Judith D. Chapman · Sue McNamara ·
Michael J. Reiss · Yusef Waghid   *Editors*

International Handbook of Learning, Teaching and Leading in Faith-Based Schools

Springer

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Editors

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Foreword

Debates about 'faith schools' are familiar enough these days. Unfortunately, they often reflect myths and half-truths – and even their defenders have not always been forthcoming with detailed research and extended discussion of likely or desirable outcomes. It is important to know exactly what it is that 'faith-based' schools contribute to our society; those who support them believe passionately that they encourage a holistic style of pastoral care and that they keep alive in society an awareness that religious belief is not a museum piece. Whether you are a believer or not, this matters: to begin to see how it is that religious commitment shapes culture and vision is to begin to be properly literate about the sort of world we actually live in, and to see more fully some of the resources that can deepen human existence. But we need to have clear grounds for insisting that schools with religious affiliation do not – for example – promote the ghettoizing of our society, or discourage a critical spirit, or marginalize proper science, or whatever the favourite stereotype may be.

So a book like this is enormously timely. Here we have an impressive range of careful discussion, looking at what sort of impact can be expected from schools with religious affiliation, what sort of communities they help to support or create and what they do for the diversity, well-being and moral energy of our society. I hope these essays will be very widely read, and that they will help us to have a more intelligent discussion about the subject and a more realistic appreciation of their aims and methods.

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Rowan Williams
Former Archbishop of Canterbury

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Acknowledgements

Contents

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Chapter 1
Introduction and Overview

Michael J. Reiss, Yusef Waghid, Sue McNamara, and Judith D. Chapman

Introduction

There has been a substantial and continuing growth in recent times in the number, range and types of faith-based schools in countries around the world. This has led to a growing interest in and concern for issues associated with the establishment, values and varying modes of provision and practices of faith-based schools. In this context, policy makers, academics, education professionals and members of the broader community have identified the need for a rigorous analysis of developments in faith-based learning, teaching and leadership. These have included such matters as the educational, historical, social and cultural contexts of such institutions; the conceptions, nature, aims and values of education involved in and adopted by faith-based schools; and an account of current practices and future possibilities arising from and associated with various issues such as the curriculum and its delivery, modes of teaching and learning, and leadership and administration.

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Given the evidence of the increasing awareness of the need for an analysis and justification of such matters it is timely that a publication be made available that provides an examination of faith-based education in a range of countries. An additional value arises from the exploration of issues facing faith-based schools by a range of scholars and practitioners from various religious and faith traditions, working from a range of perspectives and experiences gained in culturally rich and diverse communities.

Aims of the Publication

The *International Handbook on Learning, Teaching and Leading in Faith-Based Schools* is international in scope. It is addressed to policy makers, academics, educational professionals and members of the wider community. The book is divided into three parts.

(1) *The Educational, Historical, Social and Cultural Context*

The first part of the book aims to:

- Identify the educational, historical, social and cultural bases and contexts for the development of learning, teaching and leadership in faith-based schools across a range of international settings;
- Consider the current trends, issues and controversies facing the provision and nature of education in faith-based schools;
- Examine the challenges faced by faith-based schools and their role and responses to current debates concerning science and religion in society and its institutions.

(2) *Conceptions: The Nature, Aims and Values of Education in Faith-based Schools*

The second part of the book aims to:

- Identify and explore the distinctive philosophies, characteristics and guiding principles, values, concepts and concerns underpinning learning, teaching and leadership in faith-based schools;
- Identify and explore ways in which such distinctive philosophies of education challenge and expand different norms and conventions in their surrounding societies and cultures;
- Examine and explore some of the ways in which different conceptions within and among different religious and faith traditions guide practices in learning, teaching and leadership in various ways.

(3) *Current Practice and Future Possibilities*

The third part of the book aims to:

- Provide evidence of current educational practices that might help to inform and shape innovative and successful policies, initiatives and strategies for the development of quality learning, teaching and leadership in faith-based schools;

- Examine the ways in which the professional learning of teachers and educational leaders in faith-based settings might be articulated and developed;
- Consider the ways in which coherence and alignment might be achieved between key national priorities in education and the identity, beliefs and commitments of faith-based schools;
- Examine what international experience shows about the place of faith-based schools in culturally rich and diverse communities and the implications of faith-based schooling for societies of the future.

Approach

We hope that many, though certainly not all, of the important topics, issues and problems relevant to learning, teaching and leading in faith-based schools have been addressed in the various chapters constituting this *International Handbook*. In the writing and thinking assembled in the various chapters contained in this publication we have drawn upon the widest range of insights and experiences. Some aspects of the book may be deemed by some readers to be controversial, pointing to the need for further exploration and analysis, discussion and debate. One of the chief principles held by the editors of this publication is that the best way forward in addressing such controversies and issues as this book raises is by the kind of critical problem-solving that such discussion and debate promotes. Such a process draws upon the widest range of contributors and sources, listens seriously to their arguments and animadversions and approaches these with respect and open mindedness. Thus, in the examination of problems arising from or contiguous with the issues under examination, seriousness and integrity of purpose, mutual respect and the acceptance of criticism and admissibility of alternative points of view are presupposed as normative in the process of scholarly discussion and debate.

These principles we hope are instantiated and exemplified in the approach adopted in this volume. We trust that this approach will have been successful in generating a range of questions, even whether there should be faith-based schools at all, giving rise to further thinking and research and the continuation of such explorations in the future.

Lines of Enquiry

By the end of this publication we hope that we shall have helped readers to engage in, develop and expand some of the thinking necessary for facing the range of opportunities and challenges associated with faith-based education. We have tried to set out many of the main ideas of leading thinkers in the conceptualization of faith-based schools. We have detailed some of the distinctive histories and examined some of the policies articulated and implemented by governments, agencies and schools widely across the international arena. We have pointed to examples of programs, activities and experiences that have been planned, developed and put in

place in schools and classrooms, in a range of countries. We have delineated a number of research projects and initiatives that have shed light on many concerns. Throughout the work, we have been concerned to point to successful examples of policy and action to underline suggestions for practice that can be put into place as a result of reading what other people have been doing in various settings. Of course, there is still much that needs to be done, but in facing future challenges we hope that the *International Handbook on Learning, Teaching and Leading in Faith-Based Schools* will help policy makers, academics, education professionals and members of the wider community to frame policies, practices and research that will assist them to identify and address the many issues, problems, challenges and opportunities relevant to faith-based education now and in the future.

Part I – The Educational, Historical, Social and Cultural Context of Faith-Based Schooling

Section Editor: Michael J. Reiss

In Part I, it is shown that whilst faith-based schooling is growing worldwide, it remains controversial. On the one hand those who support faith-based schooling argue that to ban it is to trample on the rights of parents to frame their children's education and, furthermore, that when faith-based schooling is banned, all that happens is that children are removed from schools and either not educated or educated at home, with the possibility for some children that the education they receive is then neither broad nor balanced (e.g. Parker-Jenkins et al. 2005; Haydon 2009; Kunzman 2010; Oldfield et al. 2013). On the other hand are those who argue that faith-based schooling inevitably entails at least a certain amount of indoctrination and, furthermore, that such schooling is socially divisive (Mason 2006; MacEoin 2009).

For some people, their religious faith is absolutely at the core of their being: they could no more feel comfortable acting or thinking in a way that conflicted with their religious values than they could feel comfortable not breathing. Other ways of expressing this are to say that their worldview is a religious one or that religion plays a central part in their identity. For other people, religious faith is either an irrelevancy – an historical anachronism – or positively harmful with many of the ills that befall humankind being placed at its door (Halstead and Reiss 2003).

Religious believers need no arguments to be voiced in favour of taking religious values seriously. Agnostics and atheists might be tempted to ignore religious values but this would be a mistake. For a start, it is still the case that even in countries, such as Denmark, England, Sweden and the Netherlands, where the national significance of religion has been in decline for many decades, a substantial proportion of people report that they have a religious faith when asked in national surveys. Although a stated belief in God may not translate into much overt religious activity, such as communal worship, it often connects with what people feel about important issues in life. In addition, religious values still permeate, for historical reasons, much of society and need to be understood.

Furthermore, to make another point entirely clear to anyone familiar with religious faith and practice, every religion has considerable diversity within it. For all that many of the world's religions have scriptures and teaching that are taken with the utmost seriousness by their adherents, language always needs interpretation, so that even those with a literalist approach to the scriptures often disagree. This point is educationally relevant as it is sometimes presumed by those who lack a religious faith that teaching young people about religion, or life more generally, in a faith-based school is necessarily indoctrinatory. This is not the case. Of course, one can teach about religion in a faith school in a way that is indoctrinatory, but then one can teach about music, science, literature or any subject in a common school in a way that is indoctrinatory. How one teaches is in the hands of teachers and the others responsible for the education that a school provides.

The authors of the chapters in this part of *The International Handbook on Learning, Teaching and Leading in Faith-Based Schools*, although they write about a wide range of issues in faith-based schooling and come from a range of perspectives, not all of them sympathetic to faith-based schooling, nevertheless share at least three beliefs. First, it is worth attending carefully to the history of education. Although the history of education all too often receives only limited attention (cf. McCulloch 2011), understanding something of it helps make sense of what sometimes otherwise appear as bewildering anomalies, whether over school funding, governance arrangements, admissions policies or curriculum matters. Secondly, it is equally worth attending to the current cultural and social contexts in which schools operate. Indeed, one of the values of undertaking rigorous fieldwork in schools and policy analysis of the contexts in which schools exists is that this makes crude generalisations and polarisations less tenable. Thirdly, a central component of school education is to enable learners to develop into autonomous, flourishing individuals, capable of respecting others and making a contribution to society. These three beliefs help provide a common backdrop against which the specifics of each of the chapters can be interpreted.

Charlie Glenn, in 'The Impact of Faith-Based Schools on Lives and on Society: Policy Implications', begins by noting that research, the US element of the Cardus Study, has shown that those who have attended Catholic and Evangelical schools in the US differ in significant ways, not only from those who attended public schools, but also from each other. After controlling statistically for a host of variables known to impact development, it was found that Catholic schools in the US provide superior academic outcomes, an experience that translates into graduates' enrollment in more prestigious colleges and universities, more advanced degrees and higher household income. At the same time, however, the research found that the moral, social and religious dispositions of Catholic school graduates largely run counter to the values and teachings of the Catholic Church. For example, students graduating from Catholic schools in the US divorce no less than their public school counterparts and significantly more than their Protestant Christian and nonreligious private school peers. Similarly, having attended Catholic school has no impact on the frequency with which those graduates will attend church services, and Catholic school graduates are less likely to serve as leaders in their churches. On the other hand,

contrary to the popular stereotype of Protestant Christian schools producing socially fragmented, anti-intellectual, politically radical and militantly right-wing graduates, the data revealed a very different picture of the Protestant Christian school graduate. Compared to their public school, Catholic school and non-religious private school peers, Protestant Christian school graduates are individuals who stabilise their communities by their uncommon and distinctive commitment to their families, their churches and their communities, and by their unique hope and optimism about their lives and the future. Glenn's interest is in understanding how these differences may reflect the historical moment in which Catholic and Protestant schools find themselves and in exploring what implications such an understanding may have for public policy, especially in relation to the emerging phenomenon of Islamic schools. To a large extent, US Catholic school education arose in the nineteenth century in opposition to the Protestant character of the common public elementary school and the semi-public academies. However, by the mid-twentieth century, US Catholics became part of the mainstream in countless ways, including on issues that might be expected to distinguish them, such as attitudes toward birth control and divorce. The primary focus of Catholic schools is now on equipping their students to be successful in selective colleges and professional schools and thus in life. The origins of US Protestant schooling are very different. After the Second World War, religious practices in public schools were successfully challenged in a series of cases, mostly in federal courts, based on the 'Establishment' clause of the First Amendment. Within a few years, all such practices had been removed and religion was seldom mentioned, even in subjects like history, literature, art and music and this led to a marked impoverishment of the curriculum. The public school curriculum was censored to present a view of reality that could give students the impression that religion was totally irrelevant to the real world. One of the responses to this quite sudden transformation of US public schools, formerly infused with Christian motifs, to strictly secular settings was a rapid expansion of evangelical and fundamentalist Protestant schools, as well as of home-schooling. Millions of parents concluded that the public schools were no longer a fit place for their children, and sought alternative forms of education informed by the biblical perspectives no longer available – in however attenuated a form – in the public schools. Glenn goes on to argue that just as evangelical Protestant schools are sustained by a conviction on the part of parents and educators that elements of the mainstream culture are toxic to the appropriate development of children into adults prepared to put obedience to God ahead of compliance with peers, with popular media and even with government, so the growing number of Islamic schools in Western Europe and North America reflect – and evoke – similar concerns. Conflicts over schools, including Islamic schools, that propose an alternative understanding of life based on non-negotiable religious convictions are therefore an international phenomenon that has recently taken on a new urgency in many countries. This comes as something of a shock to those secularists who had confidently assumed that faith-based schools were a phenomenon of a less enlightened age and would soon pass from the scene.

Mark Halstead, in 'Values and Values Education: Challenges for Faith Schools', points out that values and values education have always been central to the

provision of faith schools. Nevertheless, the upsurge of interest in (and research into) values and values education across the western world in recent decades makes it incumbent on faith schools to engage in a process of serious reflection on the explicit and implicit values which underpin their work, in order to ensure that their provision in terms of values education is justifiable, in line with contemporary educational thinking and in the best interests of the young people they teach. Indeed, Halstead argues that values and values education may represent a major challenge for faith schools in spite of the belief many parents have that this area of provision is one of their main strengths. He distinguishes two forms of values education and suggests that faith schools are well placed to provide their students with 'primary' values education (i.e. moral guidance, an understanding of right and wrong and an introduction to a core framework of moral values). This is because the core values of faith schools are broadly shared by teachers, parents and the community they serve, and thus they are able to provide a consistent ethos and a coherent, authoritative approach to teaching values. Indeed, for most UK Muslim parents, attendance at faith-based schools is more about developing sound moral values than an in-depth understanding of Islamic doctrine. However, the capacity of faith schools to provide 'secondary' values education (i.e. to develop children's moral imagination in the sense of making them aware of different possible ways of acting in particular situations, and to lead them towards moral autonomy) may be more open to question, partly because their very certainty about the values they hold dear may make them less comfortable with (or less open to) the diversity of values that are found in the broader society or the possibility that their students might come, as mature, autonomous individuals, to hold values different from those they have been taught in school. For many parents and teachers involved in faith schools, religion provides a clearer, more objective and more lasting source of authority in relation to values than alternative sources like the state, one's family, the media, the law, one's peers, politicians, celebrities, and so on. In fact, one thing that unites most of the major world faiths is the belief that there is a higher source of authority than the state. However, there is a tension between such a view and the belief that one of the roles of schooling is to enable students, as they age, to develop their autonomy along with the ability to critically examine what they have been taught.

Jan Ainsworth, in 'Church of England Schools: Into the Third Century', examines the historic and contemporary presence of the Church of England in state-funded schools (including academies) in England. On 16 October 1811, the inaugural meeting was held of the National Society for the Promotion of the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church (i.e. the Church of England). Within 50 years, 12,000 schools had been built, staffed and maintained. With the foundation of so many schools there was an immediate issue of teacher supply and the initial model of training older pupils to teach younger children rapidly became inadequate. Teacher training colleges were established, first by the National Society itself and then by the Church of England dioceses. These were the first higher education institutions open to women, though recent developments have seen a high proportion of those colleges close or become part of another Higher Education institution, losing their special character. Somewhat similarly,

during much of the twentieth century, the state determined more and more of school education and the Church of England retreated into a narrow concern for just religious education and worship. Diocesan authorities continued to perform their statutory duties to do with contributing to the maintenance of buildings and appointing governors but conceded most other functions to the state. Confidence gradually returned to the Church of England school system with a significant turning point around the 1988 Education Reform Act. The Act allowed a greater degree of parental choice in the selection of schools for their children, which highlighted both popular and unpopular schools. The publication of league tables suggested that Church of England schools were in many cases outperforming other schools. The result was a significant shift in both community and Church of England attitudes towards the schools and since the start of the twenty-first century there has been an upturn in the number of Church of England schools. In parallel, there has been a rise in the frequency with which it has been asserted that faith schools produce separated societies, with all that implies in terms of community tension. The response from the Church of England was to emphasise the traditional dual focus of its provision, which includes both families seeking a faith-based education and those of other faiths and none. In practice, the vast majority of Church of England primary schools and a significant majority of Church of England secondary schools do reflect the nature of the local community. This means that many Church of England schools are multi-faith in nature. In some cases the majority of pupils come from Muslim or other faith families.

Helena Miller, in 'Jewish Schools and Britain: Emerging from the Past, Investing in the Future', reviews the historical context for the development of Jewish schools in the UK, explaining how social, cultural and demographic changes have affected the framework and content of Jewish education. Jewish day school education has been established in Britain since Jews were re-admitted to England in 1656. With the nineteenth century growth in the number of Church of England schools, there was a concern within the Jewish population that if Jewish children were to attend these schools, they would be at risk of losing their heritage and identity. The threat was too great to be ignored and by 1850 Jewish schools had opened to serve the Jewish population. In 1851, 12 years after the government accepted that schools of a Christian religious nature were eligible for State funding, Jewish schools were permitted to receive grants in the same way, provided they agreed to read the scriptures of the Old Testament every day and provided they were also prepared to submit to government inspection. By the 1950s and 1960s, whilst around 80 % of Jewish children received some form of Jewish education, only 20 % of these children attended full-time Jewish schools. Then, in 1971, the Chief Rabbi of the United (mainstream orthodox) Synagogue, Lord Jakobovits, launched the Jewish Educational Trust, which significantly raised the profile of Jewish Education within the Jewish community, so that now some 50–60 % of all Jewish children in the UK are educated in Jewish faith schools. Whilst a proportion of the Jewish schools are private institutions, funded by trusts and individuals within the Jewish community, the majority of Jewish primary and secondary schools fall within the state sector. Four of the most pressing issues for Jewish schooling are pluralism, the curriculum, capacity and the

government agenda. Until 1980, all the Jewish schools in the UK were affiliated to the orthodox community. Since then, there has been a growth in pluralist Jewish schools in the UK. Such schools teach from each of the mainstream Jewish perspectives: Orthodox, Masorti, Reform, Liberal and Secular Judaism. Jewish schools in the state system in England operate within the National Curriculum but in such schools, there is no National Curriculum for Jewish religious studies and each school decides for itself the time it devotes, what is covered and the standards the pupils are expected to reach at different stages. Capacity issues relating to a lack of trained and professionally qualified Jewish studies and Hebrew teachers has been a long-standing issue. The government agenda impinges on Jewish schools in a number of ways, one of which relates to admissions policies. All mainstream Jewish schools have had to change their admissions criteria to comply with the 2009 UK Supreme Court ruling which now makes it unlawful for Jewish schools to give priority to children who are born Jewish. Admission to Jewish schools is now seen as a matter of faith and not one of ethnicity. To gain entry to a Jewish school, families have to show evidence of adherence to the faith (Synagogue attendance, for example) and not merely birth.

Joseph O'Keefe and Michael O'Connor, in 'Faith Related Schools in the United States: The Current Reality', provide a portrayal and analysis of the current reality of private faith-related elementary and secondary schools in the United States. Throughout their history, such schools have received little or no funding from the government. Because of these financial restrictions, they have remained a minority in the broader education landscape, currently accounting for 7 % of all students, 9 % of all teachers and 20 % of all schools. Slightly over half of all these students are Catholics, but this is well down on the peak in 1965 when Catholic schools enrolled 12 % of all US students. Unusually, three-quarters of Catholic schools have a woman as principal, whereas for other religious schools the figure is two-fifths. The Catholic school figure is most likely a result of a history of religious sisters assuming leadership positions in Catholic, especially Catholic elementary schools, while the figure for other religious schools may represent a lingering patriarchal dominant leadership present in many religious leadership circles. US faith schools score well on academic and other measures of performance. They outperform public schools on both Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) and American College Testing (ACT) scores. Students in faith schools report substantially lower levels of violence than do students in public schools and their teachers report lower levels of student misbehavior. However, the future of US faith schools is uncertain, in large measure because of funding pressures but also because of the rise of the charter school movement and a steady rise in the proportion of young US adults who report themselves as having no religious affiliation.

Farid Panjwani, in 'Faith Schools and the Religious Other: The Case of Muslim Schools', begins by noting that surprisingly little academic work has been undertaken on how faith schools, and Muslim faith schools in particular, engage with religious diversity. This is despite the fact that a 2009 review by Ofsted (the schools inspectorate in England) of independent faith schools found that many of the schools the inspectorate visited were reluctant to teach about other faiths in

great detail. There are about 150 Muslim faith schools in the United Kingdom, 12 of which are state-funded, though this means that about 94 % of Muslim children in the UK do not attend Muslim faith schools. The origins of Muslim faith schools are rooted in parental and communal concerns about the preservation of tradition and safeguarding of Muslim children against what was perceived as the onslaught of a western secular tide. This conservation goal has always been accompanied by another aim, that of socio-economic mobility through education. Panjwani reports on a research project undertaken in six Muslim faith schools to see how these schools taught about religious diversity. Four of the schools were of Sunni orientation and the other two of Shi'i orientation. There were three primary (all co-educational) and three secondary (two all girls, one all boys) schools in the sample. Teachers in the schools and professionals engaged in interfaith education were interviewed, classroom observations were undertaken and educational materials used in teaching about religious diversity were examined. Though the research aimed to cover both intra-Islamic diversity and inter-religious diversity, and the interview questions were about both of these, it was mainly the latter that the respondents spoke about. Teachers in all six schools said that children, particularly as they lived in the UK, should acquire a positive view of the people belonging to other religions. In part this was because they believed that Islam accepted other religions and their prophets as genuine. Most teachers approached religious diversity as plurality of people and not of doctrines or truth claims. Their aim was thus to help students live peacefully with the people of other religions; it was not to deal with and reconcile doctrinal diversity at any theological or philosophical level. Except for one teacher, who had a degree in comparative religion, teachers' knowledge of other religions was mostly based on personal readings, attending talks and browsing the Internet. Their knowledge of the intricacies of religious histories, intra-religious diversity within Judaism and Christianity, workings of governing organisations and modern theological thinking within these religions was understandably minimal. The formal teaching of other religions – in religious education or history topics – was primarily through an approach that took Islam as the standard religion and tried to make sense of other religions through its lens. This approach often led to creative solutions to difficult questions. As part of their learning about other religions, students were required to do project work. Some, but not all, of these were of high quality and displayed a desire and an ability to understand people of other religions in a complex manner. The most active forms of engagement with religious diversity were outside the classrooms, and often outside the school. Three of the six schools visited had participated in school linkages programmes, working with organisations such as the Joseph Interfaith Foundation and the Three Faiths Forum. They participated in activities ranging from inter-faith art projects to football matches among schools from different religious traditions. The linkage programmes also included invited speakers from different religions to talk about their tradition and engage with the students. Above all, it appears that the teachers in the study approached religious diversity as a social fact and tried to deal with it at that level.

Marie Parker-Jenkins, in 'Identity, Belief and Cultural Sustainability: A Case- Study of the Experiences of Jewish and Muslim Schools in the UK', begins by noting that, while Muslim and Jewish groups in the UK have different cultural and historic roots, they are similar in that they are both minorities seeking to sustain cultural heritage in the face of assimilationist trends. Both communities often operate in a self-imposed form of 'segregation,' creating a type of cultural enclave, frequently locally based, whilst engaging with the wider community on their own terms. She then goes on to report on a study where she was particularly interested in how anti-Semitic and Islamophobic hostility surfaced towards schools formed by Jewish and Muslim communities. The study involved a case study approach, using five Muslim and four Jewish schools representative of primary/elementary and secondary/high school levels and incorporating a range of independent to state-funded institutions within both religious traditions. A key finding was the experience of hostility and the consequences of this. Muslim girls said that outside school they had their hijabs or haed scarves pulled off accompanied by shouting. One non-Muslim teacher reported that since the 2005 London bombings, the schools used a mini-bus for school visits, where as previously a train might have been used. One Jewish head teacher of a voluntary school and a primary school in a remote part of the countryside said "If you went to the school next door you have to press the buzzer and say who you are, you wouldn't be told with CCTV cameras. This is what we have to do. We have to be vigilant at all times".

Sylvia Baker, in 'Faith-Based Schools and the Creationism Controversy: The Importance of the Meta-narrative', is interested in why some 'creationist' pupils when they are presented with evidence for Darwinian evolution refuse to accept it. She contrasts two responses of commentators: one that sees it as the duty of science teachers to combat any rise in creationism; the other that sees creationist pupils as operating within a worldview that makes it difficult to persuade them to adopt a different viewpoint. Baker argues that now is the time to take this second approach further. She draws on data obtained from teenagers in small, independent Christian schools in England founded within the last 40 years. The founding parents and churches for these schools have largely been drawn from two main streams operating within Protestant Christianity in England. The first of these is the Reformed tradition, dating back to the Reformation itself. The 1960s saw a revival of interest in the writings of the Reformers and Puritans amongst evangelical Christians in the UK. This 'neo-Calvinist' movement strongly influenced some of those who founded the early new Christian schools. The second tradition from which early founders were drawn was the much more recently-established Charismatic sector, with its emphasis less on theology and more on a direct experience of the work of the Holy Spirit. In the early years of the movement, it was often possible to identify within which of these traditions a particular school was operating. Today, that is much less likely to be the case. Baker surveyed almost 700 13–16 year-old students (52 % male, 48 % female) from a total of 25 of these schools. 87 % of the sample identified themselves as Christian, 2 % belonged to other religions and 11 % identified themselves as having no religious faith. The survey showed that only some 7–10 % had evolutionist views; the great majority believed that the world was once perfect but

has been affected by sin and that there was once a worldwide flood as described in the Bible. What the survey also reveals is that a high proportion of the sample understand their lives within much the same meta-narrative as that held by the seventeenth century reformers, including many of the founders of modern science. The meta-narrative has been summarised as the creation/fall/redemption/restoration narrative and is the 'big story' that provides the framework and foundation for teaching within the schools. The meta-narrative is based on numerous Biblical texts, not simply those in *Genesis*, and provides a comprehensive view of the world. Living things are perceived as specially designed by God and perfectly suited to an originally good created order, in which there was no suffering or death. Humans are seen as unique, made in the image of God and created for an intimate relationship with Him.

In previous work Michael Hand has written that faith schools are necessarily in the business of nurturing religious faith. In his chapter, 'On the Idea of Non-confessional Faith-Based Education', he revisits the issue, concluding that while it is clear that a faith base and confessional aims are often found together in educational institutions, he is no longer persuaded that there is any necessary connection between them. Furthermore, this is more than a semantic point. Hand contends that confessional education, i.e. imparting religious beliefs to others, requires indoctrinatory methods of teaching. Indoctrination is considered a significant harm because of the subsequent difficulty of shifting beliefs one has come to hold non-rationally. Insofar as one holds one's beliefs on the basis not of indoctrination but of evidence and argument, they are open to revision and correction. One is prepared to modify or relinquish them in the light of fresh evidence or fresh appraisals of old evidence. Insofar as one's beliefs are held non-rationally, on the other hand, they are highly resistant to reassessment. Because they are not founded on evidence, the discovery of counter-evidence has little or no effect on them. What, then, might non-confessional faith-based education look like? Hand concentrates not on pedagogy or the ethos of the school but on its curriculum. Suppose, he argues, it is true that curriculum design requires criteria for the selection of worthwhile activities, and that no such criteria currently enjoy the support of rationally decisive arguments. Under these circumstances curriculum designers must adopt selection criteria on the basis of whichever non-decisive arguments they find most persuasive. And here, Hand thinks, there is room for religious considerations to enter the picture. One way of selecting worthwhile activities for inclusion in the curriculum is to identify some activities as more worthwhile than others, as having special value or significance in the lives of human beings. And one way to do this is to invoke a specific conception of human flourishing in which certain kinds of activity and relationship are centrally important. Insofar as religious belief systems include such conceptions, they supply just the sort of criteria needed for the purposes of curriculum selection. If religious beliefs may be said to represent the best guesses of those who hold them about the conditions of human flourishing, the curriculum criteria they supply will seem to those people to enjoy the most persuasive argumentative support. Hand concludes that religious organisations involved in the provision of schooling might reasonably draw criteria for the selection of curriculum content from their theological

conceptions of human flourishing. This is likely to yield curricula distinguished by their emphasis on such worthwhile activities as inquiry into the meaning of life and forms of service to others.

Andrew Copson, in ''Faith schools' in England: The Humanist Critique' presents a number of humanist objections to faith schools. For a start, faith schools select at least a substantial portion of their pupils on the grounds of parental religion and this raises a number of problems including unfairness of access to a public service that such discrimination represents. Related to this is the issue of faith schools being permitted to select their staff on grounds of religion. A different objection relates to variance in the curriculum. Examples have included: narrow religious education, leading to an ignorance of alternative viewpoints or a distorted view of some religious groups or of non-religious people; untrue claims being presented as fact; censorship of literature because of themes or activities deemed immoral; history and geography being limited; and the immorality of gay or bisexual relationships being taught with consequent negative reactions against gay pupils. An added risk is that faith schools' RE and other religion-specific arrangements are not inspected by the state inspectorate but by a religious one. The concern is that such an arrangement will not detect what may be unacceptable and counter-educational practices. The solution proposed by humanist campaigners to the issue of variance in the curriculum has been to make statutory both PSHE and a balanced and non-confessional RE, and issue National Curriculum guidelines for them, as well as to restore the National Curriculum as statutory for all state-funded schools. Confessional religious instruction, it has been suggested, could then be provided to pupils on an opt-in basis as a supplement to the timetable, though still on school premises. The first plank on which humanist critiques of faith schools have rested is one that is presumed to be universal – internationally accepted principles of human rights. In practice, Copson points out, it motivates not just humanist critics of faith schools but many religious critics of faith schools as well. A second plank is that of secularism, understood as the separation of state institutions from all religious practices and institutions. Three main arguments are advanced in favour of secularism: one based on autonomy – that in a good society no one should be coerced in matters of religion or belief; one based on fairness – that in a good society no one should be privileged or discriminated against because of their religion or belief; and one based on pragmatism – that in a diverse society secularism is the only mechanism to avoid a 'war of all against all'. Finally, humanist critiques of faith schools, it is argued, are based on a clear view of what education is – a process directed towards the social, moral, cultural and spiritual development of the child as a clear-thinking and curious, whole and unique person with his or her own values, ambitions and purpose, personally fulfilled and with a care for others. The campaign against faith schools is a campaign against institutions and policies that are seen as barriers to the achievement of these ideals.

Lee Meadows, in 'Shepherding and Strength: Teaching Evolution in American Christian Schools', asks what the teaching of evolution would look like in faith-based schools if science teachers took on the dual challenge of both nurturing their students' faith and teaching evolution as accepted science. He answers this question

by finding 12 science teachers who teach evolution in US Christian schools and interviewing them to find out how they do this within the broader context of their school's mission to nurture children's faith. The teachers responded quickly to the call to participate. They talked energetically and enthusiastically during interviews, and they expressed sincere appreciation for being included and having an opportunity to communicate what they have learned about teaching evolution in their faith-based school. The backdrop to the study is the fact that evolution is one of the most controversial topics to teach in US science classrooms. Much of the US public consistently registers opposition to evolution, and US school science teachers themselves are not widely supportive of evolution. While standards for the US science curriculum recommend a central place for evolution, the reality is that most public schools students do not have the consistent opportunity to learn evolution. The prospects for teaching evolution in US schools are even less hopeful for students in faith-based schools, especially those in schools belonging to the broad sweep of evangelicalism where 'Young Earth' creationism is often taught. One of the core categories emerging from the data was the pastoral approach these teachers took toward their students while they were teaching evolution. They felt a responsibility to actively care spiritually for their students, and this pastoral care for students included maintaining students' trust, nurturing students' graciousness to others when discussing evolution and caring for students in their classes who weren't Christian or who were struggling with doubt. The other core category emerging from the data was teacher practices aimed at helping students see that Christian belief spanned a spectrum with regard to the origin of life on earth. Participants did not teach students a single view of origins, such as six-day creationism or progressive evolution. Since adults are on a spectrum, these teachers allowed their students to be on a spectrum of belief about evolution as well. Participants viewed the teaching of evolution as a requirement of teaching science with integrity, and they often gave examples of how they taught natural selection or speciation and how they corrected student misconceptions to guide them to understand evolution better. Some participants described focusing their students on belief in God as creator as the only essential thing Christians must believe about origins. Some of the participating teachers incorporated hermeneutics, the study of how to interpret scripture, into their teaching of evolution. They spoke of how students and they themselves had to properly interpret *Genesis* in order to approach well the learning of evolution. Most teachers described how teaching evolution required them to address worldview issues with their students. They described how teaching the nature of science, the nature of faith or how the two intersect helps students learn evolution. A key duty many participating teachers took on was preparing their students to face evolution later in life, especially in college when students might have a professor antagonistic to Christian faith. Many participants made statements regarding how learning about evolution is a long-term process seen as a form of growth requiring much more time than the few weeks of a typical evolution unit. This category includes statements by teachers about their own growth and about how they make space for their students to grow, including developmental approaches to certain evolution content. It explicates how teachers pastor their students by not rushing them into any kind of

decision now, especially since many of these teachers have worked for years or even decades to come to their own current understandings of evolution and their faith. The final category teachers described was the support they needed for teaching evolution well in their faith-based context, especially support from administrators and parents, and negative examples of how resistance teachers experience when teaching evolution undermines the support they need.

Michael Poole, in 'Challenges Faced by Faith-Based Schools with Special Reference to the Interplay Between Science and Religion', looks at the science-religion issue as experienced by faith-based schools, with particular reference to schools in England. A key task, he argues, is to ensure adequate teaching about the nature and history, and not just the content, of science. Much confusion about the relationships between science and religion arises through bad science teaching. This may be exacerbated by the teaching, or lack of it, of the history and philosophy of science. Sensational, but sometimes utterly misleading, versions of the Galileo affair, the Wilberforce-Huxley exchange and other controversies seem entrenched in popular perception, promoted by certain media programmes which pander to a public appetite for confrontation. Much of science consists of studying matter at the component level (analytically), reducing complex entities mentally or in practice to more simple ones as one of its many methods of enquiry. Such methodological reductionism offers no threat to religion. What does offer a threat is ontological reductionism, the claim that matter is all there is, that the world is nothing but atoms and molecules. An important undertaking of science is to seek out regularities and to encapsulate them in concise expressions called scientific laws. The metaphoric use of the word 'law' in science (cf. the 'law' of the land) can cause confusion. Scientific laws are descriptive of the normal ways the natural world does behave; laws of the land are prescriptive of the ways societies ought to behave. Scientific laws do not 'govern' the world's working and the word 'broken' when used in connection with them is misleading. The theist sees scientific laws as reflecting the normal ways in which God works. Without such regularities life would be chaotic. But if God wishes occasionally to act uniquely in miracles, scientific laws describing normal behaviour do not need revising on this account. In Christian theology, miracles are not God acting where he does not normally act, but God acting in a different way from normal. For some religious believers evolution has become problematic, not only because it brings in the origins of humankind and raises questions about the biblical accounts of beginnings, but also because it raises questions about the role of 'stochastic' processes like chance and randomness in the formation and functioning of a world claimed to have been designed by a loving God. Can natural selection, with its apparent 'wastage' and suffering, be squared with this teaching? Poole concludes that good science education, in faith-based schools and others, needs to be integrated with other aspects of the school curriculum, particularly with religious education/studies, history and philosophy/critical thinking. It also needs to convey a clear message that there is no necessary connection between science and atheism, nor any necessary disparity in following a scientific career and following God. The notion that science and Christian belief are at loggerheads appears to reflect muddles about the philosophy, history and languages of science and religion, rather than conflict.

In 'Sex Education and Science Education in Faith-Based Schools', I assume the existence of faith-based schooling and then look at the consequences of this for two contrasting parts of the school curriculum, namely sex education, particularly from a Christian viewpoint, and science education. Christian views about virtually everything derive from perhaps five main sources: first, the writings of the Bible, containing both the Jewish and New Testament scriptures; secondly, the teachings of the Church down the ages; thirdly, the conscience of individuals informed, they believe, by the Holy Spirit; fourthly, their God-given, though imperfect, powers of reason; fifthly, the particular cultural milieu they inhabit. This catalogue alone makes it likely that there will be a diversity of Christian views about almost any important subject. To illustrate Christian views about sex, I concentrate on marriage and same-sex sexual relationships. This is partly because both subjects are extremely important ones, but also because more of a consensus exists among Christians on one than on the other. Christian teachings about marriage are widespread in the New Testament and the doctrine of marriage has been very widely debated over the last two millennia with considerable agreement resulting. One significant shift in Christian views about marriage, though, is in the attitude taken towards people who live together (cohabit) before marriage. Although many Christians still see this as a second-best option, cohabitation is increasingly being accepted. One Christian perspective on cohabitation is offered by those who argue that marriage is to be understood not as a sudden event that starts with a wedding or cohabitation, but rather as a gradual process, so that a wedding is seen as the authentication of what has gone before. Compared to marriage, the New Testament teaching about homosexuality is sparser and it is only in recent decades that it has been analysed in any great depth and there currently exists a wide diversity of opinion on the subject in Christian circles. The traditional view is that homosexuality is, at best, a sin that can be cured by repentance, prayer and Christian counselling; at worst, it is an abomination, an instance of humankind at its most depraved. Over the last few decades, however, a tremendous amount of scholarship has questioned this traditional view. This re-evaluation has tackled the question from a range of viewpoints: hermeneutical, scientific, sociological, ethical and pastoral. For all these reasons a consensus among Christians about homosexuality currently does not exist. Some Christian Churches are moving towards a position in which mutually faithful homosexual relationships – though typically only among the laity rather than among the clergy – are considered acceptable. Time alone will tell whether this is merely a further sign, as some would maintain, of the spiritual decline of institutionalised Christianity or the beginnings of a full acceptance of all people, whatever their sexual identity. For many science educators, whether or not they have any religious beliefs themselves, the relationships between science and religion, i.e. the 'science-religion issue', appears somewhat outside the scope of science education. However, a range of factors, including a greater awareness of the benefits of dealing explicitly in the school classroom with the nature of science and the increasing influence of creationism in schools, suggests that this perspective may be too narrow. When it comes to dealing with creationism, I argue that school science lessons should present students with the scientific consensus about evolution and that parents should not have the right to

withdraw their children from such lessons. Part of the purpose of school science lessons is to introduce students to the main conclusions of science – and the theory of evolution is one of science's main conclusions. At the same time, science teachers should be respectful of any students who do not accept the theory of evolution for religious (or any other) reasons. Overall, the role of religion is therefore, I would argue, somewhat different in science education and in sex education. In science education, a teacher needs to be sensitive to religious objections to aspects of the science curriculum for two reasons: first, out of respect for students; secondly, because not to be sensitive is to make learning in science less likely for some students. However, it is not the case that a science teacher should alter the science that is taught because of the religious views of students or anyone else. Scientific knowledge is independent of religious views. In sex education, though, religious views, while they should not have the power that some religious believers would like, nevertheless can, indeed often should, have a place in decision making. This is because of the central importance of values in general and religious views in particular for sex education and because values lack the degree of objectivity of scientific knowledge.

Part II – Conceptions: Nature, Aims and Values of Education in Faith-Based Schools

Section Editor: Yusef Waghid

In this part, the contributors and I endeavour to offer theoretically enhanced descriptions on the nature, aims and values of education in faith-based schools. Although we do not explicitly show how particular understandings of education in faith-based schools respond to issues, such as racism and multiculturalism, we nevertheless identify theoretical ideas that can address such issues.

The latest book produced by James C. Conroy and colleagues *Does religious education work? A multi-dimensional investigation* not only accentuates rich and innovative descriptions, explanations, and analyses of policies and practices *vis-à-vis* religious education in schools but also offers theological and philosophical insights into the ethnographic work of educators of religious education in (British) classrooms. As aptly stated by Conroy and colleagues, '[one] of the most significant claims for Religious Education was that it should be an educational resource in challenging racism and promoting multiculturalism … in the classroom' (2013: 224).

In a similar fashion this second part of the *International Handbook of Learning, Teaching and Leading in Faith-Based Schools* addressing the 'Nature, Aims and Values of Education in Faith-Based Schools' offers interpretive accounts of contributors' work in relation to religious literacy (knowledge and understanding of religious ideas and language and their social and cultural impact), truth claims and pluralism, multicultural awareness, citizenship education, spiritual and social cohesion, socialising learners in particular communities, virtues of moral development, spiritual life and religious observance.

At least three primary theoretical ideas guide the contributions in this part: (1) autonomous action as expounded on by Speelman, Plaatjies and Davids; (2) humane action, focusing on inclusiveness, multiculturalism, cooperativeness, democratisation, cosmopolitanism and justice as explicated by Gross, Du Preez, Mohamed, Dangor, Esau and Davids; and (3) authentic action in the forms of responsibility and dignity as articulated by Mohamed and Claasens.

In other words, the notions of autonomy, humanity and authenticity seem to underscore what education in faith-based schools involves and how and why it is enacted in relation to pedagogical activities in school classrooms. My own contribution, which is presented as the first chapter in this part, offers a more detailed account of these constitutive notions of education in faith-based schools, namely, autonomy, humanity and authenticity. I also show how these theoretical ideas can be enacted in classrooms through pedagogic disruptiveness. Thereafter, chapters in this part should be read in conjunction with the aforementioned thoughts on what constitutes autonomous, humane and authentic (responsible) learning in and through faith-based education in some liberal and non-liberal communities.

In my chapter, Yusef Waghid, 'Faith-Based Education and the Notion of Autonomy, Common Humanity and Authenticity: In Defense of a Pedagogy of Disruption' three prominent philosophical issues in relation to the nature, aims and values of education that seem to have an impact on faith-based schooling in the modern era are examined. I propose firstly, that faith-based education aims to inculcate in learners a sense of autonomy; secondly, that faith-based education aims to cultivate the notion of a common humanity; and thirdly, that faith-based schools are confronted by a culture of authenticity in which every individual chooses his or her own way of realising his or her humanity. In relation to the aforementioned issues, I firstly, expound on faith-based education in some liberal societies, with the intention of pointing out how the notions of autonomy, common humanity and authenticity seem to have impacted on thinking about faith-based schooling. Secondly, I examine how autonomous, humane and authentic action under the guise of democratic citizenship education can be cultivated, especially in the Arab and Muslim world where such a form of education seems to be constrained. Instead, I make a defence for a pedagogy of disruption that can hopefully advance autonomous, humane and authentic action in faith-based schools.

Gé Speelman's 'The Hermeneutical Competence: How to Deal with Faith Issues in a Pluralistic Religious Context', lucidly connects with the point that faith-based education should be redirected towards initiating learners autonomously into learning within a pluralistic society. After providing an overview of the Dutch educational system and trends in the formation of the religious identity of young people, specifically young Muslims, the chapter explores two issues: first, examining the three educational contexts of religious or faith-based education (RE) – sometimes as teaching *into* religion, sometimes as teaching *about* religion and sometimes as teaching *from* religion, the author examines how RE could contribute to the education of young people to become self-confident (autonomous) citizens in a multicultural, multi-religious society; and second, the author examines how teachers with a Christian confessional background, who struggle with having to cater to a much

more multi-religious school population, can create an open climate of interreligious understanding in these schools.

Speelman commences by identifying two phenomena in the Dutch educational system. One is 'pillarisation', where parents, if certain conditions are met, have the right to establish their own schools, based on religious affinity or other ideological considerations – leading to a situation where religious diversity could take place in a mono-cultural setting. This was followed by the process of 'de-pillarisation', where people, no longer feeling bound to their own pillars in every respect, started voting for non-religious political parties, and church attendance started to drop very quickly. However, this had a minimal effect on the school system, where tightly organised networks of faith-based schools managed to attract many children of parents from largely secularised backgrounds. One of the results of pillarisation is that faith-based schools are in the majority, even if it is not one well-defined religious tradition shared by parents, children and teachers. Of these schools, Islamic schools have met with most resistance in Dutch society, for two reasons: (1) while there is a justified fear about the quality of these schools, the general tone of the public debate in the Netherlands is highly Islamophobic; and (2) there is a fear that a separate system of education may contribute to the isolation of the Muslim minority in Dutch society. The author notes that, while their identity as 'Muslims' is enormously and increasingly important for young Dutch-Moroccan, Dutch-Turkish or Dutch-Surinamese Muslims, it partly takes the place of a more ethnically or culturally defined identity. She ascribes this to dissociation from the 'Cultural Islam' of their parents: a form of Islam where religion is part and parcel of the cultural habits of the homeland, in search of a 'Pure Islam' or an organised Islam. This has led to a tension between the religious identity at home and the expectations of the school and society, leaving young Muslims to construct their own story about their religious identity.

In addressing how schools can create an open climate of interreligious understanding, Speelman highlights the following problems prevalent in many faith-based schools: they provide an adequate programme to learn *into* the religion that is connected to the identity of the school, but they see this identity as a monolithic whole; they convey the teachings of a concrete religious community in a deductive manner and bypass the actual, lived identity of pupils and their parents; and pupils do not learn how to deal with religious differences, or to develop a dialogical attitude. Politically, there has been a call for teaching about the ideas of religion, rather than the actual experience of a religion. While teachers, says the author, would like to guide their pupils towards a more fruitful relationship with religious traditions, they are afraid of appearing biased, and they lack the competence to guide them in religious traditions they don't know about. The result is that, in many cases, religions are not discussed at all by the regular teachers in state schools, leaving children inadequately prepared for an attitude of active tolerance, or to become citizens in the present-day multicultural Dutch society. Attempts have been made in Christian schools to introduce a more inductive teaching method and a more dialogical approach in school practice. But this depends largely on the teacher, who has to change from being a religious expert to a hermeneutical guide: someone who is able

to correlate the everyday experience of children and their questions about existence with insights from (their) religious traditions. To this end, 'religion' is no longer a set of propositions and rules, but part and parcel of the individual process of meaning-making of both the teachers and the pupils. Speelman argues that, given the homogenous populations of Muslim, Jewish or Hindu schools, a similar approach could be used – by using autobiographical and narrative entrances, pupils would learn *from* their religious traditions how to relate to others who follow other religious paths. If religion in faith-based schools in general is perceived not only as a school subject, but as an integral part of the day-to-day identity of the school, this would teach pupils to relate to their own faith tradition, to the religious changes these traditions are undergoing, and to the religious other who is their neighbour.

Zehavit Gross's 'Faith-Based Ideological School System in Israel: Between Particularism and Modernity' presents an analysis of state religious education in Israel at a faith-based ideological school. Based on its three population groups – secular, religious Zionist and ultra-orthodox – there are three types of state-supported school systems within the Jewish-Israeli educational system: the secular state educational system, the religious Zionist educational system and the ultra-orthodox educational system. The phenomenon of non-separation of state and religion affects the public sphere, particularly the educational system. The author explains that the philosophy of the state religious educational (SRE) system is based on three main tenets: (1) religious education – a traditional, Jewish religious education; (2) modern education – comprising of basic skills that learners need to acquire in order to function properly as future citizens in a secular, democratic state; and (3) nationalist education – or Zionist education necessary to preserve the unity of the Jewish people. In her analysis of each tenet, the author explains that within religious education one can differentiate between education *into* religion, which brings the pupil into one specific faith tradition, education *about* religion, where the pupil learns what religion stands for to believers of a particular faith, and education *from* religion, where pupils are expected to consider different answers to major moral and religious questions in order to develop their own autonomous views. Because of its humanistic nature, there is more prestige in and more hours are dedicated to religious studies than to secular subjects – resulting in a fundamental difference between religious and secular subjects. In return for state funding, SRE institutions are required to teach the official state curriculum in terms of general studies.

Gross identifies some of the challenges presented by SRE. In terms of the religious tenet, a number of schools are not teaching English, contending that English is unnecessary for their learners, who continue on to religious educational frameworks after graduating. One of the challenges faced by the state is whether to cease funding or not. If funding is ceased, the schools will seek alternative funding from private religious organisations, whose interest is solely ideological – resulting in the school becoming recognised as a non-official educational institution and open to educating values possibly inconsistent with those of the state. In terms of its national tenet, the Six Day War in 1967 gave rise to a need for the establishment of an elite religious educational network that would sustain Israel's religious revitalisation. Consequently, a new educational network was established to compete with the SRE

system, known as Noam (for boys), and followed by Zvia (for girls). With an emphasis on Judaic studies, total separation between girls and boys and more stringent criteria for pupils and teachers concerning religious behaviour, these schools attracted many learners from religious families. While this weakened the SRE system, it forced the latter to reassess and improve its educational and religious activities. But yet another challenge emerged with the attempt by religious-Zionists to renege on the peace treaty with Egypt, which potentially was as damaging to the country's economy, security and nationalist dreams. This resulted in a sweeping process to delegitimise the religious-Zionist public, since religious education was blamed for constituting a factory for these destructive processes. At the same time, the educational emphasis within the SRE schools was on the need to reinforce the Jewish settlement in Israel and to nurture Zionist attitudes that leaned more towards the political right. However, spurred by the murder of Rabin, the education system focused on the need for more intensive teaching of tolerance as a condition for creating a healthy society, ultimately leading to dialogue on the need for openness (an idea commensurate with harnessing the common good) regarding the variety of religious behaviour patterns in the SRE system. In response to the perception that SRE did not nurture pluralistic attitudes, new and varied religious educational institutions – state-religious and yeshiva schools – emerged. But the criticisms remain – that is, the religious standard of SRE is too low, seclusive and exclusive, and prevents access to liberal religious practices. While many consider that its education is parochial and outdated, others believe that its emphasis on achievement-targeted education is too strong, and comes at the expense of imparting value-based education in general and quality religious education in particular. Yet others assert that the major emphasis on achieving national goals means that learners receive a nationalist, rather than national, education. It is Gross's contention, though, that state-religious education constantly seeks the appropriate balance and equilibrium between traditional, particularist commitment and the postmodern global world.

Petro du Preez, in 'Religious Values and/or Human Rights Values? Curriculum-Making for an Ethic of Truths', addresses the dilemma of contradicting value systems in education and the inability to frame a value system for a diverse context, as well as to explore theoretical possibilities to think about curriculum-making processes that could surpass these problems. Inspired by Rorty (1979) and Badiou (2002), the author, firstly, argues that discourses of values in education have been too fixated on objective answers to address descriptive moral challenges and, in so doing, have resulted in an inability to overcome outdated dichotomous reasoning and to enter the domain of alternative, innovative understandings of values in education. She explores the implications of these arguments in the context of curriculum-making in secular and faith-based school contexts. Secondly, she argues for an ongoing process of curriculum-making for an ethic of truths that provide a normative base from which values in education could stem organically, and which does not set a good way of being as an abstract aim, but a concrete departure point.

Petro du Preez explains that questions have often been asked about the role of faith-based schools in preparing learners to function in diverse societies and, particularly, what their role is in terms of curriculum-making inclusive of minority

and/or marginalised groups from various ethnic, religious, cultural, national, class, disability and gender orientations. And while many faith-based schools include teaching and learning about religious and cultural traditions (and perhaps other forms of diversity) as part of their personal reflection and spiritual growth agenda, some might rightly question the extent to which human rights are addressed, for example as part of the ethical agenda of the school. On the contrary, it might also be asked whether it is at all necessary to include human rights as an ethical practice in the curricula of faith-based schools. Arguments for the inclusion of values in education have varied considerably over the years. These arguments included those that argue for a religious value system to be included in the curriculum, those that argue for the inclusion of all religious value systems in the curriculum, and those that are against the inclusion of any religious value system. In addition, some scholars have proposed that all religious values are compatible with human rights values and therefore human rights values could be included, but there also are proponents of not including human rights values, based on their own religious beliefs or because they see human rights as being in tension with religion. Another school of thought has proposed that any value system could be included in the curriculum, but that these values should be justified and negotiated on the basis of a universal, core set of values.

In addressing whether it is people who can be expected to set aside their religious ideals and adhere to human rights values as a core social morality in the public domain, and simultaneously to prioritise their religious ideas of the good life in their private lives, du Preez explores various curriculum-making approaches and teaching-learning for values in education – namely, (1) religious education and character education approaches; (2) multicultural education approaches; (3) diversity and inclusivity approaches; and (4) social justice and equity approaches. Du Preez explains that, while variations exist, faith-based schools might typically opt for religious education and/or character education approaches, with elements of multicultural education, which will ensure the preservation of a particular ethos or philosophy that informs the values of the particular school context. Secular schools would typically adopt multicultural, diversity and inclusivity, and/or social justice and equity approaches. The author raises concerns, however, about how curriculum-making in a polarised education landscape mostly draws on approaches that sustain binaries instead of challenging them, and proceeds to argue for the transcendence of curriculum-making that is anchored so as to facilitate the process of addressing questions pertaining to values in education in a diverse context, including both secular and faith-based school contexts. She proposes that the explicit curriculum should be seen as the situation, and the enacted curriculum as the space where an event could transpire and from which an ethic of truths could emerge. The conditions for this event include the resilient fidelity of subjects (teachers and learners), who bear the trajectory of the event and express discernment, courage and moderation in their pursuit of a good way of life. This, according to her, will result in curriculum-making for an ethic of truths, which assumes a particular ontological understanding of education and the curriculum as such. To sum up, conceptualising values in education and enabling curriculum-making for an ethic of truths necessitate that we

reflectively and critically consider the situations in which we find ourselves, so as to pierce the boundaries of our situations. This process will not only enable us to formulate values in line with the context we find ourselves in, but will also assist in attending to the universal beginning of the good way of life. To enable this process we also need to think about the way we frame discourses about and in education and the curriculum, since a systemic understanding might undermine our intentions and fidelity to change.

Najma Mohamed, in 'Capturing Green Curriculum Spaces in the *Maktab*: Implications for Environmental Teaching and Learning', explores two key elements: looking at the ways in which *maktab* (elementary religious) education represents the ecological ethic of Islam, and reviews two sets of curriculum materials in terms of environmental relevance. The central argument of the chapter is that because *makātib* (elementary religious schools) continue to thrive amid the continuing demand to introduce Muslim learners to the beliefs, values and practices of their religious tradition, they therefore can play a vital role in awakening the ecological consciousness of Muslims; instilling in learners the importance of just, responsible and respectful interaction between humans and nature. After examining the eco-justice ethic of Islam, particularly as a vehicle for political, socio-economic and environmental change, the chapter looks at environmental education in relation to the Islamic educational conceptions of *ta'līm* (learning), *tarbiyyah* (nurturing) and *ta'dīb* (good action), as espoused by Al-Attas and Waghid. By arguing that environmental education builds on critical Islamic pedagogy to actualise the eco-justice ethic of Islam, the author finds that, when viewed through an environmental lens, *ta'lim* requires critical engagement with all knowledge structures in constructing an eco-justice ethic; *tarbiyyah* extends the process of engaging with this ecological knowledge (*ta'līm*) towards actualisation of this eco-ethic, or in other words, understanding the 'why' of being a 'green' Muslim; and *tadīb* transports the eco-ethic of Islam, as all other social values, into the realm of social action. In considering two curricula – the Madrasatul Quds and Tasheel series, both widely used in South African *madāris* (Muslim religious schools) – the author evaluates the ways in which curriculum materials incorporate the environmental teachings of Islam.

Mohamed found that, while both curricula contain the essential ingredients of an environmental education programme based on the teachings of Islam, both, however, fall short of highlighting purposive and positive change in self and society (*ta'dīb*) as a valued educational outcome in Islam, and show very little engagement with other knowledge structures in equipping learners to understand how the environmental narrative of Islam concurs with, and differs from, other positions. She also found, however, that this shortfall could be remedied by re-examining the very intent of *madrasah* education, which should demonstrate that, while remaining faithful to the Islamic tradition, the Muslim child must take her place in combating the injustice, oppression and tyranny that threaten society and nature. In looking at a re-imagined environmental education in Islam, the author concludes, firstly, that the *maktab* (as the institution of Islamic elementary education) can play a vital role in alerting Muslims to the rich ecological narrative within the Islamic tradition, which should be auctioned and extended to all knowledge, namely in knowledge of

the Qur'an and nature. Secondly, the *maktab* can provide Muslim learners with opportunities to engage with knowledge, voice their opinions, and participate in public deliberation, striving to fulfil their duties as Muslims in advancing ecological and social justice – a matter of practising their authenticity. Thirdly, for the *maktab* to take its place as a key instrument in making known and revitalising Islamic eco-ethics, it needs to reflect the action-oriented, lived spirituality that this eco-theology embodies. And lastly, that while the *maktab*, one of the foundational institutions in the Muslim educational landscape, does not yet embody the liberatory eco-ethic of Islam, there are promising indications that curriculum spaces to introduce a transformative and activist environmental education (EE) process do exist.

Juliana Claasens, in 'Towards a Logic of Dignity: Educating Against Gender-Based Violence', starts from the premise that faith-based schools perform a dual purpose – on the one hand, they represent the space and period during which adolescents are figuring out their gender identity and thus are a fertile breeding ground for creating the sexual stereotypes and norms that contribute to the logic of indignity that underlies gender-based violence. And, on the other hand, these schools can also serve as the space in which education may occur that may provide some essential steps in transforming a rape culture by challenging a logic of indignity and substituting it with a logic of dignity, which may prove to be redemptive. The author proceeds to explore the link between male sub-cultures and gender-based violence, and highlights three areas in particular that promote the formation and expression of masculinity – sport teams and college fraternities, and then specifically in a South African context, boys' schools and gangs, and the media. By using a horrifying story of violence against women the author sets out to show that learners at faith-based schools can be taught to hone their critical thinking skills, which may include compassion, in order to identify the logic of indignity inherent in gender-based violence. In addition, the author seeks to provide various creative strategies in which the topic of gender-based violence may be broached in a school setting, with the ultimate goal of transforming aspects of the broader society and culture.

Suleman Dangor, in 'Islamization and Muslim Independent Schools in South Africa', explores the tensions between Western and Islamic epistemologies, as identified by the pioneers of Islamisation, and as a prelude to the emergence of the concept of the Islamisation of knowledge. This is followed by an assessment of the implementation of Islamisation in Muslim independent schools in South Africa, with some concluding remarks on the prospects of the Islamisation project. The author explains that one of the primary factors that contributed to the emergence of the notion of Islamisation was and continues to be how to resolve the dilemma of the bifurcation of knowledge and the educational system in Muslim countries into modern secular and traditional Islamic. The secular-religious divide that now characterises educational institutions in Muslim countries has resulted in a chasm between the so-called 'secular sciences' and the *shari'ah* (Islamic legal) sciences. The pioneers of the 'Islamisation of knowledge' believed it was possible to achieve a synthesis of the two divergent systems of education, which differ substantially in their ultimate aims and in their fundamental values. In addressing the concept of Islamisation and how it has manifested itself (or not) in Muslim independent

schools, the author commences by drawing a comparison between education in Islam and modern education. In his discussion of modern education, the author states that there are two dominant positions relating to the purpose of education: (1) a society-centred position, and (2) a child-centred position. He explains that the society-centred position conceives of education primarily as a vehicle to produce good citizens. Advocates of this approach argue that education should prepare individuals to function and adapt successfully in their respective societies.

In the second half of the chapter, Dangor explains that the original motive for founding independent schools for Muslim learners was to provide an Islamic environment that would enable them to protect their Muslim identity, since the public school environment was viewed as unsuitable for Muslim learners. In essence, Islamisation of the school curriculum was understood to mean providing an Islamic perspective on issues in the syllabi and locating, where relevant, secularised disciplines within the Islamic *Weltanschauung*. However, while a study revealed that the majority of Muslim educators at Muslim independent schools supported the Islamised syllabi, the majority of educators had not received adequate training in implementing the Islamised curriculum. This was despite the fact that sufficient resources, as well as a network, existed to assist in the process, and at least half the parents were not informed about the new curriculum and syllabi. Furthermore, the introduction of Outcomes-based Education forced Muslim independent schools back to the drawing board. Schools were virtually obliged to abandon the Islamised syllabi. Consequently, states the author, the Islamisation project faces many challenges, from a conceptual perspective as well as in relation to implementation. On the global level, other than a few exceptions there has been little or no support for Islamisation from Muslim governments. At the theoretical level, there are substantive differences among scholars with regard to the issue of Islamisation. There are scholars who regard Islamisation as an irrelevant exercise, with some even viewing it as an absurdity. Others remain sceptical about the entire enterprise. They doubt that the objectives of Islamisation are achievable, or that Muslim scholars have the capacity to produce an alternate paradigm of knowledge.

