

Students, citizens and seekers: An exploration of justifications for university chaplaincy and the consequent subjectification.

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Abstract

The role and value of chaplaincy is a controversial topic within Australia, with the discussion being led by consideration of secondary school chaplaincy. This paper presents a theoretical exploration of how chaplaincy, regardless of its professional setting, might be justified using an '*Economies of Worth*' framework (Boltanski & Thévenot 1999/2006). Application of this theory suggests that the person with whom the chaplain works will be defined and subjectified consistently with the principles whereby chaplaincy is valued. This paper considers the different *Worlds of Valuing* described within the framework and comments on the unique contribution that chaplaincy makes within the professional environment of the modern, secular university. The conclusion reached as a result of this reflection is that chaplaincy provides a unique and valuable contribution to the life of the tertiary education campus because, by its nature, it uniquely permits the actualisation of aspects of an individual's identity relating to spirituality. The individual therefore has the freedom to operate within a wider range of roles than might be possible if chaplaincy was not included within the repertoire of supports and services provided by the university.

Key words

Chaplaincy in higher education, university, Economies of Worth, students, subjectification, values.

INTRODUCTION

This paper focuses on the diversity of justifications which might be given for chaplaincy in higher education, and discusses the values from which those justifications might arise. Boltanski and Thévenot's work, "On Justification" (1999/2006), will be used to provide a theoretical framework for this discussion and to highlight the ways in which a person's identity may be variously perceived and

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constructed. Depending on which value system is being applied, the persons with whom chaplains engage in the course of their work might be conceived as students, citizens, or spiritual seekers, for example. The conclusion reached as a result of this reflection is that chaplaincy provides a unique and valuable contribution to the life of the tertiary education campus because, by its nature, it uniquely permits the actualisation of aspects of an individual's identity relating to spirituality. The individual therefore has the freedom to operate within a wider range of roles than might be possible if chaplaincy was not included within the repertoire of supports and services provided by the university.

BACKGROUND

Before entering into theoretical discussion, it is necessary to provide a brief description of a controversy which arose in Australia and brought the question of the purpose and value of chaplaincy into public awareness. The controversy specifically focused on the Commonwealth Government-funded National Schools Chaplaincy Program (NSCP) in primary and secondary schools, which commenced in 2007 (Commonwealth of Australia 2011, p.3). Up to \$55 million per annum was committed to the program from Commonwealth funds. Through the scheme, schools participating in this program partnered with a religious body which was paid \$20,000 p.a. to provide chaplaincy services to the school. This meant providing one (or possibly more) chaplains for the equivalent of at least 2 full days to the school. Goldberg (2008) notes that chaplaincy sponsors were often Christian churches, but also included other organisations, such as Scripture Union, Queensland (SUQ).

In 2010, Mr Ronald Williams, the father of four children attending a State (that is, secular) secondary school, challenged the authority of the Commonwealth to pay SUQ to offer chaplaincy services (High Court of Australia 2012). The High Court of Australia ruled that the funding agreement between the Commonwealth and SUQ was not valid. Mr Williams also argued that in making these payments the chaplain was an officer of the Commonwealth, and consequently, a religious test was being applied to the 'officer of the Commonwealth' and therefore the whole arrangement was unconstitutional. However, the High Court ruled that the chaplain could not be deemed to be an officer of the Commonwealth and that no religious test was being applied, and there was no issue with constitutionality. The question of the authority of the Federal Government to pay for chaplaincy was easily addressed by legislative measures so that Commonwealth funding could continue to support the program. During the national debate which accompanied this controversy, issues were raised about the place of chaplaincy within the secular, secondary education environment. The issues highlighted in the discussion paper produced by the Gillard Government, (Commonwealth of Australia 2011, pp. 5-12) addressed areas such as the demand for the program, the employment options and management details, funding, accountabilities and outcomes. The discussion paper also spoke to "the religious nature of the program", the multifaith needs of school communities, and the definition and use of the term 'chaplain'. Measures were put in place to address some of these issues and the scope of the program was broadened to include the option of employing either a (religious) chaplain or a (non-religious) welfare worker.

