer at meetings. May coach **sports, facilitate camps/clubs.**

Minister	**Chaplain**
Church members hold **pastoral and spiritual care** in high esteem. Often first call in time of need. Minister often **invited to share** holy moments, significant events of life and death.	School community may seek professional, religiously neutral help in preference. May call on chaplain as **last resort** in time of death and bereavement.
Concerns about buildings, maintenance, church groups, but also people's problems.	School takes charge of buildings and finances. Concern for people, staff, pupils, families.
In theory one day off per week and an annual holiday. **Presumed to be always available.**	Some are free over most weekends, but many have church services and sports. **Long school holidays**, but some always on duty for emergencies.
Can work **generally flexibly** and attend to crises as they arise. More control over time.	Lessons at school are **not flexible -** this may hinder attention to crises. Work according to school timetable set with many others in mind.
Appointment for period of time, but always possibility of Church sending elsewhere. Some stay on for a number of years and become vital part of the community.	**Some sent by Church** for limited time. Many seconded from Church after successful job application. Some may grant permanent, others shorter contracts, preferring younger.
Broad spectrum of people, gender, age groups and needs, religious and non-religious - whole of life from cradle to grave.	Some boarding, some day, some co-educational, some monastic models, **generally limited to school community** and immediate families, religious and non-religious, few community service contacts outside school total environment.
Manages church with help of leaders. Initiates and may control **interviewing** of other church staff.	**May have role on management**. May be part of **interviewing** process.

Minister	**Chaplain**
Specific, deliberate focus on Christianity, but may be involved with broader community in projects.	In some schools expected to focus on more general spirituality and be in dialogue with other faith traditions. It is suggested in this research that this should extend to a broad dialogue across disciplines.

Appendix 6 – An Easter Rugby Festival Comment

A newly appointed chaplain reported on his impressions of the erosion of the influence of the chapel in the lives of learners. He spoke about Easter, the celebration of the death and resurrection of Jesus, the heart of the Christian faith. His observation was that the main worship over Easter at the school takes place on the rugby field. Like a few other prominent boys' schools, there is a rugby festival. It was started twenty-five years ago and is a firm tradition, apparently more sacred than chapel worship in some instances. It is also a matter of controversy between Church and school due to the amounts of alcohol consumed on the school property during the festival. While the Church plans chapel services over this period, they seem to be a duty that interrupts the really important game of rugby.

The chaplain drew a contrast between Easter celebrations at school and at his previous church. They would begin to celebrate Easter with holy week services leading up to a Thursday service with foot-washing or some remembrance of the events of the Last Supper. There would be a traditional service in addition to a three-hour vigil on Good Friday. There are sunrise services and other joyful Easter Sunday celebrations. Being from a community where Easter is taken very seriously, he found it very surprising to come to a so-called "Christian" school and find that Easter was almost ignored as far as religious significance is concerned. It was simply a holiday away or at home with family, but seemingly without worship. Above all it meant rugby. Crowds attended the festival that totally overshadowed Easter. Rugby took on a religious fervour with hosts of passionate players and supporters cheering. The chapel was silent and empty.

There was usually a school church service that was compulsory for the rugby players on the Good Friday or the Easter Sunday. For the first time in twenty five years the entire Easter service programme was organised by the rugby festival committee without any consultation with the chaplains, indicating just how far chaplaincy was being eroded at the school. The chaplains had gone

ahead and planned services as usual only to find the day before that the time of the compulsory Good Friday service had been changed and the Easter Sunday service had been cancelled altogether. Furthermore, a speaker had been arranged for the service on Good Friday. The speaker was a poor public speaker without theological or preaching training, but with a sporting reputation. Sport was clearly the priority.

The discipline of the Church to which the school was affiliated was clear that no one should preach in a church unless they were part of the order of local preachers and were undergoing or accredited with favourable results after a stringent training process. This speaker read a few lines of an old stilted liturgy and gave a short homily about friendship and sport without mentioning Good Friday. The chaplains were offended by this as well as the complete lack of consultation beforehand and the unilateral decision of the rugby committee to cancel Easter Sunday's service as well, in spite of the fact that some members of the community may have wished to attend this voluntary service on what is regarded as the most sacred day for Christians.

Religion was already a very small part of the whole rugby festival, as it was merely one service that was compulsory the whole weekend. That year saw it constricted even more to become an even smaller, manageable and controllable item. Chaplains are told that they are in charge of the chapel and all that goes on in it, but perhaps what took place would be equivalent to chaplains who happen to know very little about the game of rugby, to organise all the rugby matches. There would be an insistence of qualification when it came to the sport, but religion is given the ambiguous distinction of being regarded as an area requiring little expertise so that anyone can speak in chapel in many schools. Anyone who is not trained in a specific academic discipline at the school stands no chance of teaching that subject, let alone addressing the entire school body. Those who are untrained in theology may be invited to take services. There is a great deal of gate-keeping in all areas, not only the academic disciplines in an independent school, except it seems, with regard to the chapel.