Philip Plaatjes's 'The Nature, Aims, and Values of Seventh-Day Adventist Christian Education' looks at the aims and values of Seventh-day Adventist (SDA) Christian education. The author commences by explaining that Adventist schools were established specifically for those learners who are interested in living a Christian life in this modern world, which is perceived to have turned its back on Christianity. The purpose of Adventist education is to provide a barrier against a society that is seen as having become violent, corrupt, mercenary and morally degenerate, and that considers life as being very cheap. The Adventist school therefore provides a safe haven where the learners' spiritual, mental, physical and social faculties can be stimulated and developed, and where they learn to be of service to their fellow men. Much of the church's philosophy of education is drawn from the Bible and the writings of Ellen G. White. The church is commissioned to 'make disciples of all nations' and 'baptize in the name of the Father and Son and the Holy Spirit'. The author explains that Seventh-day Adventist schools equip their young people with various skills and educate them for various vocations – it is in these

chosen professions, careers and jobs that they are encouraged to live out the values inculcated at SDA institutions. SDA schools exist to bring the learner into a saving relationship with Jesus Christ, and it is in this relationship that the character is developed. Given the high cost of SDA education, many parents are wondering whether it is worth the expense, but the schools are clear about their mission and provide their learners with opportunities for service and outreach, and inspire them to make contributions to society and to the church. The home is seen as a natural extension of the school, and at the primary school in particular, whatever the teacher says is more important than what anyone else says – a view that seems to invite critics of the initiation thesis that faith-based schools discourage autonomous thinking. The Seventh-day Adventist institutions, therefore, make sure that they employ committed Adventist teachers – teachers who, according to E.G. White, will 'stand for the right though the heavens fall'. Churches are directly responsible for the operation of the primary schools in particular. But because many young children do not attend SDA schools, the church is under extra pressure to provide for the religious education of the children. SDA educators make it more difficult for learners to succumb to the negative influences of society by encouraging positive influences and exerting positive influences themselves.

Plaatjes explains that the SDA philosophy of education is very different to that of other philosophies of education. Adventist educators embrace a worldview different to that of non-Adventist educators. The integration of faith and learning has become an important concept in SDA education, since it becomes part of a foundation on which the learner can build a Christian life and, in so doing, inculcate those values and principles that will prepare him for life. The author points out that many non-Adventists prefer the Adventist schools and outnumber the Adventist learners – claiming that even if the non-Adventist learners do not become Adventist, non-Adventist parents notice the difference in lifestyle and attitude of their children after they have attended an Adventist school. The author concludes that SDA education faces many challenges – one of which is to remain true to the aims, goals and core values of Christian education.

Yasien Mohamed, in 'The Gülen Philosophy of Education and Its Application in a South African School', firstly examines the educational philosophy of Fethullah Gülen and its impact on the moral ethos of Gülen schools in the context of Turkey and South Africa. Secondly, the author specifically looks at the Gülen school in Cape Town, South Africa, known as Star International High, and attempts to answer the questions of whether the Gülen school provides a good alternative to the Islamic private school and the secular liberal school, and whether it provides a middle way between these two types of schools – offering learners the opportunity to integrate into a pluralist society. While the school is faith inspired, the Gülen movement refers to it as a secular school, primarily because Islamic studies is not taught as a subject, teachers are not permitted to preach religion in the classroom, and the curriculum conforms to the national curriculum of the Department of Education (South Africa). The primary criticisms levelled at the Islamic private school and at the secular liberal school are that, while the former is too insular, making it difficult for Muslim learners to integrate into a multi-religious society, the latter is too free from

moral and religious conventions, and so would pose a problem for religious Muslim learners. Fethullah Gülen, on the basis of reconciling religion with science, extended his work into the public sphere, among other things through established schools rather than traditional madrasas and mosques. His work is premised on the notion that true education combines modern science with Islamic knowledge and produces learners who are agents of positive change. The aim, explains the author, was to teach the whole person, body and soul, and the teachers were expected to lead by example. These were not religious schools, but secular schools, for religious schools were not permitted within a Turkish secular system of education. For Gülen, education should prepare learners to be useful citizens and good people. He emphasised character building as an integral part of his educational philosophy, basing his concept on a classical humanist conception of the soul, with its three faculties in balance and the four Platonic virtues of courage, wisdom, temperance and justice. The author describes Star International High School as a secular school for boys, open to all children, Muslim or non-Muslim, that attracts learners from various socio-economic backgrounds and religions, but mainly middle-class Muslim and Christian coloured learners, as well as a few Africans. While the school follows the state curriculum, it includes Turkish as a language up to grade 11. Mohamed explains that the school fosters social virtues such as respect, co-operation and tolerance, and prepares learners to integrate into a secular society without losing their religious identity by encouraging them to be faithful to their own religious identity, and to respect the beliefs of others. Central to the success of the Gülen schools is the dedication and good moral example of the teachers and the industriousness of the pupils. Moral values are not taught as separate subjects, but are integrated into classroom lessons. Contrary to Islamic schools, where more attention is paid to the outer practices of Islam, such as wearing Islamic attire and performing ritual prayers, the Gülen schools focus on moral practices, and outward Islamic attire and religious practices are not prescribed in the classroom. While the teachers do not practice Islam in the classrooms, they do so outside during informal gatherings – with other teachers, learners and parents. The author concludes that Star International can be considered an alternative to the Islamic school, since it provides a modern education with a moral orientation, offering Muslim parents an alternative to the secular liberal independent schools and the Islamic private schools.

Omar Esau's chapter, 'A Teacher's Perspective on Teaching and Learning at a Muslim Faith-Based School in Cape Town', offers a perspective from an educational leadership position, using self-reflexivity and documentary evidence as research methodology. The author sets out to identify and explore how the values and ethos of a faith-based Muslim school affect practices in learning, teaching and leadership, and how these contribute to the democratisation of society and to nation building. He commences by sharing his childhood experiences during apartheid – at primary and high school and in his time at a teachers' training college, where he claims the students were trained to become 'teacher technicians' who would treat learners homogeneously, regardless of their feelings and socio-economic backgrounds. The author's first teaching post was at a Muslim-based school, where Islamic subjects played a central role in creating a religious ethos and shaping

religious identity at the school, and where the author felt that his two worlds (Muslim and secular) had come together. For the rest of the chapter Esau provides an historical account of the school and its various transitions – from its first principal in 1929, the role of the Muslim Education Trust, its Parents Teachers Association, and changes during post-apartheid South Africa. Parents, says Esau, preferred this public school because both religious and secular subjects were taught under a single management. After the historical account, the author introduces a discussion of how faith-based schools have a role and responsibility in the pursuit of the goals of multicultural education, concluding that faith-based schools can serve the greater public good over and above the good they can serve within their own faith-based communities. He concludes the chapter by stating that he has attempted to reflect from an insider's perspective on how a teacher with 'lived' experience of both Muslim and secular society, as well as a teacher-researcher and a reflective practitioner, views the challenges facing faith-based schools, adding that, while his experiences reflected those at a Muslim faith-based school in a South African context, they hold value for other faith-based schools as well.

Nuraan Davids, in 'Muslim Women and Cosmopolitanism: Reconciling the Fragments of Identity, Participation and Belonging', examines how the multiple understandings and practices of Muslim women reflect the plurality of interpretation within Islamic education. By analysing three specifically identified images of identity construction amongst six Muslim women – domesticity and patriarchy; identity, belonging and *hijāb* (head-scarf); and public/private participation – the author explores how these women, through their respective relationships and their varied interpretations of Islam, offer a renewed understanding of what could be a contribution to a cosmopolitan society. By drawing on contributions from both Muslim women and cosmopolitanism, the chapter looks at the implications for Islamic education. In her examination of the first image, domesticity and patriarchy, the author finds that the practices of the six women reveal a disconnection between knowledge of Islām and the lived experiences of Islām, often leading to an unquestioning acceptance of largely patriarchally-based interpretations of Islam, which have detrimental effects on Muslim women. In order to redress this, the author calls on Muslim women to reconcile their knowledge of Islām with their living enactments and experiences, and to consider a manifold as opposed to a monolithic Islamic identity in order to facilitate their engagement with a cosmopolitan society. In the second image – identity, belonging and *hijāb* – the author notes that the varied understandings of the wearing of the *hijāb* make it the most contentious issue among the six women. The challenge faced by Muslim women is ensuring that the image of wearing the *hijāb* becomes commensurate with their identity. The author links the gap between the action of wearing it, and the understanding thereof, to the disconnection between the knowledge of Islām and the lived experiences of Islām. Muslim women, argues the author, have to abstract an internalised message of Islām, so that they can take responsibility for who they are and how they respond to others. In concluding her presentation of the continuum of images, the author explores the third image, of public/private participation, by recounting some of the various difficulties – such as restricted access and taunting – that Muslim women

encounter when trying to access the public sphere, leaving them with the idea that their external identity is incommensurate with their society. In addressing this perceived incommensurability, the chapter shifts in terms of looking at possible reconciliation between the practices of Muslim women and cosmopolitanism.

Davids contends that the continuum of images is a manifestation of the cosmopolitan nature of Muslim identity amongst women, and that these diverse identities ought to find accommodation and expression in a cosmopolitan society, while a cosmopolitan society ought to contribute to the lived experiences of Muslim women. In reconciling with a manifold Muslim identity, the challenge for cosmopolitanism is to recognise and respond to the individualisation of self-understandings that constitute a pluralist society. A renewed cosmopolitanism, continues the author, needs to acknowledge that the construction of identity is always incomplete, which, by implication, means that a culture, and all its associations, is always evolving. In recognising and accepting that each is an individual by virtue of his or her culture, this type of cosmopolitanism will create deeper moments of engagement, and greater levels of co-existence, by constructing a language that originates from recognition, rather than from peculiarity. In examining the implications for Islamic education, the author maintains that, if the challenge for cosmopolitanism is to recognise the individualisation of self-understandings that constitute a pluralist society, then the challenge for institutions of Islamic education is to shift from places of mere rhetoric to spaces of public deliberation. Teaching at these institutions needs to be in terms of respecting the difference in others – in other words, a space of *tarbiyah* (nurturing). In effect, her renewed Islamic education calls for a return to the notion of *halaqas* (study circles) as a space that encourages debate and disagreement (*ikhtilāf*), and promotes a type of education for the dialogue and engagement of commonalities and differences. In addition a gender-free interpretation of the Qur'an, the author highlights the need to all Muslims to be both extractors from and contributors to Islām. The chapter concludes that the conceptual and actionable link between Islamic education and cosmopolitanism lies in its treatment of others which is in the teachings of Islām. Moreover, Islamic education needs to be cognisant of the continual emergence of newly constructed Muslim communities and identities, who are in search of new articulations of Islām – as are being found in the communities of all the women in the cases. The author views the cosmopolitan composition of these communities as constitutive of modern-day Islam and Islamic education, which ought to create the context for democratic citizenship in action.

Nuraan Davids in 'Women, Identity and Religious Education: A Path to Autonomy, or Dependence?' draws on Schreiner's (2005) distinction between education *into* religion, education *about* religion, and education *from* religion, and explores what it means for women to acquire religious education in the religious traditions of Judaism, Christianity, Islam, Hinduism and Buddhism. This is followed by an examination of whether religious education assists women in their realisation of an autonomous identity, or whether it impedes them in enacting their full humanity. The chapter concludes by looking at whether religious education ultimately leads to an enhanced enactment of social justice. After providing a brief overview of why women are pursuing and acquiring religious education, the author

spends time in examining the depiction of women within the various religious traditions, and how women are attempting to reclaim their original position and space afforded to them by the sacred texts. Attention is drawn to the parallel experiences of women – namely, their subjugation, marginalisation, exclusion and oppression, and how women, through religious education, are attempting to reconcile their identities as women with the sacredness of their religious identities – a sacredness, which in most of the major religious traditions, was attributed to women at their particular historical inceptions.

In her examination of whether religious education can contribute to an enhanced enactment of social justice, Davids commences by focusing on two factors. Firstly, that in order for women to re-conceive and re-construct their religious traditions, so that they many gain self-recognition. They need to re-visit both the sources and suppressed visions of the various religious traditions; and secondly, women, in empowering themselves, instead of simply becoming the equals of men, need to use their suffering to empathise with the oppression of others, and bring something new and positive to the religious scene and transform faith for the better – one of which is ensuring that social justice becomes the responsibility of both women and men, and not women only. The author emphasizes that women's realization of self-autonomy and self-agency cannot be restricted to the experiences of women alone, and that their process of consciousness-raising as individuals within certain religious traditions has to be contextualised in their relational interactions with men, and it has to be understood within a wider social and political context, so that, ultimately, what is cultivated is humanity.

By drawing on Nussbaum's (1997) argument that one cultivates humanity by developing three capacities – the capacity for critical thinking about one's own culture and traditions; to see oneself as a human being who is bound to all humans with ties of concern; and the capacity for narrative imagination, the author argues religious education has to comprise of education *into* religion, education *about* religion, and culminate in an education *from* religion, so as to nurture the ability to empathize with others and to engage from the perspective of others. Moreover, by drawing on Miller's (1999) conception of social justice – need, desert, and equality – Davids asserts that women, in their experiences of marginalisation, could legitimately argue that their needs as humans are not being met and that because of their imposed silences, lack the capacity to function effectively within their religious traditions and within society. While not arguing that the right to be human is actually tied to notions of social justice, the author, by turning to Taylor (1994), maintains that how individuals are treated by others can either enhance or harm the individual.

Davids continues that religious education can ultimately lead to an enhanced enactment of social justice if the different forms of religious education are re-conceptualised in terms of its objectives of effecting social change and social justice. She argues that if specific interpretations of religious texts and doctrines have often been responsible for keeping women from enacting their full humanity, then, by using narrative imagination women will have the capacity to recognize not only that they are human among other humans, specifically men, but they also have the capacity to cultivate a humanity that contributes to an enhanced enactment of social

justice. The contribution of women, through religious education, to an enhanced enactment of social justice, is not found in whether she knows only her religion; it is found, as Müller (1873) asserts, in her knowing about other religions, too.

In conclusion, Davids argues that, women's autonomy is not only connected to their own self-discovery; it is both stimulated and present in a re-imagining of the sacredness of all life-forms and within relationships of all life forms, and which includes the experiences and ways of being of others who do not adhere to any specific religion, or who do not ascribe any meaningful connection to a higher being. Both the enhancement of women's autonomy and a sense of social justice are not tied to a specific religion, nor is it tied to a specific religious education. It is, however, embedded in, and shaped by a way of being, that invites and respects other ways of being.

Part III – Current Practices and Future Possibilities

Section Editors: Sue McNamara and Judith D. Chapman

In the final part of this book, current policies and practices and future opportunities and challenges for faith-based schools are examined. Many nations are now characterised by pluralism and a richness of diverse religious and cultural communities. Education is increasingly being explored as a means of shaping society and addressing the numerous challenges associated with adapting or blending the culture of these communities within already existing social and cultural frameworks or in changing existing frameworks to accommodate greater diversity. In many settings, faith-based schools, either from within their own classrooms, educational systems or networks, or working within predominantly secular or government-controlled education policies and structures, are exploring various dimensions of educational practice in quality learning, teaching and leadership in order to fulfil their responsibilities and commitments to the students they educate, the communities they serve and the national and international communities of which they are a part.

Examples of the possibilities and challenges currently being faced in teaching, learning and leadership in schools across the world can be found in the recent OECD report *Trends Shaping Education* (2013). This report identifies a number of global trends, each of which is relevant to the policy development and curricula, pedagogy, leadership and practices of all schools and school systems. It elaborates trends in the 'dynamics of globalisation': economic development, global interconnectivity with communications and technology, multinational business and industry, the transformation of societies, increasing global migration, changing family compositions, and the notions of 'infinite connection' afforded by technological innovation. It notes the impact of these trends on education. Each of these international trends will demand changes in the practices of education and each will have implications for education in faith-based schools. As an example, the growth of migration brings with it much greater cultural and faith diversity than ever experienced before in many nations. Nations which might have been viewed as being

steeped in histories of a dominant culture with a small number of related faith traditions are now needing to develop educational policies and practices, curricula, pedagogies and associated leadership, teaching and learning approaches which are responsive to much broader cultural, social and faith commitments and sensitivities. These trends have a number of implications for education and they are evidenced in the major themes addressed by authors in this part. In particular, the chapters address the major themes of policies and practices in teaching, learning and leadership and the tensions facing faith-based schools, located in increasingly secular societies characterised by complexity and diversity. Each chapter combines one or more of the themes in the story they tell.

In addressing the aims of this part a number and range of approaches are adopted. Several of the authors provide an historical analysis of policies and practices in particular national settings. Coolahan examines the Irish experience; Feinberg bases his chapter on the development of faith-based schools in the United States of America; whilst Picken presents a comprehensive historical review of developments in Japan. Dimmock, Selah and Cheng combine an historical analysis with a case study in discussing the current position of faith-based schools in Singapore. Rizvi and Miura also adopt a case study approach examining developments in the UK and Japan. Black, Miura, Lovat and Clement, De Souza, and O'Donohue and Clarke examine examples of particular pedagogical and curriculum strategies and approaches which might be characterized by unique attributes of faith and its associated values and expectations. Pedagogy and curriculum take on a 'systems' perspective in chapters by Miura, Mitchell, Chapman, McNamara and Horne; and Butler, Summers and Tobin. Many of the chapters, such as those by Coolahan; Feinberg; Black; Sullivan; Gaffney; Buchanan and Chapman, and O'Donoghue and Clarke, provide proposals for future policy and practice that might be considered by faith-based schools internationally.

John Coolahan's chapter on 'The Shaping of Ireland's Faith-Based System and the Contemporary Challenge to It' explores the alignment with national priorities and the challenges of identity, beliefs and commitments of faith-based schools in Ireland. Coolahan's study of Ireland describes how one nation is endeavouring to move from having a predominantly single denomination, faith-based national education system to being a nation with a system inclusive of multi-denominational and secular considerations in its education system. Ireland presents an interesting study of the effort to re-cast a faith-based system to become a more pluralist one in contemporary society. Ireland's state-supported primary school system, established in 1831, was planned to be an inter-denominational one. However, in a society with deep political and religious divisions, this did not prove possible. While *de jure* the system remained formally inter-denominational, the de facto position was that, by 1870, it had become predominantly denominational, with some regulatory safeguards against proselytism. The patronage and trusteeship of schools rested with religious authorities. The faith-based character of the system became more intensified following political independence, in 1922, and was formally declared to be denominational in the Rules issued in 1965. The chapter examines how the system was shaped, and tracks the steps to reverse the policy with the emergence of the

'Educate Together' movement in the 1970s. Even though the problems posed by the faith-based system for non-believers were highlighted by responsible public agencies in the early 1990s, the 1998 Education Act did not address the issue. The chapter gives a detailed treatment of the current attempt by government to re-cast the system. Government sought to ensure that the provision of schooling, which is at present largely denominational, could become more inclusive and answerable to the needs of all citizens in a state which is becoming more multi-religious and more secular. The National Forum on School Patronage, set up in June 2011, has been a major catalyst in charting a way forward.

Walter Feinberg in 'Religious Education in a Time of Globalization and Pluralism: The Example of the United States' tells the story of a government intent on maintaining neutrality in its education system, minimizing the possible influence of faith-based practices in government sponsored schools. In a nation largely concerned with coherence and alignment with key national priorities in education and with social and individual identity and philosophy, Feinberg argues that the role of religion in public education in the United States can be traced back to motivation of the Pilgrims to protect against tyranny, and to follow their own conscience as dictated by religion. Ironically, their settlement of Massachusetts was followed by a series of repressive measures directed against different religious beliefs. When the Bill of Rights was added to the Constitution, the founding document of the country, the first amendment dealt with religious freedoms among others. The first two clauses read: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof". Over the years this has meant less and less religious influence in the public schools, but it has also meant more interest in private, sectarian public schools. And it has also motivated a drive to teach Bible and religion as academic courses in public schools. The chapter explores the changing role of religion in the American educational experience and asks the question: 'What might other countries with different histories, but committed to similar principles of equality, and religious liberty draw from this experience?'. Feinberg argues that while the United States is not, nor should it be, the model for other liberal democracies, nevertheless because of an increase in religious pluralism world wide the experience of the United States can be instructive for other countries.

Paul Black in his chapter entitled 'Classroom Practice in a Faith-Based School: A Tale of Two Levels' focuses, in particular, on pedagogy in faith-based schools. He uses the example of the structuring and intent of pedagogical practice in the classroom in the light of the unique characteristics attributed to faith-based schools of educating the whole student for life. He shows how these practices might be articulated and developed in relation to the ethos and characteristics of faith-based schools. The author concentrates on the learning relationship between student and teacher in the classroom environment, suggesting that findings about the dialogic interaction between teachers and pupils, and between the pupils themselves, derived from work in science, mathematics and English classrooms, give considerable indications for improving the quality of classroom interactions. The claim being made is that although such work has been aimed at all schools, faith-based schools should recognise that it has particular significance for them, in that their mission should be

implemented in the day-to-day detail of the way every teacher respects and enhances the unique dignity of every pupil. Black uses two illustrations of the issue on which he focuses; one from Thomas Groome's book *Educating for Life* in which Groome speaks of education and a curriculum as reflecting inherent goodness, dignity, self worth and the development of gifts and talents, in God's image. The second illustration is a description of a classroom interaction episode or exchange between a teacher and a class and individual students in which the teacher shows none of the elements of which Groome speaks. Black argues that the central concepts of faith-based education, in this case from a Christian perspective, should be articulated and evident in the interactions between teachers and students, and those involved in education in a faith-based school. His chapter details several examples drawing on elements of learning such as assessment and within this element feedback and dialogue, written work, marks and grades, peer and self assessment and tests and relates them to the growth of the student and teacher.

Stuart Picken writes of the situation in Japan in 'Faith-Based Schools in Japan: Paradoxes and Pointers' profiling another dimension of the complex 'story' behind the current place of faith-based schools in a multi-religious nation in which both 'eastern' and 'western' religious traditions are recognised in conjunction with a secular education perspective. Picken maintains that the question of how faith-based schools operate in Japan brings out the paradoxical nature of Japanese culture, namely that it is a modern secular society that is also home to many religious traditions. These have learned to co-exist over the centuries, showing a large measure of mutual respect and tolerance of differences. Education in Japan has a long history with a discernable base surrounding Buddhist temples since the 1600s. The Meiji Restoration (1868) saw the first attempt at establishing a national education system based on the temple schools (*terakoya*). The principal purpose of the educational system was to create useful, competent and responsible members of society. The needs of the state were of overriding importance. Japanese law distinguishes between *Gakko Hojin* (incorporated educational bodies) and *Shukyo Hojin* (incorporated religious bodies). While religious bodies may create educational institutions, they must be licensed by the relevant government ministry before they can function. Christian schools began to appear after Christianity ceased to be a proscribed religion and indeed became educational pioneers in many respects. However, they never became proselytizing organizations. They expose students to their ethos but little more. The key role of the concept of *kanyo* (tolerance) in Japanese society, Picken argues, should not be underestimated. It goes beyond the principle of 'live and let live' or even the philosophy of 'mutual co-existence'. It frequently induces or even inspires cooperation between what would ostensibly appear to be rival groups. Picken gives us the first glimpse of the role of government as the dominant figure in relation to a diversity of faith-based schools and their role in achieving the national priorities and goals of 'the promotion of cultural and harmonious wellbeing' of the society. Alongside this ideal is an implicit belief that human nature is not fundamentally flawed, the antithesis of the concept of Original Sin found in most branches of the Christian tradition. This also comes from Japan's Confucian heritage. Consequently, education is a support to social order. The Japanese have a

deep sense of spirituality associated with sacred places. But they have little interest in dogma in the Western sense. The historical strands of Japanese culture have developed and interacted over the centuries to produce a value system that enshrines the virtues of harmony, tolerance, and cooperation. This is but one aspect of what makes Japanese culture unique but which certainly explains why the faith-based school issue is not nor ever has been divisive in Japan.

Clive Dimmock, Hairon Salleh and Cheng Yong Tan's chapter 'Curriculum, Leadership and Religion in Singapore Schools: How a Secular Government Engineers Social Harmony and the 'State Interest' provides further evidence, drawing from the Singapore experience, of the place of faith-based schools in culturally rich and diverse communities and the implications for contemporary and future policy and practice in these schools and societies. The chapter firstly aims to illustrate the tensions that exist and balances that need to be struck by the existence of multi-ethnic and faith schools in the otherwise secular state of Singapore. The authors then describe and explain those features of the Singapore school system – in particular the curriculum and leadership – that reflect the multi-ethnic and multi-faith society of Singapore. They follow this with an overview account of the curriculum and leadership of one group of faith schools in Singapore, the madrasas, and finally they account for how government – through its pro-active education policy *inter alia* – engineers and achieves multiple (sometimes conflicting) objectives. The chapter argues that the Singaporean society is multi-ethnic and multi-faith and for the most part is seen as a model of how to successfully achieve a balance between expression of diversity through recognising individual/group rights while still meeting the over-riding aim of achieving national harmony and citizenship to underpin their chapter. Dimmock, Saleh and Cheng maintain that the government, while secular, adopts a carefully thought through strategy to achieve a number of seemingly difficult if not contradictory objectives. It does so, *inter alia*, by its approach to and positioning of educational policy making. On the one hand, it appears tolerant in allowing the existence of schools reflecting the interests of diverse faiths and ethnicities; on the other, it subtly influences the curriculum of faith schools by, for example, requiring them to engage in the same national tests as other schools (e.g., the primary school leaving exam – PSLE). The government is seen to be championing faith-based schools by encouraging and supporting new pioneering futuristic versions of them, by virtue of which it is then able to exert influence over how such schools might evolve in future. At the heart of Singapore government policy is the prime objective of ensuring the continuation of a harmonious and closely integrated multi-ethnic, multi-faith society. The primacy of a well educated and aligned work force and society attuned to the future needs of a twenty-first century knowledge based economy is underpinned by values associated with excellence and meritocracy. No particular ethnic or faith group can be allowed to be too different or diverse from the mainstream, otherwise harmony, national citizenship and economic prosperity are threatened. It is argued that the Singapore government manages to achieve these multiple objectives through a well-planned, strategic, proactive – and often subtle – approach to policy making. At the same time, policies are uncompromising on the long-term vision and values underpinning and sustaining Singapore into the future.

John Sullivan in 'Critical Fidelity and Catholic School Leadership' looks at leadership in faith schools. Drawing on the example of leadership in Catholic schools, Sullivan believes that increasingly, in the future, many Catholic school leaders are likely to experience a tension between faithfully representing the church (from which they receive their mission) and applying the critical thinking and questioning that are integral to education, to the pronouncements and policies of the church's leaders. In Part I of the chapter, the focus is on the need for Catholic school leaders to have sound theological foundations for their work if they are to model fidelity and to ensure that faith permeates decisions and practice. In Part II, Sullivan indicates a few examples of features of church life that undermine the effective carrying out of the mission of the school. He claims that these should be questioned and critiqued, in aid of that mission, and thus that the fidelity needed must be critical. In Part III, some of the qualities and features that are part of critical fidelity are proposed and applied to the issue of gender.

Terry Lovat and Neville Clement in their chapter 'So Who Has the Values? Challenges for Faith-Based Schools in an Era of Values Pedagogy' look at the influence of values in education, and on educational outcomes. Located largely in a substantial research body of work around values education, these authors suggest that the past decade has seen a significant increase in emphasis on values pedagogy, variously titled values education, character education and moral education, across the world, largely in governmental and broadly non faith-based educational contexts. The potential of such pedagogy to influence educational outcomes, ranging from socio-emotional to academic outcomes, has been demonstrated in ways that supersede most historical evidence. Granted that most of the earlier evidence about the effects of values pedagogy has come from faith-based contexts, these authors explore the challenges for faith-based schools in an era that sees much of its traditional distinctive pedagogy being implemented and arguably perfected more widely outside such contexts.

Sadaf Rizvi in her chapter 'Use of Islamic, *Islamicized* and National Curriculum in a Muslim Faith School in England: Findings from an Ethnographic Study' draws on ethnographic research conducted in a secondary Muslim faith school for girls in England. The Muslim school is different from *madrassas* in providing mainstream formal education to pupils with an addition of a few Islamic subjects. The chapter starts with a brief discussion of the socio-cultural context within which Muslim schools have emerged in Britain and the controversies around their existence which primarily relate to the integration of Muslim minority children in Britain. The chapter then analyses how the girls (11–14 years) are 'socialized' through three different types of curriculum, i.e. 'Islamic', 'National' and '*Islamicised*', used in the studied school. The author argues that teaching through these forms of curriculum aims to help the young Muslims develop a British Muslim identity which is compatible with their religion and prepares them to integrate in the society. The chapter informs the contested debates around the role of Muslim faith schools and highlights the teaching and learning processes through which the young Muslims are socialized. Such processes are largely ignored in the debates surrounding the education and integration of Muslim minority children in Britain.

Marian de Souza in her chapter 'A Mobile School – Bringing Education to Migrant Children in Goa, India' turns our focus to a different kind of 'school', detailing a small study which explored the partnership between religious entities and government to deliver education to those who otherwise would not be able to access or continue their education. Catholic schools in India are part of a faith-based education system that has had a long and rich history dating back to the fifteenth century with the arrival of the Christian missionaries. Initially, the schools were run by European Religious Orders but since Indian Independence in 1947, the teaching staff and the governance of the schools was gradually taken over by Indian religious and lay people. In general, the schools aim to be inclusive and cater for a range of students from different religious and social backgrounds and most have a reputation for offering a high standard of education. A fairly recent innovation in Catholic schooling in India is the development of mobile schools. This has been generated by an initiative of the Indian Government 'to provide for a variety of interventions for universal access and retention, bridging of gender and social category gaps in elementary education and improving the quality of learning'. Some Religious Orders saw this as an opportunity to fulfil their mission to reach children on the edges of society, the marginalized. The Salesian Order of Priests is one of the Religious Congregations that became involved in the Government's Project. The Salesian Religious Congregation was founded by John (Don) Bosco (1815–1888) in Italy and their mission is formed from Don Bosco's vision to offer learning and education to boys who lived on the margins of society. This chapter is based on a small study which examined the mission, organization, curriculum and pedagogy of one Mobile School which is part of the Indian Government's Mobile School Project: the Sarva Shiksha Abhiyanan. The school is being run by the Salesian Religious Congregation in Goa in collaboration with the Goa Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (GSSA). The main purpose is to provide useful and relevant elementary education for all children in the six to 14 age group with particular attention being given to promoting access for marginalized children to bridge social, regional and gender gaps. The study identified the positive achievements of the school as well as those areas that may require further consideration.

Nozomi Miura's chapter 'Religious Education in Japanese 'Mission Schools': A Case Study of Sacred Heart Schools in Japan' presents the story of a particular faith-based school in Japan. She focuses on the example of the place of a group of schools sponsored by a religious congregation and in particular a Catholic girl's school within the Japanese education system. Miura notes that the number of 'Christians' has never been large in Japan (less than 1 % of the total population); however, Christianity, in spite of its being a minority religious tradition, has been a uniquely influential element in the Japanese educational system, particularly in women's education. Various data provide evidence that Christian educational institutions, along with their value systems, are well received in Japan. Briefly tracing the history of the religious congregation the sisters of the Society of the Sacred Heart and its mission in the education of young women in Japan, the chapter delineates an example of Catholic 'mission schools' in Japan: the schools and the colleges of the Sacred Heart, focusing on the religious education in these educational

institutions. Miura describes the community of Sacred Heart Schools; a college (The University of the Sacred Heart, Tokyo); a Professional Training College (Sacred Heart Professional Training College) and five schools including elementary, junior high and high schools and the International School of the Sacred Heart, Tokyo which incorporates a kindergarten as well as elementary, junior high and high school. With the exception of the kindergarten of the International School, all are female, single-sex institutions. Miura's chapter notes in its discussion of the future need for future teachers trained in religious education and for teacher education to address the characteristics put forward in faith-based schools of the concerns for the whole student and the human condition as well as academic considerations.

Helen Butler, Bernadette Summers and Mary Tobin's chapter, 'A Systems Approach to Enhancing the Capacity of Teachers and Leaders in Catholic School Communities to Link Learning, Student Wellbeing, Values and Social Justice', puts forward an example of professional learning for working within a faith-based education system. The authors maintain that good practice in learning, with a focus on the whole child, needs to be underpinned by good practice in professional learning for educators. The chapter presents a case study of a partnership between the Catholic Education Office of the Archdiocese of Melbourne (CEOM), a Catholic Diocese in Victoria, Australia and the Australian Catholic University, one of only two faith-based universities in Australia. It shows how student learning is supported by the Student Well-Being framework and portfolios of the CEOM, which in turn are supported by a systems approach to accredited professional learning through the formal university qualification of a Master of Education/Postgrad Certificate in Education (Wellbeing in Inclusive Schooling). In particular, the chapter concentrates on a whole school approach to social justice which is a component of a course for accredited practicing teachers. The chapter describes how theories from a range of fields are used in the course, including Catholic Social Teaching, to scaffold teachers' reflection on their own practice.

Annie Mitchell, Judith Chapman, Sue McNamara and Marj Horne in 'Schools and Families in Partnership for Learning in Faith-Based Schools' are concerned with work undertaken to involve parents, families and communities in the education of their children in faith-based schools. This chapter draws on a study of a system-wide reform effort by four Catholic dioceses in the Australian state of Victoria directed towards improving student learning outcomes through strengthening family-school-community partnerships, and the role of educational systems in supporting and enabling such reform. The reform effort was located within the Australian Commonwealth Governments' Family-School Partnerships Framework for parent engagement and was informed by the work by Epstein (2002) on categories of parent engagement in the US. This work from the US provided a conceptual guide for considering the multiple dimensions of family school partnerships and student learning. The dimensions included: communicating; connecting learning at school and learning at home; building community and identity; recognising the role of the family; consultative decision-making; collaborating beyond the school; and participating. The research reported on in this chapter was undertaken by the authors over 3 years and embraced multiple and repeated interviews with staff, parents,

system and community personnel, surveys of parents, children and other stakeholders, the analysis of existing quantitative data sources of information about the schools and student learning and a number of case studies. The chapter discusses school and system-level impacts on improved links between parent participation and student learning particularly in faith-based schools.

The chapter by Michael T. Buchanan and Judith D. Chapman, 'Learning for Leadership: An Evidence Based Approach for Leadership Learning in Faith-Based Schools', aims to contribute to an understanding and articulation of what leaders need to learn, to know and to do, as a rigorous evidence base for informing and shaping initiatives and strategies for the learning of leaders in faith-based schools. The chapter draws on research commissioned by the CEOM, Australia, to provide a rigorous, evidence base for the learning of educational leaders in the Catholic setting. It is also informed by the international OECD activity on 'Improving School Leadership' and developments in leadership and learning in various international settings. A number of guiding principles, concepts and concerns considered vital to the learning of leaders in Christian faith-based schools are identified and discussed.

Michael Gaffney in 'Leading Australian Catholic Schools: Lessons from the Edge' presents a series of themes about leadership and positioning of Catholic schools 'on the edge'. The author shares his insights about Catholic schools (1) *on the edge of the mainstream*, through reference to their position as non-government schools in policy and funding terms relative to schools in the public sector and secular Australian and State/Territory governments and statutory authorities, (2) *on the edge of town*, highlighting the context and challenges of Catholic schools serving diverse low, middle and high SES communities and the hope and distinctive educational opportunities they promote, and (3) *on the edge of faith*, drawing upon ecclesial writings, research findings and emerging forms of governance relating to the authenticity and sustainability of Catholic schools. The message from these insights is that leading Catholic schools 'on the edge' not only requires a thorough understanding of the local community context, of broader educational trends, accountabilities and opportunities and of the teachings and changes in the Church, but also an appreciation of what emerging Catholic school communities can be. The implication is that Catholic school leaders need to have a vision for Catholic schools *on the edge of possibility* that encompasses the challenges of distinctiveness, equity, diversity, authenticity and sustainability, and the capability to share and realize that vision.

Tom O'Donoghue and Simon Clarke in 'Faith-Based Non-government Organizations and Education in 'Post-New War Societies': Background, Directions and Challenges in Leadership, Teaching and Learning' bring Part III of this book to a close with an intriguing exploration of faith-based education beyond the boundaries of traditional formal schooling with which it is most often associated. In many ways they remind the reader of the original essence and purpose of much of the world's faith-based education in looking at the work of faith-based organisations and education in places of current upheaval, turmoil, war and natural disaster in the global world. They begin their story by positioning the role of government in education. The authors indicate that state intervention in education throughout much of

the world is a relatively recent phenomenon. In general, it is associated with the foundation of modern industrial nations. They argue that the models of state education usually adopted, however, derive many of their characteristics from the dominant providers for centuries, namely, faith-based organisations. These have included, but have not been restricted to, organisations from the Judaeo-Christian tradition and Islam. Along with providing schools on the home front, outreaches were also developed to emigrant communities and in the missionary work of evangelization. This latter work continues today along the traditional pattern of running schools, technical and vocational education and university education, as well as hospitals and social-care facilities in long-established mission settings. In more recent times, however, faith-based organisations, like individual-country aid agencies, multi-lateral organisations and NGOs, have also been responding to various crisis situations around the world, including those generated by famine, climate, disease, and conflict and post-conflict. The general focus of this chapter is on the work of faith-based organisations in a particular form of post-conflict setting, namely, that of 'post-new-war' societies. This notion of 'new wars', coined, and elaborated on, by Kaldor, refers to those wars which have their origins in the informal wars of the second half of the twentieth century and have become most prominent in recent decades with the disintegration of authoritarian states. Thus, 'post-new-war' societies relates to such post-military conflict zones as Iraq, Northern Ireland, Lebanon, Kosovo, Solomon Islands and Rwanda, to mention just a few. Specifically, the chapter provides a brief outline of the historical background to the outreach work of faith-based organisations, particularly through schools. It broadly portrays the ways in which faith-based organisations have become involved in various crisis situations around the world and elaborates on the nature of 'new wars' and 'post-new-war' societies as one type of such crisis situation. It considers the recent emphasis in the academic literature on the importance placed by academics and multi-lateral organisations on the role of education in post-new war settings and illustrates a variety of initiatives undertaken by faith-based organisations in the provision of education, particularly schooling, in 'post-new-war' societies. The chapter draws on the small, but significant, body of work that has been undertaken in the field to date, which should be instructive to leaders of faith-based schools (and of state schools and schools run by non state secular organisations also) in their decision-making, particularly with regard to leading learning.

Concluding Comment

The chapters in the book articulate at least three aspects that seem to bring together a range of insightful contributions offered by the authors as they endeavour to clarify their understandings and experiences of faith-based education in schools. Firstly, faith-based education cannot be thought of in some singular monolithic way that undermines different, multiple and heterogeneous notions of what it means to teach, learn and lead faith-based education in schools. After all, if faith-based

education is meant to achieve and enhance human interrelations and co-existence, then any attempt to present and enact faith-based education in a single dominant and hegemonic fashion would be incommensurate with understandings of education that seek to expand and expatiate upon meaningful ways of human engagement.

Secondly, the book also accentuates the importance of looking at faith-based education as continuously in a process of becoming. This implies that thoughts and practices about faith-based education remain open to the new and unimaginable. That is, faith-based education in schools cannot be looked upon as some completed, final project but rather as one that is always in the making, thus allowing for the emergence and incorporation of the incalculable and possibly even the impossible to be encountered through engagements with ideas in and about teaching, learning and leading in faith-based schools. As several contributions highlight, faith-based education cannot just be discounted on the basis of its supposed, at times doctrinaire stances, but also must be considered for its own improbable ways of looking at human experience. After all, what is the purpose of faith-based education, in all its various forms, if it cannot instil confidence in humans to seek to move towards more virtuous ways of being and living?

Thirdly, the book also brings ideas about faith-based education into communication and interaction with prominent intellectual projects such as democracy, multiculturalism and cosmopolitanism. By implication, the authors have not shied away from bringing faith-based education into systematic controversy with those often encountered in some contested notions that are sometimes presented as being out of tune with religion and faith. The fact that authors have been bold enough to raise teaching, learning and leading faith-based education in relation to ways of being that can contribute towards the cultivation of humanity, accentuates further the significance of a book about faith-based education in schools primarily because the latter ought to contribute towards the enhancement of our humanity in plurality.

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Part I
Educational, Historical, Social and Cultural Context of Faith-Based Schooling

Section Editor: Michael J. Reiss

Chapter 2
The Impact of Faith-Based Schools on Lives and on Society: Policy Implications

Charles L. Glenn

Introduction

Several years ago, a large-scale study of the effects of different types of schooling upon the subsequent attitudes and behaviors of adults, holding constant a whole host of background factors, found that those who had attended Catholic and Evangelical schools differed in significant ways, not only from those who attended public schools, but also from each other.

My purpose in the first part of this chapter is to offer a possible historical explanation of these differences, without minimizing the theological factors which may also be at work, and to offer some very preliminary suggestions about what we might expect to find as the effects of attendance at Islamic schools in the American context.

The second part of the chapter will explore the implications of these findings for public policy in North America and also in Western Europe, where the Muslim presence is increasingly perceived by many Europeans as menacing, and where policy-makers are struggling with the role of educational systems in turning the children of Muslim immigrants into citizens of the host societies. This discussion will be far from complete in this brief chapter, of course, but it will serve to anticipate what I hope to accomplish in my next book.

In short, I will use the different outcomes of Catholic and Evangelical schooling in the United States to explore the historically-contingent nature of educational experience, and to make some suggestions about what we can anticipate about the effects of Islamic schooling in the United States. One of my conclusions will be that there is no reason for panic about the desire of many Muslim parents to provide a distinctive schooling for their children; another will be that wise public policy responses can increase the beneficent effect of such schooling.

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The Cardus Study

The study, coordinated by Professor David Sikkink of Notre Dame University, sought to assess the long-term effects of different 'families' of secondary schooling: public, Catholic, Evangelical Protestant, non-religious independent, and homeschooling. The research involved analysis of results from a previous large-scale survey of individuals aged 24–39 who could be distinguished by the type of secondary schooling which they received:

> unlike other studies in the field, the statistical analysis – controlling for over 30 variables known to impact development, such as the closeness of one's relationship to parents, religious service attendance, race, and educational attainment – was better able to isolate the effect of school type on the spiritual, socio-cultural, and educational outcomes of students six to 21 years after high school graduation.[1]

Rather than paraphrase its conclusions, I will simply quote them below:

> In many cases, the difference in outcomes between Catholic and Protestant Christian schools is striking. Catholic schools provide superior academic outcomes, an experience that translates into graduates' enrollment in more prestigious colleges and universities, more advanced degrees, and higher household income. In Catholic schools, administrators put a higher value on university than their Protestant Christian peers, and Catholic schools' academic programs consist of more rigorous course offerings across the board. While some of these factors may be due to the longer history and larger size of the schools, these results are too important to "explain away." At the same time, however, our research finds that the moral, social, and religious dispositions of Catholic school graduates seem to run counter to the values and teachings of the Catholic church. For example, students graduating from Catholic schools divorce no less than their public school counterparts, and significantly more than their Protestant Christian and nonreligious private school peers. Similarly, having attended Catholic school has no impact on the frequency with which those graduates will attend church services, and Catholic school graduates are less likely to serve as leaders in their churches.[2]

On the other hand,

> In contrast to the popular stereotype of Protestant Christian schools producing socially fragmented, anti-intellectual, politically radical, and militantly right-wing graduates, our data reveal a very different picture of the Protestant Christian school graduate. Compared to their public school, Catholic school, and non-religious private school peers, Protestant Christian school graduates have been found to be uniquely compliant, generous individuals who stabilize their communities by their uncommon and distinctive commitment to their families, their churches, and their communities, and by their unique hope and optimism about their lives and the future. In contrast to the popular idea that Protestant Christians are engaged in a "culture war," on the offensive in their communities and against the government, Protestant Christian school graduates are committed to progress in their communities even while they feel outside the cultural mainstream. In many ways, the average Protestant Christian school graduate is a foundational member of society. Despite these positive findings regarding the behaviors and dispositions of their graduates, however, Protestant Christian schools show difficulty balancing the various demands of the market – that is, the development of faith, learning, and cultural engagement – and end up falling short in the academic development of their students.[3]

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[1] Cardus (2011), 12.

[2] Cardus (2011), 13.

[3] Cardus (2011), 13.

What can explain the different outcomes between Protestant and Catholic schools, and the fact that each family of schools seems to produce results which are quite different from the stereotypical view of them? After all, the popular view is that Catholic schools are all about producing religious devotion, no doubt at the expense of intellectual effort, and that what the study calls Protestant Christian (though outsiders would commonly refer to them as 'fundamentalist' or 'evangelical') schools are all about producing fanatics who are alienated from the wider society.

Of course, field-based research on such schools has revealed a picture much closer to the results of the Cardus study. There is abundant research on Catholic schools, most notably that by Coleman and Hoffer[4] and by Bryk, Lee, and Holland;[5] that on Protestant schools, a more recent phenomenon, is more sparse, but includes important studies by Alan Peshkin and by Steven Vryhof. The positive results of both types of schools include strong commitment to civic values. This has been confirmed by national examination results: '[t]he 1998 civics report card by the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) states that students in private schools (both Catholic and non-Catholic) have higher average scores on the NAEP civics tests than their peers in public schools.'[6] Alan Peshkin's study of a 'fundamentalist' school in Illinois found that the students had more socially-tolerant views than their counterparts in the local public high school.[7]

Our concern here is not with exploring further these differences, and how they are manifested, but with understanding how they may reflect the historical moment in which Catholic and Protestant schools find themselves, and what implications such an understanding may have for public policy, especially in relation to the emerging phenomenon of Islamic schools.

Development of Catholic Schooling in the United States

To greatly over-simplify, Catholic schooling in the United States developed in opposition to the Protestant character of the common public elementary school and the semi-public academies. Public schools during the nineteenth century (and indeed in many communities until after the Second World War) expressed a Protestant understanding of the nature of a good education, including the use of the Bible for both instructional and devotional purposes. Cooperation among Protestants who differed on various points of doctrine and practice led to schools with a religious character that all could support. As I have shown in some detail elsewhere, the 'Common Public School' movement associated with Horace Mann was permeated by Protestant religious themes and motivations;[8] Mann himself insisted on the

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[4] Coleman and Hoffer (1987).

[5] Bryk et al. (1993).

[6] Campbell (2001), 224.

[7] Peshkin (1986), 336.

[8] Glenn (1988), chapter 6: 'The Common School as a Religious Institution.'

central role of religion and the Bible in schools. In the last of his 12 annual reports to the Massachusetts Board of Education, Mann noted the Catholic criticism of the common public school:

> a rival system of "Parochial" or "Sectarian Schools," is now urged upon the public by a numerous, a powerful, and a well-organized body of men. It has pleased the advocates of this rival system, in various public addresses, in reports, and through periodicals devoted to their cause, to denounce our system as irreligious and anti-Christian.[9]

In his *Tenth Report*, Mann had stated that the 'policy of the State promotes not only secular but religious instruction,'[10] in his *Eleventh Report* he claimed that '[i]t is not known that there is, or ever has been, a member of the Board of Education, who would not be disposed to recommend the daily reading of the Bible, devotional exercises, and the constant inculcation of the precepts of Christian morality, in all the Public Schools,'[11] and the year after that, in his valedictory 1848 report, he made the religious character of the common school his central theme. After a panegyric to the importance of moral education as the central mission of the common school, Mann pointed out that

> it will be said that this grand result, in Practical Morals, is a consummation of blessedness that can never be attained without Religion; and that no community will ever be religious, without a Religious Education. Both these propositions, I regard as eternal and immutable truths. Devoid of religious principles and religious affections, the race can never fall so low but that it may sink still lower; animated and sanctified by them, it can never rise so high but that it may ascend still higher.… The man … who believes that the human race, or any nation, or any individual in it, can attain to happiness, or avoid misery, without religious principle and religious affections, must be ignorant of the capacities of the human soul, and of the highest attributes in the nature of man.[12]

As a result, he told the Board and his widespread public, 'I could not avoid regarding the man, who should oppose the religious education of the young, as an insane man;' in his role as government official, he had 'believed then, as now, that religious instruction in our schools, to the extent which the constitution and laws of the state allowed and prescribed, was indispensable to their highest welfare, and essential to the vitality of moral education.'[13]

Catholics did not disagree that religion was an essential aspect of education, but they resisted the form which it took in the common public schools that were developing across the northern states. As early as 1828, Bishop Fenwick of Boston complained that 'all the children educated in the common schools of the country are obliged to use books compiled by Protestants by which their minds are poisoned as it were from their infancy.' In 1840, the Catholic bishops formally charged that 'the purpose of public education in many parts of the country was to serve the

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[9] Mann (1849), 102.

[10] Mann (1847), 233.

[11] Mann (1848), 9.

[12] Mann (1849), 98–99.

[13] Mann (1849), 103, 113.

interests of heresy.'[14] As the Catholic population of the country grew dramatically through immigration, the demand for their own schools grew as well, informed by the experience many of them had had in publicly-funded denominational schools before immigrating to the United States.

In Germany, one of the two major sources of Catholic immigrants in the nineteenth century, schooling was organized, under government supervision, on a denominational basis, a model that continued as the various German states (apart from Austria) were brought together by Bismarck in the 1870s and would persist into the 1950s and, in some *Laender*, into the present.[15] In Ireland, the other major source of Catholic immigrants, government-sponsored schooling began in 1831, with a National Board 'composed of men of high personal character, and of exalted station in the Church,' that is, in both Protestant and Catholic churches, to provide financial support to local schools. Almost all 'National Schools' took on either a Catholic or a Protestant character; by 1852 only 175 schools out of 4,795 were under joint management.[16] This publicly-funded denominational model of schooling persists in Ireland today, despite some modifications in recent years. To take a final example, the heavy influx of French Canadians who came to New England's factories after 1860 came from a province where publicly-funded schooling was organized on a denominational basis.[17]

In short, Catholic immigrants – and especially the clergy who occupied a leadership role and were greatly concerned to prevent assimilation of their parishioners into the Protestant majority – were accustomed to publicly-funded Catholic schools and regarded the existing schools as unacceptably Protestant and thus hostile to maintenance of the beliefs and loyalties that they wished to promote in their children. It was quite natural for them to seek a share of the public funding available for schools to support their own schools, and in fact such arrangements were made for a time in a number of local communities, including Lowell, Massachusetts, Manchester, New Hampshire, and Poughkeepsie and other communities in New York State.

Generally, however, the Protestant majority reacted strongly against this demand for separate Catholic schooling, charging that it would prevent the children of immigrants from becoming loyal American citizens who shared the prevailing political and cultural values. It was widely believed, among the Protestant majority, that the very nature of Catholic schooling was contrary to fundamental principles of American life, aiming to produce adults unable to think for themselves and totally subordinate mentally and spiritually to their church. 'Catholicism in this country,' wrote Samuel Spear in 1876, 'depends for its life and progress upon two conditions: first, a large and continuous importation of foreign-born Catholics;

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[14] Dunn (1958), 207, 211.

[15] See Glenn (2011) for a detailed discussion.

[16] See Akenson (1970) for a detailed discussion.

[17] See Dufour (1997).

second, home production, by educating the children of Catholics into the faith of their parents and the faith of the Church.… Ignorance and despotic control are historically the strongholds of Catholicism.' There was a dangerous 'inconsistency between what the Catholics desire and the whole genius and nature of our political institutions.'[18]

Decades earlier, influential Protestant clergyman Horace Bushnell of Hartford delivered an address in 1853 on the role of the common school in relation to Catholic immigrants. Americans had been extremely generous, he told his audience of elected officials and leading citizens, in admitting immigrants to all the privileges of a free society, but 'they are not content, but are just now returning our generosity by insisting that we must excuse them and their children from becoming wholly and properly American.' The ungrateful Catholic immigrants wanted 'ecclesiastical schools, whether German, French, or Irish, any kind of schools but such as are American, and will make Americans of their children.' Overlooking conveniently how many private academies had long been receiving public funding – and including religious instruction in their programs – he drew a sharp distinction: 'Common schools are nurseries thus of a free republic, private schools of factions, cabals, agrarian laws, and contests of force… The arrangement is not only unchristian, but it is thoroughly un-American, hostile at every point to our institutions themselves.' Bushnell found it 'a dark and rather mysterious providence, that we have thrown upon us, to be our fellow-citizens, such multitudes of people, depressed, for the most part, in character, instigated by prejudices so intense against our religion.' It was his hope, however, that through the common public school 'we may be gradually melted into one homogeneous people.'[19]

Difficult as it may be for us to understand, most Americans in the nineteenth century thought of Catholicism as 'sectarian' but were equally confident that Protestantism was not, and were deeply suspicious of the intentions of the growing number of Catholics among them toward fundamental aspects of American civic life. In the 1870s, many Americans reacted strongly against the intransigence of the Catholic Church of Pius IX against fundamental principles and freedoms of modern life. The fact that most American Catholics were exemplary citizens did not reduce majority concerns about the intentions of the church hierarchy and the supposed influence of 'sectarian' Catholic schools on children from Catholic families. 'One foe of Rome contended that the Irish would assimilate if the priests did not keep them separate. Another thought that the priesthood drove the Irish into reluctant hostility to public education.'[20]

This fear of the effects of Catholic schooling would continue for many decades. The National Education Association, in 1891, warned that parochial schools initiated the children of immigrants into foreign traditions that threatened 'distinctive Americanism,' and 30 years later a Methodist bishop in Detroit warned that 'the parochial school is the most un-American institution in America,

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[18] Spear (1876), 28.

[19] Bushnell (1880), 299–303.

[20] Higham (1955), 29.

and must be closed.'[21] It was this continuing and deeply-rooted perception that Catholic schooling was a problem that would lead to the Oregon popular initiative legislation requiring pupils to attend public schools, legislation struck down by the United States Supreme Court in *Pierce v. Society of Sisters* (*268 U.S. 510*) in 1925 with the ringing words, 'the child is not the mere creature of the State.'

In this context, it is not surprising that Catholic education, along with other aspects of Catholic institutional life, developed an inward-looking and defensive attitude. As an historian of immigration has put it, 'the fact that people tend to react defensively to displays of hostility goes far in explaining the rapid expansion and consolidation of the comprehensive Catholic educational system between 1890 and 1914.'[22]

Over time, however, and especially after the Second World War, American Catholics became part of the mainstream in countless ways, including (as survey research has demonstrated again and again) on issues that might be expected to distinguish them, such as attitudes toward birth control and divorce. Despite a last flurry of anti-Catholic rhetoric around the 1960 election, and the strong sales of Paul Blanshard's book *American Freedom and Catholic Power* (1949, 1958), it seems fair to say that those Catholics who see themselves as representing a minority position over against the prevailing American culture are the exception. The very fact that only a few Catholic colleges and secondary schools represent themselves to potential students and their families as traditionalist and thus exceptional says much about the majority of Catholic institutions.

From being counter-cultural institutions, in fact, most Catholic schools and colleges now boast – not unjustly, as the Cardus research shows – their superior academic results. 'We find that on almost every measure, Catholic schools are providing superior academic programs, resulting in admission to and attendance in more high-ranking colleges and eventual advantage in years of education and higher degrees.'[23]

The primary focus of Catholic schools, then, as reflected for example in the survey of administrators as part of the Cardus study, is on equipping their students to be successful in selective colleges and professional schools and thus in life. The striking inter-generational mobility among American Catholics since the Second World War is evidence of how effectively they have done so.

Development of Separate Protestant Schooling in the United States

As we have seen, most American schools in the nineteenth century – and, indeed, for the first half of the twentieth – were marked by a generic Protestant flavor that, though theologically bland and undemanding, reflected what most non-Catholic parents wanted for their children. There were of course major variations depending

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[21] Ross (1994), 24, 68.

[22] Weiss (1982), xvii.

[23] Cardus (2011), 31.

upon local circumstances. For most non-Catholic parents, this generic Protestantism, though silent about the great drama of sin and salvation, seems to have been quite satisfactory, especially when accompanied with regular reading from the Bible and other devotional practices. 'So successful were Protestant efforts to demonstrate the compatibility of the Bible with increasingly secular education that individual states continued into the twentieth century to pass laws *requiring* Bible-reading in public schools: Pennsylvania in 1913, Delaware and Tennessee in 1916, Alabama in 1919, Georgia in 1921, Maine in 1923, Kentucky in 1924, Florida and Ohio in 1925, and Arkansas in 1930.'[24]

After the Second World War, however, religious practices in public schools were successfully challenged in a series of cases, mostly in federal courts, based on the 'Establishment' clause of the First Amendment. Within a few years, all such practices had been removed and, indeed, religion (especially Christianity) was seldom mentioned, even in subjects like history, literature, art, and music where this led to a marked impoverishment of the curriculum. As psychologist Paul Vitz showed, the public school curriculum was censored to present a view of reality that would give students the impression that religion was totally irrelevant to the real world.[25]

One of the responses to this quite sudden transformation of American public schools, formerly infused with Christian motifs, to strictly secular settings was a rapid expansion of evangelical and fundamentalist Protestant schools, as well as of homeschooling. Millions of parents concluded that the public schools were no longer a fit place for their children, and sought alternative forms of education informed by the biblical perspectives no longer available – in however attenuated a form – in the public schools.

Public reactions, especially among professional educators, to this phenomenon often echoed that toward the development of Catholic schooling in the nineteenth century: Protestant schools and homeschooling were accused, on the basis of no objective evidence, of divisiveness, of promoting intolerance, and of unfitting children for their future role in American society. These charges are exemplified in a book by a professor of legal studies at Cornell University. Public authorities, Professor Dwyer argued, would be fully justified in ignoring 'a child's expressed preference for a kind of schooling that includes the practices' of indoctrination and crippling of personality which the author claims characterize religious schools. Overriding the child's decision (not to mention that of her parents) 'would be appropriate and even morally requisite.' Thus, religious schools *may* be permitted as an alternative, but only if they conform themselves to public schools through abandoning such 'harmful practices' as 'compelling religious expression and practice, teaching secular subjects from a religious perspective … and making children's sense of security and self-worth depend on being "saved" or meeting unreasonable, divinely ordained standards of conduct'.[26] So farewell to educational freedom, and to religious freedom.

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[24] Fessenden (2005), 807.

[25] Vitz (1986).

[26] Dwyer (1998), 164–5, 179.

The contrast between the stated purposes and the long-term outcomes of Catholic and Protestant schools, therefore, may largely be the result of their different stage of historical development. As the Cardus report puts it,

> We wonder if the longer history of Catholic schools and the focus on academic excellence as a means of social and economic mobility has caused an apathy among Catholic school leaders as relates to developing the faith, whereas the more recent history of Protestant Christian schools, coupled with their graduates' belief that U.S. culture is hostile towards their values, is promoting a greater emphasis on overtly strengthening the faith of their students.[27]

This seems just right, and helps to explain why Catholic schools are no longer perceived as a threat to American citizenship, while every controversy over school vouchers or tuition tax credits is sure to feature warnings about evangelical Protestant schools which are considered – by the liberal opinion-makers – as beyond the pale for their condemnation of gay marriage and other shibboleths of contemporary elite culture.

In fact, however, there are already signs that many Protestant schools are evolving toward higher academic standards, in part based on parental expectations.[28] The Cardus sample included many adults who attended such schools in the 1990s, and recent developments, such as the formation of a new network of schools committed to matching the academic standards of independent schools without sacrificing faith-development, offers the possibility that the apparent trade-off experienced by Catholic schools may not be necessary. It should be noted, in fairness, that there seems to be a reawakened interest in the Catholic school world for reviving the faith-development mission without sacrificing academic rigor.

The Challenge of Islamic Schools

Just as evangelical Protestant schools are sustained by a conviction on the part of parents and educators that elements of the mainstream culture are toxic to the appropriate development of children into adults prepared to put obedience to God ahead of compliance with peers, with popular media, and even with government, so the growing number of Islamic schools in Western Europe and North America reflect – and evoke – similar concerns. Thus a recent book on Muslims in Britain warns about

> private Islamic schools. Many of these are run by Islamists who teach children that their primary loyalty is to Islam rather than to their countries of citizenship … Religious schools should be encouraged to teach civics, history, philosophy, and critical thinking, as well as the tenets of their faith.… Governments should not provide financial assistance to any school that fails to meet these basic standards.[29]

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[27] Cardus (2011), 20.