Though this controversy was focused on secondary schooling, it has provided opportunity to reflect on the purpose and value of chaplaincy within the context of the secular Australian university. Chaplaincy services have a long history of association with education in Australia and have continued to grow and diversify over time. This is evidenced in Blundell's (2002) outline of the development from single-faith (even single denomination) chaplaincies to multifaith chaplaincies within Australian secular universities. While single-religion services may have been initially offered by some institutions, there appears to be an evolution of chaplaincy services on offer within Australia (Rogers

2009), such that multifaith chaplaincy services are actively developed and a diversity of religious offerings are made on campuses, for example, at Flinders University (Boyce 2005) and Griffith University (Blundell 2002). The diversity of models and expressions of chaplaincy within the Australian tertiary educational campus is evidenced, not just by the range of faith traditions represented on campus, but also by the varied sacred spaces, contractual arrangements and program offerings (Rogers 2009; Blundell and Cetrangolo 2010).

On the surface, it would seem to be the accepted norm that a tertiary institution should ensure there is an active chaplaincy service on offer; however, there is little discussion in the available literature of why there should actually be a chaplaincy service available in the first place. Within the primary and secondary schools setting some work has been done to interrogate the value of chaplaincy, with an emphasis on perceived benefits to the educational institution and students (e.g. Social Compass Research 2009; Commonwealth of Australia 2011). Nevertheless, there is a lack of literature addressing the importance of chaplaincy within the context of higher education institutions in Australia.

Bartorowicz and Conwell (2010) assert that, “[r]eligion cannot be ignored by any university, public or private, regardless of whether religious bodies establish them or not. The fact is that there are religious and spiritual needs on campus.” Von Dietze (1999) also affirms the importance of chaplaincy to the university, and asserts that “the chaplain brings particular expertise and combinations of expertise in spiritual, religious, values and ethical areas.” He further argues that “by virtue of the role, the chaplain is able to offer a specifically focused service in a manner which no other role on campus can.” Von Dietze (1999) goes on to describe professional, academic and social roles which might be filled by the campus chaplain. While acknowledging both the importance of addressing religious and spiritual needs on campus, and acknowledging the technical expertise provided by the professional chaplain, this conceptual paper seeks to explore these issues from a theoretical perspective, which may then find wider application. This paper seeks to contribute to discussions of the place and purpose of university chaplaincy and arises from discussions at the 2011 annual TCMA conference in which these matters were discussed within the context of the Australian High Court case. Discussion of these issues continued after the conference and gave rise to this paper considering valuing, in general, theoretical terms, and also a paper by Arto Arvakian, which considers chaplaincy from the perspective of economic valuing².

In a time of tightening budgets, both within the educational and religious institutions, it is useful to be able to identify unique contributions to the educational experience arising as direct consequences of chaplaincy, and therefore to provide justification for the services provided by the chaplaincy team.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The theoretical framework which is applied in this conceptual paper is that developed by the team surrounding Luc Boltanski, and described in the book, *On Justification. Economies of Worth* (1999/2006). Boltanski and Thévenot’s (1999/2006) work on a ‘sociology of justification’ is based upon scientific observations of collective action and individual strategy, and seeks to account for them, not as dichotomous, but rather as two parts of a single ‘political metaphysics’ (p. 28). Boltanski and Thévenot (1999/2006) observed that individuals seek to justify their attitudes or actions, not by

² See the article by Arto Arvakian, included in this issue.

directly naming the principles upon which they rely, but by associating persons/subjects and objects together in a consistent argument with those recognised principles of justice.

When one is attentive to the unfolding of disputes, one sees that they are limited neither to a direct expression of interests nor to an anarchic and endless confrontation between heterogeneous worldviews clashing in a dialogue of the deaf. On the contrary, the way disputes develop, when violence is avoided, bring to light powerful constraints in the search for well-founded arguments based on solid proofs, a search that thus manifests efforts toward convergence at the very heart of a disagreement. (Boltanski and Thévenot 1999/2006, p. 13)

The Economies of Worth framework has been used in a diverse range of studies to identify the way in which justifications are made, and to comment on differences between cultures, disciplines, individuals and periods of time within a single culture. Comparative studies of French and American systems of justification have reported cultural differences in the values of the two nations. These studies included exploration of attitudes to sexual harassment (Saguy 2000), racist attitudes (Lamont 2000) and the principles used by publishing house editors to classify books (Weber 2000) in both France and the USA. Côté (2009) used this approach to provide a qualitative evaluation of teacher and artist collaborative projects. She was able to demonstrate that teachers and artists valued the projects differently, by referencing the Worlds of Valuing in different ways. Simmonneaux (2001) applied this framework in an investigation of individual students' valuing in relation to genetically modified organisms to identify the diversity of student valuing. Boltanski and Chiapello (2005) applied the framework to compare French capitalism in the 1960s and 1990s by careful study of French professional business texts to discover the differences in the ways justifications were made in each decade. While Boltanski and Thévenot report that a limitation to their theory is that it extends to western polities, and may not apply in other social arrangements, it has nonetheless been widely applied to investigate how valuing is variously expressed across time, across nations, and across disciplines.

The principles of justice which Boltanski and Thévenot originally observed were organised into 6 different cities, or logics. For the purposes of this paper, and following the terminology of Simmonneaux (2001), they will be referred to as 'worlds'. Each world is ordered according to a higher common principle (or principle of equivalence) that establishes the value and order of the subjects and objects within that world, and which determines how they relate. To present a legitimate argument (or legitimate defence), an actor must refer to the subjects and objects which operate within that world and not include elements which belong in another world of valuing. An actor is presented as justified when the people, things and principles upon which the argument is grounded form a cogent unit within a particular world of valuing. These worlds are not consciously named and referred to in the main, but represent 'cultural repertoires', as argued by Silber (Silber 2003), and therefore may be differently expressed in different cultures, or in different periods of time. Each world is aligned with a political philosophy which was not based upon power struggle (such as Marxist writings on class struggle), but which seeks to build a harmonious society. Boltanski and Thévenot presented classical texts of political philosophy (tabulated by Simmonneaux 2001) as clear articulations of the principles expressed in each world that was identified in their original work (e.g. Augustine's City of God and Rousseau's Social Contract are referred to in relation to the World of Inspiration and the World of Civics, to be described below). Since the description of the original six worlds, another two also have been described. Doubtless there are more Worlds of Valuing which can be identified, and which will in time be described. However, the eight worlds (the World of Civics, the Domestic World, the Green World, the World of Industry, the World of Inspiration, Market World, the World of Opinion and the Project-oriented World, described below) provide an adequate starting point for considering the way in which chaplaincy might be valued and justified in the context of higher education.

JUSTIFYING UNIVERSITY CHAPLAINCY

Each of the eight Worlds of Valuing which have been described within this framework will be briefly defined and presented along with some of the people and things located within that world. A quotation illustrating how its principles have been applied within the context of university chaplaincy is then also given to help ground the theory. The quotations are purposively sampled from within the JTCMA to illustrate how chaplaincy has been valued in the writings of others. This discussion does not imply that the authors who are quoted below advocated or were in any way conscious of this theoretical approach. Rather, it is the assumption of this article that the way in which they located chaplaincy within the context of other people, things, or principles is consistent with the Economies of Worth theoretical framework.