[28] See Council on Educational standards and Accountability www.cesaschools.org.

[29] Baran and Touhy (2011), 195.

In fact, 'Islamic schooling in the United Kingdom represents a situation in which education has emerged as a primary space in which fundamental questions about the societal inclusion and belonging of minority communities are negotiated.'[30] Similarly, in the Netherlands,

> in recent years a sense of alarm and urgency has arisen concerning the failing integration of religious and ethnic minorities in Dutch society…There also are worries about whether Islamic schools foster separatism and hostility. It is suspected that sometimes those schools use religion courses to disseminate anti-Western propaganda. And finally, there are more general fears that Dutch society is disintegrating.[31]

Nor was the United States exempt from such concerns, similar to those about Catholic schools 150 years ago but expressed in a contemporary form when, in March 2007, 'an online petition requesting that Islamic schools be banned entirely was circulated, charging that such institutions are imposing religion and backward traditions on children.'[32]

In such a climate of suspicion, it would not be surprising if those connected with Islamic schools saw themselves as under attack and struggling to maintain their distinctive perspective and pass it on to their children, just as did Catholics in the nineteenth century and evangelical Protestants in the 1970s. 'Residing within culturally incongruent spaces, migrant Muslim communities seek to shelter their children and youth from negative outside influences.'[33]

Just as Bushnell and others charged that the effect of parochial schools was to prevent the children of immigrants from mingling with American children, so 'critics of separate [Islamic] schools argue that this sense of "safety" and comfort breeds an unhealthy insularity by secluding these children and youth from other non-Muslim peer groups.'[34] In fact, however, Jasmin Zine's study of four Islamic schools in Canada found that

> Students clearly respond to the peer support, religious freedom, and camaraderie that Islamic schools engender but do not see themselves as essentially living separatist lifestyles or not being conscious of the world around them. In other words, they do not see centering their Islamic identity as a negation of their Canadian identity or their role as active citizens.[35]

Other researchers have suggested that 'the Muslim school is serving as a pathway for students as well as adults to cultivate social trust, leadership skills, and community values commonly associated with citizenship and civic engagement.'[36]

These are just the sorts of outcomes that we would predict, based on the Cardus study of the effects of evangelical Protestant schools. Islamic schools are not

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[30] Mandavile (2007), 226.

[31] Vermeulen (2004), 49.

[32] Haddad and Smith (2009), 3.

[33] Zine (2009), 39; see also Zine (2008).

[34] Zine (2009), 48.

[35] Zine (2009), 62.

[36] Cristillo (2009), 79.

yet producing the strong academic results[37] that we see in the case of Catholic schools – that may take a generation of efforts – but they can be expected to produce graduates of good character and commitment to the communities in which they live.

Policy Implications

If we step back for a little from the American scene, we can see that conflicts over schools proposing an alternative understanding of life based on non-negotiable religious convictions are an international phenomenon that has recently taken on a new urgency in many countries. A notable feature of contemporary educational policy in most Western democracies is that religious differences have generally been accommodated, including with public funding. Beginning in the 1970s for three decades, conflicts over education in Europe were more likely to arise from cultural than from religious differences, cultural differences associated with immigration, or from religious differences understood by elites to be essentially cultural. This perception was no doubt related to the secularist conviction that religion was a phenomenon of the past, combined with the stark contrast between the customs of many of the families who followed the labor immigration of the post-war period and those prevalent in the host societies. It was only as the second and third generations deriving from that immigration came to maturity, largely abandoning their ancestral cultures but turning to Islam in ways that, for many of them, was more fervent than the practice of their parents, that religion has re-emerged as the predominant source of conflict.

Countries with written constitutions, at least among Western democracies, commonly provide an explicit commitment to freedom of religion within an essentially secular state. Modern states, aside from those few still under Communist rule, are seldom defined as 'atheist' or in any sense hostile to religion. On the other hand, apart from the Islamic world, it is unusual for a state to have a religious character or to extend official recognition to a single religion; among the largely symbolic exceptions are the United Kingdom and the Scandinavian countries. Characteristically, a modern state is *secular* without being secularizing, at least in theory, supporting and interacting with all religions which are represented among its citizens without extending preferential treatment to any. In practice, as we have noted in the case of Paul Vitz's research, the state's silence about religious matters can convey the message that these are unrelated to the important purposes of life.

The State plays only a limited role in the religious sphere, in Western societies, but creates space for religious groups to be active in accordance with their own self-defined aims and aspirations and to advance and promote their values and beliefs in a spirit of respect for the rights of others. Although it seems likely that this owes more to historical developments and the balance of political forces than to the working out of a theory, it is often justified in the name of 'subsidiarity,' which

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[37] Onderwijsraad (2012).

became one of the founding principles of the European Union. In the words of Catholic philosopher Jacques Maritain, 'in order both to maintain and make fruitful the movement for social improvement supported by the State, and to bring the State back to its true nature, it is necessary that many functions now exercised by the State should be distributed among the various autonomous organs of a pluralistically structured body politic.'[38]

To the extent that citizens are motivated by religious considerations, they have a right to have these considerations taken seriously as having profound normative significance, indeed as offering a personal identity which deserves respect. Religion is not, for most people, however, an exclusively private matter; it is exercised through association with fellow-believers, and in the 'public square'. Legal scholar Stephen Carter has pointed out the importance of such a 'community of meaning: a group of people, voluntarily associated with each other, struggling to make sense of the world.'[39]

European countries have made different choices about how to manage the relationship between religious organizations and the State, including strict separation, a concordat with the Vatican, or a national church as in England. In other countries the specific technique of recognition of religion and state support of churches is used. These historically-determined arrangements are facing new tests as they seek to come to terms with Islam. As Olivier Roy points out, 'in every Western country, Islam is being integrated and not following its own traditions but according to the place that each society has defined for religion, from Anglo-Saxon indulgence to Gallic suspicion, although the former needs to be less naive and the latter less pathological.'[40]

There has been a growing recognition that religious organizations can play a valuable role in meeting a variety of human needs that are not strictly religious. Perhaps the most striking evidence of this is the position taken recently by philosopher Jürgen Habermas, that

> [t]he neutrality of the state authority on questions of world views guarantees the same ethical freedom to every citizen. This is incompatible with the political universalization of a secularist world view. When secularized citizens act in their role as citizens of the state, they must not deny in principle that religious images of the world have the potential to express truth. Nor must they refuse their believing fellow citizens the right to make contributions in a religious language in public debates.[41]

The starting point for such recognition is the social and moral influence of religion on citizens and on the society in general. 'The ultimate basis for the church's legal status vis-a-vis the state,' said a German Catholic leader in 1969, 'rests on the

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[38] Maritain (1998), 27. For contemporary applications to a variety of social domains, see Colombo 2012 and the chapter therein on education in Lombardy by Glenn.

[39] Carter (1998), 27.

[40] Roy (2007), 94.

[41] Habermas (2006), 51.

fact that the pluralistic state has to turn to social groups that establish and preserve values, and this the churches are better able to do than other social groups.'[42]

With some exceptions, in fact, governments rely upon schools with a religious character to help to meet the demand for education, and the specific demand of some parents for faith-based schooling. In so doing, however, they raise difficult issues. Educational freedom is consistent with rival social policies, those seeking to promote individual development (liberalism) as well as those concerned about the perpetuation of freely-chosen communities within the civil society (communitarianism). What it cannot be reconciled with is a state monopoly on the formation of the loyalties of youth and their perspective on how and to what ends to live their lives. Totalitarian regimes seek to achieve such a monopoly;[43] but pluralistic democracies recognize that there is no freedom more basic than that of seeking to shape the beliefs and convictions of one's children.

Even within democratic systems, however, government commonly seeks to use schooling to inculcate common norms of loyalty and citizenship, while it is in the nature of religious organizations and communities in largely-secular societies to seek to maintain and pass on the particular norms and beliefs that distinguish them from the surrounding culture. This tension has led critics of faith-based schools like Amy Gutmann to charge that, however successful they may be in their academic efforts, they tend to undermine citizenship and divide loyalties, making it more difficult for citizens to engage in the 'rational deliberation' which, according to the critics, is the essence of democracy.

From the perspective of educational freedom, there is a constant danger that the state school itself will take on an ideological character, expressing and communicating a specific view of the world.[44] Is it conceivable, in fact, that a real education, worthy of the name, could fail to be based upon, and to convey, such a worldview? Can we conceive of the neutrality of the state school as simply a vacuum of perspective and commitments, or is the reality that there is always a 'message' which is being communicated to pupils, even if it is a message of relativism and indifference, the 'imposition of a specific form of materialism'?[45] Is there not a danger that, as a thoroughly-secular legal scholar put it,

> the prevailing orthodoxy in most public schools is a negative one. There is order, but there is no community. Many schools are not simply moral vacuums, they are culturally confusing and devoid of significant shared values.…. For many students, acculturation in public schools is learning to abandon home or subculture values; to relate to others through roles and rules rather than as whole persons and community members; and to deny meanings, feelings, and intellect.[46]

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[42] Spotts (1973), 284.

[43] See Glenn (1995) for a discussion of schooling under communist regimes.

[44] Braster (1996).

[45] Coleman and White (2011), ix.

[46] Arons (1986), 71.

There have, of course, been periodic efforts to define a secular faith that could serve in place of traditional religion as the guiding principle of an education. In the United States, Horace Mann thought 'the pure religion of heaven' could be distinguished from all denominational differences; John Dewey promoted a 'Common Faith.' Ferdinand Buisson in France a '*Foi laïque*.' More recently Louis Legrand sought to identify 'a new unifying ethic, acceptable to all.'[47] These efforts, it is fair to conclude, had only limited success when first made, and have even less credibility today.

What has taken their place in elite discourse about education is the need to help pupils become autonomous, 'reflective critical thinkers,' and this is now (often without much reflection) one of the assumptions of many teachers and those who train them. Making this a primary goal of a freely-chosen school is admirable; making it a public policy imposed on all schools and pupils is profoundly undemocratic. Political philosophers like Amy Gutmann

> see the demands of civic virtue as requiring a form of autonomous deliberation about matters relating to the common good which include the capacity to evaluate values, commitments, and ways of life. Once developed, however, this capacity cannot be confined to the political realm and its development leads to a form of autonomy which is exercised across wider aspects of the life of the person, including those which fall into the "nonpublic" domain.[48]

William Galston has provided an eloquent refutation, from a liberal perspective, of such liberal overreach.

> At the heart of much modern liberal democratic thought is a (sometimes tacit) commitment to the Socratic proposition that the unexamined life is an unworthy life, that individual freedom is incompatible with ways of life guided by unquestioned authority or unswerving faith. As philosophical conclusions, these commitments have much to recommend them. The question, though, is whether the liberal state is justified in building them into its system of public education. The answer is that it cannot do so without throwing its weight behind a conception of the human good unrelated to the functional needs of its sociopolitical institutions and at odds with the deep beliefs of many of its loyal citizens. As a political matter, liberal freedom entails the right to live unexamined as well as examined lives–a right the effective exercise of which may require parental bulwarks against the corrosive influence of modernist skepticism.[49]

As K. Anthony Appiah points out, the continued health of alternative frameworks of belief and life-orientation is essential if personal freedom itself is to be meaningful.

> We believe that children should be raised primarily in families and that those families should be able to shape their children into the culture, identity, and traditions that the adult members of the family take as their own. One liberal reason for believing this is that this is one way to guarantee the rich plurality of identities whose availability is, as I have said, one of the resources for self-construction.… But once we have left the raising of children to families, we are bound to acknowledge that parental love includes the desire to shape children into identities one cares about, and to teach them identity related values, in particular, along with the other ethical truths that the child will need to live her life well.

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[47] Legrand (1981), 78.

[48] McLaughlin (2003), 131.

[49] Galston (1991), 253–4.

> A state that actively undermined parental choices in this regard in the name of the child's future autonomy would be a state constantly at odds with the parents: and that would be unlikely to be good for the children.[50]

Martha Nussbaum has reminded us recently that, in their exercise of freedom in post-traditional societies like Western Europe and North America, 'some people do actually choose lives involving authority and constraint.'[51] Nor is this choice necessarily an indication of a lack of the moral courage which liberals claim to admire; this courage can be learned 'from parents who set themselves against the dictates of popular culture' and thus in turn give youth 'the emotional capacity necessary to act on concerns they may have about the life they are being raised to endorse.'[52] According to Olivier Roy, what he calls 'neo-fundamentalist Islam' – like evangelical Christianity – is by no means a passive acceptance of cultural traditions; it is, rather, a sphere where autonomy is exercised through

> the importance of self-achievement, attempts to reconstruct a religious community based on the individual commitment of the believers in a secular environment (hence the blossoming of sects), a personal quest for an immediately accessible knowledge in defiance of the established religious authority, the juxtaposition of a fundamentalist approach to the law (to obey God in every facet of one's daily life) with syncretism and spiritual nomadism, the success of gurus and self-appointed religious leaders, and so on. Islam cannot escape the New Age of religions or choose the form of its own modernity.[53]

In short, any attempt to promote a secular worldview based upon the ideal of unconstrained choice among values and life-direction is inconsistent with liberal democracy; it is a misguided effort 'to protect the values associated with liberalism by being illiberal.'[54]

What is emerging in Western Europe at present, because of the growing visibility and activity of Islam, is a renewed focus on religion as an issue for educational systems. In the United States, by contrast, conflicts over the accommodation of religion in public schools and over whether non-public schools with a religious character can benefit from public funding have been constant since the 1950s. It is more true than ever that there is 'a notable similarity between Europe and the United States: educational institutions serve as a major battlefield for the negotiation of religious differences.'[55]

Whether or not public funding is provided, government oversight must balance between the need to promote integration and participation in society in general and the importance of encouraging initiatives by minority communities. In practice, institutional autonomy cannot be absolute when the interests of children are at stake, but must be subject to being modified and redefined, subject to the principles

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[50] Appiah (2003), 71–2.

[51] Nussbaum (2012), 128.

[52] Burtt (2003), 190.

[53] Roy (2004), 6.

[54] Berger et al. (2008), 105.

[55] Berger et al. (2008), 81.

of accountability, performance assessment, and financial audit. Finding the right balance between government oversight and the promotion of autonomy for educators and freedom for parents is perhaps the leading educational policy issue that many countries are facing today.[56]

The emergence of new religiously-separate schools is a considerable shock for those secularists who had confidently assumed that they were a phenomenon of a less enlightened age and would soon pass from the scene. A thoughtful account of the new political activism of Muslims in Western Europe notes how 'European debates revert to the same syllogism, again and again. If they have not abandoned their faith, Muslims are religious fundamentalists. Since choice is meaningless among fundamentalists, only victims or bullies are Muslims.'[57] This is clearly not an appropriate basis for respect toward or the integration into European society of millions of individuals of the second and third generations deriving from immigration whose primary identity is not as Moroccans or Turks but as Muslims, whether they attend a mosque or not.[58]

Legitimate concerns are expressed about whether religiously-separate schools will prevent integration into the host society; this is precisely the charge that was brought against Catholic schools in the United States during the nineteenth century, only to be disproved by the salient role that such schools played in the transition of language, culture, and loyalty. Of course one cannot guarantee that the same process will occur with Islamic schools in Western societies, but there is no intrinsic reason to believe that it will not. After all, most Muslim parents want their children to learn what they need to be successful in the host society, without surrendering to aspects of popular culture that they find offensive … and who can say that they are wrong?

Christopher Shannon has argued out that the 'path to meaningful diversity lies not in the refinement of abstract, neutral, universal principles that affirm the dignity of all faiths and value systems, but in the fostering of alternative local institutions rooted in very particular faith and value systems.… the public school system remains in the vanguard of promoting false universalisms.' The goal of secular liberalism was to segregate religion into the private sphere, a sphere which shrinks all the time as government takes on more and more functions previously carried out by families and voluntary associations, including religious communities. But a good case can be made that the self-segregation of some religious groups is usually a temporary measure and

> marks a retreat only from the Enlightenment ideology of liberal universalism, not from participation in the political institutions that are, admittedly, the legacy of this ideology.… The fostering of local institutions, rooted in distinct, particular traditions, promises the most meaningful alternative to both the religious intolerance of the past and the secular intolerance of the present.[59]

Policy-makers are challenged with finding the right balance between respecting the right of voluntary communities formed around shared religious convictions to nurture their children in those convictions, and ensuring that those children

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[56] See Glenn and De Groof (2012) for details on more than 60 national systems of schooling.

[57] Klausen (2005), 209.

[58] Laurence and Vaisse (2006), 95, 167.

[59] Shannon (2001), 134, 136.

grow into citizens capable of functioning cooperating and deliberating with fellow-citizens nurtured in other convictions, or none.

It would be helpful if they paid more attention to the historical evolution of religious schooling, as exemplified by Catholic schooling in the United States, an evolution from the status of shelters from a hostile culture to enablers of confident and successful participation in a shared civic space. If evangelical Protestant schools are still somewhere further back on this journey, it is largely a matter of historical timing; most were established, with scanty resources, within the last 40 years. The Cardus report reminds us that

> when Catholic schools became a means of social and economic mobility, the emphasis shifted from faith and ethnic identity to academic rigor, while Protestant Christian schools are now in the period of their history primarily concerned with preservation of religious identity.[60]

There is no reason to doubt that Protestant schools will continue to improve their academic quality, or that Islamic schools, in turn, will increasingly do so. There is every reason to hope that both will make the strong contribution to civic virtue and engagement that the Cardus study noted among graduates of Protestant schools.

The lesson for policymakers should be to create incentives and provide support for the improvement of the academic quality of the faith-based schools which parents choose, while taking care not to interfere with their character-formation by seeking to impose a uniform system of values – as Dwyer, Gutmann, and others recommend – that would undermine their distinctive approaches to what it means to live an admirable life. Religious freedom in a pluralistic society should extend to how parents seek to guide the development of their children; indeed, there is no dimension of freedom that has greater consequences. After all,

> it can be argued that mainstream public schools also impose a singular moral hegemonic viewpoint based on secularism and Eurocentrism.… these masquerade as universal ways of knowing, but are culturally situated viewpoints that are in opposition to faith-centered worldviews and also engage fidelity to a particular partisan worldview or view of "the good life."[61]

The State has no business imposing such a worldview through a monopoly on publicly-supported schooling or on interference with the worldviews promoted by faith-based schools.

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Chapter 3
Values and Values Education: Challenges for Faith Schools

J. Mark Halstead

Introduction

Values and values education are central to the provision of faith schools. This has always been the case, and many faith schools pride themselves on their long history of such provision. Brown describes the reaction of one faith school teacher to the recent national initiative on values education for Australian schools: 'We have been "doing" values education in this country for a couple of hundred years. It is the bread and butter of our work. Why come offering us government grants to show us how to do it?' (2007: 222). But the upsurge of interest in (and research into) values and values education across the western world over the last 20 years (Halstead and Taylor 1996, 2000; Haydon 1997; Cheng et al. 2006; Aspin and Chapman 2007; Lovat et al. 2010) makes it incumbent on faith schools to engage in a process of serious reflection on the explicit and implicit values which underpin their work, in order to ensure that their provision in terms of values education is justifiable, in line with contemporary educational thinking and in the best interests of the young people they teach.

Such reflection may bring out into the open questions that have been avoided by faith schools, or left hidden beneath the surface, for many years. The questions relate in particular to the relationship between the distinctive religious beliefs of the schools and the moral values that lie at the heart of their provision. Do the moral values of the schools have a distinctive religious flavour, and how does this affect both their ethos and the values education they provide? How different are the core values of faith schools from those of non-faith schools? Do the values take faith for granted? What does teaching values mean? Is it a matter of instilling values in children? Are children simply encouraged to obey religious authority? Are faith schools in danger of indoctrinating children, undermining community

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cohesion and discouraging personal autonomy, as some of their opponents claim? How do children learn values anyway, and how important in the learning process are the caring atmosphere and high moral standards that most faith schools claim to provide? Do faith schools actually deserve the trust that many parents have in them to provide sound moral guidance and understanding? Should faith schools be doing more to develop the moral imagination, to encourage rational moral decision making and to lead their students towards moral maturity where they take full responsibility for their own lives?

This chapter argues that values and values education may represent a major challenge for faith schools in spite of the belief many parents have that this area of provision is one of their main strengths. It distinguishes two forms of values education, and suggests that faith schools are well placed to provide their students with 'primary' values education (i.e. moral guidance, an understanding of right and wrong and an introduction to a core framework of moral values). This is because the core values of faith schools are broadly shared by teachers, parents and the community they serve, and thus they are able to provide a consistent ethos and a coherent, authoritative approach to teaching values. However, their capacity to provide 'secondary' values education (i.e. to develop children's moral imagination in the sense of making them aware of different possible ways of acting in particular situations, and to lead them towards moral autonomy) may be more open to question, partly because their very certainty about the values they hold dear may make them less comfortable with (or less open to) the diversity of values that are found in the broader society or the possibility that their students might come, as mature, autonomous individuals, to hold values different from those they have been taught in school.

Faith Schools, Values and Parental Choice

There are three main reasons why parents may choose faith schools for their children:

- They hope that faith schools will teach religion in a way that harmonises with their own beliefs and practices, and that they will provide a deeper grounding in the doctrines of the faith.
- They believe that faith schools achieve higher levels of attainment than community schools (Bolton and Gillie 2009) and thus provide the best chance for their children to achieve their full academic potential.
- They trust faith schools to have a strong foundation of moral values which help them to provide a caring atmosphere, good discipline and behaviour and effective teaching of moral values through both the curriculum and the example set by teachers.

It is worth noting that two of these three factors may well appeal to non-believers as much as to believers. The three factors may in fact be closely interconnected; in their research into evangelical beliefs and educational values,

McEwen and Robinson (1995: 39–59) found that those students with the strongest religious beliefs tended also to have more clear-cut moral values and stronger self-discipline in their personal lives and to be better motivated towards academic success, at least to the age of 16; however, Schagen and Schagen (2005: 202) found no clear evidence (except perhaps in the case of Jewish schools) to support the view that the supposed higher levels of discipline and behaviour in British faith schools make teaching and learning easier, and thus have a positive impact on academic achievement.

Both academic debate and research in the last 20 years have tended to focus on the first and second factors, and to neglect the third. With regard to the first factor, opponents of faith schools have worried that the religious nurture they provide may be a kind of indoctrination, and have even suggested that faith schools are sometimes dangerous places where extremism can thrive (Halstead 2009: 58–62). This raises questions about the right of parents to choose schools which seek to instil religious belief into children (Callan 1985: 112–3), and thus, ultimately, the right of such schools to exist (Humanist Philosophers' Group 2001; Dawkins 2006, ch. 9). With regard to the second factor, questions have been raised about whether faith schools provide a privileged education (since they tend to have fewer children from disadvantaged backgrounds) and whether parents should have the right to choose faith schools if their intention is purely to achieve academic advantage for their children (Schagen and Schagen 2005; Allen and West 2011). Much less research attention has been paid to the third factor involved in the choice of faith schools – the core moral values of the schools and the influence these have on their moral atmosphere and the values education they provide. In some ways, this is surprising because it is this aspect of their provision that appears to be particularly highly valued by both the schools themselves and the parents.

All schools are moral institutions in the sense that their structures and practices presuppose certain values, and they are likely to influence students' moral development whether they intend to or not. But parents often have unflattering perceptions of the moral values in non-faith schools, and these may be reinforced by the diversity of values among staff and their reluctance sometimes to offer clear moral guidance. What distinguishes faith schools is that their aims, their curriculum and the example set by their teachers combine to provide a comparatively harmonious moral influence because they are all linked directly or indirectly to the faith or denomination to which the school belongs. The influence on children's moral development is thus likely to be more consistent and more coherent. Schagen and Schagen (2005: 211) suggest that because faith schools are linked to a 'recognisable community', they will normally enjoy more parental support and clearer shared values. It may be that in a climate often characterised in terms of social and economic tensions, limited prospects for the young and a growing breakdown of values (Barker and Anderson 2005: 132), parents will favour any schools that seem to have an answer. But none of this has been researched.

Nevertheless, the values that faith schools stand for are (usually) clearly articulated and are grounded in a (comparatively) clear understanding of where these values come from, why they are important and how they provide a basis for the

upbringing of children. Indeed, the moral atmosphere of faith schools and the moral guidance and support they provide seem to be among their most important distinguishing features. Church schools often talk, for example, of the intention to treat everyone within the school as a 'uniquely valuable human being whom God loves' (Lankshear 1992: 61) and of the need to 'develop the life of the school as a community in the light of the gospel' (ibid.: 68). A major reason for the establishment of Muslim schools in non-Muslim countries has been anxiety that Muslim children might pick up unacceptable moral values from the teaching and ethos of secular state schools; for most Muslim parents, attendance at faith-based schools is more about developing sound moral values than an in-depth understanding of Islamic doctrine (Halstead 2005). A school's values are undoubtedly of central importance when parents come to choose their children's school. But before we start exploring the specific values of faith schools, we need to take a step back and attempt further clarification of the concept of values itself.

The Concept of Values

The term 'values' refers to the principles or standards by which we judge things to be good, right, desirable or worthy of respect. They are enduring beliefs about what is worthwhile, and fundamental convictions about how we should behave or what sort of persons we should be. Examples of values are love, fairness, equality, freedom, justice, happiness, security, truth, peace of mind. Values can therefore be distinguished from related and sometimes overlapping terms like 'virtues' (which are personal qualities or dispositions like truthfulness, generosity, courage, loyalty or kindness) and, to a certain extent, from 'attitudes' (which are acquired tendencies or predispositions to respond to situations in a predictable manner, and include characteristics such as openness, tolerance, respect, acceptance and their opposites).

Within this broad definition, many different types and features of values can be distinguished (and need to be distinguished in order to facilitate meaningful discussion and debate):

- The term is most typically used to describe the moral principles and standards that people live by, or at least feel they ought to (which is the sense in which I use the term in this chapter), though other types of values exist, including intellectual, aesthetic and hedonistic.
- Values may be categorised on the basis of the ideology which gives rise to them (such as liberal, Catholic, democratic, feminist or humanist values).
- Values may also be distinguished by the departments of life to which they belong (political, economic, spiritual, social, cultural, artistic, scientific, religious, legal, national, environmental or health-related values)
- Values may be personal and subjective (expressing individual beliefs or preferences) or objective, universalistic fundamental truths (such as that torture is wrong) that apply everywhere and at all times. Between these two extremes is the

view that even though values are socially constructed and thus culturally relative and open to challenge and change over time, they have some kind of objectivised quality because they are shared with a broader group, institution, society, nation or international group.

- Values may be instrumental or intrinsic, trivial or of huge social significance.
- Values may be intuitive or rationally justified, and they may be openly articulated or hidden beneath the surface so that their influence remains unacknowledged or at the level of the subconscious. Bringing values to consciousness may result in their revision in the light of rational reflection or experience.
- Values may be widely shared, or subject to deep disagreement. A Values Forum was set up in the UK in 1996 (Hawkes 2010: 230–231) to identify a set of shared values (such as truth, justice, honesty, trust and a sense of duty) considered suitable to be embedded in the educational system, and research suggested that the list of values it produced was actually accepted by over 95 % of the British population (though, of course, being endorsed by society at large does not necessarily make the values correct). But other values (such as patriotism, pacifism, humility, ambition or the personal accumulation of money) are clearly much more controversial.

In view of such a complex range of possible ways of thinking about 'values', it seems quite reasonable to question the usefulness of the term, but in fact it is growing in popularity as an increasing number of commercial, educational and political organisations set out formal statements of their core values and encourage reflection on these. This is because shared values are seen as a source of unity and identity; they define who people are, and it is agreement on a shared set of values that gives people a sense of belonging and makes alienation and conflict less likely. It is also because they can (to some extent) be learned from those in a position of leadership and authority, and because, once learned, they can guide the way individuals think about their rights and responsibilities and act in specific situations.

Values in Faith Schools

If religion and morality are logically different forms of knowledge (Hirst 1974), we may reasonably ask why, even if they teach their own distinctive perspective on religion, faith schools cannot simply teach the same moral values as other schools. In what sense are the values of faith schools different? A mission statement from a typical Church of England school includes the following: 'Christian values are placed at the centre of our daily life and underpin all the relationships we try to develop' (quoted in Barker and Anderson 2005: 128). But how do 'Christian values' differ from plain 'values'? To answer this we need to bear in mind some of the distinctions made in the previous section, particularly the one between personal, universal and cultural values. One would reasonably expect universal values to be broadly the same among believers from different faiths and even between believers

and non-believers, but Pring's distinction between values 'which are essential to development as a person' and those which are cherished by particular groups because of the specific beliefs they hold (1984: 21) is an important one. Insofar as a faith school is helping its pupils to develop as persons, its values may not be too different from those of faith schools of different denominations; any list may include tolerance, respect, equality, caring, inclusion, justice, responsibility, forgiveness, sincerity, stewardship, dignity, love and peace (cf. Shepherd 1998; Carr and Mitchell 2007; Bari 2000). This may go a long way towards explaining how 'joint church schools' can operate (Murphy 2005) and why, even though Islamic education is first and foremost about producing good Muslims (Halstead 2004: 519), Muslim parents have often been happy to send their children to Christian schools because of their religious ethos – especially if the alternative is a secular school (Ashraf 1986: vi; Barker and Anderson 2005: 130). As John Wilson points out, religion does at least take morality seriously (Halstead and McLaughlin 2000: 276).

However, religions do have their own distinct values as well, including different attitudes to abortion, contraception and homosexuality (Halstead 1998) and different approaches to whether the protection of freedom of speech or protection from blasphemy should take priority in handling a crisis like the Danish cartoons affair (Halstead 2010: 181–2). Haydon (1997: 46) suggests that often differences over values between different groups of believers or between believers and non-believers may not be 'differences in the content of their values', but may be more to do with the way the values are defined or justified and the significance the values have for different groups. Faced with a dilemma, both believers and non-believers may well come to the same conclusion about how to resolve it, but the non-believers may simply rely on reason in working out the answer, while the believers might ask, 'What is the will of God in this situation?' or 'If one were to act out of love for God, what would one do?' Believers might define going against the values as sin or disobedience to God's will. For believers, the motivation to live in accordance with moral values may be love of God or fear of God or the desire to be rewarded in the afterlife, or simply because that is what the broader frame of meaning provided by religion suggests, whereas the motivation for non-believers may be to do with rationality or fulfilling the expectations of society or one's family (Halstead 2007: 292).

For many parents and teachers involved in faith schools, religion provides a clearer, more objective and more lasting source of authority in relation to values than alternative sources like the state, one's family, the media, the law, one's peers, politicians, celebrities, and so on. In fact, one thing that unites most of the major world faiths is the belief that there is a higher source of authority than the state. In some faiths, this moral authority is vested in unchanging traditions based on sacred texts, and the response required from the believer is little more than obedience or submission to the detailed guidance on how to live (Halstead 2007); in others, guidance may come from the individual conscience, or through key principles which it is up to the individual to apply to specific situations. In these respects, different cultures and different faiths have different foundations for their values, and are partly at least defined by these. It is the distinctive mix of values that are universal, values that are personal and values that belong to the specific religious or

cultural group to which the school belongs that generates the distinctive ethos of any particular faith school.

This diversity of values, cultures and practices among faith schools means that blanket criticisms that are sometimes made, such as Beckett's claim (2003) that they 'breed only intolerance and isolation', cannot be taken too seriously. Nor can claims that faith schools teach beliefs and values that undermine the democratic values of the broader society (Halstead 2009: 60–61); certainly most parents who send their children to faith schools believe that faith schools have an important role in the development of social cohesion and in speaking out for social justice (Church of England Archbishops' Council Education Division 2009). But this does not imply that faith schools do not face major challenges in relation to their core values. Many of these challenges relate to a perceived tension between the faith-based values and the educational values which the schools seek to combine. How should faith schools balance their goal of preserving and upholding the distinctive values of the faith and transmitting these to the next generation with their task of preparing students for citizenship and for full participation in the life of the broader society? Can faith schools nurture children in the values of their own faith and yet at the same time leave them free to come to their own conclusions about them? Can faith schools nurture children in the value system of their own faith and at the same time encourage respect for and dialogue with other faiths and non-religious worldviews that may hold quite different values? Can faith schools be inclusive and distinctive at the same time? How far can they celebrate difference if that difference involves behaviour and values that one's own faith considers sinful? Are faith schools too preoccupied with their own vision of the truth to spend much time upholding the shared values of the broader society? Many of these challenges are to do with finding a balance between the schools' distinctive cultural and religious values and the shared universal and personal values that all schools promote.

There are also challenges associated with the ethos of the faith school, which is often highlighted in school publicity and statements of school aims. Gamarnikow and Green draw attention to the irony of the British government's transformation of the 'ethos' and 'values base' of faith schools into an indication of 'market-orientated educational desirability, rather than a marker of an altruistic religious mission' (2005: 96). Once again faith schools need to reflect on their priorities, and find a way to balance their natural desire to strive for academic excellence in an increasingly competitive educational system with their desire to remain true to their distinctive beliefs and values.

To sum up this section, faith schools are appealing to many parents because they satisfy their desire for a sense of community belonging and for shared values and identity for their children. They can help students to feel more confident in articulating their values, because they are based on a well grounded and well justified structure of authority. There is consistency between the values of the home (or their aspirations) and the values of the school, the local community and international faith community – or at least a shared understanding, because the framework of values is understood and seen as important to the faith community. The primary purpose of such schools, as Johnson and Johnson (2010: 827) remind us, is to socialise students

into the conventions, values, attitudes and ways of perceiving the world that are shared by one's family, faith community, society and culture. A key question at this stage is how children develop values, or develop their attitudes to values, and this topic is the main focus of the next section.

The Debate About Values Education

The process of values development begins in earliest childhood and goes on throughout life whether or not the school does anything about it, but the school is uniquely placed to influence the process, both directly and indirectly. Indirect influence occurs when values are 'caught rather than taught', in other words, when they are part of the hidden curriculum rather than part of the explicit, overt curriculum. As a social institution the school can never be value-free even if its core values remain unarticulated, and no-one regularly attending this kind of social institution can remain uninfluenced by those implicit core values that underpin school policy and practice. However, values education that is indirect or unintended may be a haphazard process with uncertain outcomes. The direct influence comes about because most schools seek to pass on values to their students, either by direct teaching with the aim of instilling them in students or through providing opportunities for discussion, reflection and increasing understanding. But the explicit, overt teaching of values raises many questions: should schools ever encourage children to question the values of the home? Whose values should schools teach? Should schools teach both public and private values? Should schools ever teach children to hold values that are shared only within certain cultures or traditions? Even where values are directly and intentionally taught, however, values education is rarely a subject on the curriculum. Most subjects potentially contribute to it, though in many schools it may be linked in particular to Citizenship Education and Religious Education. A full discussion of 'values education' must take into account both its explicit and its implicit dimensions.

Schools have three distinct (and not always compatible) roles with regards to values education. The first is to fill in the gaps in students' knowledge and understanding of core moral values and to extend this understanding further. White unpacks the concept of core moral values into (a) fundamental rules against such things as killing, stealing and injuring, which are so 'deeply embedded in the very framework of a civilised life' that they are 'utterly taken for granted' and don't need to be taught (1997: 22); (b) virtues like temperance, courage, friendliness and generosity, into which children need to be habituated; and (c) rules against lying, promise-breaking and being unfair, which are also part of civilised life but which, like the virtues, can only be learned through habituation. These core moral values will have started to develop before the children begin attending school, but the school has an important voice to add to the other voices (such as the home, friends, relatives and local community) telling children how to behave and how to treat others. By analogy with the sociological terms 'primary socialisation' (Berger and

Luckmann 1967) and 'primary culture' (McLaughlin 1984: 78), I shall call this 'primary moral education': the goal is to instil an initial framework of core moral values in the child. It is important to note that this terminology does not imply that this education belongs exclusively in the primary school; on the contrary, it might be appropriate for primary moral education to be continued in the secondary school, whereas what I later call secondary moral education is likely to begin before the end of primary school.

The second role that schools have with regards to values education is to 'reflect the values of society and the kind of society we want to be' (Department for Education and Employment 1999: 10). The influence of the school perhaps helps to counterbalance any extreme opinions and values which the child has picked up elsewhere. The school has a responsibility to ensure that the influence it exerts is balanced, in part because it represents the official view of society. This role has now been made the subject of official guidance in the UK, and schools have been required since 2007 to promote community cohesion and 'shared British values', including tolerance and respect for differing conceptions of the good life. Such learning is intended to generate a sense of belonging and common purpose. The aim is to instil a framework of public moral values (or 'civic' values) in the child (cf. White 1996). But this kind of values education is not without its problems. As Maxwell points out, 'If young people are encouraged to stand outside society's value system and to criticize it, then collective values lose much of their force as a vehicle of moral certainty and social cohesion. However, if young people are taught that society's values system is beyond reproach, then one is at risk of stifling their capacity for moral reflection and promoting a set of values that might under closer scrutiny and further experience turn out to be mistaken' (2008: 455). The parallels between the problems facing the promotion of shared values through civic education in the common school and those facing the promotion of religious values in faith schools are particularly pertinent here.

The third role of the school in values education is to teach critical reflection. This involves encouraging children to choose a rational path through the variety of influences that impinge on their experience and helping them to learn to make rationally justifiable moral decisions. Students need help to make sense of the diversity of values which they pick up from a variety of sources, and gradually, through a process of critical reflection and perhaps open discussion, they will begin to shape, construct and develop their own values. In this sense the voice of the school goes into the child's consciousness alongside all the other influences which together form the raw material from which the individual child constructs his or her own values. The process involves sifting, evaluating, synthesising, appraising and judging, and schools are uniquely placed to develop these essential skills. I shall call this 'secondary moral education', and the goal is to develop morally autonomous individuals.

For some, 'values education' is used as an umbrella term to cover all the main different strategies and approaches to moral education, including character education (Kilpatrick 1992), values clarification (Raths et al. 1966), moral reasoning (Colby and Kohlberg 1987), caring (Gilligan 1982), just communities (Power et al. 1989),

peer mediation (Trevaskis 1994), personal narratives (Tappan and Packer 1991) and philosophy for children (Murris 1992). For others, 'values education' is a distinctive approach to moral education. It differs from character education because of its strong emphasis on critical reflection and on the need to develop an awareness of public values alongside personal ones (in contrast to the emphasis in character education on instilling virtues and habits through direct instruction, teacher example, the use of stories and a consistent learning environment). It differs from values clarification because it is prepared to promote society's shared values explicitly, rather than simply help students to be more aware of their own feelings and opinions on a range of values issues. It differs from moral reasoning because value-based decision-making is seen as involving much more than rational reflection and debate.

Though there is a move towards integrating the different theories of moral education in some quarters, especially in the American context (Lickona 1991; Berkowitz 1997; Narvaez 2006), many theorists have typically been highly critical of all other approaches than their own. For example, Kohlberg is critical of the instilling of virtues and habits that are central to the character education approach and questions whether it might be indoctrinatory. In turn, Gilligan is critical of Kohlberg's ethic of rational justice and especially the exclusion of women and ethnic minorities from the sample of adolescents in the research which led to his stages of moral development. Values clarification is criticised by the proponents of character education for not teaching children about right and wrong. And character education in turn is criticised for diverting attention from societal, economic and political injustice to the attitudes and behaviour of individuals (Purpel 1997; for a more devastating critique of character education, see Kohn 1997). These arguments and disagreements have been simplified by Gutmann (1987: 54–64) into a debate between the proponents of 'Conservative Moralism' (which is what she calls traditional character education with its emphasis on developing virtuous habits and respecting authority), the 'Liberal Moralism' of Rawls and Kohlberg (i.e. rational moral education with its emphasis on moral reasoning, autonomy and the principles of justice and fairness) and the 'Liberal Neutrality' of values clarification (with its emphasis on leaving children free to choose and develop their own values so long as they respect those of others).

In the present chapter, I have tried to adopt a more inclusive approach in my identification of two distinct stages of values education. But 'being morally educated' (to use John Wilson's term: 1990: 3) requires that children go through both stages. Primary values education has much in common with character education as defined by Wynne and Ryan (1993) and the many other proponents of this approach. It involves the attempt to shape children's character and behaviour by helping them to be aware of, to care about, and to act on the basis of, core moral values that are broadly shared in society at large. This primary stage helps children to understand what morality is and why it is important, and paves the way for secondary moral education where young people are encouraged to start thinking through moral principles for themselves and applying these to their own moral decision-making. Clear, rational, critical thinking is central to secondary moral education, since its goal is the development of personal moral autonomy and an enriched understanding of

social responsibility, and it is clear that this secondary stage is much closer to the strategies of moral reasoning, values clarification and philosophy for children than it is to character education. It is important to expand the moral imagination at this stage, so that young people can see beyond the constraints of their present and particular circumstances (Bailey 1984) and make their value judgments from a standpoint of being able to envision moral possibilities beyond their own direct experience. The study of literature has a major contribution to make in developing the moral imagination, as it expands children's knowledge and understanding of people, their emotions and aspirations, their motives, their diversity of experiences and their values (Pardales 2002; Hilder 2003).

We are now in a position to examine how values education in faith schools fits into this model and what challenges face faith schools as they attempt to educate children in this vital dimension of being human.

The Challenge of Values Education in Faith Schools

Faith schools are well placed to provide primary values education. They are able to articulate their values more fully and more confidently than secular schools because they belong to a close-knit community in which terms like 'good' and 'duty' have clearly defined applications (MacIntyre 1967), and their clear framework of values provides the basis for the moral guidance and moral authority they provide at this level. The key aims of primary values education in faith schools are to help children to know right from wrong and help them to develop personal integrity and a commitment to a range of values and virtues shared by the faith group concerned (as well as initiating them, of course, into the shared values of the broader society). The development of values comes from (a) what is directly taught, (b) the guidance that is given and (c) the hidden curriculum of the school which includes the school's ethos, its rules and behaviour policies, teacher example, and so on. Many faith schools do this task well and it has been suggested that the reason why they are popular with parents is that their values are coherent and consistent and the parents presume the school's values are close to their own. The process is close to character education, and values are instilled in children through explanation, discussion, observation, example, sharing experiences and habituation. Faith schools thus present their students with a set of life principles to which they are encouraged to conform, and in turn the students enjoy the security of belonging to a community and sense the cultural continuity between the values of the home and those of the school. They are not confused by being presented with the values of different faiths and worldviews before they have mastered the concepts of their own. They learn to respect authority and rules and are not expected to make choices for themselves before they have developed the maturity of judgment and breadth of knowledge, understanding and perception to do so with confidence. This is because they are being educated in a school whose ethos, ideally, is consistent with the values they are being encouraged to accept, by teachers whose lives exemplify those values.

Two questions come to mind immediately about faith schools' provision of primary values education. Is it indoctrinatory? And is it developing the full potential of the child, so that at the end of the process the child is a morally mature individual?

Since the aim of primary values education is not to imprison children within a particular faith or culture, it would be rather odd to call this process 'indoctrination'. Children's minds do not operate in a vacuum until they are mature enough to make complex moral decisions for themselves, so it seems wiser to set them to work on what the older generation believes to be of value, rather to leave them floundering, open to exploitation by the unscrupulous, or an easy prey to irrational pressures. One cannot simply inform children of the moral options, train them in rational decision-making and then leave it up to them. They need emotional stability, security, confidence, practical experience of following rules and a sense of what it is to be a human among humans, if they are to grow into mature, responsible, reflective, authentic adults.

For some people, this is the end of values education, and if faith schools can contribute to the development of respectful, compliant citizens who accept authority, contribute to the society of which they are members and care for those around them, what more is needed? But for others compliance can never be the final goal of values education; students also need to realise that there are a range of ways in which people can flourish and be good. However useful primary values education is for creating order in the classroom so that work can proceed more efficiently, it does not in itself develop the full potential of the child; it is only the first step on the path to moral education and moral maturity (Holt 1969: 138; Halstead and Xiao 2010). To change the metaphor, its purpose is to produce strong roots which will be able to support a fuller blossoming into personal and moral autonomy at a later stage. This is more or less in line with the view of Wilson, who, in spite of his commitment to rational moral decisions, moral autonomy and the need to develop a range of knowledge, concepts and skills in order to count as 'morally educated', said that he would be 'quite happy to have had my children brought up by nuns … I mean, up to a certain age at least' (Halstead and McLaughlin 2000: 277). Similarly, Peters proposes that all children are initiated at first into a system of conventional morality, but then move as and when they are able towards a rational moral code in which they develop 'a rational attitude both to tradition and to authority', with the result that 'authority becomes rationalised, not superseded' (1981: 134). This approach avoids the dangers of moral autonomy that Barrow (1975: 188) describes, where young people with little interest in morality or limited rational abilities merely become confused by attempting to question their moral beliefs and end up 'unmeshed with the society as it is'. A sound primary values education at least gives people a stable base for their own lives.

But what exactly is involved in the development of moral maturity which Wilson, Peters and others refer to, and which I call 'secondary values education'? It is possible to identify a number of elements:

- Understanding moral principles, not just a list of virtues or moral content, and being able to base a personal system of moral values on these and apply them to specific situations;

- Thinking critically and reflecting on one's own and others' actions, beliefs and values;
- Developing the moral imagination, i.e. extending one's own moral horizons, listening to other people's experiences, being open to the possibility of change and being aware of the likely outcomes of different ways of responding to moral dilemmas;
- Respecting difference and the rights of others, not because one is told it is good to do so, but because it emerges from a process of personal reflection that this is the right thing to do (in other words, making the value one's own);
- Developing the skills needed to make mature, rational moral judgments and decisions and to act on them.

Together, these elements rebut the charge of indoctrination completely. They require teaching and learning to go beyond the present and particular values of the home and local community and beyond the acceptance of moral authority for its own sake. So the question arises how far faith schools can and should pursue this (liberal) vision of secondary values education. This is probably the biggest challenge facing faith schools today in relation to values education. On the one hand, if they do not fully embrace this vision of secondary values education, they can be accused of not acting in the best interests of the students and of denying them the chance to develop into morally mature adults capable of managing the moral complexities of modern life. Young people these days will face significant moral dilemmas – in the business world, sport, politics, the entertainment industry, indeed, in areas of life that no earlier generation has faced like the Internet, social networking and the media generally – and they need qualities such as open-mindedness and critical thinking if they are to survive and thrive in this ethical minefield. On the other hand, if they do engage in the practice of secondary values education, there is a danger that young people may start to apply critical thinking to the faith itself and end up rejecting the authority of the faith entirely.

Of course, the leaders and teachers in faith schools may be sufficiently confident in the values they promote to believe they will survive the closest critical scrutiny, but nonetheless teachers who accept the need for secondary values education will have to be prepared to adopt a different vision and a different set of practices from those that worked well for pupils in primary values education. They may also need to be open to the possibility of structural changes to faith schools as well, of the kind recommended in the Runnymede Trust's report on faith schools (Berkeley 2008). But most of all, if young people are to learn to question their assumptions, to be open to change, to engage in critical reflection and rational debate, to respect and value diversity, to hold beliefs and values in a way which allows them to be modified where the evidence becomes strongly weighted against them and to make their own rational judgments, teachers at this level *must* be willing to expose young people to alternative views in a critically open way. This is part of the process of expanding their students' horizons and developing their moral imagination. In secondary values education, teachers can no longer expect their students to accept authority without question. Haydon (1997: 115–116) argues that faith schools *can* promote

autonomy rather than encourage children to accept moral values on authority, but only if they make a conscious effort to do so. Ultimately, both teachers and parents must be willing to accept it if the young people make an autonomous decision to distance themselves from the culture and values of their parents and the school. But paradoxically, perhaps, the more freedom faith schools allow to their students to develop into personally and morally autonomous adults, the stronger their reflective faith commitment might become.

Conclusion

This chapter has shown that values education is both a major strength and a major challenge for faith schools. Faith-based values education can provide sound and authoritative moral guidance to students, helping them to understand right and wrong and to behave in line with the shared values of the community and the broader society. It can also improve moral motivation; build on and support the values of the family; highlight the importance of the relationship between the moral and the spiritual; help students to understand why values education is important; provide a strong sense of morality for those individuals who are unlikely ever to achieve a mature level of moral autonomy for themselves; and help children to understand what it is to be human and approach autonomy in that light. However, if young people are to make the values they learn in faith schools truly their own (a precondition for moral maturity), they need to be able to envisage a world beyond the values of the faith school, and demonstrate their personal and moral autonomy by engaging in rational reflection on this possibility and exercising their freedom of choice. To put in place the conditions needed for such secondary values education to be successful represents a major challenge for faith schools, because it involves a shift from the transmission of moral certainties and the encouragement of compliance to authority to the more risky venture of trusting the students to make good choices for themselves.

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Chapter 4
Church of England Schools: Into the Third Century

Janina Ainsworth

Introduction

The year 2011 saw the Bicentenary of the founding of the National Society (Church of England) for Religious Education. Through the Society the Church of England committed itself to the vision of a church school in every parish. This happened 60 years before any state provision of education.

Over the succeeding 200 years the Church of England (C of E) has remained a major provider of education within the publicaly funded education system, with the relationship secured in legislation, especially through the 1944 Education Act. There are currently nearly 5,000 C of E schools serving nearly one million children.

This chapter looks at the historic and contemporary presence of the C of E in state-funded schools and academies in England. The nature and ethos of C of E schools is explored through the lens of the self-understanding of the National Society and the C of E. The dual commitment to serving the C of E and serving the whole community are seen as shaping the schools now, as in the previous 200 years, in a specific and unique approach to the contribution of faith-based schools to the education of the nation.

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Joshua Watson: The Founding Intentions
of the National Society

16th October 1811 saw the inaugural meeting of the National Society for the Promotion of the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church.[1] The term 'Established Church' as used here means the Church of England (C of E). The aim of Joshua Watson and his fellow Founders was fully captured in the objects of the Society: *To instruct and educate the Poor in suitable learning, works of industry and the principles of the Christian Religion according to the Established Church.*

The first meeting of the Society, chaired by the Archbishop of Canterbury, committed the Society to establishing a C of E school in every parish in England and Wales. The Society was to be a fund-raising vehicle to collect money through public subscription to be used as grants for local clergy and others to build schools for the poor. It was also, through founding its own school, to be a pioneer in training teachers for the new schools.

This initiative took place within a context of no systematic provision of schooling amid a time of rising population, growing towns and universal use of child labour. While church foundation schools had existed for centuries before the National Society, including the great monastic foundations and more recently charity schools and Sunday schools, their provision was dependent on local interest and support. The National Society expressed the large ambition that there should be a church school in every community.

While that target was never completely reached, the achievement of the first 50 years was extraordinary, establishing for the first time a systematic provision of schooling for the poor. Not only were 12,000[2] schools built, staffed and maintained but subsequent state provision of schools was directly influenced and determined by their foundation.

With the foundation of so many schools there was an immediate issue of teacher supply and the initial model of training older pupils to teach the younger children rapidly became inadequate. Teacher training colleges were established, first by the National Society itself and then by the C of E dioceses. These were the first higher education institutions open to women, and the network of C of E and other church linked teacher training colleges continued in existence into the 1980s. Recent developments have seen a high proportion of those colleges close or become part of another HE institution and lose their special character.

Their heirs are the 12 universities with a Church of England foundation,[3] still providing teacher education but now in the context of much wider provision.

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[1]For a detailed account of the National Society's first 200 years see *Distinctive and Inclusive: the National Society and Church of England schools 1811–2011* Lois Louden NS 2012.

[2]Noted in the 51st Annual Report of the Society, on the 50th Anniversary of its foundation.

[3]The 12 universities with a Church of England foundation still part of the HE provision are Bishop Grosseteste University, Lincoln; Canterbury Christchurch University; Liverpool Hope University; the University of Chester; the University of Cumbria; the University of Gloucestershire; the University of St Mark and St John, Plymouth; the University of Wales Trinity St David; the University of Winchester; York St John University. Roehampton University, Whitelands College.

Now entirely funded by the state, some have merged with other institutions and for all there is a real question over how they understand and express their Anglican foundation in the daily life of the university.

Free Church Schools

The C of E was not the first in the field in aspiring to a nationwide system of schools. Immediately preceding the foundation of the National Society in 1808 the Royal Lancasterian Society was formed to promote the teaching methods of Joseph Lancaster. He had developed a system based on the use of older pupils to pass on the instruction they received to groups of younger children. This 'monitorial' system was also in use by Andrew Bell in his work in Madras, India. He published an account of his 'experiment in education'[4] and on his return to England set up a number of schools and Sunday schools using his method.

Both men were clear that the fundamental purpose of education was morality, expressed through the religious elements of the teaching. However they did not agree on the basis of that instruction. For Lancaster it was 'undenominational' (sic), a curriculum of common Christian belief based on the Bible. For Bell and his supporters this was perceived as a direct challenge to the C of E which, as the established church of the nation, should be trusted with the education of the people.

The Royal Lancasterian Society became the British and Foreign School Society (BFSS) in 1814. It was formed to promote 'the Education of the Labouring and Manufacturing Classes of Society of every Religious Persuasion'. The Nonconformist churches put their energies into the BFSS by supporting undenominational religious teaching asserting their identity as a contrast to Anglican claims and power.

The National Society was uncompromisingly clear that:

> … the National Religion should be made the Foundation of National Education, and should be the first and chief thing taught to the Poor, according to the excellent Liturgy and Catechism provided by our Church for that purpose, must be admitted by all friends to the Establishment.[5]

From the start therefore there was disagreement and division along religious lines. Between denominations this was expressed on the ground in the pattern and curriculum of schools and subsequently directly influenced the shape of state provision. Every major piece of education legislation for the rest of the century was characterised by what appears to have been antagonistic disagreements over the character of the religious instruction and worship given in schools.

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[4] Andrew Bell (1808) The Madras School or Elements of Tuition: Comprising the Analysis of an Experiment in Education, London.

[5] National Society 1st Annual Report 1812.

The Beginning of State Education 1870: Board Schools and Voluntary Schools

During the early years of the National Society's work, central government played no role in the provision of education, nor of any other form of welfare or social care. The government did become involved fairly early on in the nineteenth century, providing grants to the various Societies to help with costs of building schools. This created a tension for the National Society. What strings were attached to government money and how far would the Society's control of its schools be compromised?

As the century progressed more and more public money was channelled through the Society and with it came increasing government reach into the schools. An emerging controversy developed around inspection, with the C of E attempting to resist moves to tie funding to inspection reports.[6]

The 1870 Education Act set up the mechanism for local Board schools, paid for from pubic taxation, and the balance between the voluntary societies and the government began to shift. From a mainly voluntary system with some infill where there were gaps in provision, a rapid building programme saw Board schools becoming widely established, particularly in the towns and cities. In many areas the establishing of a Board school was the occasion of heated local controversy, focusing as always on the provision of religious instruction. This often spurred parish church members to raise the funds for a new C of E school, but in the long run the model of voluntary subscription was unsustainable.

A further difficulty developed in the 1850s following the emergence of the Roman Catholic Church's aspirations to establish its own system of schools. The Catholic Poor School Committee was established in 1847 to promote Catholic primary education. Only in the previous decade[7] had restrictions on the Catholic Church regarding public life and education been lifted but suspicion of the Roman Catholic Church remained.

The two systems of Board schools and voluntary schools (schools funded by voluntary subscription rather than public taxation) co-existed but were separate. As the Board schools grew in number, funded by local rates, the ability of the National Society to raise the funds to maintain its schools diminished. By the end of the nineteenth century the system was in a critical state. The C of E found it increasingly difficult to maintain the buildings or pay the going rate for teachers as expectations of standards and training were raised ever higher.

Local Education Authorities (LEAs) were established by statute in 1902, replacing the Board school arrangements but leaving the voluntary schools as they were. By this time there were three times as many voluntary schools as LEA schools but their provision was below standard and there was no capacity to improve.

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[6] See the controversy over the Revised Code of 1862: *Distinctive and Inclusive*, Lois Louden p 36.

[7] The Catholic Relief Act of 1829 effectively removed most restrictions on the Catholic community in England.

The eventual solution to this problem was for all the running costs of voluntary schools to be provided from public funds while the voluntary societies retained responsibility for building repairs. Even that outcome, crucial though it was to the survival of church schools, was controversial on both sides. As always for the C of E, the issue was one of surrendering control and losing the ability to shape the distinctive nature of its provision. For the opposition it was the use of public funds to support religious institutions. The fears of the National Society were steadily realised. Some LEAs ignored their new responsibilities towards voluntary schools and even, in one case, attempted to reduce the salaries of teachers in Church school. Supplementary legislation was necessary in 1904 to ensure that appropriate funding was made available to voluntary schools.

1944: Establishing the Dual System

The concept of the so-called 'dual system' whereby voluntary schools and LEA school co-existed steadily emerged and developed in the period between 1902 and 1944. This position was cemented in the 1944 Education Act. This Act created two categories of voluntary schools: voluntary aided (VA) and voluntary controlled (VC). The two categories were differentiated by the degree of LEA control of the school. VC schools surrendered many freedoms (such as being the employer of staff) in exchange for the state meeting the bulk of the running costs and some capital costs. This wove church founded schools into the state system in a way that was unique to England and Wales and this continues today.

In VA schools the-church (of whatever denomination) foundation retained its influence over the essential character of the schools through providing the majority of governors, and control over religious education and worship, admissions, and the ability to appoint staff on the basis of religious affiliation. With VC schools the C of E or other founding church lost much of that direct responsibility to the LEA. The governors appointed by the founding church were reduced to a minority; religious education, admissions and the appointment of staff were all to be on the same basis as in LEA schools. Only collective worship was retained in accordance with the foundation.[8]

The package of additional changes in the 1944 Act placed heavy demands on the C of E school system. Bringing the buildings up to standard, phasing out all-age schools and establishing secondary schools were not achievable within the available funding. VA status was the goal for all its schools but it simply wasn't achievable in all cases. Governors and managers and the diocesan authorities had to decide in each case which category was sustainable for the future.

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[8] The Act also provided for Special Agreement schools which were closer to the aided model but with specific agreements in place. This never became relevant to more than a handful of schools and the remaining schools in this category became aided schools following the 1998 School Standards and Framework Act.

Nevertheless, the Dual System established in all its detail at 1944 has remained the legislative framework for the development of all state funded schools in England until recently. While there have been attempts to establish different types of schools in the interim, it was not until the development of academies in 2000 that the system was compromised in any fundamental way.

The Dearing Report

One of the problems faced by the C of E post-1944 was its failure to establish secondary schools to replace the all-age provision which was being phased out. The result was an unbalanced system of C of E schools with primary schools in every community but proportionately few secondary schools. This was in stark contrast to the growth of Roman Catholic schools, where there had been a commitment to providing both primary and secondary places to serve the Catholic community.

The relationship between the voluntary societies and government continued to change in the post war years. Ever increasing expectations of the education system to deliver a 'new Britain' placed the LEAs in the lead with schools of all churches either ignored or failing to keep up. The state determined almost everything about education and the C of E retreated into a narrow concern for just Religious Education and worship. The C of E diocesan authorities continued to perform the statutory duties to do with maintaining buildings and appointing governors but conceded most other functions to the state.

Confidence gradually returned to the C of E system with a significant turning point around the 1988 Education Reform Act. The Act allowed a greater degree of parental choice as opposed to LEA direction in the selection of schools for their children which highlighted both the popular and unpopular schools. The publication of league tables suggested that C of E schools were in many cases outperforming LEA schools. The result was a significant shift in both community and C of E attitudes towards the schools.

The 2001 report *The Way Ahead: Church of England schools in the new millennium*[9] was published at precisely the right time to reinforce and focus this upswing. The preceding debate in General Synod, the C of E's parliament and governing body, resulted in a positive statement of the role of C of E schools in the mission of the church with its encouragement to rebuild relationships with parishes.[10] Acknowledging the central role of its schools in the on-going mission of the C of E would have sounded very familiar to Joshua Watson but had a novel air after many decades of neglect.

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[9]GS 1406 Church House Publishing.

[10]The full remit of the Review group was 'to review the achievements of Church of England schools and to make proposals for their future development' including a commission 'to identify what contributes to the success and effectiveness… and to examine the case for strengthening their distinctiveness' Dearing Report 1.1.