1. The Civic World (Boltanski and Thévenot 1999/2006, pp. 185-193) shapes arguments for justification by ordering around the principle of the importance of the organisation or the collective, which replaces the individual person. In this world the Party, the elected official and the member show solidarity with the collective as they work with the legislation, the rights and the policies. The Civic World is illustrated by McInerney's description of volunteer community engagement activities, as part of her role as a campus minister: "One way I promoted outreach, was to encourage students to become involved in the local community. This involvement can help students to understand their role as community members" (2010). Here, references to community situate McInerney's (2010) description within the Civic World. In effect, the present paper argues, consistent with the McInerney's statement of McInerney (2010), that chaplaincy is valuable because it contributes to valued civic principles, and may be justified as a good thing for the university on that basis
2. The Domestic World (Boltanski and Thévenot 1999/2006, pp. 164-178) orders its subjects according to the principle of tradition. However, appeals to this world are not restricted wholly to family matters, but place emphasis on personal relationships whenever justice is being argued for. The Domestic World is preoccupied with generations and traditions and hierarchies, and your place within these relational structures determines your worth. Within the Domestic World the families, leaders and bosses use their manners, ranks and announcements as they relate to others by birth, training or personal commendation. I have recorded elsewhere that an outcome of a chaplaincy program was that students reported "that their host family was taking them horse riding on the next weekend, and other students have spoken of the regular, home-cooked meals to follow on a semi-regular basis. ... it is a frequent outcome that long-term relationships are established between the student and host" (Lingard 2010). Here chaplaincy is being valued because of the arrangements of hosts and guests and hospitality, consistent with the logic of the Domestic World.
3. The Green World (Lafaye and Thévenot 1993; Thévenot et al. 2000), which is ordered around the imperative of the natural environment, has also been identified as an order of worth. The worthy actors within this world are the environmentalists and the eco-warriors who work with habitats, wilderness and ecosystems to achieve sustainability and renewability for future generations. Patel (2010) provides comment which aligns with this system of valuing when he gives one of the three ideal qualities of a chaplain as "taking action on a daily basis, being aware of the social and environmental outcomes of one's actions and inactions, effectively being a role model and exemplar in combating these concerns" (Patel 2010). Inasmuch as

chaplaincy encourages sensitivity to the world environment, it may be justified as a good and valuable pursuit.

4. The Industrial World (Boltanski and Thévenot 1999/2006, pp. 203-211) is ordered around the principle of efficiency in producing outputs. It is a very technical world and is the one in which “technological objects and scientific methods” have their place. In this world the objects (tools, definitions and measurements) are wielded by professionals, experts and specialists who integrate, analyse and process. A technical study of chaplaincy conditions, as presented by Rogers (2009), is one which is consistent with this world of valuing. His paper assumes a professional role for chaplaincy which entails consideration of such things as “working conditions, funding and training support.” The importance of the role of chaplaincy in the university may therefore be based on appeal to the professional nature of the office.
5. The World of Inspiration (Boltanski and Thévenot 1999/2006, pp. 159-164) prioritises ‘the outpouring of inspiration’. The visionary, the child and the madman inhabit this world because inspiration is manifest in their state of spontaneity, emotion or disturbance. Here they access the mind, the dream or the unconscious. Not surprisingly, it was a simple matter of finding statements which suggested that chaplaincy should be valued for its consistency with the principles of this world. Kugler (2010) describes the role of chaplains as “planting seeds in hopeful partnership with God that inspire care, appreciation and warmth towards others and perhaps even love beyond what we could have ever imagined.” It is this world, with its focus on the intangibles of life which many are most likely to recognise as being consistent with chaplaincy. Associating chaplaincy with an out-pouring of inspiration is to locate its valuing within the World of Inspiration.
6. The Market World (Boltanski and Thévenot 1999/2006, pp. 193-203) is not primarily about economics, but is ordered around the principle of competition. Clients, businessmen and buyers are people of worth in this world, and as such are able to access the desirable objects of wealth and luxury items. When applying this system of valuing to chaplaincy we are faced with service provision and dealing with the clients of these services. Rogers (2009) identifies “the major reason for placing chaplains on a campus is to extend its resources for student and staff well-being in relation to faith and well-being. The sheer numbers on campus mean that such extended support services via the Chaplaincy are valuable resources for the tertiary community.” Presenting chaplaincy as a valued resource for the benefit of the university is to apply the reasoning of the Market World.
7. The World of Opinion (Boltanski and Thévenot 1999/2006, pp. 178-185) may also be known as the World of Fame, or Celebrity. This world is ordered according to the ‘reality of public opinion’ and recognises the opinion-leader, the personality and the spokesperson as the worthy persons. They use the brand, the Press and the campaign as their objects as they influence, attract and seduce. The value of chaplaincy may therefore be presented by its association with a highly regarded chaplain, or with men and women of some celebrity or prominence. Rogers (2009), for example, discusses the establishment of Chaplaincy at Monash University “after many years of discussion and negotiation by the leaders of the major faith bodies in Melbourne and the University’s Foundation Vice Chancellor, Professor Louis Matheson and his council.” The implication of this statement is that chaplaincy (at least at Monash University), as presented in this statement by Rogers (2009), is valuable by its association with a high-profile and well-respected personality (namely, Professor Louis Matheson). Regardless of other’s assessment of Matheson, his name is presented here in justification of chaplaincy.