The Review group was chaired by Sir Ron Dearing, a leading figure in educational revision, and the Dearing Report, as it became known, surveyed the provision across the country and remarked the 'major imbalance between the provision of places in primary as opposed to secondary schools'[11] It boldly called for the establishment of 100 new C of E secondary schools[12] but recognised that a major fundraising exercise would be needed to make that a reality.

Other themes in the report focus again on the key understandings of the purpose of C of E schools: the quality of religious education, support for schools from parishes, governor understanding of their role in maintaining the Christian ethos, recovering the sense of teaching as a vocation and the supply of Christian teachers.

In the years following the Report, and to the surprise of the C of E as a whole, there was indeed an increase in secondary C of E school places. The exact total is hard to calculate as there were only a few new schools established (as the report predicted). A number of existing community schools became C of E schools.

At this time the Labour government developed its academy programme in England. Academies were created, often out of existing LEA schools, in areas of deprivation and poor educational performance. This new type of state funded school was free of LEA control and enjoyed many freedoms to innovate and create new radical approaches to organisation, teaching and learning. Each academy was to be founded and sponsored by an individual or organisation empowered to put their stamp and individual philosophy on the education provided. Sponsors were initially expected to invest £2 million into the project. The expectation was that standards would rise and communities would develop.

This programme became the obvious vehicle for realising the Dearing aspiration for new secondary places. By the end of that phase of academy development 45 C of E academies were created, not only in dioceses that previously had no secondary provision but also in areas already well provided with secondary schools, for example London and Manchester.[13] Much of this was brand new provision, but some C of E academies developed from existing LEA schools. However, at the same time there were school closures where it had proved impossible to maintain numbers.

While each decision was taken locally by Diocesan Boards of Education, there was encouragement from the C of E at national level to explore the opportunities. The Dearing Report, along with a new flexibility at government level, created a climate where expansion was possible. A fundraising campaign was undertaken to find partners who could provide the initial financial stake. Although this requirement subsequently disappeared from the scheme, the earliest C of E academies were established with significant contributions from private donors who saw the C of E

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[11] *The Way ahead* p 34. Tables on pp 85–86 show 4540 Church of England primary schools with only 204 secondary schools.

[12] *The Way ahead* recommendations p 76.

[13] *The Way ahead* listed nine secondary schools in Manchester diocese. In 2013 there were 11; two academies and an ecumenical VA secondary school having been added, and one existing school closed.

as a worthy long-term partner with proven experience of managing schools. Embracing this opportunity was encouraged by the C of E because of its perceived connection to the original purpose of the National Society. Academies often replaced failing schools, a high proportion of which were in communities already suffering a range of social and economic disadvantage. As in 1811, C of E schools were being provided for the poor, communities that had been failed by existing state provision.

Perhaps not surprisingly the renewed profile of C of E schools meant they had to take their fair share of the developing antipathy towards schools with a religious foundation within the state system. The so-called 'faith-school' debate occasioned much coverage in the press sometimes spring-boarding from the wider debate around the place of religion in contemporary society, sometimes being a single issue campaign.

Local and national events raised the temperature of the debate significantly. Reports produced following violent disturbances in northern English cities in 2001 saw the polarising of schools as a contributory factor in inter-community violence.[14] The campaign was accelerated following the terrorist attacks on New York in 2001. The prospect of Muslim schools paid for from public funds appeared to raise fears reminiscent of the 1850s, when the prospect of Roman Catholic schools created major tensions. There were a number of lines of attack from opposition groups. These included: faith-based admissions; the inclusion of faith criteria for the selection of staff, control over the Religious Education curriculum and over other aspects of the curriculum, including sex education.

Underpinning the detail was the larger claim that separate schools produced separated societies, with all that implied in terms of community tension. Faith schools were closed schools, went the argument, with religious doctrine being taught as true and no other views allowed. The control over admissions and teaching was seen as central to this control and so must be removed.

Responses from the C of E emphasised the dual focus of its provision which includes both families seeking a faith-based education and those of other faiths and none. The Dearing report popularised the phrase 'distinctive and inclusive' to indicate both these purposes.[15] Approximately half of C of E schools were at that time VC, and their admissions policies were exactly the same as community schools, so illustrating the inclusive nature of the schools. Many VA schools were not oversubscribed and so the faith-based admissions criteria were not triggered which in effect put the serving community function first.

Chapter 4 of The Dearing Report considered admissions policies in detail and provided a number of recommendations for governing bodies of VA schools. After setting out the general framework the penultimate bullet point in para 4.47 puts admissions policies within the twin purposes of Church of England schools:

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[14]See the Cantle Report 2006 recommendations for allocating places in single faith schools to pupils from alternative backgrounds.

[15]Chapter 3 spells out the two purposes of Church of England schools with examples from practice around the country.

> … the aim over time … should be to achieve an appropriate balance of 'open' and 'foundation' places, sufficient to ensure that the school is a distinctively Christian institution whilst remaining grounded in the local community in all its diversity.

Prompted by the Secretary of State, a document was produced in 2007 as an official commentary on the role of faith communities in promoting and providing schools, identifying both the opportunities and the obligations. All the major faiths involved in providing schools contributed and put their signature to *Faith in the System*,[16] committing themselves to the theme of promoting social cohesion that ran throughout the document.

Admissions policies of faith-based schools remained an issue of concern to the government even following *Faith in the System* and a scrutiny of admissions policies took place in, initially, a sample of local authorities, followed by a wholesale review of all LEAs and schools entitled to be their own admissions authority. These exercises revealed inadequacies not only in individual schools' admissions policies but also in the monitoring arrangements of LEAs and Diocesan Boards of Education. There were significant problems with over complex, difficult to understand oversubscription policies, and some specific failures to comply with the most recent Admissions Code. Following the review, all Diocesan Boards of Education began to work with their governing bodies to iron out the technical problems.

The exercise did not challenge the legal right of VA schools to use faith-based criteria. This was widely understood to be the province of the religious authority concerned. For the C of E, however, there were still a number of schools that did not reflect the dual purpose or the Dearing advice, and filled their places with applications from Christian families.

A survey carried out in 2009[17] of Church of England secondary schools showed that the number of schools being filled with children from Christian families was very small, only 16 out the total 220. There were others that admitted a high proportion of pupils from Christian families but a significant majority did live up to the Dearing aspiration of being inclusive of the local neighbourhood.

The most recent Guidance from the C of E on admissions policies for its schools published in 2010 makes the twin purposes already described the basis of advice to dioceses.[18] Governing bodies are legally responsible for determining the policy that fits their local conditions but the Guidance reminds them that admissions policies should reflect the historic commitment to serve the local community as well as Christian families. In practice the vast majority of primary schools and a significant majority of secondary schools do reflect the nature of the local community. That means many C of E schools are multi-faith in nature. In some cases the majority of pupils come from Muslim or other faith families. There is often great good will from such families who recognise that the acknowledgement of the importance of faith supports their aspirations for their children.

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[16]Department for Children, Schools and Families *Faith in the System* 2007 HMSO.

[17]Unpublished survey for National Society Council.

[18]*Admissions to Church of England Schools* National Society/Board of Education available on the Church of England website.

The Church School of the Future Review

The coalition government's Academies Act (2010) heralded a new era in English education. It enabled, in effect, all schools to become academies. The rationale for extending academy status to, initially, outstanding schools, and subsequently all schools, was not predicated on a concern for socially deprived areas so much as a desire to reduce the local authority's (LA's) role in managing schools. The independence of academies was reiterated: freedom from education legislation and LA control played well with outstanding schools which were the first to 'convert'. Academy status was also seen as the answer to persistent underperformance. Schools falling below accepted standards being were to be 'directed' to academy status managed by an approved provider. The growth of academy chains to meet the demand included some unconnected in any formal way with mainstream Christian denominations yet offering a 'Christian' ethos as part of their brand.[19]

The speed with which the Academies Act 2010 reached the statute book inevitably meant that insufficient attention had been paid at the drafting stage to the particular situation of C of E and other VA schools. Especially in relation to directed conversions, the Department for Education seemed unaware that it was not within the Secretary of State's powers to direct that such schools, however vulnerable, be given to any other provider. The title to the land on which both VA and VC schools stood rests with the foundation not with the LA. Extensive negotiations managed to achieve a protocol (known as The Memorandum of Understanding) that put the DBEs at the heart of any changes of status and protects the C of E's foundation interest in the school.

The aspirations of the Secretary of State for the majority if not all state funded schools to become academies were large. The effect would be to reduce and possibly remove the role of the LA and this would effectively demolish the 1944 settlement in regard to C of E schools. That was rightly viewed as having significant implications for the national C of E school system.

Partially for this reason, a review of the system was commissioned in 2011, the 200th anniversary year of the National Society. Its purpose was to identify the challenges and point the way to the next phase of development. Chaired by Dr Priscilla Chadwick, the *Church School of the Future Review* was published in 2012[20] and provided many clear strands for future development.

The report, known as the Chadwick Report, touches on some of the philosophical and curricular issues but the main focus is operational. The question running through the report is how the C of E's system needs to adapt to take on the responsibilities that would follow from large scale conversion to academy status. It develops how best to build the structures and capacity required to meet the new era school

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[19]For example Oasis Academies founded by Steve Chalk. United Learning Trust grew from the Church Schools Trust, a collection of independent schools with, mainly but not only, Church of England foundations.

[20]Archbishops' Council Education Division, 2012.

performance challenges without losing the distinctive character in a climate of reducing funding and LA retreat. These new challenges emerged from the report as the key task for the C of E at a national and diocesan level.[21]

Chapter 3 of the report[22] outlines key features of C of E schools, differentiating between those enshrined in statutory provisions and those described in the policy statements of the C of E.

Para 3.4 of the report starts with an acknowledgement of the differences between VA and VC[23] schools and recommends the VA model for future development. Retaining majority foundation governance, it is suggested, secures distinctiveness. This is a feature inherited from the VA model and carried forward into C of E schools when they convert to academy status.

The definition of distinctiveness for C of E schools has, since the beginning, been concerned with finding a balance between the twin purposes of the schools, between serving the Church and serving the nation. It is this balance that marks C of E schools out from the more common assumptions of the 'faith schools' debate in England.

Religious Education (RE) in C of E schools has long recognised the importance of teaching about all faiths. The most recent guidance on RE in the schools[24] restates that commitment. The aims of RE in C of E schools sit alongside the commonly accepted aims for RE all schools:

- To enable pupils to encounter Christianity as the religion that shaped British culture and heritage and influences the lives of millions of people today
- To enable pupils to learn about the other major religions, their impact on culture and politics, art and history, and on the lives of their adherents.[25]

The expected outcomes for pupils include that they should be able to:

- Think theologically and explore ultimate questions
- Reflect critically on the truth claims of Christian belief.[26]

The Statement firmly distances C of E schools from the accusations of indoctrination often levelled at faith-based schools and locates its understanding of RE within the mainstream of policy and practice in the subject. Education that places spiritual development at its heart continues to be the corner-stone of the C of E's understanding of distinctiveness. It has played an extensive role in the development of RE as an essential part of all pupils' experience, whatever school they go to, through representation on local Standing Advisory Councils of Religious

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[21] See the purpose of the Review set out on p 5.

[22] *Church School of the Future* p 15.

[23] See p 4 for detailed explanation.

[24] *Religious Education in Church of England Schools: a Statement of Entitlement* 2012 National Society/Board of Education, available on the Church of England website.

[25] Statement of Entitlement para 5.

[26] Statement of Entitlement para 6.

Education,[27] advising on the creation of new local RE syllabuses,[28] the involvement of diocesan advisory staff in providing staff training in RE for all local schools,[29] and involvement in national policy making.

The Chadwick Report held out the challenge that *the Church should not be satisfied until every Church school is outstanding in this subject*.[30] The report also recognised however that a number of developments in national education policy combined to put RE in a vulnerable position.[31] The report notes that the C of E is in a good position to address some of the issues through providing high quality teaching materials for the teaching of Christianity.

During the review's evidence-gathering phase, many of those involved in C of E schools emphasised the opportunity to offer an alternative approach to education in a climate which seemed to be concerned only with utilitarian or functional purposes.[32] To support this, the Chadwick Report commends the Christian Values for Schools website[33] which explores the Christian roots of 15 values and suggests ways in which they can be expressed through the whole life of the school. The site features case studies from schools, showing how they have worked with governors, staff and pupils to define their distinctive character.

It is clear that the values chosen are not exclusively Christian. None of the 15 would be out of place in secular schools. They do however have a particular resonance with Christian teaching. Values such as justice, peace, trust and hope would be widely shared while having a specific place within the Christian tradition. Others have a specifically theological flavour: creation, reverence, humility and koinonia, exemplified through the life of the school, do contribute to the distinctive ethos of a Church school.

Into the Future

The foreword to the Chadwick Report, written by the Bishop of Oxford, sees the report as a 'call to action to maintain the proud history of the Church of England's significant contribution to education in this country'.[34]

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[27] The local representative body charged with oversight of RE and collective worship, required by law since 1944; the Church of England forms one of the four decision making committees that make up the SACRE.

[28] In some cases the diocesan advisor is commissioned to draft the syllabus, especially since the decline in local authority advisory support for the subject.

[29] An unpublished survey carried out by the National Society showed that non-Church schools took up professional development opportunities offered by the diocese in 60 % of dioceses in 2011/2012.

[30] *Church School of the Future 3.10.*

[31] *Church School of the Future 2.30.*

[32] See *Church School of the Future* p 16.

[33] www.christianvalues4schools.co.uk

[34] *Church School of the Future* p 1.

Extensive work is now being undertaken to develop and implement the 38 recommendations made in the Chadwick Report. By so doing, the National Society, as the C of E's national agency for schools, is both reflecting on its 200 years of educational work and responding to the challenges which lie ahead. Maintaining the 'proud history' is, of course, important but that alone will not secure a bold future. The C of E school system must continue to develop and evolve at a school, diocesan and national level. It must continue ever more earnestly to win hearts and minds within policy makers, senior clergy, parishioners and communities if it is to overcome the aggressive secularisation that dominates public discussion. As ever, it must adapt and change in order to more fully live out its mission. The evidence of the years since the Dearing Report suggests that it can and will do just that but the debate and the action must continue apace.

Development and research must go hand in hand. For instance, more needs to be known about the impact of the Christian foundation and ethos on attainment, especially in relation to disadvantaged pupils.

At a more philosophical level, adaption and development needs to be assessed against the risk of the C of E school system compromising its purpose in order to survive.

These are enormous challenges but the motivation to succeed is equally powerful. The third century begins with the same inspirational call as the first century when Joshua Watson set things in motion. The identity and purpose of C of E schools will not go away. Whatever happens to education policy and organisation it is here to stay, refined, developed but not complacent.

Chapter 5
Jewish Schools and Britain: Emerging from the Past, Investing in the Future

Helena Miller

Introduction

Around one third of all State maintained schools in Britain have a religious character. This amounts to some 6,850 schools out of a total of approximately 21,000 State maintained schools. Unlike the situation in many parts of the world, faith schooling in Britain has a long history of a relationship with, and financial support from the State. This dual system of maintained schools supported by faith organisations that exist alongside schools without a religious character is therefore at the heart of the school system in Britain. Successive British governments have continued to support faith schools to the present day. Within this system, approximately 60 % of all Jewish children in the UK are educated in Jewish faith schools.

   This chapter will review the historical context for the development of Jewish schools in the UK, explaining how social, cultural, political and demographic changes have affected the framework and content of Jewish education. An identification of the current issues and challenges facing Jewish faith schools in twenty-first century Britain will follow, focusing on external influencing factors as well as issues from within the Jewish community.

Historical Context

Whilst teaching and learning have been central components of Jewish tradition since earliest times, Jewish day school education has been established in Britain since the Jews were re-admitted to England in 1656 (Romain 1985). Only a small proportion of the general population of the UK received any formal education at this

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time, but by 1657 the first two Jewish schools were opened (Black 1998: 14). In addition to Jewish religious studies, these schools and the many others that followed taught mathematics, English reading and writing.

The Church of England was also active in providing schools, but because the basic assumptions of Anglican Christianity were taught in these schools, non-Conformists, Catholics and Jews were effectively excluded, and these minority groups began to provide schools for their own young people. In 1732, the Jews Free School was established in London, with a curriculum that emphasized secular subjects as well as traditional Jewish texts and traditions. Education, in the wider community, however, was in a period of decline, failing to meet the challenge of the industrial revolution and unable to respond to the needs of rapidly expanding urban communities. Public debate focussed on the questions of whether education for all was desirable, whether increased provision should be available and controlled by the Church and, what kind of system could cope with many millions of uneducated children? The Christian Sunday School Movement which began in the 1780s, and the National Society, opened schools within easy reach of the Jewish community. But there was great concern that if Jewish children were to attend these schools, they would be at risk of losing their heritage and identity, through compulsory study of Christianity. The threat was too great to be ignored, and by 1850 Jewish schools had opened to serve the Jewish population.

In 1851, 12 years after the government accepted that schools of a Christian religious nature were eligible for State funding, Jewish schools were permitted to receive grants in the same way that other denominational schools were, provided they agreed to read the scriptures of the Old Testament every day and provided they were also prepared to submit to government inspection (Miller 2001). Their continuation was assured when, in March 1853, the Manchester Jews' School received State funding, putting the Jewish schools on an equal basis, for the first time, with other denominational schools (Wolffe 1994). The proportion of State funding at that time was minimal however, until the end of the nineteenth century, by which time it had increased to cover most of the capital and running costs of the schools apart from Jewish education and the maintenance of the building.

It should at this point be noted that the relationship between the State and denominational schools is unique in Britain. In the USA, for example, where historically, Religion and State are separated, there are no State funded denominational schools (Schick 2000).

The 1870 Education Act, which paved the way for free and compulsory education in Britain, raised two questions for the Jewish community. Would suitable provision be made for the religious education of Jewish children in the new schools, and would there be safeguards against possible Christian influences? The solution that was reached was that parents would be free to withdraw their children from religious education periods, a situation that remains today. New schools for 5–10 year olds, under the control of locally elected school boards, and eligible for government grants, were known as Board Schools, and were widely supported by the Jewish population. Not only were these schools modern and well resourced, but the Jewish community could not financially support a school system of its own.

From the 1880s until the beginning of the First World War, mass immigration of Jews, primarily from Eastern Europe, led the Jewish population in England to rise by some 100,000. This caused the rolls of the Jewish schools to increase, as in the case of the Jews Free School, whose pupil numbers rose from 2,500 in 1870 to 4,000 in 1900 (Gartner 1960) as well as an increase in the number of Jewish children attending Board schools. The Jewish schools (as with other faith groups) were Voluntary schools, and were distinct from Board schools in that they were run by a private foundation, supported by the State and controlled by local education authorities.

By 1945, the position of Jewish education in Britain had completely reversed from the early twentieth century. Integration, but not assimilation, with the host community was officially encouraged, and whilst around 80 % of Jewish children received some form of Jewish education in the 1950s and 1960s, only 20 % of these children attended full-time Jewish schools. Most Jewish children attended Synagogue classes for two to four hours per week.

By the late 1960s, Jewish education was at a watershed. Then, in 1971, the Chief Rabbi of the United (mainstream orthodox) Synagogue, Lord Jakobovits, launched the Jewish Educational Trust (Sacks 1994) which significantly raised the profile of Jewish Education within the Jewish community.

The Picture Today

More than 40 years later, British Jewish education has developed significantly and the percentage of Jewish children receiving full time Jewish education has more than doubled from the 1975 figures (JLC 2008) The reasons for this resurgence of interest in full time Jewish education, and these can be identified as follows:

- To counteract the prevailing trend of assimilation;
- To provide a strong foundation of Jewish learning;
- To counteract the perceived influences of wider society;
- To provide an academically excellent education in preference to other local options.

Alderman (1999) identifies the creation in Britain of a multicultural society, in which ethnic separatism has become respectable, as the process that has most helped the resurgence of distinct Jewish life. He describes a societal controversy between those Jews who believe in a private practice of Judaism and those who believe in the freedom to display it publicly. The community has moved away from the days when Jewish schooling focused on social integration into a wider society. This focus contributed to the assimilation of the Jewish community into British society and as this developed, Judaism increasingly became 'private', part of one's inner self, confined to Jewish settings, if at all. We now live in a time where 'public' displays of Judaism are permitted and this has led to a new lease of life for, and emphasis on, Jewish schooling, and for Jewish life. Those who confined their Judaism to the private realm tended to oppose day-school education and those comfortable with expressing their Jewish identity in public tended to support it (Mendelsson 2012).

It is insufficient to argue that the expansion of the Jewish school system was the result of the perception that Jewish schooling prevents assimilation. It is also true, however, that the major stimulus for the remarkable growth of the full time school system was the conviction by Jewish communal and education leaders that the continuity of Jewish life is dependent on the perpetuation of intensive and rich patterns of Jewish education. This is seen as a direct contrast to what is perceived as the failure of the part time system of supplementary Jewish education to provide meaningful and enculturating curricula and experiences (Miller 2001).

Continuity of learning is vastly enhanced when the pupils are in the educational setting five days a week and not merely for two hours. Scheindlin observes that whilst much of Jewish education in supplementary schools is designed to market religion, rather than to promote a religious understanding of life, the Jewish day school is uniquely placed to work on the child's growing capacity to comprehend the world, effectively ensuring that Judaism will be truly alive within each child (Sheindlin 1999).

Not all parents send their children to Jewish full time schools because they want a vibrant and strong Jewish education. A strong values system and a religious ethos suggest security and protection from the harsher aspects of life in twenty first century Britain. Jewish State aided schools are seen as a positive alternative to local state schools, both at Primary (elementary) and Secondary (high school) level. It is no doubt that at Secondary level, this change was influenced by the demise of the State grammar (academically selective) school system and the development of the comprehensive system in the 1970s. The 1965 decision of the Labour government in Britain to end selective education by dismantling the Grammar schools led to extensive withdrawal of Jewish children from the non-denominational State schools system (Mendelsson 2012). Where grammar schools were no longer available, and independent, fee-paying schools were financially or academically unrealistic, parents opted for a Jewish comprehensive in preference to its equivalent secular school.

A perception of the Jewish full time schools is that academically they excel beyond the levels achieved in equivalent State non-denominational schools. This mirrors the perception of high achievement in equivalent Church schools (Gibbons and Silva 2007). Whilst it is indeed true that a large proportion of the Jewish schools always reach high levels in the performance league tables and that Jewish pupils at all stages in their schooling achieve, on average, above the national average, it should be remembered that the commitment to education from the home environment and the support that it receives from the parents is also high. The emphasis within the family of the importance of achieving as highly as possible academically gives Jewish schools a firm foundation for excellence.

It can be seen, therefore, that Jewish schools and schooling demonstrate a reaction to the surrounding culture and society. Zeldin (1983) observes many examples of instances in which Jewish schools followed trends in wider society, from organisational trends, e.g. open plan and vertical group schooling in the 1970s to curricular trends e.g. the development of initiatives in information technology. They are reactive and not proactive. To historians, education has reflected society's changing needs.

Jewish Schooling and the State

Whilst a proportion of the Jewish schools are private institutions, funded by trusts and individuals within the Jewish community, the majority of Jewish primary and secondary schools fall within the State sector.

As early as 1944, suggestions had been made by senior civil servants to end state support and funding for denominational schools. To avoid conflict with the ecclesiastical authorities this suggestion was abandoned and in fact, from then until 2011, a succession of government policies raised its subsidy of faith-based schools from 50 to 90 % of the total running costs (Parker Jenkins et al. 2005).

To this day, State funding of Jewish schools does not cover the Jewish religious education provided. In order to pay for the human and material resources needed to ensure a Jewish, as well as a secular, education of high quality, each school asks for a voluntary financial contribution from each family whose child is a pupil. State schools are not permitted to make any compulsory charges towards the education they provide, which includes contributions towards denominational religious studies.

The sympathies of successive British governments towards the creation of faith-based schools have been mixed and financial restriction as well as political opposition has limited the expansion of this state-aided sector. Whilst major political parties shared a view that schools for religious minorities would further separatism, they shared the view that the existing denominational schools – both Christian and Jewish – upheld moral teaching and as important, achieved high academic achievement. In the decade leading up to 1992, only two new Jewish schools were set up, whilst between 1992 and 1999, 12 new Jewish schools were set up (Valins and Kosmin 2001).

The School Standards and Frameworks Act (1998) recognised the existence of established schools of a 'religious character' as well as the potential for developing new denominational schools (DfEE 1998). And in 2001, the government White Paper, Schools Achieving Success (DfES 2001), argued for the provision of more faith schools.

Most recently, the government provision for Free Schools in Britain has provided a much faster and easier route for parent and community led initiatives to set up new faith schools. Free Schools were introduced by the government following the 2010 general election, making it possible for parents, teachers, charities and businesses to set up their own schools, and to receive direct funding from the State. Free schools are an extension of the existing Academies programme. The first 24 Free schools opened in autumn 2011.

Free schools are subject to the School Admissions Code of Practice (2012), other than that they are allowed to give priority to founders' children.

Successive governments were challenged from 2001 onwards to reverse their policies towards faith schools. This was in the wake of the Bradford Riots in 2001, prompted by heightened tension between the growing ethnic minorities and the larger, white population of the area, and terrorist attacks in New York in 2001 and London

2005. Opinion was divided amongst the British population as to whether faith schools were a good or a bad influence on young people.

In 2008, a new initiative, "Accord", was launched. The aims of this group were to lobby the British government to end State funding for faith schools and to "operate admissions policies that take no account of pupils' or their parents' religion or belief" (Accord Coalition 2008). According to Accord, it is only if such policies are implemented that a truly tolerant society will be able to develop, recognising different values and beliefs. The position taken by Accord and others, continues to be robustly challenged by proponents of faith schools.

Therefore, whilst the government has not actively encouraged the development of Jewish schools in particular, its' education policies over recent decades have allowed that development to take place through its legislation for denominational schools in general.

Current Issues and Challenges

The rate of growth of Jewish day schools has far exceeded expectation and the influence of the development of the Jewish school phenomenon is felt in varying degrees, and on varying levels, both within and outside the Jewish community. Four of the most pressing issues and challenges within Jewish schooling in the Jewish community are:

(a) **Pluralism**
(b) **Curriculum**
(c) **Capacity**
(d) **Government agenda**

Pluralism

In 1999, of the approximately 23,000 children aged 4–18 attending Jewish day schools in the UK, a mere 150 attended the one Reform Jewish day school (JPR 2003). In 2015, out of approximately 27,000 children (JLC 2008) who will be attending Jewish day schools, an estimated 2,500 will be in cross communal, pluralist Jewish day schools.

Until the 1980s, Jewish religious, cultural and educational life in the UK was relatively denominationally separate. It is estimated that around 75 % of the UK's 280,000 Jews are affiliated to one of the main synagogue Movements. The mainstream orthodox community is the longest established and approximately 60 % of the Jewish community affiliates to it. Until 1980, all the Jewish schools in this country were affiliated to the orthodox community. The remaining 40 % affiliate to the Reform, Masorti and Liberal streams of Judaism. The children of these non-orthodox

communities attended the Jewish schools, but the schools all only taught Judaism from an orthodox perspective, a situation that remains to the present day.

The Jewish community in the UK Limmud, which began as a five day, pluralist, cross communal residential festival of Jewish learning in 1980 with 80 participants, has grown to become an organisation with two annual residential conferences and many single day events in the UK, attracting approximately 7,000 participants in 2008 (Limmud 2009). Limmud has moved from the edge towards the centre of Jewish events in the UK, and it has been significant in paving the way for other cross communal, pluralist initiatives, including the London Jewish Cultural Centre, Jewish Book Week, Jewish Film Festival, and the Jewish Community Centre (JCC). Limmud has also given individuals the experience of the possibilities of pluralist Judaism. Limmud was one of the catalysts that made the creation of JCoSS, the first Jewish cross communal secondary school, a possibility, and its pluralist approach to Judaism in practice is very much influenced by Limmud.

Pluralism is a complex idea. As Chief Rabbi Sacks writes, it designates not a solution, but a range of problems (Sacks 1995). Sacks was focusing on the relationship between Jews and the wider society in the UK and suggested that while it is a compelling idea it is not a simple one. He spoke of a 'community of communities' (1995: 117). Pluralism is an approach to diversity – and the differences between people, ideas, beliefs and practices that sees the existence of and the encounter between people with these differences as positive and necessary, both for the intellectual and spiritual advancement of the individuals involved and for the unfolding creation and repair of a community, society and the world. Within this definition, pluralism will exist within boundaries defined by a particular community or society (Robinson 2009).

The common features that make a school a Jewish pluralist school are that it will not only accept all types of Jewish children as students, but that it will also cater for all those children in the ethos, the formal and informal curricula of the school. Pluralist schools are not a new concept in the Anglo Jewish world and many pluralist Jewish day schools exist in America, Canada and Australia. Shevitz (2007) names and describes three levels of pluralism to which these schools subscribe. First, demographic pluralism: whilst such schools accept all Jews and will create conditions that most families will feel comfortable with, they do not teach or pay attention to a variety of Jewish perspectives or practices. Second, Shevitz identifies coexistence pluralism, whereby diversity is accepted and taught within the educational curriculum. Third, Shevitz identifies generative pluralism, which incorporates both demographic and coexistent pluralism and attempts to tackle the different and contradictory perspectives through discussion, question and argument. Students are encouraged to articulate their own ideas and this can lead to new individual and communal understandings.

The Jewish pluralist schools are clear about the core pillars of Jewish identity with which they expects students to engage. These are broadly defined norms of practice and belief within which there is room for a widely differentiated range of expressed commitments. The idea of core pillars of Jewish identity implies that while educational success in a pluralist school will include a wide range of student

choices regarding *how* certain communal norms will play out in their lives, *whether* these norms should play a role in their lives is not up for debate.

The pluralist Jewish schools in the UK teach from each of the mainstream Jewish perspectives: Orthodox, Masorti, Reform, Liberal and Secular Judaism. Students are expected to enter into the conversation and to show serious engagement with Judaism in any of its forms. A focus is to help to shape the unique Jewish identity of all graduates of the school, encouraging them to engage with a full range of Jewish options.

Curriculum

The UK Jewish Schools' Curriculum Partnership (JCP 2006) defines the Jewish curriculum as: 'everything the school intends for the Jewish education and the future communal and religious involvement of its pupils'. This encompasses far more than inculcating a body of knowledge and skills during specified timetable periods. It embraces the ethos of the school, relationships between people within it, its Jewish practices and the way it recognises, respects, responds to and harnesses individual differences of practice, of involvement and of ability to study.

In State schools in the UK, since the 1988 Education Act (DfE 1988) there has been a National Curriculum, by which all schools must abide. The religious education curriculum in non-denominational schools is determined by guidelines produced by the local education authority to support those with responsibility for the provision of religious education in schools. Standing Advisory Councils on Religious Education (SACREs) advise on all Religious Education matters. In Jewish schools, there is no National Curriculum for Jewish religious studies and each school decides for itself the time it devotes, what is covered and the standards the pupils are expected to reach at different stages (JLC 2008). Whilst this does make it difficult to compare standards across these schools, it should provide opportunities for great distinctiveness and creativity.

All mainstream Jewish schools would broadly agree with the following ultimate aims for Jewish education for all graduates, including those with differing needs of all ages, abilities and religious adherence:

- a personal commitment to and involvement with Jewish practice, ethics, tradition and culture and a motivation for lifelong learning;
- an understanding of Jewish belief, heritage, practices and values;
- a familiarity with classical and modern Hebrew; a knowledge of selected classical (Biblical and Rabbinic) texts; a knowledge of the main Jewish prayers and rituals;
- an identification with, and understanding of, the background of the Jewish people and their history throughout the world; knowledge, understanding and love for the land of Israel, and the commitment and skills to play a responsible part in the Jewish and wider community.

However, Heads of Jewish studies and their staff need help and support to realise these aims in practice, and this is being provided by various initiatives. First, the pluralist schools have developed their own curricula, with the help of the Head of Jewish studies in one of the pluralist primary schools, and also the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. The central orthodox schools are supported by The Jewish Curriculum Partnership. Rather than defining a programme of teaching, this developing curriculum for 5–18 year-olds appears in the form of levels of attainment for specific topics or aspects of Jewish education. This set of suggested attainments must not be regarded as exhaustive but as a minimum expectation of what all pupils should attain, that must be extended for some pupils and deepened for others, and upon which further aspects of Jewish education may be built. Given an ethos in the school that encourages involvement with Judaism, Jews and Jewish life, history and culture, it is possible to identify and provide extensions of the curriculum to meet the individual needs and interests of pupils, parents and the community. There are also links between this Jewish curriculum and the pupils' general studies, for example, study of Victorian England in the History curriculum to include study of notable Jewish Victorians and their contribution to life in Britain.

The teaching of both biblical and modern Hebrew has always been challenging for schools and where there are some models of excellence, the majority of schools find it problematic. In this area of the curriculum, the JCP is leading a cross communal initiative, to develop exciting and relevant support processes across all the mainstream primary schools, both pluralist and orthodox. From 2010, all State primary schools in Britain have been required to teach a foreign language, presenting an exciting opportunity for concerted planning to strengthen Hebrew language teaching. It is a challenge to proponents of Jewish education that some schools have not chosen Hebrew language as their foreign language, deciding rather to allocate these extra resources to strengthening the secular curriculum and teaching French or Spanish instead.

Capacity

Any curriculum is less successful if teachers are not developed to use its full potential (JLC 2008). Two aspects of this issue are evident. First, an adequate supply of high quality Jewish studies teachers and heads of departments is the key to improving Jewish knowledge and skills for students, and, second, the lack of trained and professionally qualified Jewish studies and Hebrew teachers is a long-standing issue.

First, supply: the demand for replacement and new teachers is actually quite small each year, and most schools have a relatively low attrition rate of teachers. Many teachers in mainstream Jewish schools are trained via the Jewish Teacher Training Partnership (JTTP) programmes, which take both university graduates and non-graduates and train them. They qualify as both general and Jewish studies teachers and the main challenge is to retain enough of these graduates as Jewish

studies and Hebrew teachers. Most often, the graduates of these programmes prefer to teach general subjects, citing the reason that there is a perceived lack of status of Jewish studies specialist teachers, particularly in primary schools (JLC 2008). Pluralist primary schools address this issue by expecting their general class teachers to teach Jewish studies as well. The challenge there is that not all general studies teachers have a strong or confident enough knowledge base in Jewish studies or Hebrew to be able to teach Jewish studies in an inspiring way.

In addition to school-based teacher training programmes provided by the JTTP, both the orthodox and non-orthodox sectors of the community have been trying to address the issue of developing a cadre of post graduate Jewish educators. Three Masters' Degrees in Jewish Education currently exist, and to date there are 50 or more graduates of those programmes. Community resources are not employed to the best of their advantage here. The curricula of all three courses are extremely similar and yet the courses exist, for political/religious reasons, completely separately. However, these Masters' degrees are producing cohorts of Jewish educators who have studied to an advanced level.

Government Agenda

The British government's Department for Education and the Office for Standards in Education insist on adherence to education rules and Acts, in exactly the same way as for non-denominational State schools.

Three areas which impact on Jewish schools are:

(a) **Curriculum**
(b) **Admissions policies**
(c) **Inspection**

Curriculum

As early as 1897, Dewey wrote that schools must represent life. He gives an educationalist's rationale for making available real-world contexts through which certain kinds of concepts and knowledge are transferred to the student.

Whilst the phenomenon of a large increase in the number of children attending Jewish schools has begun to address the challenge of assimilation, Jewish children now face the challenge of separation from the wider community. This manifests itself in two ways: firstly in terms of how Jewish children connect to the wider community and secondly how the wider community connects to the Jewish population.

A criticism of Jewish schools is that they do not prepare their pupils for life in the wider world. Contrary to this is the claim by Jewish educators that a secure foundation in Judaism enables pupils to live in the outside world with confidence.

This debate is not confined to the Jewish community and is reflected by a wider educational debate on the purpose and outcome of faith schools in liberal society, see for example Cairns et al. (2005).

The rationale for the British government to focus on community cohesion is a sociological and political one, in the aftermath of the terror attacks of 9/11/2001, 7/7/2005 and the riots in Northern towns of England in 2001 (Cantle report 2001). But government interest in faith-based communities and schools is reflected in the development of public policy since the mid 1980s, and cannot be exclusively focussed on 2001 and beyond (recorded, and reflected on, amongst others by Weller 2005; Worley 2005; Gilroy 1993; Bourdieu 2005).

Community cohesion has been defined in terms of promoting greater knowledge, respect and contact between various sections of the community, and establishing a greater sense of citizenship (Pearce and Howell 2004). The emphasis here is on understanding about, as well as having contact with, the wider community, beyond the individual school.

Within the Jewish education community in the UK, it is generally accepted that the meaning attributed to 'belonging' is a multi faceted issue. Many Jewish educators today would argue that, in order to feel able to "belong" to the local and wider community, children first must be securely rooted within their own, Jewish, community. Proponents of Jewish day schools argue that Jewish schooling should develop school leavers who are 'secure and knowledgeable in their own Jewish identity' (Miller and Shire 2002). In addition, it is generally accepted by mainstream Jewish day schools that Jewish day schools "should encourage their pupils to engage with, and contribute to, the wider society" (JLC 2008), although this is interpreted in different ways in different schools.

Jewish schools in Britain, have not, until the twenty first century, had to address issues such as teaching about other religions, working with non-Jewish children from other local schools, or engaging with the local and wider non-Jewish, as well as Jewish, community. There was no government requirement to do so, and the majority of the Jewish schools saw no need to include this in their curricula.

In Britain, since 2002, citizenship education has been compulsory for all Secondary school (11–18 years) pupils, and recommended for inclusion in Primary schools (DfES 2002). The Citizenship Framework (QCA 2002) has provided a number of key areas to explore through the formal and informal curriculum in schools. These include: human rights, social justice and inclusion, sustainability, interdependence and conflict resolution, values and diversity. This framework offers faith-based schools the opportunity to explore wider issues and to encourage students to see themselves not just as members of their own religious community but also as citizens of the world, aware of the wider issues and challenges of global interdependence and responsibility. Since the launch of the Citizenship Framework in 2002, the Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (QCA 2002) has provided information and resources to help teachers and their students learn about themselves, society and their impact on, and role within, the wider world.

The provision of Citizenship education, within the National Curriculum, did not, however, go far enough in reflecting the reality of living in a multi-faith and

multi-cultural society. Placing Citizenship education within the National Curriculum for England and Wales led instead to an emphasis on the acquisition of theory and knowledge, and of testing and assessment, rather than of exploration and engagement. In addition, because the school day was already crowded, many schools interpreted this duty to teach Citizenship in a laissez-faire way, relegating lessons to 20 min or less during weekly 'personal, social and health' education sessions. The government response to this reality was to increase its commitment to the practices and principles of this challenge by promoting formal and informal relationships both within school communities and between schools and the wider community in which they are situated. The government view, echoed by Goldring (2009), has been that by promoting these relationships, learning will be enhanced through a shared understanding of each other.

In 2006, the leaders of faith communities in the UK published a joint statement which gave an assurance to the government and parents that faith schools will promote community cohesion, 'welcoming the duty imposed on the governing bodies of all maintained schools in the Education and Inspections Act 2006' (Faith in the System 2006). The British Government encourages the teaching of the tenets of Christianity and the five other major religions represented in the UK: Judaism, Islam, Hinduism, Sikhism and Buddhism. It sets out guidelines and national standards for religious education for pupils from 4 to 16.

The Jewish community in Britain has interpreted this duty in a variety of ways, in particular, when it comes to the duty to teach about world faiths. Teaching it varies quite widely from school to school, in terms of the content of this curriculum and the time allotted to it in the school week. Teachers, pupils and their parents may visit schools and the places of worship of other faiths, to learn from, as well as to learn about their neighbours. They may have partnership projects with non-Jewish schools in other parts of the UK or overseas. They may have curriculum projects with schools of other faiths, or no faith, and many Jewish schools take part in music, arts and sports events with non-Jewish schools.

Admissions Policies

The issue of admissions has been a particular challenge to all faith schools in Britain, not only the Jewish ones. In October 2006 the British Government backed an amendment to the Education and Inspections Bill that would have forced faith schools to give 25 % of their places to pupils of other or no faith. This measure was intended to promote community cohesion (DCSF 2006). Whilst it would initially have affected only new schools, there was justifiable anxiety amongst all faith schools that this measure would soon after be applied to already existing schools. The Board of Deputies of British Jews, in conjunction with other faith groups, co-ordinated a collective call to oppose this sudden call for quotas. The proposal was withdrawn later the same month and the 2006 Education and Inspections Act continued to allow faith schools to give priority to applications from pupils within

their own faith. Although the faith schools won this particular battle, it is likely that the relationship between faith schools and the State will continue to be a prominent political issue in the coming years.

Additional challenges have been recently faced by all mainstream Jewish schools who have had to change their admissions criteria to comply with the UK Supreme Court ruling, made in 2009, which now makes it unlawful for Jewish schools to give priority to children who are born Jewish. In practice, admission to Jewish schools is now seen as a matter of faith and not one of ethnicity. To gain entry to a Jewish school, families have to show evidence of adherence to the faith (Synagogue attendance, for example) and not merely birth. This brings Jewish schools' entry requirements in line with other faiths, but raises interesting questions regarding the definition and relationship between terms such as "faith", "religion" and "culture".

The issue of admissions is further complicated by the changing demography of the Jewish population in Britain. Jewish Schools in parts of Britain where there are declining Jewish populations are unable to maintain their pupil numbers without accepting non-Jewish children. This provides challenges – how do you integrate these two populations and continue to maintain a strong Jewish ethos and curriculum? Even in areas such as Greater London, with its large Jewish population of approximately 200,000 people, there is concern about school enrolment numbers in certain parts of London, particularly as projected over the next 10 years. This is exacerbated by the development of an increasing number of Jewish Free schools, mentioned earlier in this chapter, which are opening with litte regard to demography or community policy. The Jewish Leadership Council Report (2008) suggests that the pool of Jewish children will decline by between 15 and 20 % in the next 10 years. In order to address that decline and keep Jewish schools fully enrolled with Jewish students, the report observes that between 70 and 80 % of Jewish children would need to enrol in Jewish schools, a figure much higher than the current rate of between 50 and 60 %.

Inspection

The Office for Standards in Education (Ofsted) provides a national schools' inspection service for all State schools in Britain. Whilst Ofsted inspect all secular provision for education, there is a statutory requirement in Britain that schools also have their denominational religious education assessed. In response to this requirement, Pikuach was set up in 1996 by the Jewish community to provide Jewish schools with a framework and structure for evaluating Jewish education provision in schools. This framework parallels Ofsted's framework, in an attempt to ensure that the status of Pikuach inspections, and therefore the status of Jewish education in schools is at a similar level to that of Ofsted. To date, Pikuach has carried out more than 80 inspections, evaluating schools according to their own aims and goals. This individualistic approach has been necessary because within the Jewish community there is no absolute aim or expected standard of Jewish education. Reports on Pikuach

inspections (Miller 2003, 2007; Miller et al. 2011) have shown that accountability through inspection has benefited the schools.

Whilst, on the whole, schools achieve well against the standards they set themselves, three areas highlighted for development in 2003 and 2007, namely the teaching of reading and writing biblical Hebrew, assessment and marking in Jewish Studies and Special Educational Needs, are ongoing issues in 2011. Schools have been inspected every three to five years and, with virtually no exception, schools do show development in the areas identified during their previous inspection.

There are challenges for Pikuach. For example, as developments in Ofsted evolve, Pikuach must respond internally with its own developments. In 2006, Ofsted radically revised their method of inspection to focus on a self evaluation process for schools, supported by external inspection against the judgements of the school themselves. Consequently, Pikuach re-organised its framework and inspection process to parallel Ofsted's requirements (Pikuach 2006). Two further major framework revisions by Ofsted again caused Pikuach to revise its' framework accordingly (Pikuach 2009, 2011).

Pikuach has remained a cross-communal initiative since its inception in 1996. The practical issues of training Jewish educators to become Pikuach inspectors and the sensitivities needed for one agency dealing with a very wide range of Jewish schools across a diverse Jewish community are significant. Pikuach has shown that it is possible for Jewish education to transcend religious-political differences. Schools are able to choose inspectors who are religiously acceptable to their populations, but all the inspector training and discussion is done cross-communally, under the auspices of the UJIA and the Board of Deputies of British Jews, both non-denominational Jewish organisations in Britain.

Ofsted inspections cause schools to look at themselves self-critically and identify areas for development, as does Pikuach. Key issues are areas targeted for improvement and form the basis of the school's action plan. Since 1999, as a direct result of the first Pikuach inspections, the Jewish community has put into place several new teacher-training and development initiatives to address the need for a work force that was more professional and better trained, namely the curriculum and teacher development initiatives described earlier in this chapter. In addition, in 2006, a system of school improvement partners was developed, specifically to support Jewish schools in the development of Jewish education, paralleling the role of the secular school improvement partners implemented by local education authorities in Britain.

Shifting Purposes

Different streams of the Jewish community have had different objectives for their children's Jewish education. I have shown in this chapter how this has resulted in a Jewish schooling system which has no national Jewish studies curriculum and where each school is inspected not against a national benchmark of standards but against the stated aims of each individual school.

For the strictly orthodox sector, the objectives and purposes have been, and are, very clear. The primary consideration has always been a curriculum focussed on Torah learning, emphasising intensive Jewish Studies. The families welcomed into those schools already adhere to orthodox practice and lifestyle. Graduates of those programmes would be expected both to have a deep knowledge base of Judaism and Hebrew and to adhere to an orthodox practice and life style. The majority of graduates of those schools fulfil those aims.

For the mainstream and pluralist sectors, the objectives and purposes are also clear. The primary consideration is on academic excellence within a Jewish ethos. Jewish studies and Hebrew are present, and are taught with serious regard, but are not the predominant factor. A significant challenge in these schools is that the families welcomed into these schools come from a very wide range of Jewish backgrounds. In the mainstream orthodox schools, whatever their background, the ethos and practice of the school is orthodox and the curriculum reflects that. In the pluralist schools, the ethos and practice of the school is to acknowledge and reflect the diversity of the school population. Consequently the curriculum covers a broad range of views of Judaism and Jewish practice.

In 2011, the first longitudinal study began of children entering Jewish secondary schools in the UK (Miller and Pomson 2012). This research seeks to understand the school's significance in the Jewish lives of the families whose children are enrolled in the school. The cohort who entered year seven in September 2011 (11–12 year olds) will be followed through their secondary school lives and beyond. Two control groups – (a) families who applied to a Jewish school, but chose to send their child to non-Jewish schools and (b) families who did not apply for Jewish schools – will be surveyed and interviewed at the same intervals. In total almost 600 families are taking part in this project, representing 43 % of those approached at the start. This project represents a unique opportunity to gather and analyse data that can help understand the school's significance in the lives of students, their families and the wider community, as well as help with policy and planning for the short and medium term future.

The three sets of parents rate the general qualities of schools and their own general academic aspirations more highly than their Jewish concerns (and in almost the same order of significance). Cultivating a strong Jewish identity, as well as relationships with other Jews, is more important than developing Jewish knowledge or learning. The Jewish values of those respondents with children in non-Jewish schools are almost indistinguishable from those with children in Jewish schools. They share the same intensity of concern about these matters.

To summarise, the purpose of Jewish education in the mainstream Jewish community appears to be a means of sustaining and deepening Jewish identification.

Conclusion

The development of Jewish schools in Britain has been a complex journey related to cultural, sociological, political and demographic forces. These forces overlap with each other, which is why it is not possible to write a chapter such as this in a

straightforward, linear fashion. Issues such as the multicultural nature of Britain, government influences and impact and the history and infrastructure of the British Jewish community all intertwine to both explain the past and understand the present. We can show the intended outcomes of the investment of the Jewish community in current Jewish schooling initiatives, and we can predict their impact. But this chapter is primarily a snapshot in time, explaining the present through a variety of lenses. The reader is invited to take the challenges and opportunities presented here and relate them to their own contexts, for it is by learning about the other that we better understand ourselves.

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Chapter 6
Faith Related Schools in the United States: The Current Reality

Joseph M. O'Keefe, S.J. and Michael T. O'Connor

Introduction

This chapter offers a portrayal and analysis of the current reality of faith related schools in the United States (U.S.) using descriptive, empirical data from a number of sources. Its breadth is necessitated by the sheer magnitude and diversity of students and institutions, the local nature of government control, the variety of policies in the 50 states and territories, and the wide array of religious denominations. Education in the U.S. is divided into two domains: public and private. Public institutions are controlled by the government and funded by taxpayer dollars. Traditionally, the federal role in education is limited. Each of the 50 state governments oversees education policy and municipalities or counties are usually responsible for day-to-day administration. In contrast, private institutions are controlled by individuals, non-governmental organizations, or a self-perpetuating board of trustees; funding comes through tuition and philanthropy. Some prefer to call these schools independent or non-public to avoid the elitism that the word 'private' connotes. Today, private institutions account for 25 % of all elementary and secondary schools. Within that group of private institutions, nearly 80 % are related to a faith community; 20 % are nonsectarian (Aud et al. 2012; Broughman et al. 2011). On the higher education level, 18 % of all institutions are related to a faith community (National Association of Independent Colleges and Universities 2011). Because of the contemporary interpretation of church-state separation in the United States Constitution, all faith related institutions are private. This chapter focuses exclusively on private, faith related elementary and secondary schools in the United States.

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Historical Perspectives

Faith related schools have a complicated history. European colonists – Spanish, French, and English – educated their children according to the various religious communities to which they belonged. The English colonies reflected a variety of Protestant perspectives, from New England Puritan Calvinism to Virginia Anglicanism. As the former colonies became independent yet united states in the late eighteenth century, a religious culture evolved in public schools. Until the 1960s, the public school could not be considered truly secular, with its mandated bible reading, prayers, and the teaching of pan-Protestant values. These trends were rooted in the common school experience established by Horace Mann, who "considered the Bible to be the book of every Christian and thus all-inclusive" (McLaughlin et al. 1996b, p. 8). While Mann believed that the Bible was a universal text and that Scripture should have a central role in common schooling, these actions demonstrated an Anglo-Protestant preference and were viewed as anti-Catholic. As the number of Catholics increased through immigration, these sentiments resulted in bloody riots over the use of the Bible in schools (McLaughlin et al. 1996a, b). For those from minority religious groups, especially Catholics, the public school's tendency to indoctrinate gave birth to private faith related schools. In addition to sheltering children from a hostile religious environment, faith related schools, and particularly Catholic schools, also provided immigrants from non-English speaking countries a means to preserve the language and culture of home (O'Keefe and Scheopner 2009). Schools of different religious denominations peaked at different times throughout American history, but for many, the peak enrollment period has come and gone. This claim is particularly true for Catholic schools, which reached their peak around 1965. In that year, "the Catholic system enrolled about 12 % of all American elementary and secondary students" with over 13,000 schools and 5.5 million students (Bryk et al. 1993, p. 32).

Although faith related schools were allowed to obtain charters, affirmed by Supreme Court cases including the 1925 *Pierce v. Society of Sisters* decision, these schools received little to no funding from the government (Buetow 1988). Because of these financial restrictions, faith related schools have remained a minority in the broader education landscape. However, faith related schools have had their own trajectory of rising and falling enrollment and support from the American people, both religious and non-religious. This support was greatly impacted by America's immigration history, resulting in the widespread presence of multiculturalism, which would come to be reflected in many faith related schools.

As in many countries, the 1960s brought significant cultural change. Among these changes was the emergence of truly secular public schools, mandated by two Supreme Court cases. *Engel v. Vitale* (1962) effectively banned prayer in schools while *Lynch v. Donnelly* (1984) acknowledged the separation or 'wall' between Church and State, even with earlier court cases and the U.S. Constitution acknowledging 'accommodation' of religion in state affairs (Buetow 1988, p. 193). Given local control of schools and the nature of the judicial system in the United States,

religious elements continued in some places. However, the movement toward secularization was inevitable. As a result, a number of non-denominational Christian schools were created to restore prayer in schools, and explicitly Christian values. No longer were private, faith related schools limited to groups that dissented from a White Anglo-Saxon Protestant ethos. Today, schools continue to be a battleground in the culture wars between religion and secularism.

Overview

In our day, faith related schools in the United States represent a range of interests and concerns. Religious leaders view faith related schools as an opportunity to enhance the academic and values-based education for all, and also evangelize. In this way, faith related schools serve a dual role of serving those in need and who are marginalized, while also welcoming outsiders into their respective faith community. Finally, faith related schools contribute to an area of common ground between the religious and secular – serving the common good and fulfilling civic duty through service, justice, respect, and community.

Before presenting an overview of the current status of faith related schools, a word about data sources. Because all faith related schools in the United States are private, there is not an unequivocally reliable source of data. While the Department of Education collects data on schools, as well as each faith group's professional organization (such as the National Catholic Educational Association – NCEA), all faith related schools are not mandated to report data or to join any particular association. Additionally, larger independent school organizations, such as the National Association of Independent Schools (NAIS), have faith related schools or faith related school organizations as members, but do not maintain official numbers or data on faith related schools in particular (2012b). An additional source of information is the two-volume *Praeger Handbook of Faith-Based Schools in the United States*, published in 2012 (Hunt and Carper 2012). Most of the chapters are written about particular faith related schools by leaders in their respective communities. In addition, there are chapters about the historical and current relationship between government and these schools. Though there are differences between our one chapter and a two-volume work, there is convergence on a number of themes. However, we noted that additional data are presented by school leaders in these chapters that add complexity to the existing data sources. In light of this complexity, we have chosen to present data from by the U.S. Department of Education National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) as well as data self-reported from individual faith group professional organizations. Further, because faith related schools compose a significant majority of private schools in the United States, conclusions are occasionally drawn from private school numbers because of the greater availability of those data from standardized sources such as the NCES.

The diffuse and unsystematic nature of private schools makes generalizations challenging. However, faith related schools can be categorized into the following

broad denominational categories: Roman Catholic, Christian non-denominational, Episcopal, Lutheran, Jewish, and Islamic. Within these categories are a number of sub-categories. For example, the subcategories of Catholic schools are determined by the Code of Canon Law: some are parish-related (literally parochial schools), some are related to a diocese, some are related to a religious community, and some are controlled independently, but call themselves Catholic with the approval of the local bishop. Among the Lutheran schools are those associated with the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America (ELCA), some with the Missouri Synod, and others with the Wisconsin Synod. Some Jewish schools are Orthodox, some Conservative, some Reformed, and some non-denominational. There are also some faith related schools that do not fit the broad categories described above, such as the Seventh Day Adventists, the Amish, and the Mennonites. Many of these fall under a broader category of "Christian," but have distinct denominational and schooling differences and should not be grouped together. Moreover, an increasing number of people are homeschooling their children, many for religious reasons (National Center for Education Statistics 2009). Institutional arrangements reflect the wide array of interests and concerns in faith related schools. Some schools are closely tied to religious leaders, especially in communities that have a highly centralized polity. Others are site-based and thus independent of external authority.

NCES provides enrollment and school data for most, but not all, schools affiliated with religious denominations.

NCES Data – 2009–2010 school year

Religious denomination	Total school number	Total student enrollment
Roman Catholic	5,850	1,765,456
Christian – Non-denominational	5,783	834,766
Christian – Episcopal	298	82,581
Christian – Lutheran	209	19,353
Jewish	385	92,071
Islamic	75	10,306
Total (of selection)	12,600	2,804,513

Broughman et al. (2011)

These numbers illustrate the complexity of reporting data. For example, NCES data do not include Missouri or Wisconsin Synod Lutheran schools, which are integral contributors to the overall picture of Lutheran schools. Additionally, NCES data do not include all Christian schools or all Jewish schools, especially those within the Orthodox and Reform movements. Finally, there are some discrepancies between NCES data and data reported by the faith related professional organizations. For example, the National Catholic Educational Association (NCEA) reports on their website and in their most recent annual report that there are 6,900 Catholic schools and 2,081,291 students enrolled in this system (McDonald and Schultz 2012), while NCES listed 5,850 Catholic Schools and 17,654,566 students

(Broughman et al. 2011). These discrepancies are again a result of the difficulty in collecting and reporting data on faith related schools, with many schools not belonging to a professional organization or submitting data to the government. A more detailed table of school and student enrollment numbers by faith group and data source can be found in Appendix I.

Students

Nearly 25 % of all American schools are private, but only 10 % of American students (some 5,488,000 students) are in private schools. Therefore, approximately 4,400,000 students attend faith related schools in the U.S (Aud et al. 2012, Table A-5-1).

The number of students in faith related schools does not reflect the number of school-age children of various faiths in the U.S. With the possible exception of a few small religious groups, most children of faith attend public, charter, or other private schools, instead of schools sponsored by their faith group. No precise numbers exist, but one can make approximations using existing census and church data. For example, based on data from the Center for Applied Research in the Apostolate and *The Official Catholic Directory* there are approximately 70 million Catholics in the United States (2012). U.S. Census data report that approximately 20 % of the American population is school-aged (ages 5–19) (U.S. Census Bureau 2012). Extending this overall U.S. population percentage to approximate the number of Catholic school-age children, roughly 14 million school-age Catholic children live in the United States. In contrast, NCES and NCEA data show that just over two million students attend Catholic schools. Another issue, however, is that not all students attending Catholic schools are Catholic. NCEA reported data states 83.4 % of all Catholic school students are Catholic, illustrating that a considerable number are not (McDonald and Schultz 2012).

This number of children of faith who are not attending faith related schools represents an untapped potential of growth. More significantly however, these data indicate a lack of connection among constituents, members of faith communities, and leaders of faith denominations. As we demonstrate below, faith related schools are very effective in providing high quality academics and preparing good citizens. It is remarkable that the majority of young people in a given faith community are not attending schools affiliated with that faith. It is not unusual for some leaders of religious communities to question the use of limited financial resources to underwrite schools that serve a small percentage of their children. In the hope of more effectively handing on the faith, some religious leaders have called for a reallocation of funds from full-time schools to after-school freestanding religious education programs.

Ethnic diversity is another challenge facing faith related schools. The United States is one of the most racially diverse countries in the world and is projected to continue to grow in multiculturalism. The population is divided into the categories

'White' and 'minority.' 'Minority' includes Black or African American, American Indian or Alaska Native, Asian and Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander (all but the single-race, non-Hispanic, White population). People who identify their origin as Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish, who are also considered 'minority,' may be of any race. According to the U.S. Census Bureau, the United States is projected to become a majority-minority nation for the first time in 2043 (2012, December 12). All in all, minorities, now 37 % of the U.S. population, are projected to comprise 57 % of the population in 2060. The total minority population would more than double from 116.2 million to 241.3 million over the period.

Public School Students

Public schools mirror these trends. From 1990 to 2010, the number of White students in U.S. public schools decreased from 29 million to 27.7 million, and their share of enrollment decreased from 67 to 54 % (Aud et al. 2012, Table A-6-1). In contrast, Hispanic enrollment during this period increased from 5.1 to 12.1 million students, and the percentage of public school students who were Hispanic increased from 12 to 23 %. While the total number of Black students fluctuated, their share of enrollment decreased from 17 to 15 % during this time (Aud et al. 2012). Looking into the future, NCES projects the following for enrollment in elementary and secondary public schools through 2021: a 2 % decrease for students who are White, a 5 % increase for students who are Black, a 24 % increase for students who are Hispanic, a 26 % increase for students who are Asian/Pacific Islander, a 16 % increase for students who are American Indian/Alaska Native, and a 34 % increase for students who are two or more races (Hussar and Bailey 2013).

Faith Related School Students

Faith related schools do not mirror these trends. In 2009, the private education sector's student enrollment was 72.6 % White, 9.2 % Black, 9.4 % Hispanic, 5.1 % Asian, 0.6 % Pacific Islander, 0.4 % American Indian/Alaska Native, and 2.7 % two or more races. To break these numbers down further, Catholic school student enrollment (the greatest number of private and faith related school students) was 70.8 % White, 7.5 % Black, 13.3 % Hispanic, 4.5 % Asian, 0.6 % Pacific Islander, 0.4 % American Indian/ Alaska Native, and 2.8 % two or more races. All other faith related school enrollment combined was 76.3 % White, 10.3 % Black, 6.2 % Hispanic, 4.1 % Asian, 0.7 % Pacific Islander, 0.4 % American Indian/Alaska Native, and 2.0 % two or more races (Snyder and Dillow 2012, Table 63). Although faith related schools serve diverse student populations, these numbers are not proportionally equivalent to diverse students served in the public school system, representative of the diversity of the nation, or consistently reflective of the diversity of the faith community itself.

The Catholic School Example

Using the Catholic example, recent numbers indicate that 65 % of all Catholics are White, 29 % are Hispanic, 2 % are Black, 2 % are Asian, and 2 % are other or of mixed race (The Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life, Portraits). In Catholic schools, NCEA reports that 74.2 % of Catholic school students are White, 13.9 % of students are Hispanic, 19.3 % are Black, Asian, or other (McDonald and Schultz 2012). But the diversity of American Catholics and Catholic school students is more complex than those numbers. 'Over the past sixty-five years, Hispanics/ Latinos have accounted for 70 % of the Catholic Church's growth. According to recent studies, 68 % of Hispanics/Latinos residing in the U.S. call themselves Catholic. This constitutes 35 % of all Catholics in the country. Hispanics/Latinos already constitute more than 50 % of all Catholics under age 29' (Aguilera-Titus and Deck 2012, p. 3). Therefore, the younger generations of Catholics are much more heavily Hispanic/Latino and will become the majority of the future Church. These numbers also indicate that there is a significant absence of Hispanic/Latino children in Catholic schools.

Diversity in Faith Related Schools

Diversity in faith related schools is often skewed based on location and type of area served. According to NCES data, 41 % of private schools are located in a city or urban locale, 39 % are in a suburban locale, 7.1 % are in a town locale, and 12.9 % are in a rural locale. Catholic schools serve a slightly greater percentage of urban students with 46.1 % of schools in a city or urban locale, 40.2 % in a suburban locale, 8.5 % in a town locale, and 5.2 % in a rural locale. All other faith related schools combined serve a greater percentage of rural students, but fewer urban students with 36.7 % of schools in a city or urban locale, 36.5 % in a suburban locale, 7.4 % in a town locale, and 19.4 % in a rural locale (Snyder and Dillow 2012, Table 63). Faith related schools serve all populations, but many, like Catholic schools, desire to continue the legacy of serving immigrants and minority populations that are mostly in urban centers. That desire is often frustrated by the need to increase tuition to meet expenditures, thus rendering the school inaccessible to low-income families. Sadly then, faith related schools remain essentially racially segregated, with urban schools being very racially diverse and suburban, town, and rural schools being overwhelmingly white. This reality is a result of housing trends and a mass movement of the white population from urban centers to suburban towns. As Mark M. Gray, a blogger for the Center for Applied Research in the Apostolate (CARA), says, 'People move, parishes and schools do not' (2010).

The spectrum of student diversity extends beyond race/ethnicity and social class. According to the NCES, 6,481,000 students age 3–21 years old receive services for special needs in U.S. public schools. This number is equal to 13.1 % of total public school enrollment (National Center for Education Statistics

2012). In public schools, Individual Education Plans (IEPs) and limited English proficient (LEP) designations are two ways that students receive services for special needs or circumstances that may present challenges to traditional education instruction. In 2007–2008, 98.1 % of public schools had at least one student with an IEP and 67.1 % had at least one student with an LEP. 12.3 % of all K-12 students had an IEP and 11.3 % had an LEP (Aritomi and Coopersmith 2009, Table 2). There are no data about students with special needs in private or faith related schools because, with the exception of some limited governmental programs, services are not provided.

Staffing

As described above, public schools serve a broader range of students with special needs. Given financial constraints caused by the absence of government funding, faith related schools are less able to welcome children with these needs. Public schools employ a range of professionals. Private schools, on the other hand, are not able to hire as many non-teaching professionals because of budget restrictions and the paucity of public funds. In the 2007–2008 school year, all public schools combined in the U.S. had 74,670 vice or assistant principals, 73,230 instructional coordinators and supervisors including curriculum specialists, 81,670 library/media staff, 125,590 school counselors, 79,760 nurses, 61,320 psychologists, 91,400 speech therapists or pathologists, and 129,250 other student support services professional staff. In contrast, all private schools combined had 14,950 vice or assistant principals, 9,070 instructional coordinators and supervisors including curriculum specialists, 15,490 library/media staff, 14,070 school counselors, 11,040 nurses, 3,960 psychologists, 6,060 speech therapists or pathologists, and 21,330 other student support services professional staff. Most of the private schools that have significant non-teacher professionals are not faith related (Aritomi and Coopersmith 2009, Table 5). Another indicator of the staffing disparity between public and private schools is in the percentage of schools with specialist or coaching assignments. In the 2007–2008 school year, 63.3 % of all U.S. public schools had a staff with a specialist or coaching assignment providing supplemental academic support to students in crucial content areas such as literacy, mathematics, and science. Only 36.5 % of private schools had similar staff positions (Aritomi and Coopersmith 2009, Table 6).

Principals

Teachers are not the only professionals who make schools function. Principals play important leadership roles in schools and must guide the school in several distinct areas including curriculum, budget, and other student services. What do

faith related school principals look like when compared to public school principals? In the 2007–2008 school year, there were 90,470 public school principals in the U.S. There were 27,960 in private schools. Both public and private schools had predominantly White principals (80.9 % and 87.3 %, respectively), with more diversity among principals in public schools. This reality again stresses that both public and private school leadership does not accurately reflect its student and family constituents, as well as population and demographic projections. Unfortunately, faith related schools are less diverse, with 91.3 % White principals in Catholic schools, 86.6 % White principals in other religious schools, and 84.3 % White principals in private nonsectarian schools (Aritomi and Coopersmith 2009, Table 2).

In regard to other characteristics, the mean age for public school principals was 49, while the mean age for private school principals was 51. Both public and private school principals have an almost equal distribution of gender, whereas there is significantly substantial gender disparity for both public and private teacher profiles. Public school principals were 50.3 % female and 49.7 % male while private school principals were 53.3 % female and 46.7 % male. The private school principal number is balanced, but the numbers by religious (or nonreligious) affiliation differ greatly. Catholic school principals were 73.8 % female and 26.2 % male, all other religious schools were 38.9 % female and 61.1 % male, and nonsectarian (and nonreligious) schools were 60.4 % female and 39.6 % male (Aritomi and Coopersmith 2009, Table 3). The Catholic school disparity is most likely a result of a history of religious sisters assuming leadership positions in Catholic, and especially Catholic elementary, schools, while the other religious school disparities may represent a lingering patriarchal dominant leadership present in many religious leadership circles, regardless of the particular faith tradition.

Principal salary and benefits differ depending on type of school. In the 2007–2008 school year, elementary and secondary public school principals had a mean annual salary of $85,700. Private school principals had a mean salary of $57,500. The private school salary number is further nuanced by the fact that the mean nonsectarian school principal salary was $75,500, the mean Catholic school principal salary was $58,100 (about average for private schools), and the mean other religious school principal salary was $47,800. Thus, when looking at faith related schools, the mean principal salary is actually substantially lower than $57,500, and dramatically lower than that of a public school principal (Aritomi and Coopersmith 2009, Table 5).

Movement and retention is an issue for all faith related administration, faculty, and staff members, partially because of salary and benefits, but also because of personal and professional reasons. Principals at private and faith related schools make a commitment to their roles as leaders, but also struggle to stay in their position. In 2007–2008, the mean number for total years of experience for all private school principals was 10.0, with the mean number for total years at current school being only 6.8. Further, only 25 % of principals at all private schools have been at their current school for 10 or more years (Aritomi and Coopersmith 2009, Table 7).

Presidents and Other Leadership

In American parlance, the usual title for the person who directs a school is 'principal.' In the public sector, principals are, for the most part, responsible for teaching and learning in their particular school, which is managed by a system (district) overseen by a manager called 'superintendent.' Most faith related schools have principals and in some, like most Catholic schools, they are responsible to a superintendent. Another term for leadership that has longstanding use in more elite private schools is 'headmaster,' connoting one that is responsible not just for academics but for all aspects of the institution. The term 'president' has traditionally been reserved for the leader of a private institution of higher education, such as a university president. In the past few decades, a new leadership position, 'president,' has emerged in faith related schools. For example, in 1992, 80 % of Catholic high schools were led by a principal; in 2004 that number was reduced to 47 % with 47 % being led by a president (James 2009). The president is a chief executive who spends more time advancing institutional sustainability than directing instruction. Among the major responsibilities of the president are: raising philanthropic dollars, overseeing all operations of the institution, and managing the school's relationship with civic and religious authorities. Given these responsibilities, the median salary of a private school president is over $186,000 (National Association of Independent Schools 2012a).

Like his or her counterpart in higher education, the president of a faith related school does not work in isolation. Most faith related schools have developed boards that have full or partial jurisdiction depending upon the relationship to religious authorities. Since 1994, when data were first collected, the percentage of Catholic schools with boards increased from 14.3 to 82.4 % in 2012 (McDonald and Schultz 2012). In some cases, board members are appointed by a religious authority figure, but increasingly the board is self-perpetuating. The NCEA, as well as other faith related organizations, provides on-going education and support services to school boards.

Teachers

Teachers are at the heart of any school. Just as there are significantly more schools and students in public education, a similar trend follows for teachers. In the 2007–2008 school year, there were nearly 4 million teachers in all U.S. schools. 3,404,500 of these teachers worked at public schools, while 489,600 worked at private (and predominantly faith related) schools (Aritomi and Coopersmith 2009, Table 1).

Who is teaching in U.S. faith related schools? In 2007–2008, 74 % of private school teachers were female and 26 % were male. The mean and median age of teachers was 44 years with 83 % of teachers over the age of 30 (Aritomi and Coopersmith 2009, Table 3). Teachers in private and faith related schools are

predominantly White, non-Hispanic. Although this number corresponds with the lack of overall diversity in faith related schools, it again does not match current or projected demographics in the United States or enrollment patterns in schools. In 2007–2008, 86.4 % of all private school teachers were White, non-Hispanic, 4.0 % were Black, non-Hispanic, 5.9 % were Hispanic, 2.2 % were Asian, non-Hispanic, 0.4 % were American Indian/Alaska Native, non-Hispanic, 0.3 % were Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander, non-Hispanic, and 0.7 % were multiracial, non-Hispanic. No religious group had a particularly diverse faculty in their schools, but Seventh-Day Adventist schools had 66.2 % of White, non-Hispanic faculty, Other Religious (mostly varied Christian denominations) had 82.4 % and Baptist schools had 83.7 %. As expected, these faith group schools had larger percentages of diverse teachers, especially those who are Black and Hispanic. In contrast, Jewish, Lutheran, and Catholic Diocesan schools had the lowest number of diverse teachers with 96.1, 93.8, and 90.0 % of White, non-Hispanic teachers, respectively. Though public school teachers are not accurately representative of the student demographics in their schools, their teacher diversity numbers are slightly higher than private and faith related schools, with 83.1 % of the 3,404,500 public school teachers being White, non-Hispanic, 7.1 % being Hispanic, 7.0 % being Black, non-Hispanic, 1.2 % being Asian, non-Hispanic, 0.9 % being multi-racial, non-Hispanic, 0.5 % being American Indian/Alaska Native, non-Hispanic, and 0.2 % being Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander, non-Hispanic (Aritomi and Coopersmith 2009, Table 2).

Teaching is sometimes labeled as an 'easy' profession by some Americans. Misconceptions about having summers 'off,' a school day that ends at 3:00 PM, and a suggestion that teaching is more child care than instruction lead to this false assumption. But the truth is that teaching is demanding in time, energy, and effort; perhaps one of the most challenging professions in the country. Very few professions require an individual to be 'on' the entire day, with the education and care of children lying in the balance. This is particularly true for private and faith related school teachers, who typically do not have support staff available for elective periods or other breaks for class preparation. In the 2007–2008 school year, the mean number that private school teachers spent per week delivering instruction to a class of students was 30.1 h and 52.1 h per week on all teaching and other school related activities (including preparation, lesson planning, and grading). The typical work week in the United States is 40 h. Teachers do not receive overtime pay or other compensation for preparation, planning, and grading. NCES data breaks down reported time worked by different faith related schools (e.g. Catholic, Lutheran), with little deviation from the mean found across schools for number of hours worked (Aritomi and Coopersmith 2009, Table 6).

Similar to principals, teachers in private and faith related schools also have a tendency to move or leave for public school positions or other opportunities. In the 2008–2009 school year, 79.2 % of private school teachers stayed at their school, while 4.9 % moved to another school (public or private) and 15.9 % left the teaching profession. Years of teaching experience, age, sex, school level, or race/ethnicity did not indicate major differences, though more young or new teachers did move to

another school or leave the teaching profession when compared to older or more experienced teachers. The numbers, however, are not as surprising as one might think, especially given lower salaries and often more hours worked when compared to public schools teachers, suggesting that private schools do fairly well at retaining and supporting young and new teachers. Public school teacher retention numbers are slightly better: 84.5 % of public school teachers stayed at their school, 7.6 % moved to another school (public or private), and 8.0 % left the teaching profession (Aritomi and Coopersmith 2009). Higher salaries and increased benefits for working in the public education sector would certainly contribute to this difference.

Teacher retention in faith related schools is complex and involves matters such as individual teacher alignment with mission and identity of the faith of the school, professional support, strong leadership, and other personal issues. One of the greatest factors in retaining teachers in faith related schools is maintaining a strong mission and identity with which teachers can identify and support. According to a recent study in Catholic schools, 'It seems the more robust the religious and Catholic identity of schools, the more these schools may be able to retain teachers' (Scheopner 2009, p. 262).

In 2007–2008, the mean annual base salary for full-time teachers in private schools was $36,300. Some faith group schools, including private Catholic schools, Jewish schools, and Seventh Day Adventist schools, had means around $43,000, but others, including Baptist schools and 'Other' religious schools had means between $26,000 and $30,000. These numbers typically correlate with tuition costs, as private Catholic schools and Jewish schools typically cost more than the average Diocesan or parochial Catholic school or other Christian schools. Private and faith related school teachers also tend to supplement their meager income with additional salary. This often results in extra jobs assumed during the school year, during the summer months, or sometimes both. In 2007–2008, the mean salary supplement for private schools teachers from work outside of the school system was $5,900. This number illustrates that many teachers struggle to get by on their school salary alone, especially when compared to their public school counterparts. In 2007–2008, the mean annual base salary for teachers in public schools was $49,630 (Snyder and Dillow 2010, Table 75).

Sustainability

Expenditures

The disparities in salary referenced above are due to the financial constraints under which faith related schools exist. While precise data about expenditures are not available, some professional organizations provide information on per pupil costs. According to the National Catholic Educational Association (NCEA), the per pupil cost of elementary schools is $5,387 and $10,228 for secondary schools. Based on public school expenditures, Catholic schools provide approximately 23 billion

dollars a year savings for the nation. Although the per pupil cost is lower for Catholic and other faith related private schools, there is a gap between expenses and income. The mean tuition for all private schools in 2007–2008 was $6,733 for elementary students and $10,549 for secondary students. Mean Catholic school tuition for the same academic year period was $4,944 for elementary students and $7,826 for secondary students. Mean tuition for combined other faith related schools was $6,576 for elementary students and $10,493 for secondary students. The overall private education tuition figures are greater than for both Catholic and other faith related schools because nonsectarian private schools, though in the minority of the private education sector, charge much higher mean tuition – $15,945 for elementary students and $27,302 for secondary students (Snyder and Dillow 2012, Table 64).

Although private and faith related schools often collect tuition, many students and families do not pay full tuition because of economic hardship based on socio-economic status. For example, in the 2007–2008 school year, while 93.4 % of the 28,220 private schools in the U.S. charged tuition, 90.4 % allowed for tuition reductions. Faith related schools were even more likely to allow for reductions when compared to their non-religious private counterparts, with 97.0 % of Catholic schools and 93.6 % of other religious schools permitting students to have tuition reductions, many of these in urban areas (Aritomi and Coopersmith 2009).

The Budget Gap and Innovative Funding

The result is a substantial gap between per pupil costs and tuition received in faith related schools. Faith related schools then are caught in a difficult position with complicated options. As a faith related school increases tuition, enrollment decreases as more families are unable to pay. But when a school decreases tuition, more families are attracted to the school, resulting in more per pupil costs from teachers, staff, and services. In times of economic downturn, both in the U.S. and international marketplace, schools find that fewer families can afford higher tuition. Faith related schools are forced to look elsewhere to close the budget gap. The government offers little to no funding for faith related schools, especially in terms of per pupil costs or teacher salaries and benefits. Most often, the religious group associated with the school, whether it be a parish, synagogue, or other religious institution, is unable to contribute to close the gap. Instead, these schools must rely on philanthropy for funding. Some schools rely on more general fundraising efforts, while others establish boards, strategic plans, and development campaigns to meet the budget gaps from year to year. In recent years, the economy has hurt philanthropic giving as well. How, then, do faith related schools close the budget gap, especially when trying to serve those students from urban or impoverished backgrounds?

An early 2013 Op-Ed piece in *The New York Times* stressed the need for innovative funding and structure methods if Catholic education were to continue to serve students and families, especially those from urban and impoverished backgrounds. McCloskey and Harris echo the successes of Catholic schools historically serving

immigrant populations, but acknowledge that the current vocations shortage and resulting personnel costs in Catholic schools has created new economic hardships. In another January 2013 article in *The New York Times*, Timothy McNiff, the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of New York superintendent of schools, said, 'We are closing schools that are not failing academically, that are not failing in terms of helping the child with their faith journey and that provide safe harbors for kids … [however] if we do not do this, it is a death by a thousand cuts – the deficits will consume us' (Otterman 2013). But McCloskey and Harris do not believe Catholic schools should be left incapacitated by this new reality, especially when the schools are successful. They call for new creative measures, including commissioning the roles of the ordained deaconate into teaching and other school positions, while also encouraging Bishops and other Church leaders to reorganize finances to better serve those Church populations of greater need, typically in urban areas. If new measures are not undertaken, say McCloskey and Harris, 'many dioceses will soon have only scatterings of elite Catholic academies for middle-class and affluent families and a token number of inner-city schools, propped up by wealthy donors,' a scenario that is certainly unsustainable (McCloskey and Harris 2013).

Curriculum and Effectiveness

Curriculum and Standards

As mentioned earlier, each of the 50 states has primary responsibility for education. As a result, it is the state department of education that sets curriculum guidelines. In the past few years, however, 45 states and the District of Columbia have joined in a groundbreaking initiative under the auspices of the National Governors' Association and the Council of Chief State School Officers called the Common Core Standards (Common Core State Standards Initiative), which are curriculum guidelines for elementary and secondary schools. Alongside this movement toward nationwide standardization of curriculum are other factors leading to centralization: vendors of textbooks and other curricula materials want the mass market benefit of the Common Core; teacher and administrator preparation programs want nationwide reach, especially with the movement to on-line degrees; and institutions of higher education want students across the nation to have a similar academic preparation. Though the requirement for private schools to comply with curriculum standards varies by state jurisdiction, the program of studies in most private schools mirrors that of public schools. In some cases, the professional organization of a faith related community has incorporated the Common Core Standards into their guidelines (The Catholic School Standards Project). By and large, the distinctiveness of faith related schools is not to be found in the curriculum, with the exception of religious studies.

Explicit teaching of religious doctrine is prohibited in public schools. Public school courses can teach awareness of religion in terms of history, literature,

traditions, and culture, but cannot advocate for any one in particular (American Academy of Religion 2010). The private sector is the only option for parents who want to hand on their faith to the next generation in a school setting. For many parents, prayer and worship are important aspects of the school experience. Episcopal schools have regular services that are to be 'creative, age-appropriate, inclusive, and grounded in the traditions of the Episcopal Church' (National Association of Episcopal Schools 2012). Missouri Synod Lutheran schools put a strong emphasis on public worship. Most Catholic schools have monthly mass and mass for Holy Days, along with daily prayer.

Teacher Training and Qualifications

Each of the religious groups sets its own standards in regard to teacher qualifications. The Association of Christian Schools International certifies teacher at a standard or professional level depending on theological background. The National Association of Episcopal Schools has principles of good practice for the study of religion. Seventh-Day Adventists require a minimum of 12 semester hours of religion at one of their denominational institutions of higher education. Quaker schools hold workshops to teach the ethos of the Society of Friends. The Avi Chai Foundation supports the initial and on-going education of teachers in Jewish studies and Hebrew language. Lutheran universities have special courses to prepare teachers for Lutheran schools, as do Catholic universities. Moreover, most Catholic dioceses certify teachers in religious education. The website of the Islamic Schools League of America describes a challenge common to all schools: reducing explicit religious education to one class, or 'attempt(ing) to rewrite the curriculum of every subject so that Islamic knowledge/thinking is integrated into every subject.'

Academic Outcomes

In the United States today, as in many countries, assessment of academic outcomes is a high priority. Each state has its own achievement test but, with a few exceptions, private schools do not participate. However, private schools participate voluntarily in a nation-wide examination called the National Assessment of Education Progress (NAEP), which uses a sampling methodology to test students' knowledge and skills at grade 4, grade 8, and grade 12. At all three grades, a significantly higher percentage of private school students perform better at the basic, proficient, and advanced levels on subjects such as mathematics, reading, writing, science, and civics (NCES 2011a, b, c). For example, in 2011 grade 8 students in public schools scored 75 % basic, 32 % proficient, and 3 % advanced in reading. Grade 8 students in private schools scored 92 % basic, 41 % proficient, and 8 % advanced in the same test (National Center for

Education Statistics 2011b). Another federal project, the High School Transcript Study (Nord et al. 2011), found that private school students take more credits, have more demanding courses, and have a higher grade point average when compared to public school students. Another measure of academic achievement is the Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT), a voluntary exam that is administered by the non-governmental Educational Testing Service (ETS). The SAT is used for entrance to higher education. Here again, private school students outpace their public school counterparts in critical reading, writing, and mathematics. University-bound students in faith related schools surpassed the benchmark score by a considerable margin. In 2011, public school students had mean scores of 494 in Critical Reading, 506 in Mathematics, and 483 in Writing, while faith related schools had mean scores of 531 in Critical Reading, 533 in Mathematics, and 528 in Writing (Council for American Private Education). The other major exam for university entrance is the ACT (American College Testing). Again, the scores of students in private schools were significantly higher than those in public schools.

Non-Academic Outcomes

School effectiveness is not measured solely by academic outcomes. Issues such as school safety, student absence and tardiness, and student behavior all impact student learning and development. Violence is perceived to be much less prevalent at private, and specifically faith related, schools and students feel safer in a faith related school environment. According to surveys, 88 % of public school students believe that physical violence is a big problem at school, while only 8 % of students at religious private schools believe the same statement. Further, 27 % of public school students disagree with the statement, 'I feel very safe when I am at school,' while only 7 % of students at religious private schools disagree. Unfortunately, public school, private school, and faith related school students encounter bullying, with student responses ranging from 45 to 48 % to the item, 'I was bullied, teased, or taunted in a way that seriously upset me at least once within the past 12 months' (Josephson Institute 2010). Though not perfect, teachers, too, notice the impact of private and faith related schools. Teachers in public and private schools 'reported that student behavior (36 vs. 21 % respectively) and student tardiness and class cutting (33 vs. 18 % respectively) interfered with their teaching' (Robers et al. 2012, p. 52). In both cases, private school teacher responses reflect more student learning time and fewer disruptions.

Faith related schools also have a powerful impact on the local community and neighborhood. For example, a study found 'a direct link between Catholic school closures and levels of crime in a police beat in the years following a closure' (sBrinig and Garnett 2012, p. 362). The resulting crime comes with an absence of neighborhood social capital, which is facilitated by institutions and individuals such as those at a faith related school. Faith related schools have a positive impact not only on students and their families, but on the entire neighborhood in which they exist.

Facing the Future

Faith related schools account for a small but significant sector of education in the United States. Created as an alternative to mainstream government institutions, faith related schools provide parents with the most effective means to transmit explicit religious beliefs to the next generation. Not only do these schools benefit the faith communities that sponsor them, but data also indicate that they are very successful in preparing well-educated, engaged citizens for the common good. Yet, sadly, their future is uncertain.

Without substantial public funding, faith related schools rely on student tuition and philanthropic efforts to continue their mission. We have demonstrated that tuition dependency limits the schools' ability to serve a wide range of students now and into the future; accessibility is a serious challenge. We have also seen that financial constraints impact staffing. Some schools have had successful fundraising efforts, but many cannot sustain philanthropic giving for the long term. According to a recent study, the number of nonprofit organizations in the U.S. stood at 1,536,134 in 2010, double the number in 2000 (Raymond 2010). As government social spending decreases due to whopping debt, the number of charities will surely increase, creating an even more competitive fundraising environment.

Government support of faith related schools is negligible. A few states have instituted voucher plans and tax credits that give parents financial resources for tuition payments at the school of their choice. Some states offer assistance with student transportation, nurses, textbooks, and other curricular materials. Students in faith related schools are eligible for some federal grants for special needs, nutrition and wellness programs, and technology enhancements. None of these comes close to fostering long-term sustainability. Yet, government is more intrusive than ever. Recent legislation mandates school-financed health care that includes reproductive procedures that are antithetical to many religious communities. For example, Catholic schools are required to provide health care coverage that offers provisions for sterilization, contraception, and abortifacients. In another vein, increasing government scrutiny of public schools is forcing private schools to prove their effectiveness through costly measures such as accreditation by professional agencies, administration of expensive tests, and sophisticated on-line and in-print marketing. None of these are inexpensive.

Parental consumer choice has created a fiercely competitive educational marketplace. The most significant development is the emergence of a growing charter school sector. Unlike traditional public schools that are part of a geographic district, these schools receive a charter directly from the state and funds are reallocated from the school district in which the child resides. The first charter school began in 1991. From 2000 to 2010, the number of students enrolled in public charter schools went up from 0.3 million to 1.6 million students. During this period, the percentage of all public schools that were public charter schools increased from 2 to 5 % (Aud et al. 2012). There are currently over 5,000 public charter schools in 42 states and the

District of Columbia serving more than two million students (National Alliance for Public Charter Schools). For many, charter schools are seen as a panacea for the problems that beset American education. The U.S. Department of Education, state departments of education, major foundations and corporations have gotten on the charter school bandwagon. Individual donors, many of whom were at one time loyal supporters of faith related education, are enamored with charter schools. A debate about the merits and weaknesses of charter schools is beyond the scope of this chapter. Suffice it to say that faith related schools have been significantly affected by the emergence of the charter school sector in the realm of student enrollment, staff recruitment and retention, and fundraising.

One aspect of the charter school movement is particularly relevant to faith related schools. Charter schools are tuition free and fully funded by government but, like private schools, charter schools have an explicit educational philosophy. In some cases, the school's philosophy has religious elements. For example, does a bilingual Hebrew-English charter school that serves Jewish students, but claims not to be Jewish pass the test of church-state separation? Or can a former Catholic school convert to a secular charter school during the school day and function as a religious education center after school hours? The emergence of so-called 'religious' charter schools will surely push the boundaries of church-state separation in education (Horning 2011).

Finally, it is important to note that the religious climate in the United States is changing significantly. Culminating a number of attitudinal surveys about religious adherence and practice is a study released in October 2012 (The Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life 2012) which found that one-fifth of the U.S. public – and one-third of adults under 30 – are religiously unaffiliated today. Further, the study claims that 'In the last five years alone, the unaffiliated have increased from just over 15 % to just under 20 % of all U.S. adults. Their ranks now include more than 13 million self-described atheists and agnostics (nearly 6 % of the U.S. public), as well as nearly 33 million people who say they have no particular religious affiliation (14 %).' Moreover, there has been a lessening of practice among many who do self-identify with a particular religion, particularly in younger generations (The Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life 2010).

A 2007 study of Catholic schools worldwide (Grace and O'Keefe 2007) identified a number of challenges: secularization; the impact of global capitalism; the political context of church-state relation; accessibility (preferential option for the poor); moral and social formation; challenges of recruitment, formation and retention of personnel; the changing nature of church-state relations; and financing the educational mission in changing circumstances. The array of faith related schools in the United States today face these same challenges. However, perhaps unlike faith related schools in other parts of the world, those in the United States are particularly challenged by the latter two: a government that is, at best, ambiguous in its support; and formidable financial challenges that stem from that ambiguity. Faith related schools are preparing future leaders of society in an era of declining religious faith and daunting social and political challenges. The mission of these schools is as relevant as ever. Sadly, however, if there is not 'margin' there will be no 'mission' (O'Keefe 1996).

Appendix I

Professional Organization & Faith Group	NCES school number (2009–2010 data)	Self-reported school number	NCES student number (2009–2010 data)	Self-reported student number
Accelerated Christian Education (Christian)	959	Not found	38,647	Not found
American Association of Christian Schools (Christian)	705	Not found	77,342	Not found
Association of Christian Schools International (Christian)	3,129	3,000	537,502	Not found
Association of Christian Teachers and Schools (Christian)	222	Not found	29,192	Not found
Association of Classical and Christian Schools (Christian)	210	229	26,849	35,162
Christian Schools International (Christian)	324	310 (approximate)	74,667	55,000
Evangelical Lutheran Education Association (Christian – Lutheran)	209	310 (approximate, not including early childhood centers)	19,353	Over 150,000 (including all early childhood centers)
The Lutheran Church – Missouri Synod (Christian – Lutheran)	Not found	945 (not including early childhood centers)	Not found	107,000 (not including early childhood centers)
Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Synod (Christian – Lutheran)	Not found	349 (not including early childhood centers)	Not found	30,871 (not including early childhood centers)
Friends Council on Education (Christian – Society of Friends/ Quakers/	59	85(includes nursery schools)	14,020	20,294 (includes nursery schools)

Professional Organization & Faith Group	NCES school number (2009–2010 data)	Self-reported school number	NCES student number (2009–2010 data)	Self-reported student number
General Conference of the Seventh-Day Adventist Church (Christian – Seventh-Day Adventist)	508	915 (U.S., Canada, and Bermuda)	34,703	55,704 (U.S., Canada, and Bermuda)
National Association of Episcopal Schools (Christian – Episcopal)	298	300 (approximate)	82,581	Not found
National Christian School Association (Christian)	167	Not found	39,661	Not found
Oral Roberts University Educational Fellowship (Christian)	67	Not found	10,906	Not found
Southern Baptist Association of Christian Schools (Christian – Baptist)	124	Not found	24,892	Not found
Jesuit Secondary Education Association (Christian – Catholic)	57	59	47,105	49,836
National Catholic Educational Association (Christian – Catholic)	5,793	6,841	1,718,351	2,031,455
Islamic School League of America (Muslim)	75	Not found	10,306	Not found
Centrist Orthodox (Jewish)	Not found	65	Not found	18,776
The Jewish Community Day School Network (Jewish)	109	91	23,854	19,417
Modern Orthodox (Jewish)	Not found	83	Not found	29,766
National Society of Hebrew Day Schools (Jewish)	230	675	57,391	Over 190,000

Professional Organization & Faith Group	NCES school number (2009–2010 data)	Self-reported school number	NCES student number (2009–2010 data)	Self-reported student number
Reform (Jewish)	Not found	15	Not found	4,222
Solomon Schechter Day School Association (Jewish)	46	43	10,772	11,338
Other Religious School Associations (Unspecified)	1,473	N/A	261,312	N/A

NCES data – 2009–2010 school year – Broughman et al. 2011

Self-reported school number – Gathered from respective faith group professional organization website – See References

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Chapter 7
Faith-Schools and the Religious Other: The Case of Muslim Schools

Farid Panjwani

Introduction

'All the schools visited, demonstrated the importance of respecting people of a different faith. Although most schools taught a general understanding of other faiths, particularly to older pupils, many of the schools visited were reluctant to teach about other faiths in great detail.' Such was the verdict on independent faith schools' approach to religious diversity in a review carried out by Ofsted (2009). Although the Ofsted review dealt with inter-religious diversity, given that faith schools in England are associated with particular interpretive traditions within a religion – there are Catholic schools and Anglican Schools as well as Muslim schools along the lines of *madhabs* or *maslaks* such as Deobandi, Barelvi, Ithna ashari Shia schools – the issue of intra-religious diversity is also important.

Independent schools, including independent faith schools, in England are required by educational regulations to 'assist pupils to acquire an appreciation of and respect for their own and other cultures in a way that promotes tolerance and harmony between different cultural traditions'.[1] The regulation can be seen as rooted in the concerns in the UK – and Europe in general – about social cohesion created by increasing religio-cultural diversity. Though such concerns can be traced back at least to the 1960s, they have intensified in the last three decades, marked by events ranging from the publication of Salman Rushdie's book *The Satanic Verses* to the July 7, 2005 bombings in London. In this context, the so called Muslim question (Norton 2013) acquired a central place, partly because 'in contrast to many other immigrants … Islam and Muslims represent a very different "other", a religio-political force that has engaged the West for centuries with a

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[1] The Education (Independent Schools Standards) (England) Regulations 2010.

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legacy of major confrontation and conflicts, from the early Arab conquests to European and American colonialism' (Esposito 2003, p. 11).

Within the above broader context, it is not surprising that the issue of the place of faith schools, chiefly Muslim schools, has received much attention, particularly in the UK. The critics argue that in times that call for more interactions between people of different backgrounds, faith schools confine students to those from the same religious tradition (Atkins 2001; BHA 2006; Cush 2003; Liederman 2000; Marples 2006; Runnymede 2008). Supporters, on the other hand, claim that students rooted in a faith tradition can be equally prepared to encounter and negotiate in a multi-cultural wider society (Hewitt 1996; Parker-Jenkins et al. 2005; Zine 2007).

From the aforementioned, one may expect much academic output on how faith schools, and Muslim faith schools in particular, engage with religious diversity. However, this is not the case. Most of the discussions on religious diversity are in the context of state/community schools and focus on the subject of religious education (Davis 2010; Ipgrave 1999; Jackson 2004; Panjwani 2005). Faith schools, particularly Muslim schools, have received comparatively little attention (Breen 2009; Hemming 2011). Partly to fill this gap, this chapter shares results from an exploratory research on this topic. The main question of this school-based study was how do Muslim faith schools engage with intra-religious and inter-religious diversity?

After some remarks in the next section about Muslim schools in the UK, I will outline the research project. This will be followed by a brief historical survey of how religious diversity was viewed in Muslim contexts. I will then discuss research findings under various headings. Finally, some concluding remarks will be offered.

Muslim Faith Schools

There are about 150 Muslim faith schools in the United Kingdom, 12 of which are state-funded. The origins of these schools are rooted in parental and communal concerns about the preservation of tradition and safeguarding of Muslim children against what was perceived as the onslaught of a western secular tide (Hewitt 1996; Khan-Cheema 1984; Sarwar 1994; Zine 2008). This conservation goal has always been accompanied by another aim, that of socio-economic mobility through education or academic performance (Ameli et al. 2005; Halstead 1995).

Resisting cultural assimilation and seeking upward socio-economic mobility thus appear to be the twin central motivations for parental choice of Muslim schools.[2] These two aims are intertwined in various ways as they are reflected in the

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[2] It is estimated that no more than 5–7 % of Muslim children in the UK attend Muslim faith schools. Though it is possible that lack of supply has much to do with it and the number of those wishing to send their children to Muslim faith schools is significantly higher. Still faith schools are an object of debate among Muslims themselves as many are not in favour of separate faith schools.

mission and objectives of most Muslim schools.[3] Thus, for example, the Al-Falah Primary school in London introduces its curriculum in the following manner: 'Al-Falah's unique curriculum balances National Curriculum subjects and Islamic studies, to strengthen our pupils' Islamic identity and prepare them for success in the wider world.'[4] Similarly, the well-known Islamia Girls School brings together Islamic identity and academic success: 'it is our aim to support and inspire every student to achieve their goals and develop their own personal identity in a secure Islamic environment. … Academic standards at our schools are very high. All of our students go on to higher education and most gain places at top colleges and universities ….'[5] The stress that these schools place on participation in modern life is an indication of the pressures they face in the light of the on-going debate about Muslim schools and social cohesion.

As we will see below, the desire to preserve Islamic identity while reaching out to the world also underpins the approach to religious diversity observed in the schools.

The Research Project

The aim of the research was to understand how independent Muslim schools approach religious diversity in the UK where Muslims are in a minority. Putnam (2000) distinguishes between two types of social capital: *bonding* and *bridging*. The former refers to capital a person has through social network within a group while the latter refers to capital a person has through networks beyond one's own group. The research sought to understand how Muslim faith schools were preparing their pupils for building bridging capital by teaching them about religious diversity.

Nine schools were approached for the research. Six of these provided access of varying degrees. One of the three schools which did not give access quoted adverse past publicity as its reason for it. Of the six schools that provided access, four were of Sunni orientation and the remaining two were of Shi'i doctrinal orientation.[6] There were three primary and three secondary schools in the sample. The primary schools were co-education while the secondary schools were single sex schools, two of which were for girls. Ten teachers were interviewed in a semi-structured manner; six of these were religious education teachers, two were language teachers and two were history teachers. Classroom observations were made in two primary schools: a Year 4 lesson on Prophet Muhammad and a Year 5 lesson on the Crusades.

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[3] These two goals of faith schools can sometimes be in conflict as well, as discussed in Panjwani (2012).

[4] Available at http://www.alfalahschool.org.uk/curriculum.html [accessed on February 10, 2013].

[5] Available at http://igs.1mno.co.uk/component/content/article/124-welcome. [accessed on February 10, 2013].

[6] Shi'a and Sunni are the two major doctrinal groups among Muslims. Both are internally varied. The Shi'as of different types share the belief that upon his death Prophet Muhammad appointed 'Ali as his successor. This belief distinguishes them from what came to be known as the Sunni communities who believe that the Prophet left it to Muslims to choose their leader.

Teachers also shared with the author notes, web downloads and some audio video materials that they used in the classrooms. Schools' social engagements, field trips and school linkages schemes were also studied. Additionally, professionals engaged in interfaith education at pertinent institutions such as the Three Faiths Forum were interviewed. Thus, primarily the findings are based on the responses of teachers and interfaith educators, classroom observations and the analysis of educational materials used in teaching about religious diversity.

Though the research aimed to cover both intra-Islamic diversity and inter-religious diversity, and the interview questions were about both of these, it was mainly the latter that the respondents spoke about and is thus the mainstay of this chapter. Still, some references to intra-Islamic diversity were made and these have also been discussed. Intra-Islamic diversity has been a difficult challenge for Muslims from the earliest times in their history. Though the notion of a unified *Ummah* – collective Muslim community – has always been an elusive ideal in light of the reality of diversity among Muslims, the ideal is sometimes so strongly held that some find even discussing diversity a threat (Nelson 2009).

Before presenting and exploring research findings, it is useful to look at the idea of religious diversity in Muslim contexts. There is a long tradition of diverse modes of engagement with religious plurality in the history of Muslims. Most Muslims educationists have grown up being part of this tradition and continue to draw upon it. The historical survey thus provides the backdrop to situate the findings.

Muslims and Religious Diversity

Though it is common to hear people ask and respond to the question, 'What is Islam's view of other religions?' the question is flawed. Islam does not have a view on other religions; Muslims have. And in making their views, Muslims draw upon the Qur'an, the sayings and events from the life of the Prophet and the opinions of various scholars and events of history. The result is that we do not find a unified Islamic position on other religions but a range of Muslim positions – some of which claim to be Islamic. It would thus pay to approach the issue of religious diversity in Muslim contexts through an interpretive rather than an essentialised perspective.

In considering various Muslim positions on religious diversity, it will be useful to start by looking at the Qur'an. There are many verses in the Qur'an that refer to other religions and in particular to Christianity and Judaism. According to the interpretive approach adopted here, what one makes of these Qur'anic verses will depend on the framework with which the text is approached. A historical framework would see these verses as at least in part responses to particular socio-political circumstances and thus would argue that the verses apply only (or primarily) to the Jews and Christians of that time. An alternative framing which sees the Qur'anic words as holding eternally fixed meanings would take these verses to be universally applicable to the Jews and Christians of all times. The background assumptions,

themselves mediated by one's situatedness, which one brings to the text, are thus central in what meanings are found. The Qur'anic and subsequent Muslim historical views discussed below are thus a particular reading of the text and history, in this case guided by an academic approach which does not take a position about the truth-claims of the Qur'an or the theological justification of various historical trends.

Using today's language it can be said that Prophet Muhammad[7] gave his message to a multi-religious society of Makkah and Madinah. The Qur'anic verses reflect intense engagement, debate and discussions between Prophet Muhammad and Jews, Christians and polytheists (*mushrikun*) (3:113; 5:73; 21:22; 38:4–11 and others). Overall, one gets a sense that though the Qur'anic attitude towards Jews and Christians (who are called *ahl al-kitab*, people of the Book)[8] varied throughout the period of revelation, there was a consistent sterner stance towards the polytheists, the first and foremost opponents of the Prophet. Polytheism is called an unforgivable *ithm azim* (great sin) and religio-cultural traditions of polytheists are characterised as *jahiliyya* (wilful ignorance).

With regard to the Jews and the Christians, one finds a variety of attitudes ranging from that in verse (2:62),[9] which creates a bond among people from different religions that rests on faith in God and good deeds, transcending particular theological and doctrinal positions and identities, to that in verse (5:51)[10] which admonishes Muslims against taking Jews and Christians as *waly* (allies and, in some translations, as friends). In verse 29:46 the Qur'anic recognition that 'our God and your God are one' is made the basis of discussions among people of different religions. These different attitudes reflect the changing nature of the relationship between the neophyte Muslims and the Jews and the Christians at that time.[11] Without going into the details of the complex ways in which Muslims, Jews and Christians interacted during the period of Qur'anic revelation, it can be stated that the modes of interactions were dynamic, from civic arrangements for peaceful co-existence to warfare and from mutual support to hostility.[12]

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[7] The formula *peace be upon him* is often spoken or written by Muslims whenever the Prophets name is mentioned.

[8] On occasions the term includes the Sabeans and Zoroastrians as well (Qur'an 22:17).

[9] 'Those who believe, and those who are the Jews, and the Christians and the Sabians – any who believe in Allah and the Last Day, and work righteousness, shall have their reward with their Lord; on them shall be no fear, nor shall they grieve' (Qur'an 2:62).

[10] 'O you who believe, do not take the Jews and the Christians as allies. They are allies of one another. And whoever is an ally to them among you – then indeed he [one] of them. Allah guides not the wrongdoing people.' (Qu'ran 5:51).

[11] The Qu'ran has a complex attitude towards the sacred books of Christianity and Judiasm. In general, it can be said that the Qu'ran views the then existing books as a mixture of original revelation, distortions and omissions. This is called *Tahreef* (2:79; 4:46; 5:14).

[12] Though the overall stance in the Qu'ran towards Christians is milder and more positive than towards Jews, Waardenburg is probably right to note that '…the definitive Qu'ranic judgement of Jews and Christians appears to be eschatologically suspended. It is simply left to God's final judgement at the end of history' (Waardenburg 1999b. p9).

The Qur'anic verses as well as the sayings of Prophet Muhammad reflect this changing scene, suggesting a close encounter of history and revelation.

In the subsequent history of Muslims, the interpretations of founding texts and events mingled with the dynamics of theological, social and political developments, leading to a wide range of Muslim positions towards other religions, in particular those of Jews and Christians. Consequently, one finds a variety of attitudes from exclusivist to inclusivist to (very occasionally) pluralist. Following Khalil (2012), I take an exclusivist position to be the one that maintains that only its particular tradition will lead to salvation. Inclusivists too believe in the salvific power of their tradition but also extend it to 'sincere outsiders who could not have recognised it as such'. The pluralist position holds that there are several religions that can lead to salvation (p. 7).

It would be safe to claim that up until the modern period, the exclusivist attitude dominated, not only among Muslims but across the monotheistic religious traditions. For most people, religion was one's own religion, the rest were falsehood, misguided beliefs and heresies. Ibn Hazm's (d.897) **al-Fiṣal fi al-milal wa-al-ahwa wa-al-nihal** (Treatise of Discernment about religions, inclinations and denominations) is an example of this approach.[13] But this dominant exclusivist attitude was always accompanied by a minority view which saw worth in all religions and fostered inter-religious dialogue and peaceful co-existence. Ibn al-Arabi's (d. 1240) words below are an example of this view:

> Beware lest you restrict yourself to a particular tenet [concerning God] and so deny any other tenet, for you would forfeit much good, indeed you would forfeit the true knowledge of what is [the Reality]. Therefore be completely and utterly receptive to all doctrinal forms, for God, Most High, is too All-embracing and Great to be confined within one creed rather than another … (Ibn al-Arabi in Austin 1980, p. 137).

Waardenburg (1999a) has found seven different ways or degrees of openness in Muslim views of other religions in the pre-modern period. These include: (1) indifference to other religions as they were seen as having been superseded by Islam; (2) suspicion of people of other religions as subverts who wanted to undermine Muslims and Islam; (3) a degree of curiosity to learn about other religions but primarily as sources of falsehood to be refuted and safeguarded against. Ibn Hazm's work mentioned above is an example of such polemical approach; (4) a degree of positive interest in learning about other religions and even integrating some doctrines and ideas into one's conception of Islam. The tenth century work *Rasa'il ikhwan al-safa' wa-khullan al-wafa'* (*Epistles of the Brethren of Purity and Friends of Loyalty)* is an example of this attitude; (5) the view that 'all things true and good in other religions and cultures were evidently already present in Islam itself' (p. 21). This approach allowed for the assimilation of 'foreign' practices and traditions which were found to be beneficial for Muslims; (6) a tolerant

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[13] In Christian context, the title of a book by Hugo Grotius (d. 1645) well captures the attitude: *True Religion Explained and Defended against ye Archenemies therof in these Times*.

attitude which saw 'one universal world in which adherents of different religions lived side by side, accepting the reality of religious plurality'; al-Biruni's *Kitab tahqiq ma li'l-Hind min maqula maqbula fil'aql aw mardula (Critical study of what India says, whether accepted by reason or refused)* is an example of this stance; and (7) the stance which saw essential spiritual unity among all religions underlying and superseding apparent differences of rituals and doctrines. Rumi (d.1273) and Ibn al-Arabi (d.1148) are perhaps the leading representatives of this approach.[14]

It should be emphasised that even in the most uncharitable attitudes – that of indifference and suspicion – a distinction was held between what was seen as the original revelation underpinning Christianity and Judaism and the subsequent distortions (*tahreef,* in Qur'anic terms) made in the revelatory message by the followers of these religions. Thus, what was suspected and disregarded was not the original revelation at the heart of other religions but their contemporary manifestations.

Legally, non-Muslims had the status of *dhimmi*[15] (protected) people under Muslim rule, whereby they had the permission to reside and practice their religion in return for paying taxes. Partly because Muslims had found a legal place for non-Muslims, partly due to certain unifying elements such as monotheism, prophecy and sacred books and partly through the practical necessity imposed by shared geography, tolerance and peaceful co-existence between people of different religions were the norm in Muslim history.

The dominant exclusivist attitude was true not only for inter-religious diversity but also for intra-religious diversity. One's own way seemed to many people to be the only way to be a Muslim or a Christian, for example; others professing the same religion were considered as misguided. The well-known Wars of Religion in Europe in the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries as well as the tensions between the Shi'as and the Sunnis in Muslim contexts are examples of such intra-religious rivalry. Again, this did not mean perpetual strife but on occasions it did lead to drastic outcomes.

In the modern period, these various attitudes to religious diversity have continued and in fact become entangled with new political and cultural issues, giving rise to even more complexities. In the early modern period, for example, the Ottoman and the Mughal empires not only brought people of different religions into greater proximity but also endeavoured to find new ways of conflict prevention. The Mughal

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[14] Though Islamic mysticism, of Sufism, is today often projected as an antidote to exclusivist and extremist interpretations of Islam, it is important to note that Sufis themselves were of many types, including some who are exclusivists. Many were open to mystical approaches within different religions but had very difficult and polemical interactions with other claimants to truth such as the philosophers, the Traditionalists (*Muhaddithun*) and the law makers (*Fuqaha*).

[15] The scope of the term changed over time and by the early modern period it included almost all non-Muslims.

emperor Akber's policies of fraternity and the Ottoman *millet* system (at least until the seventeenth century) were among the outcomes of this search for co-existence. Dara Shikoh (d.1659), great grandson of Akbar, was perhaps among the most interesting example in this period of a search for rapprochement between different religions.[16]

Nearer to our times, colonisation forced many Muslims to reimagine the traditional relationship between Islam and other religions which hitherto was underpinned by the material success of Muslim rule, reinforcing and vindicating belief in the superiority of Islam. This psychology received a major shock as for the first time Muslims faced the need to defend Islam against an 'other' that claimed total superiority over them. Many Muslims were fascinated by the ideals of modernity but at the same time felt chastened and threatened by the penetration of western modes of life in all areas of culture, including religion. The life and work of people such as the Egyptian scholar Taha Hussain (d.1973) and the South Asian Muhammad Iqbal (d.1938) exemplify these tensions and paradoxes.

The contemporary widespread openness to religious diversity, the theorization of religious pluralism and the intense inter-faith efforts are essentially recent outcomes which have to do with a variety of factors including increasing dissatisfaction with absolutist ideas, political secularism which takes away the state support for any particular religion and the rise of the individual as the locus of faith. As Dahlen observes, 'even if there have been important theological discussions among pre-modern Muslim theologians, mystics, and philosophers on the diversity of faiths, the subject of religious pluralism as conceived within the discipline of philosophy of religion is something of a post-nineteenth-century phenomenon' (2007, p. 425). The last several decades have seen the intensification of inclusivist discourses, many of which have emerged among the Muslims in the West. These seek to re-interpret many of the potentially antagonistic formulations in Muslim intellectual history and stress points of conviviality and common Abrahamic origins. From among majority Muslim societies, Iran has been at the forefront of such discussions (Dahlén 2007). The struggles between the exclusivist and pluralist approaches to religions remain one of the most significant battles of our time.

To conclude this section, we can note that today's Muslim educationists are heirs to a very wide range of ways in which Muslims have related to religious diversity. The manner in which Muslims schools could engage with religious diversity is an open arena where traditions are available as critical resource to help forge pedagogical approaches suitable to our times.

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[16] Dara Shikoh is regarded as a champion of religious plurality seeking coexistence of multiple religious traditions in South Asia. His work *Majma al-bahrain* (The Commingling of the Two Oceans) is arguably the best example of attempts to develop metaphysical unit among different religious tradition. The 'two oceans' here refer to Sufism (Islamic mysticism) and the Vedantic thought in the Hindu tradition.

Findings and Discussion

The findings will be discussed under the following categories:

- Teachers' conception and pedagogy of religious diversity
- The classroom
- Co-curricular activities
- Educational materials.

Teachers' Conception of Religious Diversity

Teachers in all six schools said that children, particularly as they lived in the UK, should acquire a positive view of the people belonging to other religions. As one teacher observed, 'We now live in a diverse society where one needs to learn to get along with others.' The material fact of Muslims being a minority thus played a central role in shaping teachers' views. However, utilitarian underpinnings were not the only motivation for inter-religious engagement; it was also part of the teachers' interpretation of Islam's relationship with other religions. They believed that Islam accepted other religions and their prophets as genuine. As one teacher put it, 'In Islam, we accept all the past prophets and their religions. This is what the Qur'an teaches.' Another teacher quoted a Qur'anic verse to substantiate this point (Qur'an 6:84). On at least two occasions reference was made to the religious plurality in the tenth century Andalusia to stress the sufficiency of Islamic theological framework for accommodating religious diversity. Teachers thus shared ubiquitous Muslim understanding that Islam accepts other religions, particularly Judaism and Christianity.

Respect for other religions was thus legitimised from within Islamic tradition and without compromising the special position of Islam. In terms of the seven degrees of openness to other religions noted above, most teachers seemed to be in the fourth or the fifth degrees. It can be argued that a teaching approach based on this worldview remains vulnerable to critique such as that of Gutmann (1996) who claim that faith schools (as a form of separate schools) risk undercutting mutual respect because they teach the superiority of a particular conception of good life, in this case Islam. The teachers in Muslim schools, however, saw no contradiction between having confidence and pride in one's tradition and respecting others.

Another point to note is that most teachers approached religious diversity as plurality of people and not of doctrines or truth claims. Their aim was thus to help students live peacefully with the people of other religions; it was not to deal with and reconcile doctrinal diversity at any theological or philosophical level. One teacher put this point well:

> If Allah [God] wanted He could have made everyone Muslims. But He chose not to do so. We should accept this and have good relations with everyone. People are people regardless of their beliefs and if they are nice with us, we should be nice to them. This is what we try to help our students learn and practice in their daily lives.

Incidentally, this is also the approach one finds taken by the organisations such as the Three Faiths Forum which is very active in promoting inter-religious understanding among school children. Its focus is on developing humane and collaborative interactions among children of different faiths, leading to a point where religious differences become insignificant in comparison to what these children share as human beings and as citizens.

Except for one teacher, who had a degree in comparative religion, teachers' knowledge of other religions was mostly based on personal readings, attending talks and browsing the Internet. Their knowledge of the intricacies of religious histories, intra-religious diversity within Judaism and Christianity, workings of governing organisations and modern theological thinking within these religions was understandably minimal. Arguably, this was also the reason why teachers tried to make sense of Christianity and Judaism through the lens of Islam: the Old and the New Testament were equated with the Qur'an, Churches were likened to mosques, priests to mosque Imams, tithe to Zakat and Christmas to Eid. This identificatory approach, as we shall call it, was seen as useful as it allowed students to 'realise that the people of other religions are not very different. They just have different ways of doing the same thing', as one teacher put it.

However, teachers also sensed that there were some difficulties with this approach. For instance, when it was pointed out that the identificatory approach could lead to the challenge of relativism, that is, it can be interpreted as all religions are the same and hence some students might conclude that there was no special reason to be a Muslim, the answer was either that children have never reached such a conclusion or that 'our children are very strongly grounded in Islam and hence they never doubt the importance of their own religion'. The second area of difficulty was in terms of those practices and beliefs that did not lend themselves easily to such an approach. One such case was of the doctrine of the Trinity, particularly the notion of Jesus being 'begotten' of the Father. No Islamic equivalent is to be found. When this was pointed out one teacher's response was that we do not go into such details.

Thus far, I have given views of the teachers who had no formal background in comparative religion. One teacher had a formal educational background in comparative religion. This teacher approached the question of religious diversity from the perspective of Perennial Philosophy (Huxley 1945). According to this philosophy, different world religions share a common, single, universal truth; religious diversity is seen as a manifestation of this shared truth in different cultural-historical forms. This was the only teacher who had a philosophical position on the question of religious diversity. She was particularly knowledgeable about the Traditionalists School and the works of Rene Guenon, Martin Lings and Seyyed Hussain Nasr. This teacher's approach to religious diversity would fall in the seventh degree of the scheme noted above.

The above mentioned teacher felt that the goodwill and efforts of teachers in Muslim schools notwithstanding, there was a long way to go in the area of teaching religious diversity. She saw that the teachers were trying both to maintain the superiority of Islam and to create respect for other religions but without a philosophical framework to ground this approach. It works for now but, the teacher asked, 'What happens when later in life children come across views of other Muslims

which are contrary to what they (students) have learnt in our schools – views that quote the Qur'an and the Hadith to criticise and degrade other religions? Will our children have the means to respond or at least not be influenced by such views?' As we will see below, sometimes tensions emerge within the classroom as well.

Classroom Engagement

In the classroom context, the three main entry points for discussing inter-religious diversity were religious education classes, history teaching, particularly the topic of the Crusades, and discussions on student and teacher perceptions and experiences of being a Muslim in Britain. The last was often summarised as the experiences of Islamophobia.

As noted above, the formal teaching of other religions – in religious education or history topics – was primarily through an approach that took Islam as the standard religion and tried to make sense of other religions through its lens. This approach often led to creative solutions to difficult questions. One example was a Year 5 session on the Crusades (*al-Hurub al-Salibiyya*, Wars of the Cross). On the one hand, the teacher seemed to stress the bravery of Muslims, under Saladin (d.1193) in particular, but, on the other hand, she also wanted to avoid blaming Christians for initiating the Crusades. She tried to achieve this by emphasizing the political rather than the religious dimension of the War. At one point she compared the Crusaders with contemporary Muslim extremists saying that as the latter are a minority, but use religion for political purposes, the Crusaders too used Christianity for their political purposes. On another occasion, a student asked about the belief in reincarnation found among Hindus and claimed that it contradicted Muslim belief in an eternal Hereafter. The teacher replied that the essential teaching of Islam is that there will be accountability in the Hereafter and different religions have taught different modes of this accountability. Though the student did not press further, one wonders how the teacher would have responded if the student had pointed out that the Qur'anic eschatology is not restricted to Muslims only but makes a universal claim.

As part of their learning about other religions, students were required to do project work. Some of these were of very good quality and displayed a desire and an ability to understand people of other religions in a complex manner. In particular, one group project on the sufferings of Jewish people in history and particularly during the Second World War was both academically sound and emotionally touching. In another piece of project work, students did fundraising for natural disasters in non-Muslim countries (the 2010 earthquake in Haiti, for example).

It would appear that the most frequent entry point into the discussion of other religions was students' and teachers' experience of being a Muslim in the UK. Media stories and personal encounters were brought to the class and discussed. One teacher recalled how after the July 7, 2005 bombings, several of her classes were devoted to discussing the perception of Muslims as terrorist and disloyal members of the society. This was complemented by the stories of felt-alienation, perception of exclusion and unfairness towards Muslims. The teacher felt that

Muslim schools provided 'a safe environment in which students are able to discuss their fears and feelings' about how the wider society perceives and treats them. For teachers the school environment was safe because 'they were all Muslims and can thus share and understand each other.' And, yet, herein also lingers a danger. In the hands of a less able or more ideological teacher, concerns that children bring to the class can very easily be churned into collective grievance and a sense of victimhood. Identities can be hardened and the world divided into us and them (Rossi 2003). One teacher who had a background in sociology also spoke about how the perception of others can shape one's identity. She said that in her classroom discussions she tried to help students not to allow perceptions determine their sense of who they were. Other teachers saw these discussions as an opportunity to stress the peaceful side of Islam and to encourage students to see themselves as 'ambassadors of their faith' so that the 'British people can see that Muslims are not terrorists.' And, yet, it is interesting to note that the dichotomy between religious and national identity emerges as the phrase 'British people' is used in this fashion in a class full of British citizens.

Another input into the classroom was the snippets from the sermons in mosques and on some Islamic TV channels that the children brought. Often, though not always, these inputs were negative and employed the term *kafir* (infidel) for non-Muslims in general.[17] In this context, with regard to Christianity the attention was usually on doctrines, the Trinity in particular, while with regard to Judaism, the focus was often on people, 'Jewish people hate Muslims'. Similar observations about the influence of discourses outside the class was also made by Zine in her study of Muslim faith schools in Canada (2007). It is well-known that some mosque Imams and tele-preachers continue to express derogatory theological condemnation of non-Muslims and link them to western conspiracies to undermine Muslim unity, prosperity and confidence. Referring back to the seven degrees of openness to other religions noted above, such discourses would fall in the second and the third degrees. Teachers found it a big challenge with which they had to contend as opposing discourses were engaged in different boundary making exercises. As one teacher put it: 'Sometimes I feel that the work I have done over several weeks is wasted when children come to class with views they have heard on the TV or in a mosque sermon.'

Co-curricular Activities

The most active forms of engagement with religious diversity were outside the classrooms, and often outside the school. Amin notes that it is the quality of encounter between people from different background that makes a difference to our perception and engagement (Amin and Parkinson 2002). Schools appear to have grasped

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[17] Unlike in its Qu'ranic and early Muslim historical usage, the term *kafir* has now acquired a much wider currency, particularly in the *Jihadi* discourse. Once someone is labelled a *Kafir*, legal ways can be found to justify her killing.

this point and seek to provide avenues for meaningful student-student encounters. Three of the six schools visited had participated in school linkages programmes, working with organisations such as the Joseph Interfaith Foundation and the Three Faiths Forum. They participated in activities ranging from inter-faith art projects to football matches among schools from different religious traditions. The linkage pogrammes also included invited speakers from different religions to talk about their tradition and engage with the students. The Three Faith Forum noted that such talks always stressed the diversity of faith traditions.

Student feedback was generally positive and the teachers claimed that participation was very active. One teacher was of the view that such interactions can help students 'resist the tendency to form stereotypes about the other. If they have positively encountered students from other religions – playing games and making arts – it can give them strength to say no to stereotypes.' And yet, one cannot be sure of the genuine impact of such institutionalised interactions, as individuals tend to shape their private emotions into socially acceptable ones. This is the phenomenon of 'emotion work' (Hochschild 1979). Here one can note the limitation of school-focused studies as it is only in students' lives outside the school and in their adult life that one can assess the degree of internalisation through these activities.