8. The Project-oriented World (Boltanski and Chiapello 2005), or Network logic, describes a system of justification for a world that is ordered around the principles of activity and project initiation. Within this world the worthy are the managers, coaches and innovators who can make connections using such objects as IT, franchises and flexible contracts. Patel (2009) refers to the need to be flexible and open to involvement in projects: “[The chaplain] has to move beyond dialogue. Interactions with students, staff and other service providers will be an important duty of Chaplains. Attend and help organise events that can increase and promote awareness of other faith practices.” The capacity to network and work flexibly is one of the valued characteristics of chaplaincy, according to this regime of valuing.

Finally, it should be noted that in sampling texts to illustrate the various Worlds of Valuing, frequent references to the concepts of multifaith and inter-faith engagement were noted. A ninth world is therefore proposed:

9. The World of Diversity, in which the principle of inclusivity is the basis for determining justice, is a possibility that requires some consideration. An example is provided by Burgess’ (2010) discussion of the range of diverse spiritual traditions represented by a group traveling to the Parliament of World Religions in 2010. Burgess comments: “[t]his diversity reflected a natural gathering of interested people who had been working together in a multifaith environment.” There are many examples of when chaplaincy seems to be valued because it encompasses diversity and acknowledges equality. The scope of this paper does not permit in-depth discussion of a possible World of Diversity, which must be left for another time.

These worlds present the criteria by which an action, such as providing chaplaincy services, can be judged as fair and legitimate. They co-exist in a plurality, and it is up to the individuals who are in dialogue to negotiate which system of valuing (e.g., the World of Civics or the World of Inspiration) they are engaging by the way they invoke combinations of people or things or principles in order to strengthen their position. However, the range of possible human responses extends beyond justifying one’s position in an effort to resolve a dispute. Justification is the action which is pursued in one of the quadrants of a plane described by two axes. The first axis relates to peace/conflict and the second axis relates to the recognition of higher common principles, or forms of justice (see Figure 1). It is within this first quadrant that the Worlds of Valuing are located. In the second quadrant we find Violence which denies justification or seeks to suppress the discourse which might lead to tests of fairness and justification. Love also evades justification, but because it doesn’t require justification. Côté (2009) explains Love by using the example of giving a gift and not seeking anything in return, not even another’s approval. The final quadrant is labelled Familiarity. Familiarity works on assumptions of common understanding, no dispute, and no requirement for justification. While actions other than justification are possible, and accounted for in this theory, this paper considers only the action of justification.