Teachers were ambivalent about parents' perspective on engaging with religious diversity. According to one teacher, initially some parents expressed reservations about the school's activities in this arena. This was often based on what the children would say about other religions at home. In light of this, the school invited parents to an inter-faith seminar. Interestingly, 'only two parents came but since then most parents seem to be comfortable with such activities'. According to one teacher, parents were more concerned about their children learning about Muslims of different doctrinal system than they were about children learning about other religions, particularly Christianity.

Perhaps parental perspectives were the reason for the fact that intra-Islamic diversity was acknowledged and engaged with only in the two Shi'a schools I visited. The Shi'as in the UK are a minority within a minority and hence the parents may have felt it necessary to let their children learn about majority Sunni Muslims. These were the only schools among those visited that had students from different Muslim *maslaks* (denomination). They had Sunni as well as Shi'a students. Though the schools retained the Shi'i orientations – *Muharram* was commemorated and the communal prayers were led in the Shi'i fashion, for example, – 'where possible students are provided with both the Shi'a and a Sunni perspective on various historical events or doctrines'. The Sunni students were free to participate or not in Shi'a inspired events and performed the prayers in their own manner. There were other celebrations, such as the birth of Prophet Muhammad, in which everyone participated. The author joined in a communal prayer where both the Shi'a and the Sunni students prayed together.[18]

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[18] In other schools, teachers were reluctant to talk about intra-Islamic diversity. When asked, the teachers would interpret it to mean ethnic diversity and refer to pupils from different cultures. Given the sensitivities involved, the researcher did not press further.

Educational Materials

As noted above, the main sources of teachers' knowledge about other religions, as well as other traditions within Islam, were personal reading, attending public lectures and surfing the Internet. Teachers spoke about the lack of organised educational material on religious diversity from 'an Islamic point of view'.

Among the few resources used in the schools, two deserve some comments. The first is the Oxford Muslim Pupils' Empowerment Programme (OMPEP), a widely acclaimed programme that has also received government support.[19] The programme aims to address a range of issues such as lack of spaces in mosques to facilitate open discussions of concerns to young Muslims, lack of self-esteem among young Muslims and lack of provision of arguments against extremist ideologies. Guided by this aim, the content of the programme reflects a selection from Muslim history (Migration to Abyssinia, charter of Madinah, Andulisian model of co-existence, and others) that bring out the lessons of social cohesion and positive framing of the religious other. There is also a section called 'Towards a Counter-Narrative' – which claimed to counter the narrative of extremism. This section, consisting of a series of questions and answers, was being used by the two teachers in the sample.

The section poses questions such as 'What is Islam?' and 'What is Jihad?' and aims to provide responses in line with what Mamdani calls the discourse of Good Muslims (Mamdani 2004). The counter narrative of OMPEP tries to 'correct' the misinterpretations of verses and terms such as Jihad. One of the questions, for example, is about dealing with people of other faiths. Here the response's central argument is based on the interpretation of the Qur'anic verses: 'God does not forbid you to deal kindly and justly with anyone who has not fought you for your faith or driven you out of your homes: God loves the Just. But God forbids you to take allies those who have fought against you for your faith, driven you out of your homes, and helped others drive you out: any of you who take them as allies will truly be wrongdoers' (60:8–9).

The main point made against the Jihadi/extremist narrative was that unless there was a clear evidence of someone fighting against Muslims, a Muslim was not justified in fighting. The Jihadis, it was thus claimed, were not following the true meaning of the Qur'anic instructions. And yet, as one teacher who was using this material pointed out she found it very hard to respond to a student who had heard the use of the same Qur'anic verse to justify Jihad against non-Muslims on the ground that there is a 'War against Terror' which was interpreted essentially as a war against Muslims. Given the events of the last 20 years, the teacher said, 'it was very difficult to discuss an alternative with the student'. The teacher's difficulty brings out a shortcoming of OMPEP, its good intentions notwithstanding, namely that it assumes that people's political actions can be read from their religious beliefs and that particular interpretations of the Qur'anic verses cause particular behavior. There is no discussion in it of the international geo-politics, the perception of western

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[19] Available at http://www.theoxfordfoundation.com/#!ompep/c1pna [accessed February 12, 2013].

hegemony and felt alienation of Muslims. It simplistically divides Muslims into good and bad according to the reading of the Qur'an. This point has been well elaborated in Mamdani's book, *Good Muslims, Bad Muslims: America, the Cold War, and the Roots of Terror* (2004).[20] The main point related to our research is that given these weaknesses the resource's objectives of inter-communal harmony will be difficult to achieve, as indicated by the teacher's experience above.

The second resource is a two-volume DVD produced by the Imam al-Khoei Islamic Centre titled *The Spirit of Unity*. It is a contemporary exposition of beliefs and practices of Twelver Shi'as (Ithna Ashari). The second volume contains many school activities which bring together Shi'a and Sunni students learning about each other's interpretations. The documentary claims, as its endorsement notes, to enhance 'unity by explaining the root of diversity'. The documentary introduces the Twelver Shi'i beliefs clearly and with many references to the Qur'an and Prophetic traditions. It also juxtaposes the Shi'i and Sunni doctrines in student activities, a step of rare precedence. A powerful image is that of Shi'a and Sunni religious scholars shown praying together. In these activities, the fact of multiple interpretations of the sacred texts and historical events come out strongly. It is not clear though how children make sense of these different Shi'i and Sunni narratives, as some of them, such as the narratives of the post-prophetic events, at least as they are generally told, are mutually exclusive.

One senses that the documentary is careful in dealing with concerns that some in the majority Sunni interpretation have regarding the Shi'as. It highlights the elements that unify the Shi'as and the Sunnis and seeks to dispel long-standing negative perceptions of the former. Shi'i doctrines and practices are justified through an appeal to tradition, both Shi'a and Sunni, as well as analogical examples from nature and from everyday life. This cautious approach may reflect the minority position of Shi'as leading them to both stress unity and justify themselves in terms acceptable to the majority.[21]

Conclusions, Future Research and Policy Implications

Faith schools have been espoused as alternative spaces where dominant national narratives are reworked and challenged (Dwyer and Parutis 2012). But dominant narratives also exist within faith traditions, both about other faiths and about internal diversity. This research was interested in how faith schools engage with these

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[20] The book argues that the labels good and bad Muslims are political and not religious. They have nothing to do with how one reads the Qu'ran or performs rituals. Rather they have to do with the political orientation towards America: good Muslims are westernised, 'modernized' and secular while bad Muslims are medieval, fanatic and antiwest. Mamdani makes this claim by presenting a socio-political history of what has come to be known as Islamic terrorism, show how today's bad Muslims were yesterday's good Muslims.

[21] The ICE project (Islam and Citizenship) was yet another source of resources for some teachers. Available as: http://www.theiceproject.sdsa.net/index.php [accessed on February 13, 2013].

narratives. From the above, it emerges that many Muslim schools – at least those in the sample – are making serious efforts to engage with religious diversity. Though their genesis is rooted in the need for *bonding* social capital, Muslim faith schools are also making progress to prepare children to develop *bridging* social capital by creating a positive image of the followers of other religions, particularly Christianity and Judaism, and by attempting to create an affiliation of these religions with Islam. As an interviewee at the Three Faiths Forum noted, 'the leadership of Muslim schools is very eager to engage with them'.

Much more can be done to build upon the good intentions and current efforts of teachers and Muslim schools. To begin with, improvement in subject content knowledge will be of immense benefit to the teachers. Encouraging teachers to pursue courses in comparative religion, for example, can be of value. There is also a need to share good practices among Muslim schools. Developing a sharing mechanism can also give the necessary confidence to schools and teachers on this relatively sensitive matter. More attention needs to be paid to the exploration of intra-Islamic diversity as well though it is likely that for many schools this issue will prove to be more difficult than that of inter-religious diversity.

Above all, it appears that the teachers in this study approached religious diversity as a social fact and tried to deal with it at that level. However, as Dahlén notes, 'recognizing this diversity entails more than just taking social and cultural facts into consideration. It requires some form of philosophical and theological orientation as well' (Dahlén 2007, p. 425). At this level, an impressive body of works exists, including some in the Muslim context (Aslan 1998; Dahlén 2007; Heck 2009; Hick 1985, 1989; Khalil 2012; Ramadan 2010). Familiarizing teachers with this discourse will go a long way in furthering engagement with religious diversity in Muslim schools. Engaging with this literature can be both intellectually and emotionally a challenge for many but this journey will need to be embarked upon if teaching about religious diversity is to improve further.

The research underpinning this chapter was exploratory. Many more schools need to be studied and many questions still need to be answered before a general picture of Muslim schools' engagement with religious diversity emerges.

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Chapter 8
Identity, Belief and Cultural Sustainability: A Case- Study of the Experiences of Jewish and Muslim Schools in the UK

Marie Parker-Jenkins

Introduction

The commitment of faith schools to maintain identity and belief in the face of hostility and perceived ideologies of secularism is evident in the United Kingdom and elsewhere. While the Jewish and Muslim groups in the country have different cultural and historic roots, they are similar in that they are both minorities seeking to sustain cultural heritage in the face of assimilationist trends. Both communities often operate in a self-imposed form of 'segregation,' creating a type of cultural enclave, frequently locally based, whilst engaging with the wider community on their own terms. This chapter outlines the experiences of Jewish and Muslim school communities in the UK and the challenges they face which undermine or threaten efforts at greater community coherence or engagement.

In this chapter the focus is on:

1. The context of the study;
2. The nature of the research underpinning the discussion;
3. The experience of hostility from the wider community and evidence of anti-Semitism and Islamophobia;
4. Challenges around keeping the faith school safe; and
5. Coherence and alignment with national priorities in education.

1. Background Context of Jewish and Muslim Schools in the United Kingdom

The research project informing discussion in this chapter, was entitled 'Terms of Engagement: Jewish and Muslim School Communities, Religious Identity and Cultural Sustainability,' and explored how some members of Jewish and Muslim

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communities in the UK seek to protect themselves against threats of 'identity erosion,' and hostility. In the study, we were particularly interested in how anti-Semitic and Islamophobic hostility surfaced towards schools formed by Jewish and Muslim communities and how this bodes in terms of government policy which was promoting greater community cohesion. This was in the context of the British government agenda at the time on social cohesion post 9/11, the riots in northern towns in England in 2001, and bombings in London in 2005. As part of the way forward, the government saw "school" as the place where "community cohesion" should be developed (Cantle 2001; Ouseley 2001; Pettigrew and Tropp 2006).

There are over 100 Jewish schools in Britain, dating back to the eighteenth century, 38 of which operate full-time with government funding (Department for Education 2013). Both Jewish and Muslim communities are vulnerable to prejudice and xenophobia not experienced by other denominational school communities in Britain today (Runnymede Trust 1992, 2007; Community Security Trust 2012; Finney and Simpson 2009). Notwithstanding geographical, historical, and cultural differences, the parallel growth of Jewish and Muslim schools in the United Kingdom highlights fundamental issues of community engagement and religious identity.

The 2011 Census revealed that in terms of religious affiliation, there are just over 2.7 million Muslims in the United Kingdom and just under 280,000 Jews (Office of National Statistics 2011). Due to immigration, there is a cultural heritage from different European communities; most notably the Ashkenazi (European Jews) and the Sephardi (Middle Eastern Jews), and major Jewish centres established in London and Birmingham reflect this cultural diversity (Schmool and Cohen 1998). In terms of Jewish schools, there are 93 full-time Jewish educational institutions in the United Kingdom; 41 % of them are state-funded, serving approximately 30,000 children of compulsory school age (5–16) and representing 50 % of the Jewish pupil population (Miller 2007, 2011). Within Jewish schools, '*Pikuach*,' an inspection service launched by the Board of Deputies of British Jews in 1996, is the UK Jewish community's response to the Government's requirement that religious education be inspected under the framework set up by the Office for Standards in Education (Ofsted). In 2007, the Pikuach report placed emphasis on learning about other faiths reflecting the government agenda to address issues of social cohesion (Miller 2007).

Statistically, Muslim schools have been the most expanding faith-based group. Twenty years ago there were approximately 25 Muslim schools in the United Kingdom (Parker-Jenkins 1995). There is huge diversity within Muslim schools in the UK based on sectarian, ethnic, linguistic, generational and socio-economic distinctions among Muslim school communities. They include mosque schools, supplementary schools, Madrassahs, community schools with a majority of Muslim pupils, Dar ul-Uloom schools, Muslim schools affiliated to the Association of Muslim Schools (AMSUK 2013), and private/independent and state-funded/voluntary-aided schools. Today there are approximately 130, and they are mostly Sunni, which reflects the fact that only 10 % of Muslim communities in Britain are Shia (AMSUK

2013). Of the Muslim population in the UK, approximately 350,000 are of school age (ibid). Collectively, Muslim schools are part of the approximately 7,000 faith-based schools in England, which include just under 5,000 Church of England and other Christian schools, 2053 Catholic, 38 Jewish, 11 Muslim, 4 Sikh and 1 Hindu, Seventh Day Adventist, Quaker and Greek Orthodox institutions; representing a third of all state funded schools (DfE 2012).

The obligation to teach the English National Curriculum (QCA 2000) only falls on those schools in receipt of public funding, but the majority of Jewish and Muslim schools incorporate aspects of the national framework into their curriculum (Parker-Jenkins and Glenn 2012). Independent faith schools are required to teach a percentage of this curriculum as part of government registration. Faith schools inspired by various understandings of Islamic principles have developed since the immigration of the 1960s and the increased dissatisfaction with community school provision (Walford 2001; Hewer 2001; Parker-Jenkins 2002). In Britain, the establishment of religious schools goes back centuries and schools for 'the masses' were established by the clergy with government involvement taking place in the nineteenth Century. This tradition of denominational funding of schools has been continued more recently by Muslims, Sikhs and Hindus (DfE 2012).

Both school communities claim they are following the steps of previous denominational groups, notably Anglican (Brown 2003; Lankshear 2001) and Catholic (Catholic Education Service 1997; Hornsby-Smith 2000), in wishing to have a school system permeated by faith. Muslim schools have tended to be the group targeted for greatest criticism in trying to follow this denominational school tradition (Finney and Simpson 2009), accessing the public purse, and in some cases accused of teaching a 'radical' Islam (Dawkins 2001; Times Educational Supplement 2001). As we know from research into Catholic schools (O'Keefe 1997; Catholic Education Service 1999) and into Jewish schools (Short and Lenga 2002), there are different levels of engagement with the wider community by faith schools and their self-exclusion can be constructed to demonstrate deliberate social isolation (O'Keefe 1997), sometimes in the form of ethnic/religious defence (Husain and O'Brien 1999).

Under English law, the categorisation of a school as 'voluntary aided' denotes a level of government funding, including all teachers' salaries and 95 % of running costs (Lankshear 2001). For example, in 1853 the first Jewish day school received state funding (Miller 2001). There are also a variety of other types of schools: for example, academies and 'foundation' schools that may or may not have religious sponsors and the remaining 'community schools' that tend to be non-denominational (Education and Inspections Act 2006, DfE 2012).

Having provided a background to the study and highlighted the similarities between Jewish and Muslim school communities in the United Kingdom, the focus is next on the research which informed this chapter.

2. Description of Case Study Project

The main aims of the research were to ask: what are the experiences of engagement and estrangement or alienation with the wider community? This was built on

the previous work of Parker-Jenkins et al. (2005), which raised the question, 'Do we ask enough of faith-based schools in terms of community engagement on behalf of their pupils?'. Within the context of schools, the term 'engagement' involves reaching out to other communities and is defined as the ability or willingness of different communities to live alongside and with each other, and to meet with, work with, and be educated with those outside of their own community (Gaine 1995). In our study we were interested in both l*evels* of engagement and what (Varshney 2002) calls 'associational engagement' *having* both formal and informal interactions. Importantly, 'engagement' relates to groups *within* the same religious tradition as well as operationalized within and beyond the faith grouping. Linked with this concept is that of "alienation," meaning withdrawal; self-imposed segregation in the name of maintaining identity or fear of others, thus to separate or disengage (Beckerman and McGlynn 2007).

Access to a range of schools was negotiated through senior members of the faith school communities (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007) and involved a case study of nine schools between 2007 and 2008. Over 100 stakeholders participated: senior managers, governors, teachers, parents, pupil/student focus groups, and members of the broader communities, providing data about their faith community and that which related to wider issues (Wellington 2000).

Methodologically, the study involved a case study approach (Yin 2009; Merriam 2009) using five Muslim schools and four Jewish schools representative of primary/elementary and secondary/high school levels, and incorporating a range of independent to state-funded institutions within both religious traditions. The slight discrepancy in numbers was based on a decision to include a Muslim girls' school headed by a non-Muslim head teacher, providing the widest spectrum of perspectives. The respondents' experiences were seen as partly constructed and shaped within the context of the school and the wider community through the process of reflexivity. This involved trying to understand the experiences and challenges of the community members and the choices they made in their everyday lives.

Jewish schools in the United Kingdom tend to differentiate themselves through an added nomenclature, such as Liberal/Progressive, Modern Orthodox, Ultra-Orthodox, or Zionist, depending on the communities' interpretation of Jewish identity (Miller 2001). To ensure a wide spectrum, our research included schools based on a Liberal/Progressive Jewish and Modern Orthodox Jewish ethos. Conversely, schools based on an Islamic ethos (Halstead 2004) in the United Kingdom are normally identified under the collective term 'Muslim School' although there is huge differentiation within them based on sectarian and cultural factors (Parker-Jenkins et al. 2005; Parker-Jenkins 2008). Elsewhere in Europe they are normally described as "Islamic schools" (Walford 2001). Muslim schools are aligned with various maslaks (denominations), for example Deobandi and Barelvi, and include Shia schools (http://www.al-sadiqal-zahraschools.co.uk/). Within the Muslim sample schools, selection was based on an Islamic ethos, which ranged from 'orthodox' to more 'liberal' in terms of interpretation of religious texts, willingness to engage with the National curriculum when not legally obliged to do so fully, i.e. not in receipt of state funding; and being prepared to provide

knowledge of faiths other than Islam. All five were Sunni due to the absence of access to those based on a Shia tradition at the time of the study. Children in the Muslim schools were predominantly 2nd or 3rd generation British Muslims from a diversity of backgrounds: e.g. Pakistani, Bangladeshi, and Middle Eastern. Those in the Jewish schools were mostly from families established in the United Kingdom for many decades and generally representative of European backgrounds.

For the purpose of our work we defined the concept of 'Islamophobia' as 'unfounded hostility towards Islam, and therefore, fear or dislike of all or most Muslims' (Runnymede Trust 1997, p. 1). Anti-Semitism was defined as 'a certain perception of Jews, which may be expressed as hatred toward Jews' (European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia 2009, p. 1). Theoretically, we employed Denham's (2001) notion of 'self-segregation by choice' as it relates to 'cultural sustainability' within schools. For the purpose of this discussion we defined cultural sustainability as the passing on of traditions, customs, and values through the family, and the extent to which it is possible to operate in a non-Islamic or non-Jewish state within the context of 'multulturalism'.

The emphasis on 'bonding social capital' (Coleman 1994; Pugh and Telhaj 2007) assists in promoting shared values within the school community and a cooperative practice between the school and the home, which is perceived as lacking in non faith-based schools. This emerged in the data which is discussed later in the chapter. Next we look at the Jewish and Muslim schools in this research and the rationale for selecting these particular schools.

Case Study Schools

A sample of nine schools was selected for the case study with guidance from the Association of Muslim Schools-UK, The Leo Baeck Centre College for Jewish Education (2013) and the United Synagogue Agency for Jewish Education (2013). Figure 8.1 delineates the nature of the schools which varied from voluntary aided to independent, Liberal to Orthodox and were geographically situated in London, the Home Counties, the Midlands and Northern England. Whilst 'voluntary-aided' rather than 'voluntary controlled' status provides faith schools with greater levels of autonomy (Lankshear 2001), the further addition of independent Jewish and Muslim schools formed part of the sample to add to the exploration of 'self-exclusion' reflected in different levels of social engagement.

We focused specifically on full-time, faith-based, education at primary and secondary level, i.e. compulsory schooling for 15–16 year olds in independent and state-funded, "voluntary-aided" schools (Lankshear 2001). These schools were distinct from classes provided through supplementary education in the form of Madrassahs, theologically driven education on Islam and Islamic principles; or Chareidim, Yeshiva schools of intense religious learning usually favoured within Orthodox Judaism. Being full-time the selected schools had greater opportunity to develop education through extra or enhanced resource availability, and strong

	School	Age	Gender	Ethos / Affiliation or Administrative Link	Type	
1.	Liberal-Progressive, Pluralist, Primary School, Home Counties	5-11	F/M	Jewish-Liberal Progressive. Ethos: to nurture pupils' love of Judaism & Israel central to the school's ethos	Voluntary-aided	
2.	Liberal-Progressive Pluralist, Primary School, Home Counties	5-11	F/M	Affiliation: United Synagogue Agency for Jewish Education Liberal Progressive Ethos: supportive Jewish community & commitment to Jewish values.	Voluntary-aided	
3.	Jewish Primary School, London,	5-11	F/M	Affiliation: United Synagogue Agency for Jewish Education. Modern Orthodox Jewish. Ethos: inspire a strong Jewish identity	Voluntary-aided	
4.	Jewish Secondary School, London	11-18	F/M	Modern Orthodox . Ethos: Inspiring Jewish education	Independent	
5.	Muslim Girl's Secondary School, North of England.	11-18	F	AMS-UK – administrative link Ethos: to inculcate tolerance & respect for all people	Voluntary-aided	
6.	Muslim Secondary School, Midlands	11-16	F & M	Muslim, AMS-UK administrative link. Ethos: based on the Qu'ran and the Sunnah; to produce responsible members of the wider community.	Voluntary-aided status	
7.	Muslim Secondary School for Girls, Midlands	11-16	F	Muslim, AMS-UK administrative link, Ethos: emphasis on the teachings of Islam	Independent	
8.	Orthodox Muslim Primary School, Midlands.	5-11	F/M	Orthodox Muslim Non-AMS-UK. Ethos: based on Islamic faith	Independent	
9.	Muslim Primary School, Midlands	5-11	F & M	Muslim, AMS-UK, administrative link Ethos: an Islamic education & preparation for living in a non-Islamic environment	Voluntary-aided	

Fig. 8.1 Case study schools
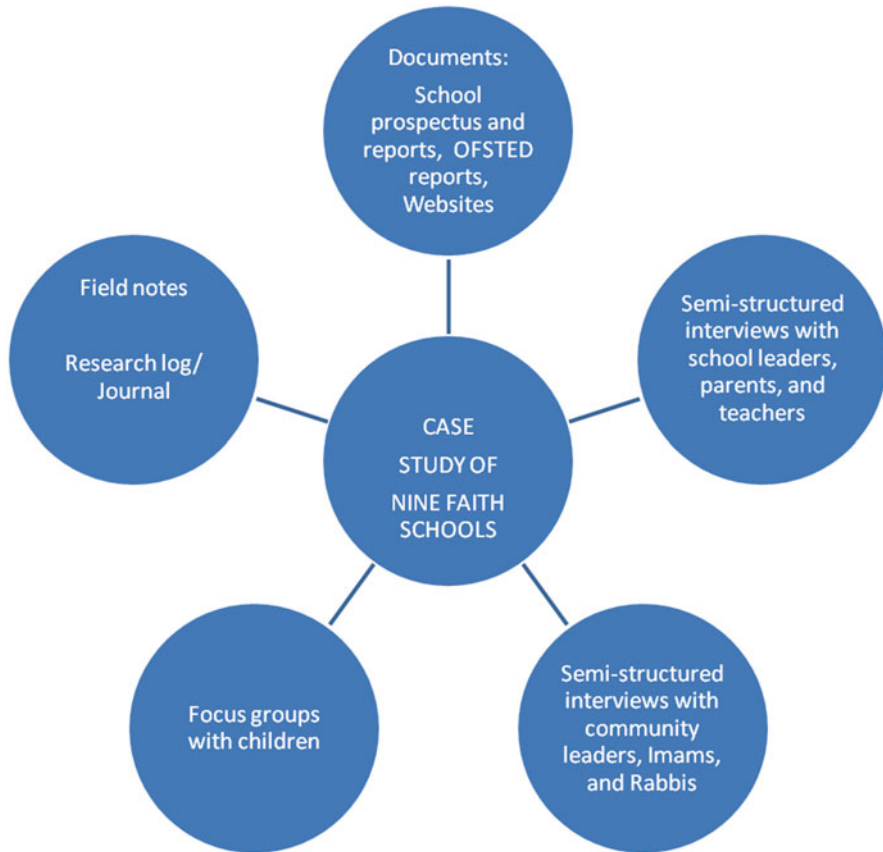
Fig. 8.2 The research design

pedagogical development by engagement with regulatory frameworks, quality assurance bodies and mechanisms. Individual interviewing and focus groups were chosen as the main research method because of their use with questions of a sensitive nature (Cohen et al. 2008), particularly concerning personal identity (Gunaratnam 2003). Figure 8.2 above provides diagrammatical review of the research design. Data analysis involved grounded theory (Glaser and Straus 1975), that is the discovery of theory from data, systematically obtained and analysed, with categorization to identify emergent themes (Bryant and Charmaz 2010), and with Nvivo software (Denzin and Lincoln 2002) to assist in management of data from the in-depth interviews.

From this case study of schools a number of key overlapping issues emerged which were layered and complex, and related to among other things, the experience of hostility and the need to implement security measures to keep the school safe from the wider community.

3. Experience of Hostility

The perception of a feeling of hostility from the wider multicultural society was a key element in our findings. Sacks (2007) argues that multiculturalism emerged as a reality based on the large extent of migration towards Western countries from non-Western countries, which in turn led to the idea of 'one nation, one culture' (p. 35). In our study one school principal in an independent Orthodox Muslim Primary School stated:

> Kids have to live and work in a society which they have to know something about. Just celebrating each other's festivals is a very facile approach—it doesn't teach respect. The kids who throw stones at me or spit at me in the street have been through a multicultural education and probably their parents have—you could say the educational system has failed them.

Hostility towards faith schools challenges the success in developing community cohesion. As in the USA (Larkin 2007) and in Europe (The Independent 2007), all schools in the UK have to be vigilant to potential attacks, and there is concern over violence in British schools (Parker-Jenkins 2008). However, Jewish and Muslim schools are particularly vulnerable to hostility that can be defined as anti-Semitism or Islamophobia (Runnymede Trust 2008), and this was evidenced in our research. For example, a female Muslim teacher working in a Voluntary Aided (VA) Girls' Secondary School in the North of England stated with regard to the wider community:

> Here there are many, many Sikh women that have been attacked because people assume they are Muslim. I don't know what your religion is, but if you went out in this dress, people would assume that you are Muslim just because you have a headscarf on and they would have a go at you.

She added with regard to community relations: 'certainly xenophobia has increased since 9/11 and they are using the word terrorist for everything and anything'. This was further illustrated with reference to the role of some sections of the police:

> Only last week, there was a man who said he had a rucksack with a bomb in it, but he was white, so what the police did was shoot him with rubber bullets… this [other] guy was walking up and down and he looked like an Asian. If he had a beard and he actually said he had explosives in his bag, they would have used live bullets on him…that is Islamophobia.

Choice in dress may render individuals from religious groups particularly vulnerable to hostility as described by this Muslim school girl in a focus group when wearing a 'hijab'.

> … I was outside of [a Northern city] and a man shouted 'Aye Pakis go back home', it was really offensive but we couldn't exactly do anything,…it is quite common (VA Muslim Girls' Secondary School, Northern England).

Modood (1998) advocates for differences to be recognised in the public domain as part of 'ethnic assertiveness', moving away from the discourse of cultural assimilation:

> Equality is not having to hide or apologize for one's origins, family or community but expecting others to respect them and adapt public attitudes…so the heritage they represent is encouraged rather than contemptuously expected to wither away (p. 213).

As such, the obligation or burden of change is not expected to be one way.

Added to the backlash against multiculturalism, Muslim schools and communities have become more exposed to public scrutiny (Werbner 2009), and a perceived threat to social cohesion in Britain (Ahmad 2011). This is set within the context of competing discourses about the wisdom of having faith schools (Dawkins 2001; British Humanist Association 2002) and the value of having alternative sites for learning and religious expression (Grace 2003; Pring 2005; Short and Lenga 2002). Halstead and McLaughlin (2005) state:

> there is currently no evidence available to link Muslim or other faith schools to political extremism or civil unrest; the hypothetical possibility remains that this might happen in the future, but it is highly unlikely because children who have a strong self-identity and who are treated fairly and justly by the broader society are much more likely to grow up into tolerant, balanced and responsible citizens (p. 67).

Respondents in the Muslim schools in our research noted the perception that some of the broader community feared them and they were seen as linked to extremism, radicalism and terrorism. By the broader community they generally meant people who were not Muslim. Interestingly, within both Jewish and Muslim school communities they also referred to members within the same broad religious group who shared very different views. For example, one Muslim school described itself as 'Orthodox' and acknowledged that other Muslim schools in the region saw their school as practicing a more rigid or 'fundamental' interpretation of Islamic principles which placed more restrictions on the curriculum and engaging with the non-Muslim community. Similarly, within both the Jewish and Muslim school communities there were differing opinions about each other: some sought assistance from me to help link them in order to support inter-faith dialogue for their pupils. This was partly informed by the obligation on schools to demonstrate their role on promoting community cohesion under legislation at the time (Education and Inspections Act 2006). Conversely, others chose not to associate with other religious schools, or those within their own faith, which they described as 'too liberal' or 'too orthodox' and instead focused on developing their own ethos.

Overall, within our study there was no consistency in views surrounding hostility, many parents saying that it was inevitable that their children would face these issues in their lives. Importantly, we found that children were more vulnerable than adults to incidents of Islamophobia and anti-Semitism, a point we return to later in the chapter, and incidents went unreported or stayed between children and parents,. Despite these omissions or broader acknowledgements, we found evidence of mechanisms put in place within the school to ensure security and protection from the wider society.

4. Security

Keeping the school community safe from the outside community/ies concerns all schools but for those in our study their experiences meant that they were obliged to take this very seriously. As highlighted earlier in this chapter, one of the things we set off to discover was how Jewish and Muslim schools dealt with anti-Semitism and Islamophobia. It was difficult to get an exact sense of this. For example, some of the

Muslim girls in our case study schools said they were used to being called a 'Paki' when they went to town, and they did not immediately separate their religious and ethnic identity. When asked if they felt there was a sense of "strength in numbers" which provides protection, one female teacher working in a Orthodox Muslim independent primary school in the Midlands explained as follows:

> It depends on what area you are, if you were in this area then yes. If you moved away slightly, you are in a minority; if … people see you alone then people will have a go at you.

In terms of whether this was associated with perceptions of terrorism, she contended that the hostility was related to a number of issues such as anti-Muslim fears since 9/11. As a result her school community took care to keep its members safe.

Issues of safety impact on the experience of schooling for both Jewish and Muslim children, and these matters, rather than notions of religious identity, may underpin 'choice,' in school. The perceived sense of insecurity that many parents feel has led them to choose religious schools as safe havens from racism (Hewer 2001; Parker-Jenkins 2002). For example, one non-Muslim teacher in a Muslim girls' secondary school discussed taking her pupils on school visits: 'since the bombings [2005] we have to take them in a minibus, before we may have caught the train … it's a security thing.' Similarly, security for Jewish schools in the UK was taken very seriously, guided by an organisation called the "Central Community Security Trust" (CST 2012), which respondents in our study frequently cited. One Jewish head teacher of a voluntary aided primary school in a remote part of the countryside said,

> If you went to the school next door you have to press the buzzer and say who you are, you wouldn't be faced with CCTV cameras. This is what we have been advised to do.... we have to be vigilant all of the time.

We noted that before entering the school there was a security officer and three doors as part of the security, similar to arrangements we found in Muslim schools. When asked whether the level of security in the school was about anti-Semitism specifically, one head teacher said, 'it is, but it is more so…we have to be vigilant all the time' (Progressive-Liberal Jewish Primary School). By being 'vigilant all the time', this suggested that they were prepared for hostility from any quarter and not just outside of their own group. The Community Security Trust (2012) which informed their security arrangements, is an organization which specifically monitors and advises on anti-Semitism in society.

We return to the theme of school safety in the next section but here it is noteworthy that associated with hostility from the outside community, was a perception of a lack of acceptance, particularly among Muslim respondents. One female teacher in a Muslim independent primary school commented:

> I have been here 34 years ….those people who have tried to become part of the community have been rejected ….at the moment we don't think we have been accepted by the majority of the community because we are always being undermined, and if you are being undermined you have to associate with something else.

This view is reflected in the work of Modood (2005) in terms of a lack of belonging expressed by immigrants despite long-term residency in the UK. It is this perception and experience of being unwelcome rather than of attachment to their

country of origin, that diminishes a sense of belonging in British society. For both Jews and Muslims, family ties and the presence of people with similar ethnic or religious backgrounds were seen as an important reason for moving to and valuing the locality in which they lived and from which they chose the school. Research shows that both migrants and established Muslim residents stated that they derived a sense of security from the presence of people in their locality sharing their religion, ethnicity or country of origin in their locality (Jayaweera and Choudhury 2008).

The disproportionate attention that faith schools receive regarding cohesion is frequently grounded in a lack of knowledge of what takes place in these schools. As all state funded schools were obliged to demonstrate 'community cohesion' from 2008, there was a need for embedding "community cohesion' into the policy framework. However, there is a need to challenge policy and previous initiatives (Troyna and Carrington 1990; Gillborn 1995; Gilroy 1987). In terms of engagement, there is a fear of British society, and this is seen as one of the main factors preventing minority groups from integrating fully with the host society:

> … here we are a community; we are all together in the same situation, so it just builds up your self-esteem. Being in this society … you are not anything….here we are together… and we don't have to face anything (Muslim Girls' Focus Group, Secondary School).

Significantly, we found that hostility from the wider community was perceived more by children rather than adults who frequently dismissed or underplayed the issue. For example, a Jewish teacher in a Modern Orthodox Jewish primary school said:

> I don't think many of the children come across anti-Semitism in their day to day lives. If it exists it is very subtle, too subtle for them to pick up on.

Probing this point further, adults in the study would, however, list incidents of hostility, such as verbal abuse outside school. Some of the responses were more graphic, 'you get the occasional comment … someone may say "Dirty Jews" or "Yid lid".' Similarly, male pupils reported hiding the name of their school blazer when on public transport because they were afraid of bullying and that they had received derogatory comments about their genitalia. In this instance we are not talking about bullying: there needs to be differentiation between what anti-Semitism is and racism in addition to that, which is different from 'just bullying' between children. There is a fine line here, but bullying with reference to circumcision is a specific attack on a person's Jewishness, distinct from other types of bullying (EUMC 2009). Similarly, the wearing of the hijab is frequently associated with Muslims, and based on Islamic identity (Runnymede Trust 2007).

One head teacher was convinced of overt prejudice:

> There is lots of evidence of anti-Semitism in the wider society…. If I ask most of my parents [at the school], do they have non-Jewish friends I would say at least 70 % probably don't have a single non-Jewish friend (Liberal Progressive Primary Jewish School, Home Counties).

However, this lack of adult engagement may not entirely be due to overt prejudice but other issues, for example, choosing not to associate with people outside of the faith community or due to the limitations of geographical location.

For some of the children travelling by themselves outside of this 'social community' there were negative experiences. Some teachers challenged whether these hostile

incidents were in fact based on anti-Semitism or on "normal" behaviour among school children. For example, one male Jewish teacher argued:

> I'm not surprised in the slightest that it does happens, but at the same time I wonder what these Jewish children on the buses are doing to wind other children up? (ibid).

This view that bullying is standard behaviour "just between kids and their school uniform" may underplay the xenophobia experienced by children. From the pupil focus groups we heard of many examples of anti-Semitism and Islamophobia from the wider community and that alternatively, their school was a safe haven. For example, Muslim girls said that outside school they had their *hijabs* or head scarves pulled off accompanied by shouting like," you #*#* Muslim." This generated a "them-and-us" culture, and safety rested within the school and the community. A teacher in Jewish V.A. Modern Orthodox Primary school said that pupils might have questions "to do with Israel or the problems in the Middle East", asking "why are so many people against our tiny little country?". Probing as to whether anything had happened in their school community which was deliberately anti-Semitic in nature, she added "you get the occasional comment made in the street". Asked whether this school was different and whether other schools were affected,

> I think it's a lot more when they get to secondary school, when they are travelling to and from school on their own, when they are at the shopping mall on their own, here they go everywhere with their parents, or they go to play football that's supervised. (ibid).

This was validated by children in the focus groups who experienced hostility outside of school once no longer in adult company. What emerged from our study was that the experience of hostility was significantly age-related: children in the same school who felt secure inside their school communities but vulnerable beyond the school gates. For example, we were told by one pupil in a focus group of an incident which happened to a family when they were home and their house was attacked in a "very, very Jewish area". We took what the children said at face value when they told us they were afraid to show the name of their school, or let the school colours indicate which school they attended. A female Jewish teacher confirmed this with reference to her own generation:

> I have friends that went to big Jewish schools, but they all travelled down together, they were in a big group (ibid).

> Pursuing this question of whether such incidents happen in all schools, she responded

> I think these things go on… if it wasn't a Jewish school and it was a school for something else, they will find a reason, and other people will find a reason to fight their school.

Tension between schools as normal was discussed with other community members, and the view was raised that the bullying the children reported may not necessarily be interpreted as anti-Semitic but just "standard stuff" going on between kids. A teacher of a Modern Orthodox primary school felt. "I don't think that the kids really understand it, they don't understand what anti-Semitism is at that age". When we shared with her the fact that the children were being called 'you #*#* Jew', she said "yes, that is anti-Semitic". Other comments these children received was 'you have a circumcised penis' which again suggests it was "deliberately

anti-Semitic". Where do you draw the line between what is "normal" bullying that happens between children?

Interestingly this teacher said "I haven't felt any anti-Semitism …I leave here at 3 o'clock, so don't really come across it". The fact that she left in a car was a key factor, and a distinguishing feature we found between adults and older children who journeyed into town without adult company. For example, a parent reflected

> As far as my son is concerned, yes he does come home occasionally not from school but from other activities and he does mention the fact that he has been picked upon because he is Jewish, they ask him 'are you Jewish?' and he says yes and then they start to make comments about it. I did grow up in this country and I suffered it as well (V.A. Jewish Liberal-Progressive Primary School, Home Counties)

This suggests that previous generations have received similar verbal abuse and adds to the on-going need to maintain a sense of security both within the faith community, and beyond.

5. Keeping Safe from the Wider Community

The issues of hostility and security are linked in informing how the school communities saw themselves and how they responded in keeping safe from the wider community.

Safeguarding the faith school community concerned levels of security within the schools, some of which was highlighted earlier, and included: employing security officers; installing CCTV cameras inside and outside the school; maintaining parental involvement; and extending concern to E-security via ICT. Security was a shared concern within Muslim school communities but the issue of gender was also an important consideration. In some cases the Muslim school was chosen because it could be relied upon to provide a high level of security, especially where female pupils were concerned. Keeping girls safe outside of school was raised, as captured by this comment

> In the past we went down to London to see a play but because of the bombing, (we went a week before the bombings), the Governors have put a stop to that (ibid).

We wanted to know if the chaperoning was because of Islamophobic fears or because they were girls. To which she responded,

> Possibly both, I think it might be a bit strong Islamophobic, but it could be, it's just a security thing, you have to have a certain amount of teachers to students. (ibid).

This is in keeping with government guidelines for all schools (DfE 2014), but we think a higher level of care was being stressed in the Muslim schools, particularly concerning female pupils.

In terms of the general issue of security:

> there is that other layer, that we are a Jewish school, and it is about doing it in a way which says we want school to be safe, we want the children to be safe but we are not scare mongering. We do have a security officer and we take it very seriously. (Teacher, V.A. Modern Orthodox, London)

Asked whether this was as a result of any particular incidence she said, "No, because it a Jewish school and that is what Jewish schools do" (ibid).

As we noted earlier, children in focus groups told us about anti-Semitic abuse and an attack on them in their neighbourhood, but they reported that they felt safe in

their school, adding "everyone is like us, our teachers protect us". We deduced that the incidences were happening because the children were identified as part of a group. Further, children were being targeted in a way that again appeared to be more than bullying between children. They may be affected by Islamophobia, anti-Semitism, and/or racism, and it may not always clear to the adult world what is going on. Instead it may be something that is just between children, and it is sparked off by their school uniforms.

One head teacher of a Jewish school provided an explanation about the situation with reference to the wider community,

> What we have got here is two communities living intermingled with each other that are very different. The way the Jews have dealt with it is by not mixing with their neighbours, so they don't send their children to the local school round the corner (V.A.Modern Orthodox Jewish Primary School, London).

The issue of "self- segregation" (Denham 2001) was pursued further:

> What I am saying is that we work very hard to have our children mix with their neighbours, but our parents have chosen very strongly not to have their children educated with them (ibid).

When clarifying whether that is a form of self-exclusion, the head teacher of this Jewish school said "absolutely".

In summarizing this part of the chapter, it is this hostility from the wider community that is the real threat to community cohesion or engagement and one that has not been sufficiently recognized in the literature. If left unchecked it could produce the very response from faith schools that their critics see them making – i.e. a defensive posture and self-segregation. There seemed to be one overarching theme emerging from the data, namely 'fear', whether unfounded or not. There was fear felt by parents about their children being bullied in state comprehensive schools because of their origin. Similarly, fear of moral permissiveness in these schools was cited particularly by respondents in the Muslim schools with reference to adolescent girls and the need to uphold moral standards. Importantly, parents and teachers in both faith communities expressed concern about their children losing their religion and group identity if they were educated in non-faith schools. There may also be problems relating to community cohesion or engagement regarding schools we did not have access to in our study, such as ultra-orthodox Jewish schools and Muslim seminaries. We have therefore tried to be more nuanced in our overall assessment of the faith schools in relation to community cohesion and recognize the complexity and layers of meaning in relation to alignment with national priorities and policy on education.

Alignment with National Priorities in Education in the UK

We began our project in the context of community cohesion but as of January 2013, the UK system of school inspections 'Ofsted' no longer examines schools on their duty to promote community cohesion. "Community cohesion" is associated

with the previous Labour government and the agenda is now moving to "policies on integration and cohesion" in a broad sense. The future of faith-based education and how coherence and alignment can be achieved between key national priorities in education forms the basis of the final section of the chapter.

Changes in government policy with regards to faith schools over the last 15 years have focused on inclusion and linkage. This was seen as an attempt by a Labour government to bring Muslim schools into the mainstream and to award Muslim schools with the same status as Catholic, Sikh, Hindu and other schools. A further initiative was to encourage faith schools to demonstrate how they link with the wider community. In terms of what faith schools have been doing to promote cohesion and links with the wider community, we found from our research project that there were a number of examples and they were taking place *before* the Government directive to demonstrate engagement with the wider community in 2007 (HO 2004, 2005). Examples of this practice were: inter-school visits, interfaith religious festivals and charity donations and volunteer work within and beyond their own faith group.

Policy on community relations in the United Kingdom and the role of schools in supporting the government agenda on promoting greater cohesion has now reached an impasse. The riots in the Northern towns in England in 2001(Cantle 2001, 2006; Fielding 2005) focused attention on "Britishness", and notions of citizenship (Modood 2010; Finney and Simpson 2009). Events of 9/11, the London bombings (Husband and Alam 2011) and the Afghanistan and Iraq invasions (Richardson 2009) raised further issues about identity and citizenship at home. Accordingly there has been a shift in discourses of multiculturalism to ones of assimilationism with notions of "integration", "community" and "social cohesion" (Thomas 2012; Werbner 2009). Focus has centred on "faith schools" which have been criticized for adopting an isolationist stance, with Muslim schools particularly attracting criticism (Finney and Simpson 2009).

There has also been a shift from the concept of 'multiculturalism' to community cohesion (Cantle 2006) as an ideology within the Liberal State (MacMullen 2007). The failure of multiculturalism to deliver equitable outcomes in society and an attempt to look beyond this concept are echoed elsewhere, for example, by Hollinger's (1995) *Post Ethnic America: Beyond Multiculturalism* and Kincheloe and Steinberg's (1997) work on critical multiculturalism. More recently, there have been political statements in France, Germany and the UK that "multiculturalism has failed". As "multiculturalism" has now allegedly failed there is disagreement as to whether it can or should be revived. As such, beyond community cohesion, and "failed multiculturalism" is a policy vacuum. The new neo-Conservative/neo-Liberal agenda in the UK still espouses shared values and British identity, as clumsily expressed in the "Big Society" initiative, but there is a lack of understanding of identity (Brah 1996), the concept of multiculturalism (Parekh 2000) and why the community cohesion agenda failed to achieve its objectives (Wetherell et al. 2007). This raises implications for policy across education systems in Europe which seek to respond to the reality of how the dynamic of cultural identity and citizenship expresses itself in schools.

The Coalition government in the UK has begun to rethink policy on multiculturalism and integration. As noted earlier in this chapter, the new policy was largely informed by two influential publications, commonly known as the Cantle and Ouseley Reports (2001) which asserted that racial segregation and the institutions maintaining it provide a fertile breeding ground for racial hostility, crime and radicalization (Independent Review Team 2001; Ouseley 2005). These reports placed the spotlight on minority faith schools, and particularly those serving Muslim communities, as possible nurseries of separatism, extremism and fundamentalism. Alibhai-Brown (2000) and Young (2003) added to the suspicion mounted over faith schools by associating faith schools serving only one community with a dysfunctional multiculturalism erecting group boundaries and essentialising minority cultures. The Labour government's policy on community cohesion emphasised common values and an overarching identity, including the phrase 'respect for difference' which is reminiscent of multiculturalism. However, it did not address deprivation, inequality and exclusion.

The new Conservative/Liberal-Democrat coalition government installed in May 2010 has formally not revoked the community cohesion policy but its continued support for it can be said to be lukewarm at best. According to Rowe et al. (2011) the government "signalled its preference for achieving the integration of British ethnic minority communities through the Big Society narrative rather than that of community cohesion" (p. 4). The Big Society narrative captures notions of autonomy, strong civil society, providing for oneself, and laissez faire. In contrast to the previous government it assigns only a minimal role to the state in promoting integration and social cohesion. Furthermore, the new Secretary of State for Education, Michael Gove, expressed his intention to sharply reduce the bureaucratic burden on schools, cutting away unnecessary duties, processes, guidance and requirements (DfE 2010). One of the victims of this drive to 'clean up bureaucratic excess' was community cohesion and as stated earlier in this chapter, the government unit Ofsted is no longer required to inspect schools on how well they performed this task (DfE 2012). Significantly, what the new government shares with the community cohesion agenda is a commitment to common values and 'Britishness' and a rejection of 'permissive' multiculturalism, which is judged to be an ineffective strategy in countering extremism. Over the last 15 years there has been a clear trend: the move from multiculturalism to the promotion of shared values as a means to enhance cohesion. It is precisely this shift, and the concomitant change from welcoming minority faith schools to viewing them with suspicion, that has attracted considerable criticism. Harrison (2004) and Flint (2007), for instance, warn that the emphasis on shared liberal-democratic values risks designating minority faith groups with allegedly illiberal cultures as the source of problems of cohesion and obscuring the role that 'inequitable power structures' play in sustaining alienation and division. Burnett (2004) notes:

> …the wealth of research documenting the discriminatory imposition of formal police powers upon certain Asian communities, the rising levels of unemployment and residential segregation within certain Asian communities and the intrusion of an increasingly insistent far-Right ideology (p. 10).

In other words, the riots of 2001, in his view, were not caused by rising fundamentalism among minority faith groups but by a combination of the dominant group trying to maintain racial hegemony and the subordinate groups of colour no longer accepting to be excluded and discriminated against. This notion of minority youth revolting against perceived injustice is echoed by Young (2003). According to this scholar, second generation immigrant youth, far from turning their backs on liberal values, have internalised Western ideas of equal treatment and social justice. The reception by the wider society is manifested at the policy level, and it is expressed in many social domains, including the media, local institutions, civic society, and everyday life in the wider community.

Conclusion

The clergy in the UK was instrumental in establishing education and faith schools both government funded and independent are part of the education landscape today. Of the variety of different religious groups represented today, those of a Jewish and Muslim ethos have experienced hostility from the wider community. Our study assessed the stance of the wider environment and how Jewish and Muslim faith schools respond to hostility and keep safe. This is particularly important in view of the possibility, suggested by Everett (2012), that a hostile posture of the wider environment, real or perceived, triggers a defensive reaction among minority groups, a reaction characterised by a strict maintenance of group cohesion and heavy policing of members internally.

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Chapter 9
Faith-Based Schools and the Creationism Controversy: The Importance of the Meta-narrative

Sylvia Baker

Introduction

The question of how to handle issues concerning creation and evolution in the science classroom has assumed an increasing international importance in recent years. In the United States, the National Center for Science Education advertises itself as: 'the premier institution dedicated to keeping evolution in the science classroom and creationism out' (NCSE 2013), while in the United Kingdom, the British Humanist Association lists 'Countering Creationism' as one of its campaigns, by which it aims to challenge: 'the growing threat to education from creationism' (BHA 2013). At the same time, it is widely acknowledged that it is difficult to persuade creationist pupils to change their minds and there is evidence that current attempts to do so are resulting in an unacceptable level of anguish for the pupils concerned (Baker 2010, pp. 82–84, 2013). Considerations such as these have led some to propose a much more considered approach to the problem than the aggressive one which views science teachers as being in the classroom in order to "combat any rise in creationism" (Williams 2009, p. 1261) and sees them as being "on the frontline of the evolution wars" (Branch and Scott 2008, p. 53). This more nuanced and more sensitive approach advocates that teachers should take into account that their creationist pupils may be operating within a worldview which differs from their own and which could explain why it is so difficult for them to persuade such pupils to adopt a different viewpoint (Reiss 2008, 2009, 2011; Tobin 2008). This chapter will argue that now is the time to take this second approach further.

Once it is acknowledged that at the root of the issue lies a conflict of worldviews, it becomes important to ascertain exactly how creationist pupils view the world of science but to accomplish this is not an easy task. 'Creationism' and even the word

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'science' itself are terms which can carry multiple definitions (Baker 2012a, b).
What is needed is empirical evidence which can inform the matter further and
research populations exist which have the potential to do this. One such population
can be found in England where a network of small independent Christian schools
has now been in existence for more than 30 years, as has a corresponding network
of small Muslim schools. This chapter will focus on the teenage population of the
Christian schools and will aim to establish, through a description of their beliefs,
that those beliefs are indeed linked to a very specific worldview. It will argue that,
to understand that worldview and its influence on some creationist pupils, it is nec-
essary to take account of the meta-narrative that it provides and of the part played
by that meta-narrative in the rise of modern science. The chapter will therefore be
weaving together two distinct lines of evidence, one historical in nature and the
other directly empirical.

The Research Setting

The new independent Christian schools which constitute the subject of the
empirical study number approximately 100 and have been established in England
during the past 40 years. The schools were investigated during the 1990s when
the movement was in its infancy (O'Keeffe 1992; Poynz and Walford 1994;
Walford 1995) and have recently been the subject of an intensive investigation
(Baker 2013). A narrative account of the founding of 17 of the schools has also
been provided by Baker and Freeman (2005). The schools are small, ranging from
those with a handful of pupils to a few where the pupil population numbers around
200. The schools have been founded by parent groups and churches in response
to what they perceive as a secularization of both state and private education.
The specific aim and purpose of the founders is that the schools should educate
according to the same worldview as that which the pupils will be encountering in
their Christian homes and in their churches. This setting is therefore uniquely
placed to provide for an investigation of the influence of worldviews on the
education process.

The worldview informing and underlying educational practice in the new
Christian schools could perhaps be described as a form of Biblical theism. The
founding parents and churches have largely been drawn from two main streams
operating within Protestant Christianity in England (Baker 2013). The first of these
is the Reformed tradition, dating back to the Reformation itself and finding its
most influential expression during the Puritan era of the seventeenth century.
The 1960s saw a revival of interest in the writings of the Reformers and Puritans
amongst evangelical Christians in the UK. This 'neo-Calvinist' movement strongly
influenced some of those who founded the early new Christian schools. The second
tradition from which early founders were drawn was the much more recently-
established Charismatic sector, with its emphasis less on theology and more on a
direct experience of the work of the Holy Spirit. In the early years of the movement,
it was often possible to identify within which of these traditions a particular school

was operating. Today, that is much less likely to be the case. Over the years, there has been increasing co-operation between the schools, especially through activities arranged by the Christian Schools Trust, a supportive network to which about half of the schools are affiliated. The schools now are likely to manifest elements of each tradition.

The Meta-narrative

It is within the Reformed tradition that a meta-narrative has been most clearly described and actively employed in the educative process of the new Christian schools. The particular emphases of this meta-narrative, as developed by the European Protestant Reformers of the sixteenth century and the English Puritans of the seventeenth century, have been re-emphasized in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries and now influence many who would take a modern-day creationist position, including many of those involved in the schools. The meta-narrative has been summarized as the creation/fall/redemption/restoration narrative and is the 'big story' which provides the framework and foundation for everything that is taught within the schools, at least in theory. The meta-narrative is based on numerous Biblical texts, not simply those in Genesis, and provides a comprehensive view of the world. Living things are perceived as specially designed by God and perfectly suited to an originally God-created order, in which there was no suffering or death. Humans are seen as unique, made in 'the image of God' and created for an intimate relationship with Him (Genesis 1, pp. 26–27).

The 'Fall' is given a special prominence in Reformed theology. This is the short-hand term for the disaster that befell the human race when the first humans rebelled against God and it is perceived as far-reaching in its effects. Everything is seen as having been damaged by it, not just living things but the natural world itself. Human death is seen as the result of the Fall and the original good creation itself is now severely damaged and prone to disasters. Humans have been profoundly affected and have lost capacities that they once had. However, they still retain something of the image of God in their make-up and have still been created for the same purpose – to know and love God and to serve both their fellow humans and the world in which God has placed them. The Lord Jesus Christ enters the narrative in the New Testament as the Redeemer. The Redeemer has come to reverse the effects of the Fall through his life on Earth and supremely through his death which is seen as an atoning sacrifice. The resurrection of Jesus from the dead is seen as the 'first-fruits'; the redemptive process has begun and will ultimately lead to a complete restoration of all that was lost at the Fall.[1] That ultimate restoration will not happen until the end of all things when Jesus returns and the Earth itself is regenerated. However, until that occurs, many redemptive processes are possible and may ameliorate some of the effects of the Fall.

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[1] See, for example, 1 Corinthians 15:20–28.

It can be difficult for those of us living in the twenty-first century to comprehend how prevalent this worldview was in the seventeenth century and how profoundly it has affected the history of the UK. One of its greatest influences was concerned with the rise of modern science.

The Meta-narrative and the Rise of Modern Science

The past 50 years have seen an increasing interest in the role played by Christianity in the rise of modern science (Hooykaas 1972; Harrison 1998, 2007). Peter Harrison (1998) is one of many scholars who now argue that while Christianity in general helped to prepare the ground in which modern science eventually flourished, it was Protestant Christianity that finally provided the right conditions. Harrison's thesis then goes further than this. He demonstrates that it was not until Reformed Christians began to read certain texts of the Bible literally that modern science was able to emerge. Referring to the different factors which may have contributed to the rise of modern science, Harrison says: 'by far the most significant was the literalist mentality initiated by the Protestant Reformers and sponsored by their successors' (Harrison 1998, p. 8). It was 'the efforts of the Protestant reformers, who in their search for an unambiguous religious authority insisted that the book of Scripture be interpreted only in its literal, historical sense' (Harrison 1998, pp. 4–5) which were primarily responsible for the emergence of modern science. The reasons were that the Biblical worldview which they advocated provided both the right philosophical framework within which to investigate nature and a powerful motivation to seek to know God through his creation. Essentially, the Reformed Christians began to view the Genesis account of the creation as historically true, and as a result they began to look at nature differently. The details of this change are beyond the scope of this chapter but they resulted in a view of the world which directly initiated modern science.

The concept of the Fall is also regarded as having had a profound part to play in the emergence of modern science (Harrison 2007). Human beings were regarded as having lost abilities and knowledge that Adam had once possessed; they must work hard to try to rediscover some of what was lost. This would necessitate an experimental approach and a community of 'scientists' who would critique each other's work and allow knowledge gradually to accumulate. What Adam had perhaps known instinctively would now need to be discovered by careful experiments involving equipment, necessary to make good human deficiencies. It was important to do this so that nature could be better understood and restored to something more like the original creation had been.

Science and the New Christian Schools

The creation/fall/redemption/restoration meta-narrative can thus be seen as having particular application to the teaching of science. Schools belonging to the Christian Schools Trust have openly articulated that it underlies their approach to

science teaching. In 1998, the Trust published a monograph, *Science in Faith: a Christian perspective on teaching science* (Jones 1998). Writing in the foreword, Elmer Thiessen expressed how, in his view, the publication:

> shows how science is shaped by worldviews and how science can and should be taught from a Christian perspective. It is refreshing to see the language of cause and effect combined with talk of purpose – a recovery of ancient and medieval approaches to science. It is delightful to see the grand Reformed (and Biblical) themes of creation, fall and redemption integrated into discussions of scientific concepts and theories. And the reader will sometimes be surprised to see a detailed scientific analysis include talk of God and His will for His creation. And this is not done in a superficial way, as is sometimes the case with attempts at developing a Christian curriculum. Here, theology, philosophy and science are integrated into a meaningful whole. (Jones 1998, p. vi)

How does the application of this meta-narrative within the new Christian schools impact their handling of the creation/evolution controversy? Through a survey of 53 of the schools conducted in the early 1990s, Geoffrey Walford (1995, p. 20) discovered that all but one of the 53 schools he investigated treated Biblical creation as fact. The majority of the schools taught evolution as well as creation, but all of them treated it as a theory. More recently, the Christian Schools Trust has produced a statement clarifying their position which begins:

> The Christian Schools Trust is a network of independent schools, each of which is able to subscribe to an evangelical basis of faith. The Trust is not in a position to impose stipulations on to its member schools with regard to secondary matters, nor would it wish to do so. The creation/evolution debate, although held to be very important, is regarded by the Trust as a secondary matter, which recognises that there is a diversity of views on this issue amongst Christians who hold a high view of the authority of Scripture. (CST 2009a)

The statement then goes on to describe, in detail, the creationist position taken by many of the schools, but not necessarily by all. It stresses that the schools all teach evolution to their older pupils, and often to the younger ones as well, usually alongside creationism as a debate.

The Christian Schools Trust has compiled statistics of the achievements of their pupils in the national school examinations that are taken at age 16 and may be taken further at age 18 (CST 2009b). These results indicate that the pupils do well in science examinations at these levels, with many achieving the highest possible grades.

The Research Population and the Meta-narrative

What is the effect, other than examination success, when pupils are educated within the creation/fall/redemption/restoration meta-narrative? One way to find out is to ask the pupils themselves and this has been accomplished through a survey of the teenage pupils within the new Christian schools, the results of which are reported below. Earlier surveys have also provided relevant data. Francis (2005) investigated the views of 136 boys aged between 13 and 15 drawn from 19 of the schools.

He found that 82 % of them believed that God made the world in six days and rested on the seventh, compared with 19 % of boys in nondenominational schools. Francis then describes how his data also demonstrate that:

> The boys attending Christian schools overall enjoy a significantly higher level of personal well-being in comparison with boys attending nondenominational schools. They are much more likely to feel that their life has a sense of purpose. They are much less likely to be depressed and to entertain suicidal thoughts. (Francis 2005, p. 138)

A second study investigated the spiritual health of students attending new Christian schools who live in urban areas (Francis and Robbins 2005, pp. 123–32). Francis and Robbins again found that young people in the new Christian schools enjoy a higher level of spiritual health compared with young people in nondenominational schools. Again, they were much more likely to feel that their life has a sense of purpose and much less likely to be depressed and to entertain suicidal thoughts (Francis and Robbins 2005, p. 236).

A third study investigated 461 pupils aged 13–15 years attending new Christian schools and compared their responses to those of pupils attending Anglican schools and non-denominational state schools (Francis et al. 2012). In this study, pupils in the Christian schools displayed a higher sense of purpose in life and a higher level of happiness in their school. They were more likely to show concern for the environment and more likely to show concern about the poverty of the developing world. They were less likely to take the view that there are too many foreign people living in the UK.

The results of these three studies also find corroboration in the results of a fourth (Baker 2013) and to summarise the findings of all four: pupils in the new Christian schools enjoy higher levels of personal well-being and spiritual health when compared with pupils in other educational settings; they are more likely to show concern for the environment and about poverty in the developing world; they are less likely to demonstrate racist attitudes.

The Survey and Its Respondents

The data described below were collected as part of a wider survey (Baker 2013). The Christian Schools Trust was approached to ask if its member schools would be prepared to take part in a survey of its teenage pupils. The Trust encouraged the schools to do so and the data were collected by questionnaire, completed anonymously under test conditions, from 695 pupils aged 13 to 16 attending 25 new Christian schools, 22 of which were members of the Trust. The questionnaire was designed to assess the worldview of the pupils and to elucidate their views concerning creation and evolution, together with science and the Bible. It contained 28 items dealing with these topics to which the pupils were invited to respond according to a five point scale: agree strongly, agree, not certain, disagree, disagree strongly. In compiling the tables of results, 'agree' and 'agree strongly' responses have been combined, as have 'disagree' and 'disagree strongly'.

Of the 695 young respondents, 52 % were male and 48 % were female. They were evenly divided between the 3 year groups covering the age range 13–16, with 34 % in year 9, 33 % in Year10 and 32 % in Year 11. Eighty-seven percent of the teenage respondents identified themselves as Christians, with 11% claiming to have no religion. The remaining 2 % included very small numbers of Buddhists, Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs. The Christian respondents were given the opportunity to indicate the Christian denomination or grouping with which they identified. Fifteen percent indicated that they had no connection with a church or group. The remainder were connected with a wide spectrum of Christian denominations and groupings of which 52 % could be classified, broadly, as Evangelical. The remaining 48 % of those associated with churches were from Baptist, Methodist, Church of England, Roman Catholic and Salvation Army churches.

Seventy-six percent of the teenagers indicated that they were from homes where religion was considered important. This figure correlates with the claim made by most of the schools taking part in the survey that they aim to include pupils from non-Christian homes to an approximate maximum of 25 % of the school population.

Results and Discussion

Table 9.1 provides an overview of the beliefs of the teenagers. It reveals that 85 % of the young people believe in God and only 5 % of them confidently say that they do not, with 10 % being unsure. Some might argue that the Christian schools have achieved this level of belief amongst their pupils through a reprehensible form of brainwashing which aims to overcome the neutral mindset with which the pupils were born. However, this scenario does not accord with reality, as Barrett and others have recently demonstrated (Barrett 2012a, b). Barrett cites a wealth of evidence which demonstrates that 'children are born believers in some kind of god' and that 'children's minds are naturally tuned up to believe in gods generally and perhaps God in particular' (Barrett 2012a, pp. 3–4). He maintains that: 'Evidence exists that children might find especially natural the idea of a non-human creator of the

Table 9.1 Teenage pupils from new Christian schools: an overview of their beliefs

	Disagree (%)	Not sure (%)	Agree (%)
I believe in God	5	10	85
I believe in Jesus as my personal Saviour	8	16	76
I think the Bible is out of date	79	13	7
I accept the idea that living things were made by a process of evolution	67	24	10
I believe in evolution creating everything over millions of years	76	16	7
Everything in the world was made by natural forces – it was not designed	71	23	5

natural world, possessing superpower, super-knowledge, and super-perception and being immortal and morally good.' (Barrett 2012a, p. 3). It appears that the schools have simply needed to provide an educational setting which nurtures, rather than works against, this natural tendency to believe.

Belief in God may be merely intellectual assent or it may represent part of a deep religious commitment. While 85 % of the teenagers believe in God, almost as many, 76 %, claim to believe in Jesus as their personal Saviour and only 8 % confidently deny this. Again, the great majority, 79 %, do not think the Bible is out of date and only 7 % agree that it is.

Two items are included in this section with the purpose of identifying the beliefs of the pupils about the evolution process. They produced somewhat different responses, illustrating how difficult it can be to establish exactly what people believe about this issue, since the word 'evolution' can carry multiple meanings (Baker 2012a, b). The word is sometimes used simply to mean 'change in living things', sometimes 'variation in living things' and sometimes 'the action of natural selection'. Modern-day creationists have no quarrel with any of these processes (Garner 2009). Sixty-seven percent of the teenagers did not accept the idea that living things were made by a process of evolution but nearly a quarter of them, 24 %, did not know how to respond to the item. When the item was phrased: "I believe in evolution creating everything over millions of years" the response was more definite. This time, 76 % took an evolution-denying position with 16 % feeling unsure. In each case, only a very small percentage of the teenage pupils, 7–10 %, could positively agree that they hold evolutionist views. The second item more clearly described an anti-creation position which excluded consideration of a designed capacity for creatures to vary and the pupils were more able to give a clear response.

The final item in this section focussed on belief about divine design. Again, nearly a quarter were not sure how to respond, although only 5 % of the pupils rejected the idea of a designer completely. A large majority, 71 %, denied that everything was made by natural forces and was not designed, thereby rejecting the essence of Darwinian evolutionary theory.

To summarise this section, the great majority of the teenage pupils receiving their education in the new Christian schools are revealed as sincere Christian believers who have a high view of the Bible. They believe that living things are designed and they reject the idea that a godless process of evolution gave rise to living things. Subsequent sections will investigate their beliefs about creation, evolution and science in more depth but first their religious worldview will be considered.

The first section established that 85 % of the teenagers in the new Christian schools believe in God. What kind of God do they believe in? Reformed or Calvinist theology is often represented as portraying an angry, vengeful, frightening God. Table 9.2 reveals how the teenagers view the God in whom they believe. With very little variation, the great majority of the teenagers, 81–84 %, believe in a God who is loving, kind, merciful and forgiving. They also believe that he cares about them personally. A smaller majority, 69 %, believe that God is in control of history but only 7 % deny this. This time, a significant number, 24 %, were not sure what they believed about the issue. The pupils come from a variety of church backgrounds and

Table 9.2 Teenage pupils from new Christian schools and the character of God

	Disagree (%)	Not sure (%)	Agree (%)
I believe that God is loving	5	12	84
I believe that God is kind	4	12	84
I believe that God is merciful	4	14	82
I believe that God cares about me personally	5	14	81
I believe that God is forgiving	5	13	83
I believe that God is in control of history	7	24	69

Table 9.3 Teenage pupils from new Christian schools and the 'Reformation' worldview

	Disagree (%)	Not sure (%)	Agree (%)
God created the world as described in the Bible	6	16	78
God created the Universe including living creatures out of nothing	6	20	74
God formed man out of the dust of the Earth	7	22	71
God made woman out of man's rib	8	20	72
There was once a world-wide flood as described in the Bible	4	16	81
The world was once perfect but has been affected by sin	5	15	81

while some churches emphasize the sovereignty of God over his creation and its history, others do not.

Do the young people specifically subscribe to the Reformation worldview? Table 9.3 presents data to inform this issue and the responses suggest that they do. A large majority, 71–81 %, responded to the items in the same terms as would the Reformers and Puritans of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the founders of the Royal Society and many of the key players in the establishment of modern science. Johannes Kepler in the sixteenth century, Isaac Newton and Robert Boyle (amongst many others) in the seventeenth century, Carolus Linnaeus in the eighteenth century and Michael Faraday in the nineteenth century would all have responded to these items in just the same way.[2] These are some of the most groundbreaking scientists in history and they would all attribute their success directly to their espousal of the worldview that is the subject of this chapter. Of particular interest are the responses to the last two items in Table 9.3. Eighty-one percent of the teenage pupils in the new Christian schools believe that there was once a worldwide flood, a concept that was crucial to the early development of geology, and that the world was once perfect but has been affected by sin, a foundational concept in the origins of modern science.

The Reformation views subscribed to by the teenagers would be considered by many today to be inimical to modern science, despite the fact that they were held by many of its founders. It is often claimed that if those founders were alive today,

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[2]See, for example how this is illustrated in the case of Isaac Newton by Christiansen (1984).

Table 9.4 Teenage pupils from new Christian schools: Science and the Bible

	Disagree (%)	Not sure (%)	Agree (%)
Science disproves the Biblical account of creation	47	34	19
You can't be a good scientist and believe in the Bible	68	24	8
I cannot trust both science and religion	36	47	17
Nothing should be believed unless it can be proved scientifically	70	24	6
Science can give us absolute truths	52	34	14
Scientists have discovered how the world was made	67	25	8

they would subscribe to belief in an old Earth and to the process of Darwinian evolution. The assumption behind that claim is that the early modern scientists achieved their successes despite their quaint religious views, whereas in fact the reverse is the case. As has already been argued, they achieved their successes *because of* those views. Do the teenagers who follow in their path have a low view of science? The items listed in Table 9.4 were designed to attempt to answer this question but the responses demonstrate that this is another area which is difficult to elucidate. Just as the word 'evolution' can carry multiple meanings, so the term 'science' can carry more than one. Whereas in the other sections, the pupils had, generally speaking, answered confidently one way or the other, this was much less true in this section and the pattern of responses is much more varied. This may well be because the respondents were not sure what kind of science the item is referring to. Is it the science of, say, Richard Dawkins, which is vehemently anti-God or is it the science of Newton, Boyle and Faraday which was the opposite? To cite a definition of science which depends on experimental evidence does not help us in this connection. Some of the historical scientists who operated according to a Reformation worldview were the epitome of those who took an experimental approach. The issue is not whether science should proceed via experimental evidence but about how that evidence should be interpreted.

The item 'I cannot trust both science and religion' proved to be particularly difficult for the teenagers to answer. Nearly half of them, 47 %, were unsure how to respond to it. This may well be because, put simply, as religious young people many of them felt that they could trust Isaac Newton but not Richard Dawkins. The confusion over the definition of the terms 'science' and 'scientist' is apparent in the equivocal responses to two further items: 'Science disproves the Biblical account of creation' and 'Science can give us absolute truths'. There was less uncertainty about the remaining items probably because they were less dependent on an exact definition of the terms 'science' and 'scientist'. Although nearly a quarter of the pupils were not sure about it, a clear majority, 68 %, rejected the notion that good scientists can't believe in the Bible. A very similar response was given to the suggestion that nothing should be believed unless it can be proved scientifically. Only 6 % of the teenagers agreed with this statement and 70 % unequivocally rejected it.

Again, there was a very similar response to the assertion that scientists have discovered how the world was made.

Table 9.5 Teenage pupils from new Christian schools and the age of the Earth

	Disagree (%)	Not sure (%)	Agree (%)
The earth is billions of years old	45	42	27
I believe God made the world in 6 days of 24 h	13	30	57
The earth is only a few thousand years old	24	37	39
I believe in evolution creating everything over millions of years	76	16	7

The fact the teenage pupils found some of the items in this section much easier to respond to than others lends support to the contention that the items in this section, which were used in this survey because they have been extensively used in other surveys, need to be revisited. More attention needs to be paid to the possibility that at least two different kinds of science exist, both of which embrace the experimental method, but which are situated within radically different worldviews. This contention has immense practical application to the question of how to approach the teaching of creation and evolution in the science classroom.

The new Christian schools claim that they are not brainwashing their pupils but rather teaching them to evaluate evidence through the teaching of the creation/evolution controversy as a debate. Table 9.5 contains data which lend some support to that assertion. The age of the Earth is a particularly contentious issue and three extra items were added to the survey to investigate the beliefs held by the teenagers in this regard. The responses appear to reveal thoughtful responses on their part; they are not just using the survey to repeat a mantra with which they have been brainwashed. A clear, but not large, majority of 57 % agree that God made the world in six days of 24 h and only 13 % definitely do not believe this. However, the pupils are less certain about exactly when this creation event took place. Less than half, 45 %, of them can confidently say that they do not believe the world to be billions of years old and 27 % do believe this. A large minority, 42 %, have yet to make up their minds. When the item was phrased in a different way, 39 % of the teenagers could definitely agree that the Earth is only a few thousand years old, although nearly a quarter, 24 %, would deny this. Again a large minority, 39 %, have yet to decide what they think. The final item is repeated here from Table 9.1. It illustrates the difference that it makes for this group of young people when the idea of evolution as a creative agent is introduced into the equation. Regardless of their view of the age of the Earth, a large majority, 76 %, reject the idea that evolution has been occurring over millions of years and only 7 % accept this.

The Meta-narrative: Its Wider Implications for Science Education

It is widely acknowledged that many children in British schools are creationist in their views and a figure of approximately 10 % is sometimes quoted. Francis (2005) found through an extensive survey that 19 % of boys in nondenominational schools in England and Wales believed that God created the world in six days and rested

on the seventh. That survey was conducted more than a decade ago but gives some indication of the extent of the situation. In a paper published in 2005, Astley reported on his findings concerning the personal well-being of 13 to 15 year-old pupils across a wide variety of schools, most of which were nondenominational state schools, who admitted to creationist beliefs. He found that belief in creationism was predictive of higher levels of personal dissatisfaction, with teenage creationist pupils tending to feel more worried, worthless, lonely and even desperate than do their evolutionist peers (Astley 2005, pp. 39–51). Astley concluded that the problem lay with the creationist beliefs themselves but this is inconsistent with several studies which indicate that creationist beliefs are associated with higher, not lower, levels of personal well-being when the setting is not hostile to the pupils and their beliefs (Francis 2005; Francis and Robbins 2005; Francis et al. 2012; Baker 2013). Astley's findings suggest that creationist pupils in mainstream schools are being adversely affected by the current situation and these findings alone should alert educators to the importance of this topic. In a subsequent paper, Astley suggested that the anguish he had identified could only be mitigated by a setting, such as that provided by Christian schools, in which pupils were 'protected from the evolutionary views of others and their evidence base' and in which they were prevented from realising that 'creationism is only a minority option within society' (Astley 2009, p. 276). However, that scenario does not pertain to the British schools which are the subject of this survey. There the pupils are well-acquainted with the evidence that is presented for the theory of evolution and are fully aware that creationism is a minority position in British society (CST 2009a, b). It is the contention of this chapter that the anguish identified by Astley is caused by the hostility that creationist pupils may encounter in mainstream classrooms and the lack of respect with which they may be treated there, together with the frustration engendered by being required to accept a theory which they perceive as inimical to their faith, without any freedom to discuss the validity of the evidence for that theory.

The creationist pupils in British mainstream schools will not all be Christians; many of them will be Muslims and other faith groups will be represented as well. For those who are Christians, it is probable that they are from families similar to those whose children attend the new Christian schools, where the meta-narrative described in this chapter is lived by and adhered to. The Muslim worldview is different, but nevertheless overlaps with the Christian one at points that are crucial to the creation/evolution controversy. Therefore, to understand how the pupils in the new Christian schools think and feel is to understand, to some extent at least, how all creationist pupils potentially think and feel. The information described in this chapter concerning the pupils in the new Christian schools therefore has direct relevance to science teaching in other school or college settings. To improve the situation for creationist pupils in settings where they are suffering anguish, it is first necessary to understand the nature of this anguish and to do this involves taking a number of factors into account.

The first factor concerns the research evidence provided by Barrett and others which indicates that children are 'born believers'. For Barrett the evidence has led him to conclude that young children are 'prone to creationism', regardless of their

family background (Barrett 2012a, pp. 68–71). He compared responses from children from a 'fundamentalist' background with those from a 'non-fundamentalist' and found that children until about the age of ten in both groups showed an affinity for creationist accounts over evolutionary accounts that could not be accounted for by their parents' own position. He concluded: 'Young children appear to have no particular difficulty in understanding a super-knowing, super-perceiving, super-powerful, natural-world-creating and immortal God' (Barrett 2012a, p. 130). In being asked to combat creationism, therefore, teachers are being asked to come against something that is deeply ingrained in human nature.

In the case of children from certain Christian backgrounds, their natural tendency to believe in a Creator has been nurtured within a meta-narrative which seems to make good sense of the world around them. The children look out on a wonderful world which appears to have been designed but which also appears to have something wrong with it. This all makes perfect sense within the Creation/Fall narrative. The picture does not stop there but becomes comforting and sustaining. A loving Redeemer who is God Himself has entered the world to put matters right and there is a perfect world-to-come to look forward to. It is important for educators to realise the power of the Reformed meta-narrative to answer difficult questions and to provide a sustaining and comforting framework for healthy, happy living. Not only this, but the meta-narrative builds on a fundamental view of reality with which the children concerned have naturally been born. Until these things are recognised, educators will continue to be at a loss to explain why their teaching about evolution is so rarely received by certain creationist pupils.

However, the influence of the Reformed meta-narrative goes even further than this. Reformed churches are very proud of their history and of the role that it played in the emergence of modern science. Peter Harrison has described how: 'the twentieth century witnessed the final stages of a secularisation of scientific knowledge, along with the development of a degree of historical amnesia about the role of religion in its early modern origins' (Harrison 2007, p. 245). Reformed circles do not suffer from this historical amnesia. In this setting, pastors and parents may well have been acquainting their children with the role played not just by Christians but by Christian (particularly Reformed) theology itself in the rise of modern science. The 'historical amnesia' identified by Harrison may be an important contributory factor to the breakdown of trust between creationist pupils and their science teachers, where that occurs. On the one hand, science teachers may fail to show due respect not just to the creationist pupils themselves but to the historical and philosophical importance of the views that they hold. On the other hand, creationist pupils may lose confidence in their science teachers if these present a view of science as a secular, naturalist, phenomenon when the pupils themselves are aware that that is not necessarily the case.

A lack of respect is probably the root cause of the anguish suffered by creationist pupils in mainstream British schools, although further research would be necessary to confirm this. I have personally heard many anecdotal accounts of scorn and abuse heaped onto creationist pupils if they dare to voice their opinions in science lessons, often by their fellow pupils but sometimes also by the teacher. Referring to the

publications of the intelligent design movement, atheist philosopher Thomas Nagel has recently advocated that they should be taken seriously and that: 'They do not deserve the scorn with which they are commonly met. It is manifestly unfair' (Nagel 2012, p. 10). Nagel is also concerned that any resistance to the orthodox view in biology is regarded as not only scientifically but politically incorrect. He describes how:

> [F]or a long time I have found that materialist account of how we and our fellow organisms came to exist hard to believe, including the standard version of how the evolutionary process works. The more details we learn about the intricacy of the genetic code, the more unbelievable the standard historical account becomes. […] it flies in the face of common sense. (Nagel 2012, p. 5)

He later explains that (p. 7):

> [M]y scepticism is not based on religious belief, or on a belief in any definite alternative. It is just a belief that the available scientific evidence, in spite of the consensus of scientific opinion, does not in this matter rationally require us to subordinate the incredulity of common sense.

If a well-respected atheist philosopher can express such doubts on the basis of common sense, is it right that creationist pupils should be mocked for expressing the same doubts from the even stronger basis of historical science?

A further source of anguish for the creationist pupil no doubt comes from the affront afforded by Darwinian evolution to the nature of God himself. As the data from the new Christian schools reveal, creationist pupils from a Reformed background believe God to be loving, merciful, kind and forgiving, a good God who provided a perfect creation and subsequently provided, at great personal sacrifice, a remedy to the disaster of the Fall. Now they are being told, on the basis of what often seems to them to be inadequate evidence, that they must either not believe in a creator at all or else in a very different kind of one. The teacher does not need to spell this out; the view is inherent in Darwinian theory. In place of a perfect creation which is marred as a result of human rebellion, but which will one day be fully redeemed, the pupil is being required to believe in a purposeless mechanism which proceeds over vast aeons via a relentless process of mutation and death.

Conclusion

This chapter aims to throw light on a seemingly intractable problem: why is it so difficult for science teachers to convince creationist pupils of the truth of the prevailing consensus amongst scientists regarding the theory of evolution? It aims to reveal that the matter can be elucidated through an investigation of the beliefs that creationist pupils themselves hold and has taken into account evidence from other quarters, specifically the history of science. It seeks to show that there are problems on both sides: science teachers may be feeling frustrated but creationist pupils are suffering anguish. The contention is that the route out of this impasse may not be easy but that it is certainly possible.

The recognition that the problem, at its root, concerns worldviews has represented an advance in understanding a very complex situation. However, it is too simplistic to suggest that the conflict is between a scientific worldview and a religious one. The meta-narrative inhabited by the key founders of modern science is identical to the one inhabited by many creationist pupils today; this worldview itself was crucial to the development of modern science and constituted its cradle. The current conflict is not between science and religion but between naturalistic science which *a priori* excludes all reference to a higher power and the theistic science of Boyle, Newton, Linnaeus and Faraday (to name but a few) which made reference to a higher power its very foundation. There needs to be a recovery from the 'historical amnesia' on this point and educators need to take it into account.

Educators also need to give due regard to the evidence that children are 'born believers' and to be very sure of their ground before they seek to work against this. The pupils in the new Christian schools have not needed to be coerced into belief in a Creator; they have simply not had it knocked out of them. While many people might consider this to be regrettable, where is their evidence that it is doing the pupils harm? Indeed, evidence shows that unbelieving pupils in the new Christian schools, most of whom espouse evolution, are not anguished (Baker 2013). The anguished pupils are those in mainstream schools who hold to creationist beliefs.

Belief in creationism may be controversial but it is not intrinsically unscientific and, if only for its historical connections, it is not worthy of scorn. Acceptance of this factor alone would enormously help the situation and enable a respectful dialogue to take place within the classroom. Alexakos believes that: 'Science and scientific understanding about life and nature are key tools in creating a better future for all. Creationism is just the opposite; it promises damnation and despair, dogmatic obscurantism and intolerance' (Alexakos 2009, p. 502). While such ill-informed and polemical views continue to be promoted within education circles, creationist pupils will continue to suffer and will remain unpersuaded.

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Chapter 10
On the Idea of Non-Confessional Faith-Based Education

Michael Hand

Introduction

The idea of non-confessional faith-based education looks at first sight like a contradiction in terms. When people talk about faith-based education, what they usually have in mind is confessional education, a form of education concerned with imparting and consolidating a set of religious beliefs and values. So it may seem like a fool's errand to try to pull apart the adjectives 'faith-based' and 'confessional', at least as they modify the noun 'education'.

In previous work I have myself insisted that faith schools are necessarily in the business of nurturing religious faith. My argument for this claim was as follows:

> No doubt the concept marked by the phrase 'faith school' is an inexact one, whose boundaries, as Wittgenstein might say, have not so far been drawn. If all the schools we currently describe as faith schools were suddenly to renounce their religious mission, it may be that, rather than withdraw the description, we should continue to apply it to them on the basis of their distinctively constituted governing bodies. And clearly this would not be a complete departure from current usage. But it would be a mistake to conclude from this that religious nurture is only contingently associated with faith schools. If, to borrow another Wittgensteinian metaphor, the logical criteria of faith schooling are like the overlapping fibres of a thread, it can hardly be doubted that the longest and strongest of these fibres is the aim of passing on religious beliefs. (Hand 2003, pp. 90–91)

But I now think there *is* room for doubt about the length and strength of this fibre. Indeed, while it is clear that a faith base and confessional aims are often found together in educational institutions, I am no longer persuaded that there is any necessary connection between them. Nor do I think being faith-based is logically tied to the constitution of governing bodies.

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The education offered by a school is properly said to be faith-based, I suggest, when it is rooted in or underpinned by a faith perspective. An education rooted in a faith perspective may or may not include among its aims the transmission of that perspective to pupils. We should not be surprised that it frequently does: religions typically, and understandably, attach value to their own propagation. But it is quite possible for faith-based education to eschew this aim, and not too difficult to think of reasons why it might: nurturing faith in children may be seen as someone else's responsibility, as peripheral to educational concerns, as incompatible with other educational aims, or even as morally objectionable. That a school offers an education underpinned by a theory, philosophy or faith does not entail that it teaches the truth of that theory, philosophy or faith.

If it is accepted that we can drive this semantic wedge between faith-based education and confessional education, the next question is whether we should. Does drawing this distinction serve any useful purpose? My aim in this chapter is to show that it does. I shall begin by defending the claim that there is a compelling moral objection to confessional education. This objection, coupled with the fact that around a third of state-maintained schools in the UK are at least nominally faith-based, gives us a pressing practical reason to explore the possibility of non-confessional faith-based education. If there is some way for these schools to maintain their faith base while shedding their objectionable confessional aims, it ought to be considered.

I shall then offer some thoughts on what non-confessional education rooted in a faith perspective might look like. It is, of course, for faith communities themselves to work out their theologies of education: I presume to do no more here than suggest some lines of inquiry they may find it fruitful to pursue. But I hope to say enough to show that giving up confessional aims is no impediment to providing distinctive and attractive forms of faith-based education.

The Objection to Confessional Education

What is wrong with confessional education? Simply this: imparting religious beliefs to others requires indoctrinatory methods of teaching. Ivan Snook, in his classic discussion of the concept of indoctrination, writes:

> Christian teachers of all persuasions are expected to teach for belief in certain propositions, the propositions varying from sect to sect. It is clear that such teaching is indoctrination because whatever the particular proposition, the evidence for it is inconclusive: it is rejected by other competent authorities. That all religious propositions are doubtful in this sense is sufficient to indicate that teaching for belief in them is always indoctrination. (Snook 1972, p. 74)

No religious proposition is decisively confirmed by evidence and argument; so acquainting people with the evidence and argument in support of a religious belief does not give them sufficient reason to adopt it. One cannot impart religious beliefs to others by the force of reason alone. But to impart beliefs by any other means,

by manipulation, habituation or psychological pressure, is to bring it about that those beliefs are held non-rationally. And this is just what is meant by indoctrination.

Indoctrination is considered a significant harm because of the difficulty of shifting beliefs one has come to hold non-rationally. Insofar as one holds one's beliefs on the basis of evidence and argument, they are open to revision and correction. One is prepared to modify or relinquish them in the light of fresh evidence, or fresh appraisals of old evidence. Insofar as one's beliefs are held non-rationally, on the other hand, they are highly resistant to reassessment. Because they are not founded on evidence, the discovery of counter-evidence has little or no effect on them. The damage done to the child's mind by indoctrination is well described by John Wilson:

> For here we have taken over, or put to sleep, a central part of the child's personality – his ability to think rationally in a certain area. To put it dramatically: there is always hope so long as the mind remains free, however much our behaviour may be forced or our feelings conditioned. But if we occupy the inner citadel of thought and language, then it is difficult to see how a person can develop or regain rationality except by a very lengthy and arduous course of treatment. (Wilson et al. 1967, pp. 174–5)

The objection to confessional education rests, then, on a claim about religious propositions (that none is decisively confirmed by evidence and argument) and a claim about teaching unconfirmed propositions as true (that the resulting beliefs will be non-rationally held). It will be helpful to say a little more about each.

Religious beliefs, for the time being at least, are matters of *faith* rather than *knowledge*. We are normally prepared to count a person's beliefs as knowledge only when they are justified in a fairly strong sense, when the balance of epistemic considerations weighs decisively in their favour. We say that a person's beliefs are held by faith when they go beyond the evidence available, or are based on readings of evidence with which others may reasonably disagree. This is not to say that beliefs held by faith are irrational, or wholly lacking in evidential or argumentative support; it is just to say that they fall short of the justificatory standard required for knowledge. If they met that standard, we should no longer think of religious beliefs as requiring an act of faith.

It is, I take it, a contingent matter that no religious proposition is decisively confirmed by evidence and argument. The claim is not that religious propositions are in principle unverifiable. We can imagine without too much difficulty a world in which certain religious propositions have been verified (a world, for example, in which Jesus Christ has come again in glory to judge the living and the dead); but we do not, at present, live in such a world. As things stand, the available evidence and argument is ambiguous: there is reasonable disagreement among reasonable people about the best way to interpret it.

To be sure, there has been no shortage of attempts in the history of religious thought to demonstrate the truth of religious propositions. St Thomas Aquinas famously argued that there are five ways of proving the existence of God. If just one of his proofs were successful, it would have to be admitted that a person who believed in God on the basis of that proof was in possession of religious knowledge. In fact, however, no attempt to demonstrate the truth of a religious proposition has stood up to rational scrutiny. There are serious defects in all the traditional theistic

proofs, as there are in proofs of the immortality of the soul. A reasonable person may fully comprehend the arguments yet still reject the religious propositions they are intended to support.

Perhaps most defenders of confessional education are willing to accept this assessment of the epistemic standing of religious propositions. If so, they are presumably inclined to take issue with the second of the claims highlighted above, to the effect that imparting beliefs for which the evidence is inconclusive results in those beliefs being non-rationally held. The argument for this claim is that a person can be brought to hold a belief either by *appealing to her reason* (by presenting her with epistemic considerations that weigh decisively in its favour) or by *bypassing her reason* (by securing her assent through the exercise of psychological power). Where the latter method is used, beliefs come to be held independently of their evidential and argumentative grounds, and are thus inoculated against subsequent encounters with countervailing evidence and argument.

An important objection to this argument is that it seems to overlook one of the most common ways in which beliefs are transmitted from one person to another: by the exercise of perceived epistemic authority. If I perceive you to be in an appropriate position to speak with authority on some matter, it is normally reasonable for me to believe what you say about it without your having to present me with relevant evidence and argument. In this case there is no need for any psychological pressure or manipulation, but nor is it necessary for epistemic considerations to weigh decisively in favour of the beliefs imparted. All that is required is that I perceive you to be an epistemic authority.

I have argued elsewhere (Hand 2002, 2004) that this is what enables parents to give young children a weak form of religious upbringing without indoctrinating them. Because young children naturally regard their parents as authorities on more or less everything, parents can share their religious beliefs with their children by exercising their perceived epistemic authority and without resorting to manipulation or pressure. To exercise one's perceived epistemic authority in this way is, of course, to abuse it; but it is not hard to think of other false or unconfirmed beliefs parents routinely impart to children by this method (beliefs about Santa Claus or the tooth fairy, for example), and the damage done by deception in these cases is much less troubling than the damage done by indoctrination.

The question, then, is whether this method of imparting religious beliefs is available to teachers in schools. If it is, the moral objection to confessional education is significantly weakened. It would suggest that teachers can persuade pupils of the truth of religious propositions in the absence of decisive evidence and argument yet without having to bypass their reason. My contention, however, is that this method is *not* normally available to teachers, for the simple reason that, except perhaps in the very earliest years of schooling, pupils do not regard them as epistemic authorities on matters of religion.

Children raised in plural, liberal societies learn very quickly that there are no epistemic authorities on religion, that equally rational and well-informed people hold widely differing religious views. They know that their teachers are in no position to speak with authority on the truth or falsity of religious propositions.

They may respect their teachers' religious beliefs, and recognise them as authorities in the field of religious studies, but this is quite different from supposing them to be in possession of religious knowledge. Schools therefore fail to satisfy the conditions required for non-indoctrinatory religious belief transmission.

No doubt these conditions could be manufactured. But to manufacture them would itself require indoctrination. Given that teachers are *not* epistemic authorities on religion, to impart the belief that they *are* would necessarily involve the use of non-rational means of persuasion. What arguably justifies weak religious upbringing in the home is that young children naturally impute religious epistemic authority to their parents. To persuade school children to impute the same authority to their teachers would require a considerable exercise of psychological power.

I conclude that the objection to confessional education stands. Because no religious proposition is confirmed by evidence and argument, and because teaching unconfirmed propositions as true results in beliefs that are non-rationally held, confessional education does harm to children. If schools with a faith base are to escape the charge of indoctrination, they must eschew the aim of transmitting the faith in which they are rooted.

Non-Confessional Faith-Based Education

What, then, might non-confessional faith-based education look like? No doubt there are various ways in which educational provision might be underpinned or informed by theological principles and priorities. The most obvious way, though, and the one I shall focus on here, is in the design of the curriculum. A school's underpinning faith perspective, rather than being *on* the curriculum as a set of beliefs to be transmitted, can instead *shape* the curriculum by supplying criteria for the selection of what is to be taught.

It is a curious fact that religious organisations involved in state-maintained faith-based education in the UK have had little to say about curriculum design. A possible explanation for this reticence, at least as far as the Church of England is concerned, is to be found in the 'twofold concern' that has historically guided the Church's involvement in state education. The 1970 Durham Report distinguishes the 'general' and 'domestic' roles of the Church in education:

> It is extremely important to recognize at the outset that the Church of England voluntary school of today is an institution whose roots go back into a past where its role was seen as twofold. It was general, to serve the nation through its children, and domestic, to equip the children of the Church to take their places in the Christian community. (Church of England 1970, para 441)

This dual role is reiterated and reaffirmed in the 2001 Dearing Report, which proposes that the general role is underpinned by a 'theology of service' and the domestic role by a 'theology of nurture' (Church of England 2001, paras 3.16–17). The service purpose exemplifies the Church's concern 'for the wholeness of the human being, for the quality of the common life, for the direction in which

humanity goes'; the nurture purpose its concern for 'the nurture of the worshipping community, and the nurture of young people in and from the faith' (paras 3.16–17).

This twofold concern has been translated into a twofold conception of the curriculum. Church schools have understood themselves to be offering both a general education, delivered through a conventional set of academic subjects, and a confessional Christian education, delivered through Religious Education (RE) and collective worship. And they have taken the confessional element of the curriculum to be what distinguishes them from schools of other kinds. A good deal of ink has been spilt, by friends and foes alike, on the aims and content of RE and collective worship in Church schools; but very little has been spilt on the rest of the Church school curriculum, for the simple reason that it is assumed not to differ in any important respect from curricula elsewhere.

Since 1988, of course, and until very recently, all state-maintained schools in England and Wales have been required by law to teach the National Curriculum. RE and collective worship are the only areas of the curriculum over which the Church has been able to exercise any control in its voluntary aided schools – and in its voluntary controlled schools even RE is off-limits. It is plausible to suppose that this institutional constraint, together with the Church's sharp differentiation of its nurture purpose from its service purpose, have tended to discourage the Church from serious engagement with questions of curriculum design.

But all this may be about to change. Within months of the 2010 General Election, the Coalition Government published the Schools White Paper *The Importance of Teaching* (DfE 2010), setting out its vision for a 'new school system'. The panacea with which the nation's various educational ills are to be treated is school autonomy, construed as the devolution of 'as much decision-making to school level as possible' (para 5.1). This devolution of power is to be achieved by enabling and encouraging all schools to become academies, which are schools directly funded by central government and independent of local authority control. While academies must offer a 'balanced and broadly based curriculum' (Academies Act 2010, Section 1.6), they are exempt from the requirement to teach the National Curriculum. Schools opting for academy status are therefore at liberty to design broad and balanced curricula more or less from scratch. In September 2012 the Department for Education reported that '54 % of secondary schools are either already academies or in the pipeline to become academies' (DfE 2012).

The Church of England's most recent review of education, the 2012 Chadwick Report, makes it clear that the Church has recognised the implications of these policy developments and begun to think more carefully than previously about what should go on the school curriculum:

> The National Society began some thinking about how the whole curriculum might be shaped by the Christian foundation. This took the discussion beyond values and ethos into questions about the nature and purpose of education. The underlying assumptions behind curriculum content and delivery should be examined in the light of Christian theology. (Church of England 2012, para 3.13)

Perhaps the Church is poised to overturn its long-held assumption that its commitment to offering a general education implies a commitment to offering the *same* general education as schools of other kinds. Perhaps it will recognise that what

distinguishes a faith-based curriculum need not be the addition of confessional RE and collective worship to a conventional roster of academic subjects, but can be something both less objectionable and more radical than this. The academies policy invites religious organisations to ask afresh, and from their own theological perspectives, fundamental questions about the aims of education and kinds of learning from which children will most benefit. It is to religious organisations ready to raise these questions that I offer the following thoughts on the design of non-confessional but distinctively and authentically faith-based curricula.

A plausible claim about the school curriculum is that it should, among other things, initiate children into intrinsically worthwhile activities, the sort of activities people engage in not just for instrumental reasons, such as wanting to earn money or lose weight, but because the activities themselves are fulfilling, or rewarding, or in some way important or valuable. R.S. Peters famously defended this claim in his landmark book *Ethics and Education* (Peters 1966). And John White has recently defended it in his attempt to provide a robust set of aims for the National Curriculum:

> We want all young people to have a successful life. This means success in worthwhile activities and relationships which they have freely engaged in and which they pursue wholeheartedly. Teachers and parents should help young people to experience a range of absorbing activities (e.g. community involvement, artistic and literary activities, the pursuit of knowledge, helping others, forms of work and enterprise, sport and exercise, making things, love of nature). (White 2007, p. 25)

What makes this claim plausible is the thought that education should do more than equip people to meet their basic needs for food, shelter, money and health. To be sure, people must be so equipped: it is a necessary condition of leading a flourishing life that one's basic needs are met. But it is far from being a sufficient condition. In addition to being fed, sheltered, solvent and fit, people must participate in the kind of activities, projects and relationships that give meaning and purpose to human lives. So the aims of education should not be restricted to imparting instrumentally useful knowledge and skills; they should include initiating children into a range of intrinsically worthwhile activities.

If this claim is accepted, it raises a cluster of interesting normative questions. Which activities are the worthwhile ones? If, as seems likely, rather a large number of human activities qualify as worthwhile, which of them should be included in the school curriculum? And if the answer to that question is the *most* worthwhile activities, which ones are these?

White argues persuasively that there is 'a huge and still proliferating array of activities and relationships in which a young person can find fulfilment' (p. 38). Over the last few hundred years, he suggests, there has been a rapid expansion in the range of worthwhile activities readily available to everyone:

> The last two centuries have seen an immense proliferation of fulfilling kinds of work, many or most unknown in a pre-industrial age … Extend the period back a century or two and you find equally impressive changes in intimate relationships … In field after field one could tell a similar story. Think of the invention of and variations in new sports and outdoor activities over that period. Think of the burgeoning of forms and genres of music. Think of developments in home-making, in gardening, in foreign travel, in scholarship, in teaching, in socialising, in bringing up children. (*ibid*., p. 37)

How, then, is a selection to be made? How are we to decide which of these many and varied activities are to be included in the curriculum? There is, as yet, no robustly justified or generally accepted answer to this question. There is, perhaps, a *default* answer, to the effect that schools should concentrate on initiating children into a particular group of academic disciplines. But the arguments that have been advanced in support of the default answer are far from compelling. For the time being at least, the question must be seen as an open one.

Suppose it is true that curriculum design requires criteria for the selection of worthwhile activities, and that no such criteria currently enjoy the support of rationally decisive arguments. Under these circumstances, I suggest, curriculum designers must adopt selection criteria on the basis of whichever non-decisive arguments they find most persuasive; on the basis, that is, of their best guesses. And here, I think, there is room for religious considerations to enter the picture. One way of selecting worthwhile activities for inclusion in the curriculum is to identify some activities as more worthwhile than others, as having special value or significance in the lives of human beings. And one way to do this is to invoke a specific conception of human flourishing in which certain kinds of activity and relationship are centrally important. Insofar as religious belief systems include such conceptions, they supply just the sort of criteria needed for the purposes of curriculum selection. If religious beliefs may be said to represent the best guesses of those who hold them about the conditions of human flourishing, the curriculum criteria they supply will seem to those people to enjoy the most persuasive argumentative support.

Let me be clear: it is not my contention that the *only* way of selecting worthwhile activities for inclusion in the curriculum is by invoking a specific conception of human flourishing which finds greater intrinsic value in some worthwhile activities than others. An alternative strategy is to remain agnostic about the relative intrinsic value of worthwhile activities and inquire instead into their relative *instrumental* value. I have recently, and tentatively, pursued just such a strategy elsewhere: my suggestion there was that curriculum priority might be given 'to those worthwhile activities that enhance, enter into or shed light on all others' (Hand 2009, p. 118). Activities satisfying this criterion are not assumed to have greater intrinsic worth, to be more fulfilling or rewarding or important, than those failing to satisfy it: they are selected for inclusion in the curriculum because, in addition to their intrinsic worth, they have a particular, educationally-relevant kind of instrumental value. I still think this strategy has some merit; but it is by no means self-evident that appeals to relative instrumental value offer a more robust normative basis for the selection of worthwhile activities than appeals to relative intrinsic value.

There are, then, various rationally defensible approaches to selecting worthwhile activities for inclusion in the school curriculum, some of which involve appeals to specific conceptions of human flourishing and some of which do not. There would, perhaps, be strategic reasons for favouring approaches of the latter kind if the task in hand were to design a single, centralised curriculum for a diverse, democratic society. It might make sense, under these circumstances, to adopt a pragmatic policy of discounting curriculum selection criteria derived from the specific conception of

human flourishing favoured by any one group. But considerations of this kind have much less force when the task of curriculum design is delegated to individual schools, and when parental choice and diversity of provision are feted as salient virtues of the system. Here it is hard to see any good reason why the curriculum of a particular school should not be informed by the best guesses of those responsible for it about the conditions of human flourishing.

What might a curriculum informed by a religious conception of human flourishing look like? It is hard to believe that a respectable theological account of what matters most in human life would find the subjects of the conventional academic curriculum to be the worthwhile activities of greatest intrinsic value. Let me offer just two examples of the sorts of activity that strike me as promising candidates for inclusion in faith-based curricula, which would immediately start to distinguish them from curricula of other kinds.

First, religious conceptions of human flourishing will tend to assign relatively high intrinsic value to an activity we might call *inquiry into the meaning of life*. By this I mean an existentially-engaged search for meaning and value, a form of inquiry at once theoretical and practical into the significance, origin and purpose of human existence. Religious believers characteristically hold both that there are good answers available to ultimate questions and that human fulfilment (or salvation, or enlightenment) involves apprehending and acting on those answers. Serious and sustained inquiry into the meaning of life is therefore taken to be an activity of the first importance.

The twofold character of this inquiry, as both theoretical and practical, is well described by the nineteenth century Protestant theologian James Orr, in his analysis of what leads people to seek a 'view of things as a whole':

> The causes which lead to the formation of 'Weltanschauungen', that is, of general theories of the universe, explanatory of what it is, how it has come to be what it is, and whither it tends, lie deep in the constitution of human nature. They are twofold – speculative and practical, corresponding to the twofold aspect of human nature as thinking and active. On the theoretical side, the mind seeks unity in its representations. It is not content with fragmentary knowledge, but tends constantly to rise from facts to laws, from laws to higher laws, from these to the highest generalisations possible. Ultimately it abuts on questions of origin, purpose, and destiny, which as questions set by reason to itself, it cannot, from its very nature refuse at least to attempt to answer … But there is likewise a practical motive urging to the consideration of these well-worn questions of the why, whence, and whither? Looking out on the universe, men cannot but desire to know their place in the system of things of which they form a part, if only that they may know how rightly to determine themselves thereto. (Orr 1989 [1897], pp. 6–7)

Inquiry into the meaning of life, then, is not merely an intellectual exercise, not an *academic* activity insofar as this implies disinterestedness and detachment from practical concerns. It is certainly focused on truth, on finding the best 'general theory of the universe', but it is equally concerned with how to live, with what ultimately matters and what that requires of us. It is a form of inquiry that makes hefty emotional and intellectual demands: inquirers risk losing their grip on their most taken-for-granted assumptions, and must be open to changing not only their understanding of the world but also the way they 'determine themselves thereto'.

I do not mean to suggest that inquiry into the meaning of life is entirely absent from British education and educational theory. Michael Grimmitt's 'existential approach' to RE, in which pupils explore 'depth themes' with a view to 'learning to think at depth, seeing new dimensions in their experiences and forging out for themselves both meaning and purpose in what they encounter and what they do' (Grimmitt 1973, p. 58), certainly comes close to it. As does Andrew Wright's proposal that RE should enable pupils to 'acknowledge and articulate their own answers to ultimate questions, striving to reach a deeper understanding of them, and be willing to alter and adapt them should this become necessary' (Wright 1993, p. 79). And there are at least some RE teachers who devote at least some of their lessons to deep, existential inquiry of this kind. But it remains, perhaps understandably, a marginal feature of mainstream RE. The non-statutory national framework, local agreed syllabuses and public examination syllabuses for RE focus principally on knowledge and understanding of world religions, on empathy with those who hold religious beliefs, and on engagement with religious points of view on ethical issues.

Nor do I mean to suggest that the idea of including this sort of inquiry in the curriculum is wholly foreign to those concerned with faith-based education. During his tenure as Archbishop of Canterbury, George Carey declared that Christian education is about 'forming people who, however academically and technically skilful, are not reduced to inarticulate embarrassment by the great questions of life and death, meaning and truth' (Carey 1998, p. 10). More recently, Trevor Cooling, Director of the National Institute for Christian Education Research, has argued that 'grappling successfully with questions of meaning and significance contributes to developing into a healthy, balanced person and is a fundamentally important component of education' (Cooling 2010, p. 14). But there is little evidence that pupils in faith schools currently spend any more time grappling with questions of meaning and significance than pupils elsewhere.

Second, religious conceptions of human flourishing typically assign high intrinsic value to a class of activities I shall call *forms of service*. I take a form of service to be an activity whose primary purpose is to give help, relief or comfort to others. We think of such activities as intrinsically worthwhile because we hold there to be intrinsic value in helping people. While a person may have various non-altruistic motives for engaging in a form of service, to the extent that she engages in it for its own sake her motivation is altruistic.

I cannot see an obvious general reason why forms of service should tend to be more central to religious conceptions of human flourishing than to secular ones. As a matter of empirical fact, though, that seems to be the case. Perhaps the notion of service sits more easily with a worldview in which God is sovereign than one in which people are sovereigns unto themselves. Or perhaps it is psychologically more plausible to privilege altruistic motivation in human life if one takes human beings to be created in the image of the divine, or transformed by grace, or capable of liberation from the wheel of becoming. Be that as it may, calls to service, to almsgiving and charitable work, to feeding the hungry and healing the sick, to giving without thought of return, to altruistic concern and self-sacrificial love, are recognisably to the fore in the major world religions.

There are various forms of service into which children and young people might be initiated in school. They can serve one another through peer mentoring, peer support or friendship bench schemes. They can serve members of their local communities by visiting residents of nursing homes, preparing food for the homeless or gardening for the elderly. They can serve people further afield by charity fundraising through school fairs or sponsored walks, or by collecting books, toys or clothes for children in poverty in developing countries. What unites this diverse range of activities is the common purpose of helping others, and the point of including them in the curriculum is not that they are particularly difficult to master, but that engaging in them is the best way of acquiring a deep and motivating appreciation of their intrinsic value.

Again, I am not claiming that forms of service are altogether missing from schools in the UK. But they feature much less prominently than they might (and much less prominently than they do in US schools, for example, where a 1999 survey found that 'Sixty four percent of all public schools, including 83 % of public high schools, had students participating in community service activities recognized by and/or arranged through the school' (NCES 1999).) Over the last 15 years, such discussion as there has been among UK educational theorists about forms of service on the curriculum has been in relation to the aims and content of Citizenship, introduced as a compulsory school subject in 2002. But this discussion has consistently distinguished service from politics and insisted on the priority of the latter. For Bernard Crick, architect of the Citizenship National Curriculum, 'active citizenship' is at heart a matter of 'popular participation in public affairs', of 'combining together effectively to change or resist change' (Crick 2002, p. 2). Serving others in itself does not count as political engagement:

> Cleaning up a field after a rave or a blitz to clean up a local park or young children's playground is admirable, as is giving a party for the old and infirm, but it is not citizenship without a knowledge base (how can such despoliation or neglect be allowed to happen at all?), without a process that enhances skills of discovery and advocacy, or without any attempts to influence local authorities, councillors or the police, whatever, whoever is relevant. (*ibid*., p. 5)

While Citizenship certainly differs from old-style civics in its attention to action and participation, its chief practical aim is to enable pupils to 'work individually and with others to negotiate, plan and take action on citizenship issues to try to influence others, bring about change or resist unwanted change, using time and resources appropriately' (QCA 2007, p. 31). This is a perfectly respectable focus for a Citizenship curriculum; but a consequence of its adoption is that engagement in forms of service remains at best peripheral to the educational experience of most British schoolchildren.

Let me recap. Any defensible school curriculum will equip people to meet their basic needs and initiate them into a range of worthwhile activities. But the question of which worthwhile activities should be included in the range is one to which there is no uncontroversial answer. Where religious organisations are involved in the provision of schooling, it is reasonable for those organisations to draw criteria for the selection of worthwhile activities from their specific conceptions of human flourishing. The use of theological selection criteria is likely to yield curricula distinguished by

their emphasis on such activities as inquiry into the meaning of life and forms of service. In this way, curricula can be faith-based without being confessional.

Perhaps it will be doubted that this account of faith-based curriculum design really avoids confessionalism. To be sure, it may be said, persuading faith schools to eschew confessional education would be a crucial victory in the war on indoctrination; but encouraging them to use theological criteria to select curriculum activities opens the door to a subtler form of indoctrination, whereby children are predisposed by their initiation into a particular configuration of worthwhile activities towards adoption of a worldview congruent with that configuration. A child whose education powerfully brings home to her the intrinsic value of inquiry into the meaning of life and forms of service may be more inclined to adopt a specific conception of human flourishing that gives priority to these activities.

I have three points to make in response to this worry. First, there is clearly something in it. The point of initiating children into worthwhile activities is to give them an appreciation of the intrinsic value of those activities; and the judgments one makes about the significance, origin and purpose of human existence are almost certain to be influenced by what one takes to be intrinsically valuable. Second, it nevertheless seems wrong to describe this sort of influence as a form of indoctrination. Whatever else may be going on here, beliefs are not being imparted by means of psychological manipulation or pressure. If my education has stirred in me a passion for helping others I shall be more drawn to conceptions of human flourishing which emphasise altruism than those which do not; but it hardly follows that such a conception has been imposed on me or that my capacity for rational belief-formation has been impaired. And third, it is difficult to see how influence of this kind could be avoided. Any curriculum that includes some but not all worthwhile activities will be more congruent with some worldviews than others. When it comes to delimiting a range of activities into which children will be initiated in school, we have no choice; when it come to imparting beliefs by non-rational means, we do.

I have tried to show that the idea of non-confessional faith-based education is coherent, that the moral objection to confessional education gives us good reason to explore the idea, and that a promising way to realise it is to use theological criteria to select curriculum content. I have also suggested that recent developments in UK education policy, specifically the encouragement of all schools to become academies and the exemption of academies from the requirement to teach the National Curriculum, make the model of non-confessional faith-based education I have sketched a genuine option for British faith schools.

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Chapter 11
'Faith Schools' in England: The Humanist Critique

Andrew Copson

Introduction

In England there is a wide range of types of school that have, as legislation terms it, 'a religious character' or 'religious ethos'. Within England the term 'faith school' has conventionally been used since the late 1990s to denote any state-funded school, whatever its type,[1] of which one or more of the following is true:

- the school is permitted by law to discriminate in the admission of pupils on religious grounds;
- the school is permitted by law to discriminate in the employment of staff on religious grounds;
- the school is permitted by law to vary the curriculum in a number of ways – vary it that is, from the curriculum required or normally taught in other schools.

Although there are others, these are the three main ways in which 'faith schools' can be distinguished from non-religious state-funded schools.[2] The number of these schools was in long term decline until 1997 and their existence at that point could be seen more as a relic of the political and social milieu of 1944, when the English state school system was established. Since 1997, however, the policy of successive

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[1] Successive government policies have created many different types of schools in England which may be religious. 'Voluntary aided' and 'Voluntary Controlled' are the two traditional types; added to these in 2002 was a type of school called an 'Academy', sponsored by a private organisation such as a church, and outside of local government control. Under the present government, some Academies have been re-branded as 'Free Schools', the range of organisations that might set them up increased, and their public accountability further attenuated.

[2] Although it is worth observing that even English state-funded schools *without* a 'religious character' are required by law to have a daily act of religious worship.

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governments has been to encourage growth in their number. In that time, humanist organisations and individuals, whose assumption had been that such schools would wither on the vine, have been some of the most vocal critics of both new and existing faith schools in England. This chapter explores the main criticisms they have made and examines their sources. For convenience, the main source for humanist objections and reasons will be *A Better Way Forward* (Mason 2006), the British Humanist Association policy paper first published in 2002 and revised in 2006. Although some of its precise recommendations may now be redundant, given the swift pace of structural change in the English school system, its broad direction remains largely relevant and the principles that underpin its recommendations entirely so.

Humanist Objections to Faith Schools

Discrimination in Admissions

Faith schools that are permitted to select their pupils on grounds of parental religion raise four interrelated problems. Firstly, there is the problem of the unfairness of access to a public service that such discrimination represents. Why should a Hindu or Jewish or atheist or simply religiously unconcerned parent, citizen of the same country as her Catholic neighbour, with all the same rights and obligations, be disbarred from having her son educated at the local state school, which her taxes fund, when her neighbour can have her son educated there? Shouldn't there be an assumption that access to a public good should be equal and fair?

Secondly, there is the problem of socio-economic segregation created by discriminatory admissions. When a school operates selective admissions procedures and is a school to which affluent and well-educated parents wish to send their child, they are the ones who are successful in gaining a place for their child and those lower down the socio-economic scale are less able to do so; a problem of socio-economic segregation is thereby created.[3] Whether it is because the former parents are more savvy about the rules of the game and know how to play the system, whether it is because they have more leisure and are hence more able to meet the social obligations that attendance at a place of worship implies, or whether it is simply because the demographic of certain religions happens to be a higher one across the board, research has demonstrated again and again that socio-economic selection follows religious selection in practice.[4] It is most consistently observed in Church of England schools.

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[3] This effect is also held by some to be the main contributor to faith schools' higher success in exam and test league tables than schools without a religious character. The fact that, although they are higher in league tables, they are lower in value-added tables strongly supports this proposition.

[4] E.g. most recently http://www.guardian.co.uk/news/datablog/interactive/2012/mar/05/faith-schools-free-school-meals and http://www.schoolsadjudicator.gov.uk/RMS_upload/Annual%20Report%202009-103.pdf and (West et al. 2009).

The third and fourth problems raised by religiously selective admissions are also problems of segregation: religious and ethnic. Religious segregation inevitably follows a policy of religiously selective admissions – it is the very point of religiously selective admissions for many supporters of faith schools – and is most obviously observed not in Church of England schools in England but in Jewish, Muslim, and Roman Catholic ones. It means that whole school populations, rather than reflecting the diverse constitution of the local or national community in which they are based, reflect instead a religiously homogenous one. The problem of ethnic segregation arises at least in part out of the problem of religious segregation when certain religions are strongly correlated with certain ethnicities, such as in the case of Sikh, Hindu, Muslim or Jewish schools; but it can also arise tangentially, for example when a local Roman Catholic or Church of England school may siphon off local children of one ethnicity, leaving the local non-religious community school ethnically homogenous as a result, and the local schools thereby divided along ethnic lines.

The answer given by humanist organisations has been to end the legal ability of faith schools to operate religiously discriminatory admissions policies (Mason 2006). Such a move would not be without precedent – governments have in the past acted to limit both the circumstances in which faith schools are permitted to select and the methods of selection they are permitted to operate. It would also not be without justification. In 1944 and in the decades since, the permission to discriminate given to schools could be seen as a fair trade for the fact that the churches were paying a significant proportion of the school running costs themselves. Today the portion of the running costs paid for each school has dwindled to zero and the argument for allowing discrimination has been similarly attenuated.

Discrimination in Employment

Faith schools that are permitted to select their staff on grounds of religion raise the same problem of equality of access to public goods as those that select in the admission of pupils. All jobs in faith schools have their salaries paid from public funds. Why should a Muslim accountant be disbarred from being the bursar at the local state school, which her own taxes fund, just because it is a Catholic school?

A second problem is well illustrated by the fact that Roman Catholic and Church of England schools are much more likely to have to re-advertise their head-teacher posts than schools without a religious character.[5] By seeking to discriminate in recruiting to certain posts within state schools, schools may deprive themselves of the candidates best qualified to lead the school and serve its educational purpose, regardless of their own religious or non-religious beliefs.

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[5] See e.g. Howson (2007) which showed over half of Roman Catholic schools had to re-advertise the post.

The situation in employment discrimination is complicated by the fact that there are some posts for which it does make sense – taking the existence of faith schools as a given – to apply certain religious tests: the leading of worship or inculcation of a religion seem to be the two roles where this applies. The answer given by humanist organisations has been to limit discrimination to these very restricted posts and work long-term for the discontinuation of all discrimination. Unfortunately, discrimination in employment is one area which has seen further entrenchment in recent years, when the Education and Inspections Act 2006 enacted provisions which allowed more faith schools to discriminate on religious grounds in their appointment of heads and more faith schools to discriminate in their appointment of non-teaching staff.

Variance in the Curriculum

Although at the time of writing it is in the process of almost total reform, and may even end by being effectively abolished, England still has something called a National Curriculum. Because it is no longer required to be taught in all state schools,[6] its applicability to faith schools is uneven – some are exempt from the requirement to teach it altogether, others are still subject to its provisions.

In addition to the National Curriculum every school has to teach a subject called 'Religious Education' ('RE'). In state schools without a religious character the subject of RE is required to be non-denominational and may not instruct pupils in any religion but instead must teach about different religions as well as non-religious philosophies such as Humanism. In many faith schools, the subject of RE is permitted to be confessional – that is, it may be instruction in a certain religion – and there is no requirement for any other approach to life to be taught about at all.

In addition to the National Curriculum, schools in England teach a subject called Personal, Social, Health and Economic Education (PSHEE). This is the subject in which pupils learn about relationships, including sexual relationships, and through which much moral, social and cultural development is fostered. Although there are national guidelines for PSHEE, they are non-statutory and many faith schools have made it clear that they teach PSHEE in accordance with the tenets of their religion, resisting successive government moves to give the subject statutory guidelines.

Whether it is because they are exempt from the National Curriculum, because they are not bound by any statutory provisions in relation to personal, social, health and economic education, or because they teach their own version of RE, faith schools have been criticised on all these grounds. The criticisms centre on two risks: firstly, that education in faith schools conceals the truth in some matters,

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[6] 'Academy Schools', including so-called 'Free Schools' are exempt *en bloc* from teaching the National Curriculum.

whether deliberately or through the ignorance of teachers, and instead teaches that untrue claims are correct; secondly, that education in faith schools is unacceptably narrow, denying children access to a broad and balanced range of knowledge and perspectives that will reflect the range of human experience. There is also the risk that contradictory information will be taught to children:

> Nor is it just in the sphere of values, moral or ethical education that it can be wrong to teach only one religious view to children. Creationism (which has been much debated in light of claims that academies funded by evangelical Christians are teaching it in science, or as science), even when taught as true only in RE in faith schools can be damaging. If children are taught the facts of the matter in National Curriculum science, and an untrue word-picture in another class, they will realize that the two are incompatible. Although it is bad enough to think they may choose to believe the untrue myth, it is even worse to think that exposure to what are being sold as two different 'truths' may lead the child into the sort of relativism that so many religious representatives are encouraging today. (Copson 2006: 80ff)

Examples in practice of the risks being fulfilled have included:

- Narrow RE leading to an ignorance of alternative viewpoints, or a distorted view of some religious groups or of non-religious people;
- Untrue claims being presented as fact (e.g. the Quran being inerrant in scientific matters such as the immiscibility of salt- and fresh-water, the Biblical account of creation being literally true and the theory of evolution false);
- Censorship of literature because of themes deemed immoral (e.g. *Romeo and Juliet*) or of activities because deemed immoral (e.g. dancing in PE);
- History and Geography being limited (e.g. to only teaching about periods important to Jews or areas of the world where Jews live);
- The immorality of gay or bisexual relationships being taught with consequent negative reactions against gay pupils.

An added risk is that faith schools' RE and other religion-specific arrangements are not inspected by the state inspectorate but by a religious one. The concern is that such an arrangement will not detect what may be unacceptable and counter-educational practices.

The solution proposed by humanist campaigners has been to make statutory both PSHE and a balanced and non-confessional RE, and issue National Curriculum guidelines for them, as well as to restore the National Curriculum as statutory for all state-funded schools. Confessional religious instruction, it has been suggested, could then be provided to pupils on an opt-in basis as a supplement to the timetable, but on school premises (Mason 2006).

The Bases of Opposition

We turn now from the individual problems with faith schools detected by humanists to the bases on which they mount their objections.