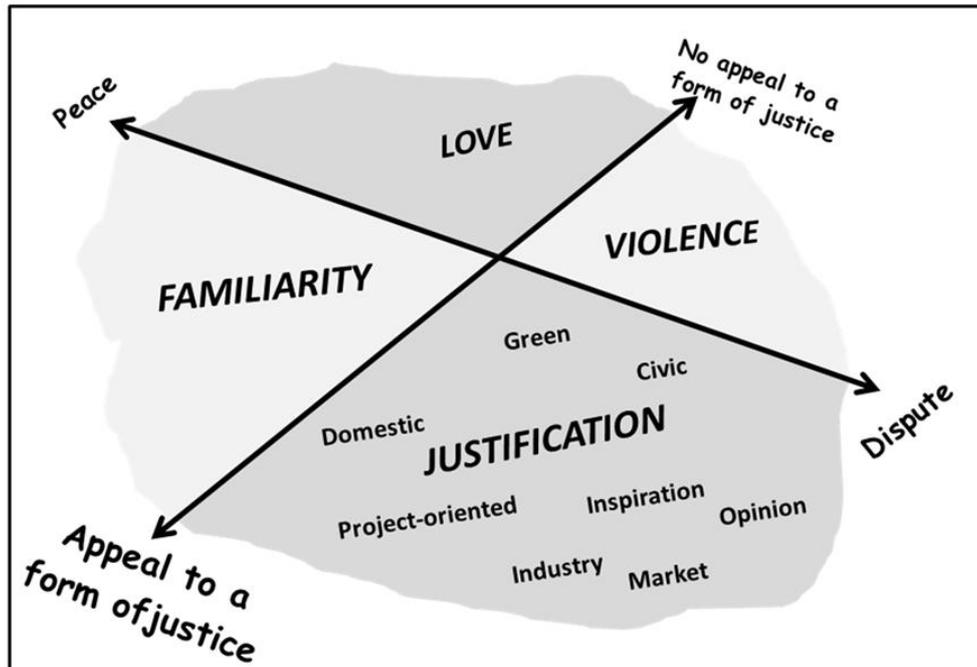


Figure 1. Fields of action. *This figure is a graphic representation of the four fields of action showing the eight Worlds of Valuing. It is adapted from Albertson and Dickens (2001).*

In summary, this framework presupposes that persons may respond to a situation from within one of the four fields of action (Justification, Love, Violence or Familiarity). When actors respond from within the field of Justification, seeking to demonstrate the legitimacy of their actions, they appeal (usually unconsciously) to one of a range of principles of justice, which are described by the Worlds of Valuing (Inspiration, Civic, Domestic, Opinion, Market, Industrial, Project-oriented, Green, or other). Therefore, the present paper argues that if an institution of higher education is going to provide a chaplaincy service, then provision of the service has in some way been valued by the institution, at least implicitly. However, there are many ways in which chaplaincy might be valued, and justified, as evidenced by the examples used above. The purpose of the final section of this paper is to apply this understanding of valuing and justification to the persons with whom chaplaincy deals, and thereby identify a unique contribution that chaplaincy offers to a university. While chaplaincy services are usually extended to staff and students, the following discussion will be restricted to consideration of students.

NEGOTIATING UNIQUE IDENTITIES

Finally, how the chaplaincy service is valued necessarily shapes the identity of the persons who are involved in chaplaincy. One of the consequences of drawing on the principles identified by the Worlds of Valuing to justify chaplaincy is that the people who are included in that consideration of valuing are cast, or subjectified, in ways which are consistent with that particular World of Valuing. In other words, people are necessarily made to be subjects and their identity is shaped to conform to the principles of that World of Valuing. Subjectification applies to students, as well as staff, and necessarily includes the chaplain. For example, the chaplain arrives at the office to find a young

person holding her laptop. The chaplain (university professional) unconsciously values the professional setting of the university, engages in conversation and asks about her studies (all consistent with the World of Industry). However, the young person's purpose for coming is not to discuss professional matters, but to locate the Catholic chaplain because she, herself identifies as being Catholic. The Chaplain (a religious representative) now relates to the young lady, not as a student, but as a member of a social collective (called Catholics) and the conversation moves to a place in which membership of (religious) groups is valued (the World of Civics). Finally, the core purpose of the visitor is made obvious when she asks where she can go to pray quietly. All along, her (unspoken) justification for seeking out the chaplain (spiritual advisor) was that she sought advice and opportunity to pray. Now she is perceived as a pray-er, or perhaps spiritual seeker, and the conversation can readily involve talk of openness to spiritual experience (consistent with the World of Inspiration). At no point in this conversation was there a conscious naming of the principles by which the chaplain and student evaluated the situation. However, at each point of this conversation, her identity is assessed and negotiated by picking up on the clues in the context (young person at university) and the objects (laptop, Catholic identity, need for prayer) which are gradually revealed. It should also be noted that at each point in this conversation the identity of the chaplain is also variously negotiated as chaplaincy is evaluated within the context of different Worlds of Valuing. A list of the possible identities of persons engaging with chaplaincy, and the corresponding Worlds of Valuing is recorded in Table 1.

Herein lies the unique contribution of chaplaincy services within the context of the secular university, as theorised in the context of the Economies of Worth framework: the presence of a campus chaplaincy service in which spiritual values are expressed permits the development and expression of spiritual identities by its students. This is not to imply that the other contributions made by a chaplaincy team are not valuable or valued, rather, it is to acknowledge the unique opportunities provided to students by the offering of campus chaplaincy services as a spiritual pursuit. This suggests the possibility of richer personal expression than might otherwise be possible, and also suggests a mode of deeper engagement with the university, mediated through spiritual expression, spiritual community and common valuing. Conversely, if a campus does not value the presence of spiritual activity, then the spiritual aspects of a student's identity will also not be valued and the spiritually-sensitive student is likely to access places of spiritual valuing apart from the university. However, spiritual engagement within the context of the university is consistent with holistic education and the wellbeing of students.

It is also important to see the issue of spirituality as an issue of student welfare. Students pay a price in psychological wholeness and wellness when they are required to have separate public and private personas in order to function successfully in the higher education setting. Providing a supportive environment in college [tertiary education] for students to explore meaning, purpose, and wholeness will serve not only to enrich their lives but also to deepen learning and scholarship. (Dalton et al. 2006)

Supporting spiritual valuing is not a non-sense for a secular university; rather it is a practical acknowledgement of the multi-faceted needs expressed by its students.

Table 1. Possible identities³ of both the chaplain and the person with whom the chaplain works, as defined within each of the 8 Worlds of Valuing.

World of Valuing	Possible identities of persons with whom a chaplain works	Possible identities of the chaplain
World of Civics	Chinese citizen, Catholic, Hindu	Religious representative
Domestic World	Son, Daughter, Parent, Carer	Host
Green World	Greeny, Polluter, Recycler	Green theologian
World of Industry	Student, Trainee, Professional, Colleague	Religious professional
World of Inspiration	Spiritual seeker, Meditator	Spiritual advisor
Market World	Fee-paying students	University employee
World of Opinion	(Name of celebrity), (Child of named celebrity)	<i>The Chaplain</i>
Project-oriented World	Clientele, Manager	Chaplaincy coordinator

CONCLUSION

Rather than be a self-reflective or pragmatic piece, the intention of this paper is to explore, from a theoretical perspective, the unique contribution that chaplaincy services contribute to the secular university. The Economies of Worth framework (Boltanski and Thévenot 1999/2006), with its identified *Worlds of Valuing*, provides a way to understand the unique place of chaplaincy services because of the way in which students may be subjectified and their personal identities may be negotiated. By providing chaplaincy services, and therefore the opportunity for the expression of spiritual identities, universities are enriching the learning environments of their students. As a consequence of this, students who develop and express spiritual identities are expected to be more engaged with the university. Further work is required to test and translate the theoretical work described here into practical outcomes for the institutions, and their personnel. Specifically, research is required that investigates, within the Australian university, the unique importance of the university chaplaincy services and the actualisation of spiritual identity within the campus community and its relationship to student resilience and academic success.

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³ Note: there are many identities for each of the eight Worlds which might be listed beyond these brief examples.

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