Human Rights Discourse

The first plank on which humanist critiques of faith schools have rested is one that is presumed to be universal – internationally accepted principles of human rights. In practice, it motivates not just humanist critics of faith schools but many religious critics of faith schools as well. Two human rights instruments have been repeatedly cited – the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), adopted by the UN in 1989, and ratified by the UK in 1991; and the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR), ratified by the UK in 1951 and brought into domestic UK law as the Human Rights Act 1998 (HRA).

The CRC declares that 'States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to ensure that the child is protected against all forms of discrimination or punishment on the basis of the status, activities, expressed opinions, or beliefs of the child's parents, legal guardians, or family members.'[7] And humanists have argued that the exclusion of children from faith schools on the grounds of parental belief or practice is contrary to the CRC as a result (Mason 2006). Faith schools are state schools, provided as a public service at public expense and their admissions policies clearly fall within the remit of the state to regulate, as it has regulated them before.

The HRA too has been used to justify opposition to selective admissions. It says, 'In the exercise of any functions which it assumes in relation to education and teaching, the state shall respect the right of parents to ensure such education and teaching in conformity with their own religious and philosophical convictions,'[8] and this clause has been used to argue for common state schools that respect many beliefs and offer facilities and opportunities for observance and teaching in conformity with them:

> Religious schools are unlikely to secure real choice. It is often the school that chooses the pupil rather than the parent that chooses the school, so parents may not get the education they want for their child even where there is, supposedly, choice. Choice tends to favour large well-organised groups, and there will always remain many places where religious minorities are too small to demand or sustain their own schools. And choice or rights for one group often limit the choice or rights of everyone else; for example, there are parts of the country where it is already difficult to find an ordinary (non-church) maintained primary school. (Mason 2006: 36)

The CRC and HRA are also used to support objections to variance in the curriculum.

Three citations from the CRC are made to argue that a broad and balanced syllabus of RE is more compatible with the CRC than the narrow one permitted to faith schools, and that there is no justification for the state allowing some children

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[7] CRC, Article 2, 2.

[8] HRA, First Protocol, Article 2.

more limited access to the broader curriculum and a wide range of ideas and opinions in an objective atmosphere of free inquiry:

> In all actions concerning children … the best interests of the child shall be a primary consideration.[9]
>
> The child shall have the right to freedom of expression; this right shall include freedom to seek, receive and impart information and ideas of all kinds …[10]
>
> … the education of the child shall be directed to … the preparation of the child for responsible life in a free society, in the spirit of understanding, peace, tolerance, equality of sexes, and friendship among all peoples, ethnic, national and religious groups …[11]

The expansion of faith schools in particular has been held out as resulting in more children getting a limited type of education, preferred by their parents but not necessarily in their best interests. In practice, by dividing children by religion and narrowing down their experience, some religious schools will prepare their pupils for segregated lives with limited future options and it is questionable whether all religious schools can really commit and contribute to a 'free society', 'equality of sexes' and 'tolerance'. (Article 29, 1d, has also been used to challenge admissions discrimination in faith schools on the basis that, since there is ample evidence that children are more tolerant and understanding of difference if they are schooled with children from different backgrounds from as early an age as possible, discriminatory admissions and the consequent segregated schooling are incompatible with the aim of this Article.)

Article 9 of the HRA is used to support a balanced RE over a confessional one:

> Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or in private, to manifest his religion or belief, in worship, teaching, practice and observance.[12]

The argument is that faith schools, many of which exist to support and perpetuate one religion rather than to permit the observance of other religions, freedom of thought or changes of belief leave the child incapable and without the resources to exercise her full right to freedom of belief.

More generally, the CRC has been used to challenge the whole basis of the expansion in number and range of faith schools, based on the fact that children themselves are mostly against faith schools, as this extract from *Better Way Forward* shows:

> States Parties shall assure to the child who is capable of forming his or her own views the right to express those views freely in all matters affecting the child, the views of the child being given due weight in accordance with the age and maturity of the child. (CRC, Article 12, 1)

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[9] CRC, Article 3, 1.

[10] CRC, Article 13, 1.

[11] CRC, Article 29, 1d.

[12] HRA, Article 9, 1.

> Will local children be included in consultations on proposed religious schools? Will parents consider their children's views about attending such schools? How much are children's opinions being taken into account? … And young people, including those from ethnic minorities, generally favour integration, as shown in a survey by Save the Children and in reports by Ted Cantle and Herman Ouseley:
>
> We have been particularly struck by the views of younger people, who, in strong terms, emphasised the need to break down barriers by promoting knowledge and understanding of different cultures … Many of those we spoke to preferred integration on many levels and those who had experienced schools with a mixture of faiths, races and cultures were very positive about that environment …
>
> What was most inspiring was the great desire among young people for better education, more social and cultural interaction … Some young people have pleaded desperately for this to overcome the negativity that they feel is blighting their lives and leaves them ignorant of other cultures and lifestyles …(Mason 2006: 35)

So, humanists have cited human rights guaranteed by law in support of their contention that discrimination against children and parents in state school admissions is unacceptable, and that it is only a broad and balanced curriculum that can guarantee a child's human rights. Beyond the precise clauses of human rights instruments, a human rights-based view of society and the state is a further foundation for many humanist objections to faith schools.

State and Society

Humanists have offered arguments based on secularism being the only way for a plural society to accommodate diversity as buttressing their case against faith schools. As with arguments from human rights, the argument from secularism and social cohesion also motivates religious critics of faith schools. In *The Case for Secularism: a neutral state in an open society*, the Humanist Philosophers' Group defines a secular state:

> A secular state is not an atheist state. It does not seek to impose atheist beliefs and institutions. On the contrary, a secular state is one which protects the right of all its citizens to hold their own beliefs, religious or non-religious or anti-religious, and protects the right of believers to practise their religion. A society governed by a secular state is therefore not a society dominated by secular beliefs and values *in contrast to* religious beliefs and values. It is not the 'godless' society which some religious believers imagine and fear … We are using the word 'secularism' to refer to the view which has traditionally been described as the separation of church and state. Since the word 'church' is normally applied to Christian institutions, that definition needs to be up-dated in contemporary society to refer to the separation of state institutions from all religious practices and institutions. That is what we are talking about. (Norman 2007: 6ff)

It goes on to advance three main arguments in favour of secularism: an argument based on autonomy – that in a good society no one should be coerced in matters of religion or belief; an argument based on fairness – that in a good society no one should be privileged or discriminated against because of their religion or belief; and an argument based on pragmatism – that in a diverse society secularism is the only

mechanism to avoid a 'war of all against all'. Having elaborated three arguments for secularism, they proceed to apply these arguments to education:

> We believe that the value of autonomy is in fact central to the case against faith schools. Admittedly, in some faith schools religious education is of a high quality, eschewing indoctrination and cultivating pupils' autonomy. Even if that is so, however, there is always liable to be a tension between the school's respect for autonomy and its 'faith' character, which is typically seen to involve encouraging and promoting a certain 'ethos'. If churches and faiths want to contribute to education for its own sake, there is nothing to stop them doing so, by making financial donations or by encouraging their members to volunteer to help in schools or to train as teachers. But if they insist on having their own schools, it is difficult to see why they should want this unless with the hope that Christian or Muslim schools will encourage pupils to grow up as Christians or Muslims.
>
> The argument from fairness might to some extent support the case for every faith to have its own quota of faith schools in the public system, in proportion to its strength in the society at large. There is more to be said, however. There are, first, simple considerations of practicality. If all parents were to have the option of sending their children to a faith school of their own religion in their own locality, there would have to be an unrealistically vast increase in the number of schools. Note also that if churches and other faith groups are actively encouraged to set up their own schools and given support from public funding, then even if this is done with fairness as between the different religions, it gives religious organisations a privileged position within the educational system, by comparison with the non-religious. In that respect it is incompatible with fairness-based secularism.
>
> Our third argument, the pragmatic case for secularism, can also come into play at this point. There are serious concerns about the social effects of faith schools. The pragmatic argument was that in a pluralist society people of all faiths and none have to learn to live together without their differences degenerating into destructive conflict. We believe that faith schools tend to obstruct that goal. They are liable to be divisive, they encourage children to identify with their own separate communities, and are thus liable to perpetuate a climate of suspicion and distrust. (Norman 2007: 25ff)

This is all in keeping with a humanist commitment to pluralism frequently endorsed in humanist statements on the issue of schools: 'In a pluralist, multi-cultural society, the state must promote the tolerance and recognition of different values, religious beliefs and non-religious beliefs …' (Humanist Philosophers' Group 2001: 2) and prefigured in previous education policies:

> The main educational argument against faith-based schools is a simple matter of principle: the proper role of publicly-funded schools should be to prepare children for adult life as citizens of a complex, pluralist society. Schools should take care to be impartial, fair and balanced when controversial subjects are discussed, and it is as wrong for publicly funded schools to promote particular religious faiths, making claims for their truth that are heavily disputed, as it would be for them to promote particular political viewpoints. Schools should respect the autonomy and rights of their pupils, preparing them in due course to make their own mature decisions about their beliefs and values. We recognise that parents generally wish their children to adopt their own values and beliefs and, sharing that attitude ourselves, we respect their wishes. However, we also respect the autonomy of the individual, even when young, and we deplore the way that some parents seek to close rather than open options for their children, and to keep them in ignorance of, rather than to inform them about and help them appraise, alternatives. (Mason 2006: 22)

Behind the argument for secularism and the motivating force in many of these humanist accounts of what a good society should be like is the idea of social

cohesion – the idea that there should be a unity in diversity, solidarity between individual citizens. Benn and Millar apply this to the question of schools very vividly:

> There is no more powerful sight than the children of Muslim and Jewish, black and white, the most well-off and the poorest families, all walking through the same school gate in the morning. Imagine a history lesson on the legacies of colonialism or the holocaust, a discussion on social and economic equality or religious freedoms, where those participating bring the widest range of personal histories, in terms of social, faith, ethnic and family background, to the topics under discussion …
>
> By learning with other children of different backgrounds, faiths and abilities young people learn how to operate within society, to respect both the strong and the vulnerable, and to understand and work with all elements of a community; this gives each child the strongest moral and intellectual basis for adult citizenship. (Benn and Miller 2006: 8)

And the other side of the coin is the social disunity we can expect if we continue down segregated lines (the research referred to is *My voice, my vote, my community*, ESRC study of young people's civic action and inaction, November 2005, p. 25):

> If the children of Hindu and humanist, Jewish and Muslim parents do not mix in the classroom, and their parents do not mix at the school gate, when will they encounter each other? How will they learn from and about each other if not in a school that models the wider society they must grow up in? And what will the effect of this mutual dislocation turn out to be? A recent ESRC study of young people's civic action (and inaction) gives us a hint of what schools divided along religious lines will produce. It identifies one category of young people as 'Own Group Identified': 'Those who are high on this profile identify strongly with their religion … [and] are least interested in environmental issues. They are also less likely to vote, now or in the future, or to take part in demonstrations. They have the lowest rate of participation in recent community and political activities …' (Copson 2006: 81ff)

So, humanists have made arguments against faith schools based on a vision of what society should be like, which sees schools as social institutions that have a part to play in bringing this condition about and premised on the idea that it is a good thing to have a society of mutually knowing and tolerant individuals, at ease with each other. Beyond the social arguments, however, have also been advanced arguments that go to the very heart of what education is, and which challenge the right of partial and confessional education to being even denoted as such.

Philosophies of Education

Humanist educationists have long been active in England and have contributed significantly to the tradition and contemporary field of philosophy of education. It is inevitable that a large part of the objection to faith schools should be based on the theories they have elaborated and this is frankly admitted:

> Our ideas about education are shaped by our basic beliefs. We see children as people with rights and responsibilities accruing to them progressively as they grow and mature. We do not see them as possessions of their parents or of the state, but we hold that both parents and the state (notably through its schools) have duties to help fit them for life as autonomous adults, making their own decisions, including decisions about fundamental beliefs, accepting the freedom of others to differ, and both contributing to and benefiting from the community. (Mason 2006: 20)

Usefully summarised by Jeaneane Fowler (Fowler 1999: 170), a typical humanist view is that education 'should foster creativity, independent thought, the ability to analyse material carefully and thoughtfully, and the ability to argue rationally'; it should be 'aimed at the all-round development of the personality and of the full range of an individual's talents' and involve the 'encouragement of rational and critical thought and not blind obedience … developing individual freedom in tandem with moral responsibility' through a process of reflective enquiry, 'asking questions about the nature and purpose of things, asking questions about needs, about the self, society, where we are going in life and what kind of individual pathway is right in life, making moral decisions, thinking about responsibilities, about relationships, and about individual, societal and global needs'.

Humanist approaches to education have always valued reason, the cultivation of a rational approach to the acquisition and categorisation of knowledge; Bertrand Russell and the pre-Socratic teachers alike placed enormous value on the cultivation and encouragement of curiosity. Moral responsibility has also been a feature, and humanist thinkers on education such as James Hemming, Margaret Knight and Harold Blackham placed enormous importance on the development of values in education; a humanist educator like Bernard Crick extended this interest out into the social and political worlds. The development of 'personal completeness' informed by the idea of the 'the whole person' has also been a fundamental part of the humanist approach to education. These three aspects of a humanist approach to education will give as good a shape to an account of humanist approaches to education as any other.

1. Knowledge through reason and inquiry

Harold Blackham said, 'The humanist is a rationalist, one who puts reason first; and he stresses the open mind, dedication to a disinterested search for truth' (Blackham 1968: 127). This is the approach to knowledge that humanists see embodied in education, where that education is a search for true facts. Critical thinking is not just the best way to understand the universe and reality. On the one hand it also has great social benefits: 'The more educated the electorate, the more they should be able to understand the issues. By education I mean, of course, the ability to think for themselves and distinguish between fact and propaganda' (Hawton 1963: 84). On the other hand, as in the view of the Indian humanist M N Roy, the ability to reason and inquire freely is personally emancipatory as well as socially productive: 'I appeal to you to be rational, critical, inspired with the spirit of enquiry. Don't take things simply for granted. If you do not have the courage to revolt against authority outright, then at least go to the extent to demanding on what sanction is the authority based. You shall never be able to be free on this earth so long as you remain a voluntary subject to forces unknown and unknowable' (Roy 1953: 119).

The general idea is that this sort of education – rational, critical, scientific – sets a child up for life, and that a bogus metaphysics permanently infantilises rather than educates the young: 'I disagree when you argue that man cannot in general do without the consolation of the religious illusion, that without it he would not endure the troubles of life, the cruelty of reality … Man cannot remain a child forever; he must venture at last into the hostile world. This maybe called education into reality' (Freud 1928: 91).

Of course, the process of scientific education is not coldly rational. It implies values and emotions and inspirations that it is as important for a humanist education to nurture:

> Although improvement of character should not be the aim of instruction, there are certain qualities which are very desirable, and which are essential to the successful pursuit of knowledge; they may be called the intellectual virtues … Among such qualities the chief seem to me: curiosity, open-mindedness, belief that knowledge is possible though difficult, patience, industry, concentration and exactness. Of these, curiosity is fundamental; where it is strong and directed to the right objects, all the rest will follow. (Russell 1944: 158)

2. Moral education

> Why should I consider others? These ultimate moral questions like all ultimate questions can be desperately difficult to answer, as every philosophy student knows. Myself, I think the only possible answer to this question is the humanist one – because we are naturally social beings; we live in communities; and life in any community, from the family outwards is much happier, and fuller, and richer if the members are friendly and cooperative than if they are hostile and resentful. (Knight 1954: 49)

Many religious criticisms of a humanist approach to moral education focus on the question of what can be the ultimate sanction in such moral training. The assumption behind such criticism is that without punishment or reward after death or the approval or disapproval of an omnipotent deity or an improvement in one's next life, people will naturally be selfish and fail entirely to consider others. 'Is this fear-and-favour, sanction-driven morality the best approach to parental caring or moral education? Humanists think not, and instead emphasis the value of altruism and co-operation' (Herrick 2009). A humanist moral educationist like Margaret Knight does not accept that people are naturally selfish but instead focuses on the existence of social impulses that can be developed and encouraged. At the same time, she does not pretend that all we need do is nurture these impulses. She sees morality – as all humanists do – as 'an organised attempt to reinforce the social impulses' and accepts the need for coherent rules that embody the best of the millenia of social evolution in the way of moral behaviour. She also observes, 'In any case this question of ultimate sanctions is largely theoretical. I have never yet met the child – and I have met very few adults – to whom it has every occurred to raise the question: "Why should I consider others?" Most people are prepared to accept as a completely self-evident moral axiom that we must not be completely selfish, and if we base our moral training on that we shall, I suggest, be building on firm enough foundations' (Knight 1954: 49).

Humanist approaches to moral education have also tended to emphasise the importance of not only what we teach children, but how we teach them, in line with the belief that, 'What we have to do is to promote not only knowledge of moral values but the will and the capacity to live morally, founded on a personal moral insight' (Hemming 1968: 114):

> Warm hearted and generous natures are developed, not primarily by training and discipline, important though these are in other ways, but by love. There is abundant evidence that if a child is brought up in a warm happy confident affectionate home atmosphere he has the best chance of developing into a well-balanced secure affectionate and generous-minded person. (Knight 1954: 46)

Most inspirationally, the basis of moral education for humanists is human solidarity and the commitment to a view of the oneness of the human species:

> We have to accept that there is nothing in any human being that is not a possibility in ourselves also, and nothing in ourselves that is not echoed in the experience and behaviour of the entire human race. (Hemming 1969: 44)

3. Happiness, meaning, fulfilment and the whole person

> Again and again in the humanist tradition we come across this concept of "the whole man" it seems a natural goal to aim at if the life of the individual is confined to this world. If we believe that the real self is immortal, its progress must be unbounded and life on earth merely a preparatory school. On the other hand if we are not immortal,

Today we would say 'whole person' but the sentiment is identical and has dominated humanist thinking on education for millennia. In the absence of ultimate meaning and ultimate purpose to the universe, human beings individually and together can and should create meaning and purpose for themselves. This is the one life we have; we must make of it as much as we can; education sets us on that path.

> Human beings can acquire an art of living, an art of creating their own life experience, but these are life expressions that are enhanced when society itself creates the necessary foundations for such individual expression. To be a "whole person", each individual has to develop the kind of self determination, the kind of control of the self, that promotes the decisions in life that encourage personal evolution. And the greater the scope for this, the greater the personal evolution, the greater the sensitivity and empathy to the world beyond the self. The "whole person" is very much in touch with reality, has self value and is largely free of conditioning restraints. When one is in touch with one's self there is a sounder view of the kind of world in which one wants to live. (Fowler 1999: 181)

Humanists acknowledge that the pursuit of this 'good life' will be different for different people and humanist educators have been frank about this diversity:

> Different individuals choose very different styles. The more advanced the civilisation the wider the choice becomes. No doubt in a primitive community nearly every one conforms to the dominate pattern; the few who fail are ostracised. Even so outstanding non-conformists must have survived, and not all of them could have been silenced. If we are mere passive victims of early conditioning it is hard to see how civilisation could have developed. Unless there had been innovators who rebelled against traditional ways we should still be in the Stone Age. Man is a rational animal, a social animal, and an ethical animal, the common factor and one which Humanism particularly stresses is that man is classed as an animal. (Hawton 1963: 107)

In fact they often welcome diversity as the inevitable consequence of freedom, even when they entirely disagree with the choices in question. Cyril Bibby, with reference to his own child, demonstrated the humanist acceptance that the direction chosen by the child may be a very different one from that chosen by the parent:

> They have all wished to go with their friends to Sunday school and we have not discouraged them, but it certainly came as a bit of shock when the eldest lad at the age of sixteen declared his wish to be baptised. We regret that he does not see things as we do, but we felt that for a lad of that age to present himself in church for a ceremony usually undergone by babies represented a certain moral integrity and courage, and we were glad to accept his invitation to go along with him on that occasion. (Bibby 1959: 11)

It is not difficult to see how the aim of developing this aspect of the child through education can be ensured: the gift to the child of as wide a range of opinions, art forms, literatures, sciences, emotions, and forms of knowledge and experience as possible. Opening the eyes of every child to the boundless range of options before her.

> Each human being needs to find a pathway for his or her self, a way of life that is satisfying and meaningful and that is in some way felt to have value in a wider communal sense. We all have talents in different areas and whatever those areas are we should seek to develop them, however unimportant they may seem. Respect for one's own abilities and the lack of them in some areas is healthy and we can all play our part in the universe when we recognise what we are as individuals. It takes courage to live life, but it takes extra courage to free one's self from the conditionings that blur personality so that one has to face one's own self squarely. This is true personal identity. (Fowler 1999: 176)

It is not difficult to see why this humanist approach to education should lead them to object to faith schools where those schools seek to confine a child to one particular religion, obscure or conceal facts about human sexuality and human relationships, teach that authority in matters of truth or ethics can come from ancient texts or unquestioned teachers, or otherwise narrow or limit the horizons available to an inquiring mind. Of course it is a fact that, today, many liberal believers will share in theory much of what is outlined above and not all faith schools are equally at fault in this regard, but still this seems to be the basis for objection to faith schools that is most distinctively humanist.

Conclusion

Humanist critiques of faith schools are founded on strong convictions about what a state-provided and state-funded school ought to be: an open, inclusive social institution operating without discrimination on religious grounds and fully complying with universal principles of human rights. They are also based on a clear view of what education is – a process directed towards the social, moral, cultural and spiritual development of the child as a clear-thinking and curious, whole and unique person with his or her own values, ambitions and purpose, personally fulfilled and with a care for others. The campaign against faith schools is a campaign against institutions and policies that are seen as barriers to these ideals.

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Chapter 12
Shepherding and Strength: Teaching Evolution in American Christian Schools

Lee Meadows

Introduction

What would the teaching of evolution look like in faith-based schools where science teachers took on the dual challenge of both nurturing their students' faith and teaching evolution as accepted science? The study results reported here shed light on how science teachers in faith-based schools can at the same time honor the accepted conclusions of the scientific community about evolution, teach in ways sensitive to any concerns and conflicts their students have about learning evolution, and guide their students' spiritual growth in the difficult tensions that often arise in learning about evolution in the context of American Christian culture.

I found 12 science teachers who actually taught evolution in an American Christian school and interviewed them to find out how they teach evolution within the broader context of their school's mission to nurture children's faith. Teachers were passionate about participating in this study. They responded quickly to the call to participate, they talked energetically and enthusiastically during interviews, and they expressed sincere appreciation for being included and a having an opportunity to communicate what they have learned about teaching evolution in their faith-based school.

Evolution is one of the most controversial topics to teach in United States science classrooms. Much of the American public consistently registers opposition to evolution (Parry 2013), and American school science teachers themselves are not widely supportive of evolution (Berkman et al. 2008). Standards for the American science curriculum recommend a central place for evolution (Project 2061 2001; National Research Council 2012), but most American public schools students do not have the consistent opportunity to learn evolution. This study builds on previous

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work on the teaching of evolution in public schools in the American South and other areas where religious opposition to its teaching is strong (Jackson et al. 1995; Meadows 2007, 2009).

The prospects for teaching evolution in U.S. schools are even less hopeful for students in faith-based schools, especially those in schools belonging to the broad sweep of evangelicalism in America. These schools will often teach Young Earth creationism, using a curriculum such as *The Design of Life: Discovering Signs of Intelligence in Biological Systems* (Dembski and Wells 2007), which is an updated version of the creationist text *Of Pandas and People*. In these schools students learn that the earth is 6,000–10,000 years old and that no new species have ever evolved. Even if schools allow for Old Earth creationism, following for example the tenets laid out by Hugh Ross and his Reasons to Believe organization, students still typically learn that Darwinian evolution did not occur. Much of this is done in the name of protecting and nurturing students' growing faith and shielding them from evolution as an evil influence.

Methodology

Participants in the study had to meet two criteria for selection. They had to teach in an American Christian school, and they had to teach evolution as part of their curriculum. Teaching the problems with the evidence for evolution or why it was not a plausible theory did not qualify teachers for participation. Instead, they had to actively teach evolution as accepted science to their students.

Participants were identified by previous personal contacts, by a snowball technique asking participants to identify other teachers who might be willing to participate in the study, and by recruiting participants through a request for participation forwarded by the Biologos Foundation to their network of teachers. Table 12.1 presents the participants by pseudonym, grade level they teach, and their U.S. state. In the U.S., middle school refers to grades 6–8 and high school refers to grades 9–12. All of these teachers taught in an evangelical Christian school except for

Table 12.1 Participants

Pseudonym	Level taught	U.S. State
Florence	Middle	Washington
Fran	Middle	California
Gerald	High	Colorado
Jim	High	Alabama
Lamar	High	Washington
Lance	High	Michigan
Marla	Middle	Oregon
Meredith	High	California
Russ	High	Alabama
Theo	Middle	Florida
Valerie	High	Washington
Victor	Middle	Oregon

Russ, who teaches in a Catholic school. No other identifying information is included to protect the anonymity of the participants.

This research was conducted under a human subjects protocol approved by my university, and each participant consented to participation at the beginning of the interview. Interviews were approximately 1 h in length. Most were conducted by telephone. Others were face-to-face or via Skype. I began by asking participants for a brief description of their school and teaching duties. I then asked them, 'How do you teach evolution in the context of your school's larger mission of nurturing children's faith?' From that point in the interview, I gave very little guidance to the interview so as to ascertain participants' views without imposing my own. I listened to their responses and probed with clarifying questions to understand their responses. I took field notes during the interviews, noting the difference between direct quotations and paraphrasing. After each interview was over, I reviewed my notes to correct any typographical errors and to expand any paraphrases while the interview was still fresh in my memory.

Data analysis began after all interviews were complete and was guided by the traditions of axial and selective coding from grounded theory (Lichtman 2013). During the process of interviewing, I had made notes of themes in the data whenever I noticed patterns. I used these as the first axes to code from and continued to note themes that emerged from the data as I analyzed. As I worked through all participants' interview data, coding axially for each category, I developed and adjusted category definitions grounded in the data.

Selective coding began with identifying the core categories. I identified the category of Pastoral as one of the core categories because of how each of the teachers spoke of shepherding their students' hearts and souls in the difficult process of learning evolution in a faith-based context. I also accepted Spectrum as a core category because of the volume of participant data associated with it. The category of Essential Science was central to teachers' thoughts, but I did not treat it as a core category because it appears to be an artifact of participant selection. After identifying these two core categories, I moved through all the data again, examining them in light of the categories of Pastoral and Spectrum and linking all categories to the core categories based on interview data.

The final categories emerging from the data analysis are presented in Table 12.2. A conceptual map for the final categories is given by Fig. 12.1, and it shows the centrality of the categories of Pastoral, Spectrum, and Essential Science and how the other categories relate. The Support category appeared to be related to the category Essential Science. Each of the other categories related to and further explicated the core categories.

Because I used field notes during interviews, rather than transcriptions of recordings, I employ quotation marks when reporting long statements from teachers in blocks. Consider as an example the data from Florence describing a teaching practice she uses in her evolution unit:

> 'I want to know that you think it through … I want you to practice thinking it through.' I might tell you what I think after you think it through. You can do it individually, in pairs, a foursome, or six together. You think, then with a partner, then with four, then with six. [This contrast with some other teachers who] 'want you to parrot what they think.'

Table 12.2 Final categories and definitions

Category	Definition
Creator	Teachers do not advocate any one view of how God created, even though they typically hold such a view, but they do teach believing that God is the Creator is essential
Essential science	Teaching evolution is necessary to teach science with integrity, including examples of their teaching of natural selection and speciation and correcting student misconceptions
Face evolution	Teacher works to prepare students to face evolution later, especially in college when they may have a professor antagonistic to faith
Growth	Learning about evolution is a long-term process, which can be viewed well as personal growth. This category includes statements by teachers about their own growth and about how they make space for their students to grow, including developmental approaches to certain evolution content
Hermeneutics	In the context of studying evolution, students and teachers must have a correct understanding of how to interpret Genesis
Family background	Teachers respect what students are being taught by their families and churches and do not work to undermine those values
Pastoral	Teachers feel a responsibility to actively care spiritually now for their students, including maintaining their trust, nurturing their graciousness to others, and caring for students who aren't Christian or struggling with doubt
Spectrum	Adult Christians are on a spectrum of understanding and belief about evolution. Students should know about that spectrum and not be forced into a single position
Support	Teachers require support for teaching evolution well, especially from administration and parents. This category includes its negative of resistance teachers experience when teaching evolution
Worldviews	Teaching the nature of science, the nature of faith, or how the two intersect helps students learn evolution. Also when teachers clarify their own position by identifying their specific worldview
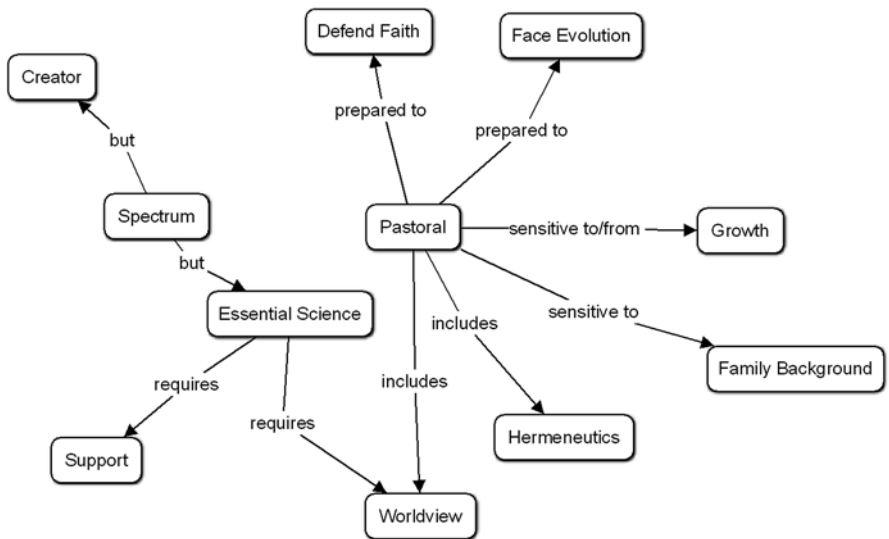
Fig. 12.1 Conceptual map of categories

The words in quotation marks are direct quotations from Florence. The words in brackets are my explanatory words I added, based on context, to help explicate the meaning of the quotation. The other words are paraphrases of what she said.

Pastoral

One of the core categories emerging from the data was the pastoral approach these teachers took toward their students while they were teaching evolution. Each teacher spoke at times in line with this pastoral theme. They felt a responsibility to actively care spiritually for their students, and this pastoral care for students including maintaining students' trust, nurturing students' graciousness to others when discussing evolution, and caring for students in their classes who weren't Christian or who were struggling with doubt.

Meredith's and Theo's thoughts exemplify these teachers' pastoral care:

'I love [teaching here] … It's very demanding in terms of shepherding the kids… I love the relationship aspect of teaching … [It's] also extremely exhausting … I like [how] our school is not just a head school. It's a heart school.' (Meredith)

'I love my students. I want them to grow … in good, godly directions. I want them to come to me with questions.' At times I tell them 'you don't need to know that … You're going to damage your soul … Trust in God. Believe the gospel. These are things you can hang your hat on.' (Theo)

Florence and Jim describe their pastoral care for their students in ways showing how it intertwines with many aspects of teaching evolution, showing the centrality of this category:

'I want you to believe God is in control of it all … Certainly God would have to direct [long-term evolution] because of all those mutations … God is still God and he still created it all … He is Lord and Savior and that is the important part.' [She describes how she teaches Bible to her students.] 'You have to look at the facts … and the Bible… You're the one who has to make the decision … It always boils down to "What does the Bible say?"… I want you to be prepared … and know, "What do I believe, and why do I believe it?"' (Florence)

[He describes wanting to keep students out of the two ditches of] 'there is no God … or he is weak … [or the] study of evolution is wrong … It's evil and should not be taught'. [Quoting Isaiah,] '"Come let us reason" … I want to keep them in such a place where they recognize the power and sovereignty of God … I want to keep them free to question … and explore … even if that takes them very close to ditches … God's obviously not afraid of science … We shouldn't be either' [Quoting Proverbs,] '"It's the glory of God to hide a matter. To reveal that matter is the glory of kings" … I see that as a mandate on this planet to the physical sciences … That's dominion, and that involves science … I just hope the kids I teach will stay between the ditches … and continue to explore.' (Jim)

Several teachers described building trusting relationships with their students as part of their pastoral care:

'By this time [in the unit], the kids feel safe in my classroom … no one is to condemn anyone else for their question or viewpoint.' (Fran)

'Introducing them to evolution in the context of a Christian school is the safest place …
All of the teachers here sign a statement of faith … I feel the freedom [to teach evolution]
giving them a good solid grasp of the concept.' (Lamar)

'Trust the Spirit … to bring them to right conclusions.' (Lance)

'I don't try to use my position as a bully pulpit.' (Meredith)

For several teachers, part of their pastoral role was to engender graciousness in
their students as they discussed the contentious topic of evolution:

'One of most important things in teaching evolution … is to teach them to be gracious to
people who have different opinions … Criticizing and name calling … is not acceptable in
my classroom … or in the world at large.' [She describes] 'a very, very smart young man
[who] would speak his mind [and say to the class] "Anyone who was an evolutionist could
not be a Christian" … I had asked him not to speak that way in class'. (Marla)

'Sometimes we treat our opinion like facts … and alienate people.' (Gerald)

[Speaking of her school] 'We're much more accepting…very non-judgmental … It's a
place of compassion … and that's what the kids need.' (Valerie)

Some of the teachers worked in schools serving students identified as non-
Christians, and they sought as part of their pastoral role to care equally well for
those students as they did for Christian students. Others spoke of a gracious approach
to students who may be moving to beliefs different from what they as teachers
would want for them:

'A couple of my Chinese kids have said … "I've always been taught evolution … I don't
think God has anything to do with it" … I don't strong arm them' to change their beliefs.
Instead, I say, 'I'm not here to change your mind … I'm here to answer questions … We're
going study the progression of thought … [and] why is [evolution] a central theme.'
(Meredith)

[To a student who holds onto atheistic evolution, she would say,] 'Sweetie, I understand
what you're saying … I disagree with you … I don't agree, but I accept you. I would love
him and pray for him. I would let God do his work … My job isn't to save people. My job
is just to tell the truth … That has nothing to do with how I care about my kids.' (Valerie)

Spectrum

The other core category emerging from the data was teacher practices aimed at
helping students see that Christian belief spanned a spectrum with regard to the
origin of life on earth. Participants did not teach students a single view of origins,
such as six-day creationism or progressive evolution. Instead, they recognized and
explicitly taught their students that adult Christians are on a spectrum of under-
standing and belief about evolution. Since adults are on a spectrum, these teachers
allowed their students to be on a spectrum of belief about evolution as well. This
category emerged as core because of the amount of data associated with it. Each
participant made statements fitting this category, and several teachers talked at
length along these lines.

Gerald and Valerie's descriptions typify participants' views about this spectrum of belief among Christians:

'It's often billed as [either] evolution or creation … [but] there's a whole continuum of ideas' from atheistic evolution to flat earth creationism. Biologos is one in the middle. 'They are strong Christians, but they totally believe in everything evolution says … If you tell a student you have to either believe this or this … a professor can later' show students that one option is wrong and then they are left with only unbelief … 'There's a whole continuum of ideas … They need to figure out what makes the most sense to them … We have different beliefs on our science teaching faculty. One Young Earth. One like Biologos—everything [about] evolution is true. One person who believes in an old earth … We all love each other. We love science. We love God.' (Gerald)

'I tell them there are people who believe in atheistic evolution … Then we have a Young Earth creationist … Then we have someone who thinks evolution is a four letter word … I tell them where I am [and] where the school is … This is not an issue of salvation … There are different flavors about evolution … people can have … I take them to verses … Biologos likes to use' or those Young Earthers like to use. 'I dialog with them the debate … It's not something we should fight over … but have a reasonable explanation' for what we individually believe. 'When you die and go to heaven, God's not going to ask, "What do you think about evolution?" … I want them to see that it's not … a hill to die on … Intelligent brothers and sisters in Christ' hold different views. 'I don't want to demonize or deify any one position.' (Lamar)

Several teachers described specific teaching practices they used to help their students see the spectrum of ideas and how they don't have to fit into any one belief. Lance works with his students to create a visual continuum in the classroom from 'the farthest left, God-hating evolutionist to the far right, creationist denying fossils.' In between are theistic evolutionists, 'creationary evolutionists', and Intelligent Design advocates. He then guides his students to see how 'It's not good to lump everything in there … [because] if we hate when we're lumped, why do we get to lump them.'

Russ assigned his students a three-paragraph essay answering the question, 'What do I believe about evolution?' He classified their answers into groups and went over the results with his students, telling them that 27 % of them agreed with evolution, 27 % did not, and 46 % 'accepted evolution, but agreed that God played a part.' Russ thought this spectrum 'a pretty amazing breakdown,' and then he made sure his students knew the Catholic church's position agreed with those who believed that God played a part in evolution.

Valerie teaches both sides and leaves a final decision up to students.

'It's important to me as a biologist for my students to see both sides … I am a creationist … I found a lot of holes in [evolution] … It's important to me to give students both sides.' Public school teachers only give one side. I would do my students that same disservice if I only gave creationism. I want students 'to make up their own minds.' I spend a week and teach 'Darwinian evolution.' Then 'I have the privilege' of teaching what refutes [that in] creationism. Then I ask the students to make up their own minds. (Valerie)

Victor described similar thoughts. Speaking of different views of origins, he said, 'I don't present [any] as the only option in my class,' even thought he believed that his students, if they listened closely, would see that he ascribed to an old-earth position and believed evolution takes place.

Gerald pointed out a problem with teaching any one particular view. 'To take one position on the continuum takes [giving students] a whole lot of information … that we don't have [time] to teach kids.' Instead, he believes teachers should guide students to see places, 'where are good arguments and where are bad arguments,' including the bad arguments some Christian pastors might say.

Several teachers described how the impact of working with other professionals on different points along the spectrum, including their teaching colleagues, impacted their beliefs and how they taught. Fran stated clearly that her science department was not made up of Young Earth advocates. Instead, most were from an Intelligent Design perspective or some variation of progressive, theistic evolution, a mix she valued and described as 'a conglomerate, non-labeled kind of view.' Gerald described how reading Walton (2009) impacted faculty in his science department and then how their discussions affected his own teaching, 'That kind of gives a whole other perspective of things … We're still not settled [on] the best way to tackle' those first two chapters of Genesis. Meredith spoke several times about how much it bothered her when Christians 'villainize' one another over the origins issue, including when that happened within her own science department. This bothered her 'especially when we don't know the motives' of other people. 'They are men [and women] of God, and it's not ok to bash them … I don't think it's right we tear each other down when we have different opinions'.

Essential Science

Participants were chosen because they taught evolution; so, their thoughts about evolution as essential science content are not surprising. They viewed the teaching of evolution as a requirement of teaching science with integrity, and they often gave examples of how they taught natural selection or speciation and how they corrected student misconceptions to guide them to better understand evolution. This category provides a background against which the core category of Pastoral stands out. They attempted to shepherd the hearts of their children well while they taught them difficult science.

Lance's thoughts show the connection of this category to the core category. He describes the teaching of evolution as one of those things 'parents are looking for,' because they don't feel qualified to talk about evolution. 'It's my job' to do that. For him, evolution 'should be a major talking point in biology [and] all the sciences … It would be wrong for a faith-based school to not teach it.' He said of faith-based schools that didn't teach evolution, 'You're failing at your mission … You're not providing good education … You're an education institution too … You're not just a Christian daycare.' He hoped 'my kids have a better understanding of evolution than the local public school kids.'

Gerald teaches evolution as essential science by addressing Darwin and 'the history of how he came about this idea,' artificial selection and 'how we change animals … and how genetics plays a role … What is a species … How is a species

different than a kind… Different ways evolution says a species could develop,' and 'evidences scientists use for evolution.' He teaches evolution well to his students because 'it doesn't do any good' to present an idea badly 'and then shoot it down'.

Other representative data for how teachers described evolution as essential science are the following:

> 'In class, I don't treat [evolution] as anything different. This is just what we're studying now … This is the next chapter, the next thing we're studying.' (Jim)

> We take them through a 'real mishmash of how evolution is looked at today' across the sciences. 'How do you see evolution through embryology … through phylogenetic trees' [and in other areas]. Most find it boring, but some find it 'fascinating'. They don't realize [until then] evolution 'is a central theme.' (Meredith)

> 'Let's make sure we understand what modern science is saying … We need to address [evolution] in a serious manner … I don't want them to think people who believe evolution [are] stupid' or to hate Darwin. Darwin wasn't 'evil … His theory is what holds our entire biology book together.' (Theo)

Creator

Some participants described focusing their students on belief in God as creator as the only essential thing Christians must believe about origins. This category expands their pastoral role by defining Christian orthodoxy with respect to God as creator. Also, this category clarifies the spectrum of belief by clarifying the only thing out of bounds for Christian belief.

Theo teaches evolution 'always with the idea that God is the Creator.' Rather than trying to 'artificially integrate Biblical views…like a quote from Scripture' with each lesson, Fran and her colleagues align their teaching 'more with the way we understand the characteristics of God … Look at his character … Creation shows his power, his order, [and] his love of beauty.' For her, God as creator delineates two distinct worldviews, and she contrasts for her students the two as a 'God-view' or a 'purely naturalistic view.'

Florence tells her students, ' "See. There are all different kinds of ways of looking at it" … The main point is God directed it…however he did it.' Jim describes God as creator in terms of a boundary he sets in in his teaching: 'If they begin to have their faith in a creative God shaken…not how God did it … but that God did it… I would have to reign it in.'

Hermeneutics

Some of the participating teachers incorporated hermeneutics, the study of how to interpret scripture, into their teaching of evolution. They spoke of how students and they themselves had to properly interpret Genesis in order to approach well the

learning of evolution. This category fleshes out the pastoral role teachers played with their students.

Meredith's beliefs typify how teaching hermeneutics was part of her pastoral care of students. When I asked if she thought any one view of origins was correct, she moved the discussion into hermeneutics, 'I don't think so … Genesis 1 is not a scientific chapter. It is a worship story…The Jewish creation story is radically different' from Egyptian or Assyrian creation stories. 'I keep it broad like that because it's what I believe.' As she teaches, she asks, 'When we look at this passage of Scripture, what is it really saying to you?', wanting her students to develop their own interpretation and find their place in Scripture, no matter what they believe. She tells them, 'It's where you fall,' rather than any single interpretation they must believe. She stated emphatically, 'We've made Genesis 1 a litmus test, and it was never designed' to be that.

Lamar described how as he guides his students to struggle with the tension between science and scripture, if they're not convinced, then he can initiate more conversations with them about, 'What does Scripture say? How do we interpret [it]. What does the data say,' because it's a science issue. He doesn't do this, however, 'to force them into a [single] position.'

Fran described working with her students to correct ways they were misinterpreting scripture, including seeing the role of understanding culture in hermeneutics. 'Each one of these views has a way … people are looking at Scripture … They are all taking a literal view' of Scripture. She then guides her students to see the role of context by asking how many of the girls wear gold jewelry. She points them to the Apostle Paul's prohibition against wearing gold and the cultural reason then for doing so, explaining that at the time of his writing the wearing of gold flaunted wealth. Her reason for using this example is, 'I try to put it into a context the kids can understand … so none of them feel offended' when she explains the cultural components of interpreting Genesis 1.

Russ has a unique perspective among participants due to teaching in a Catholic school. He described reminding his students that, as a Catholic school, the school is based on a belief in God and informed them that Catholic policy is that they accept 'all of evolution'. When his students raised objections, many of which he characterized as simplistic such as, 'We come from Adam and Eve,' he described how in 'a lot of classes we delved into' what the Bible says, including the problems with a literal translation of Genesis.

Worldview

Most teachers described how teaching evolution required them to overtly address worldview issues with their students. They described how teaching the nature of science, the nature of faith, or how the two intersect helps students learn evolution. Sometimes, the teachers clarified their own position by identifying their specific worldview. This category delineates the pastoral role teachers play as they guide

students to understand how Christianity intersects well with a scientific worldview in which evolution is an essential idea.

Statements by Jim and Theo illustrate this connection between the worldview category and the Pastoral core category:

'I go through strengths and weaknesses of evolution … I want the kids to see that there's a lot of science that still needs to be wrestled with out there… I don't know if we can understand everything … [especially] prehistoric events … Science can't replicate historic and prehistoric events … The true nature of science is inductive and experimental … I could argue a lot of different positions … For me what it's come down to… if Scripture is perfect' then science is 'fallen man's interpretation of a fallen world'. Science has often been wrong. 'For me, how can I look at science…and what it teaches' and use it 'to examine the perfect' [nature] of Scripture. 'My personal choice is' I examine science with the perfect lens of Scripture. (Jim)

'Our faith is not a blind faith … It believes in mystery … We are not distinct from the' two books God has given. 'We have God's word [and] we have what we see in his Creation. We have our understandings about his creation … and his Word. It's hard to piece them together at the time… Our faith is unique because we deal with tensions all the time … We want our student to believe in God because of who he is' not because of gaps in the fossil record. [He describes the Trinity, Jesus's dual nature, and other tensions between faith and science,] saying there's a 'whole bunch of these … It's the nature of our system of belief to have these tensions … It's ok to live with these tensions and mysteries … It honors God to wrestle with these.' (Theo)

Marla and Victor explicitly teach nature of science issues and how those interplay with the nature of faith:

'I explain that science is limited. It does not cover everything in life. It is a way of studying the world around us in a systematic manner through careful experimentation and observation … I outline various worldviews and how they relate the universe to natural laws, God…, and the supernatural. We discuss some of the natural outgrowths of each perspective. This leads into a discussion of creationism and why it cannot be considered a scientific theory; it is not a naturalist explanation. Science is limited to naturalist explanations. Truth is not limited to naturalist explanations. The world and all living things on earth may have been created in six, 24-hour days, but this would be a supernatural event. It does not fall within the constraints of "science"' (Marla)

'Science does not have absolutes … Truth is found in only one place and it's in Jesus Christ … Science is very good at disproving things; it's horrible at proving things.' Right now in Honors Biology we're in bioethics and cloning. [He tells students,] 'Science can't tell us what to do with this knowledge, but our worldview can … The right answer is there…[I] believe there is absolute here … There is an element to reality beyond the material.' (Victor)

Fran described how her moving between a scientific and a Christian worldview surprises her students at times. She was teaching about atoms, and a student raised his hand and asked, 'You're not teaching us the truth?,' speaking of absolute truth. She responded, 'It's the truth as we understand it now' speaking of a scientific understanding.

Valerie will not tolerate poor worldview thinking from her students. Sometimes her students say things like, 'I believe in creation because God loves me, and he made the rainbows.' She then points out their poor thinking, and requires instead, 'Give me the science that supports it.' She believes, 'we need to be held accountable for what we believe … [to] stand firm … [and] make an intelligent decision on what they believe.'

Face Evolution

A key duty many participating teachers took on was preparing their students to face evolution later in life, especially in college when students might have a professor antagonistic to Christian faith. This category expands teachers' pastoral role by showing the ways they worked to protect their students from what they saw to be a clear danger to their souls, as described by Jim:

> 'I have a recurring nightmare that wakes me up … Kids come back [and visit me] as total atheists' because of college biology. They say, 'Why didn't you tell us' about evolution? 'When they go to college, I don't want them to be surprised' by people teaching evolution who 'have sold out' [to an atheistic worldview]. I want my students to remember in college bio what I said and remember the strengths and weaknesses so 'their faith is not shaken,' so 'they're not surprised'.

> Gerald expressed similar thoughts:

> 'The teaching of evolution is really important … Whether students believe in evolution or not, it's a major idea in science … To not talk about it leaves the whole issue up to students, their families' or their later teachers. Kids then go to college 'and get blasted…and end up losing their faith.' (Gerald)

Fran described similar thoughts, but in the preparation of her middle school students to go to a public high school: 'You're going to have teachers who will mark you down…because your answer is too Christian.'

Theo and Victor teach to strengthen their students' faith and their minds so that they can think through later challenges when they encounter evolution. Theo spends days laying out the history of evolutionary thought and scientific evidence. He will not tell them what to think. 'What a terrible way to set people up for disaster … There's no way you're going to tell ninth graders or seniors a whole set of answers' that will be blown away by a college professor. Victor works in a context where students learn Young Earth creationism in prior grades, and he believes, 'it's a travesty … to reinforce what students have heard in elementary school [because] a faith crisis will happen down the road.' He worries that later 'we'll lose them' to a 'persuasive' atheistic college biology professor.

Defend Faith

Some of the teachers also worked to prepare their students so that they are ready to defend Christian faith, especially later in life. This category includes the more subtle defense of maintaining respect so that they can influence someone to faith, and it expands the core category of teachers' pastoral care of their students. Lance's thoughts express this connection: 'If you're ignorant and not trying to learn, why would [non-believers] listen to you?' He wants students later to be able to 'make the argument' why they 'don't accept' evolution, if that is the position they take. They can't 'look and sound like an idiot.' That's a 'stumbling block to telling people about Jesus.'

Gerald described how his school wants 'to develop leaders [to have] influence through excellence … If they're going to have influence in the world, they're going to have talk intelligently about' evolution. Fran wants her students to be able to 'discuss [evolution] intelligently … in the context of the scientific community … showing how science indeed validates our faith.' She believes, 'We must prepare our students … Science shouldn't be something they're afraid of.'

Florence tells her students how most people in the world believe in evolution. After telling her students how there are 'a lot of smart people out there,' she says

> 'I don't want you ignorant … To be a good effective Christian, you have to … have a good reason to convince people Christianity is right … If you want to convince someone you're right … that creation in the Bible is taught as truth … [and have] a logical, intelligent discussion … [then] have facts behind you.'

She also described how her 'goal is to dispel the myths you might be having about evolution,' such as humans evolving from apes, so that they don't get laughed at when they talk about evolution. Although Marla hasn't made a goal that all of her students 'personally believe in evolution,' she does think they need 'to understand the other side in order to have intelligent discussions.'

Family Background

Participants expressed sensitivity to their students' backgrounds as they taught the difficult ideas of evolution. They showed respect for what students are being taught by their families and churches and did not work to undermine those values. Even though they were introducing students to a spectrum of Christian belief about origins, they recognized that students' homes and churches might be teaching only one view as correct and they sought to pastor the students well through those tensions. One of Victor's statements exemplifies the connection between this category and both core categories:

> 'I try not to box people in.' If you do, 'it usually backfires … I'm trying to be sensitive to the backgrounds of my students … We have students … from all kinds of churches … If I present it in a my-way-or-the-high way, I'm shutting down' part of my students. 'That would not be nurturing.'

Fran teaches in an 'affluent area,' and describes her school as having a 'high proportion of very involved families … Most are professionals, business owners,' or engineers involved in research or biotech or doctors. When I started the interview, she said that she first wanted to talk about 'road blocks.' She described how 'we have a lot of different churches represented' in the school community, and one of the largest churches 'is extremely conservative' with regard to evolution, promoting a Young Earth position. She then explains, 'Part of the issue we have [as science teachers] … is discussing the issue without offending our population … We need to be considerate and understand that Christians have different views.'

Gerald teaches at a nondenominational school located right next to a nondenominational church of over 10,0000 members, and his school also draws from dozens of

different middle schools. This makes for a 'challenge [of] all different kinds of backgrounds,' and he describes most of his students as coming from a Young Earth perspective. To attend to their background, 'You first have to give them a strong evolution presentation' so that they can reflect and 'think through.' He then doesn't require them to decide while they're learning evolution from him about what they finally believe.

Lamar teaches in a small school not affiliated with any denomination or church. He explained, 'Most of my students are of the evolution-is-a-four-letter-word persuasion'. They are 'fundamentalists' who think people who believe in evolution are 'destined for hell, fire, and brimstone.' He has decided, 'I don't want to demonize any one position,' a tolerance which is a new position for many of his students.

Teachers also mentioned specific techniques they use to be sensitive to family backgrounds. Russ's African-American students are attuned to racial issues that can arise in learning evolution, and he has found that showing them a video of African paleontologists reduces their resistance. Marla is careful not to push human evolution with her middle school students. 'I don't directly say, "Are you a primate?" [or] "You evolved from some primate ancestor." … The students haven't gone through enough of an individuation process from their parents.' Fran has found that good communication with students' parents is key to preventing resistance. She posts all of her handouts and PowerPoints on her Internet homepage. She also stated, 'I have a document online … where parents can view websites like Biologos … that cover all the different views… everything from Young Earth to totally naturalistic' evolution like the Understanding Evolution website from the University of California at Berkeley.

Growth

Many participants made statements regarding how learning about evolution is a long-term process seen well as a form of growth requiring much more time than the few weeks of a typical evolution unit. This category includes statements by teachers about their own growth and about how they make space for their students to grow, including developmental approaches to certain evolution content. It explicates how teachers pastor their students by not rushing them into any kind of decision now, especially since many of these teachers have worked for years or even decades to come to their own current understandings of evolution and their faith.

Theo's statements illustrate how growth is part of pastoral care. He described the long-term space he gives his students in the context of asking them whether the human author of Genesis had our modern issues in mind. He then advised his students that answers of 'yes and no direct you in very different ways.' He tells them that the answer 'is for you to figure out…and ponder for years'. Victor described the tensions between evolution and faith as 'more of a life-long process … I'm still mulling … I don't think this is a process that ever has an end … We'll always have an answer that we're looking for and never find'. Russ read a written response

from one of his students, who does not believe in evolution and expresses a need for growth:

> 'I can't make a decision now…after 15 years of my family and my church telling me something different.' Maybe I should do some more research. 'I want to get deeper into it myself … As of right now, I believe in God'.

Some of the teachers who taught middle-school aged students recognized and were sensitive to their students' developmental needs that blocked them from learning about the evolution of new species. Victor describes how 'with my seventh graders I struggle … because seventh grade students see the world in black and white and right and wrong … When you create grey in the minds of seventh graders, the potential is there to rock their faith … I torture myself over … teaching of evolution.' In high school biology, however, he sees, 'there's more back and forth in that class … I can present an idea … They mull … and throw it back to me … They're able to interact more'. He sees his high school students at a 'higher level of thinking' due to their maturity.

Theo said, 'I do not discuss this with my 7th graders.' He tells them, 'That's too heavy for you to pick up and carry now.' He answers any questions they ask directly, but he tells them that they'll talk about the theory when he has them again as a teacher in ninth grade.

Many of the teachers volunteered stories of their own growth during the interviews. This was an area I didn't purposefully ask about, but something that appeared to be important to many of them. Gerald described his growth as a personal journey. He grew up on a ranch with animals and also in church. He described being 'blasted' in college when he first encountered evolution. His journey has been a long one 'to find out where truth is.' He hasn't reached any final conclusions yet, and he looks forward to continuing to learn.

Jim's journey is one from atheism to Young Earth creationism. He stated, 'I was an evolutionist for years.' He had worked in informal science where he had to teach evolution, and he realized he didn't know enough about it to teach it well. The more he studied and read, he realized 'the more it's philosophy' than evidence. As he started looking at the 'physical evidences … about 75 % … of what I was reading' had better explanations 'from the creation side of things,' not evolution. He then realized, 'I better find out' who this God is. For Jim, 'Science was my evangelist'. He has slowly swung from Old Earth to 'more of a Young Earth' creationist view, but because of his growth, he says, 'I don't require [Young Earth] of my students.'

Lance described his growth as 'My views on these things are changing… evolving,' and then laughed at his own pun. He began his journey as a Young Earth Creationist, but is being influenced now by the books he's reading, especially those from an Intelligent Design perspective.

Some of Marla's key growth came from her personal experiences out in nature. She described walking a trail along layers of basalt years ago. She stuck her hands 'between the layers of the basalt…and thought, "I am the first person ever…to touch this handful of soil"… All this evidence says to me the Earth is way more than 6,000

or 10,000 years old.' Because of other experiences like this one, she 'transitioned from… Young Earth to more of an Old Earth person.'

Support

The final category teachers described was the support they needed for teaching evolution well in their faith-based context, especially support from administrators and parents, and negative examples of how resistance teachers experience when teaching evolution undermines the support they need. This category appears to be related to the Essential Science rather than to either of the core categories.

Several teachers spoke of the importance of parental support. Jim descried how parents at his school appreciate his approach of well-explained lessons about evolution and the articles and books he's requiring his students to read. Lamar is surprised he hasn't had any negative reactions from parents. He commented how he 'met with more resistance' at public school in which he used to teach with a large population of Latter Day Saints students. Victor, however, is cautious. He described 'a certain level of wanting to be careful' of parental challenges. 'If I pushed things too hard,' his principal might question him, and his approach is to 'self-censor' and focus instead on 'planting seeds.'

Valerie described a specific way she gained support from parents. She said, 'The parents always come around … Once I explain to the parents what I'm doing and why, I have their full support.' She asks parents what their children will do when they go to a secular university and have a professor they really respect. 'Your child needs to be ready to give an intelligent account.'

Some teachers described the support they need from their administration. Fran stated how her principal and headmaster were both supportive of her department's stand on teaching evolution. She sees a problem within the faculty, however. 'There's still an issue with the Bible department' because of 'pretty staunch' Young Earth teachers there, which makes her school 'a house divided' due to conflicting messages students hear. Florence told me a 'sadly funny little story' about sending an earth science worksheet home with a statement about billions of years on it. One of her student's parents saw the worksheet and raised objections with the school's board, bypassing her and her principal. Florence's principal responded by telling her, 'if introducing a worksheet…raises this must controversy,' then 'obviously we're not doing a good enough job'. Her principal then asked Florence to prepare and deliver an inservice session on teaching evolution for the school's faculty.

Some teachers described school policy and how it impacts their teaching. Marla states, 'I have tremendous freedom … to teach evolution,' especially since her school board adopted a formal statement that 'supports the teaching of evolution.' She is concerned, however, each time she gets a new principal that she could lose administrative support. Meredith's nondenominational school 'takes no position' on the teaching of evolution, which gives her freedom because 'the origin issue…is not a litmus test.' Lance's describes his school as one where 'the lines

there are very blurry.' The church that operates his school teaches Young Earth creation 'based on a theological model,' but also holds that 'part of the function of the school is to go outside' of what the church says 'without reprisal.' He is thankful for the church's position because he is 'granted the freedom to go explore'. Lamar's school, however, does not allow teaching of any type of theistic evolution. Teachers must sign a statement of faith that they ascribe to 'a literal interpretation of the Bible'. Teachers there must be Young Earth creationists, but this isn't a problem for Lamar in teaching evolution because he has 'come to a position where I can hold the two in tension comfortably.'

Implications

This chapter begins by asking how the teaching of evolution would look in faith-based schools where science teachers both teach evolution and nurture their students' faith. Interviews with 12 teachers reveal teachers' pastoral hearts as they guide their students to find a place along a spectrum of belief about evolution. They shepherd their students with strength through ideas that may threaten some of their deeply held beliefs.

This study expands the evolution education knowledge base with ways teachers are finding to engage students in learning this difficult subject without diminishing crucial science content. It has implications for evolution educators in both faith-based schools and non-sectarian schools. The most important implications are tied to the core categories of Pastoral and Spectrum.

The participants' views around the central category of their pastoral approach give insight into the heart (Jackson et al. 1995) of an evolution educator who is creating a safe environment in which her or his students can learn about a subject that challenges deeply held beliefs. Participants advocated a long-term view of evolution education, realizing that students could only learn so much now and that they had a lifetime of learning still ahead of them. They did not force students into immediate decisions about science, faith, or resolution of the two. They refused to undermine what students were being taught at home or church, instead supporting students as they consider conflicts arising from new understandings of science. They didn't attack students' deeply held beliefs. Furthermore, they resolutely presented evolution as accepted science to their students, but they did not require their students to accept evolution as truth. They let students decide. At the same time, they worked to open doors in their students' understandings of evolution as accepted science so that students wouldn't be closed out of science participation in college and beyond, where evolution is treated as fact by the scientific community.

Using the spectrum of views among Christians about origins as a part of evolution education may be the most significant new finding of this study. Participating teachers refused to require their students to accept a single view of origins, just as adult Christians across America don't have a single view. Instead, they asked their students to understand scientific evidence, consider Biblical interpretation, and

think for themselves. So often, evolution education seems to drive to a single point, whether in faith-based schools teaching a single creationist view or in a public college classroom where a professor advocates scientific materialism. Participating teachers refused to tie themselves to such agendas, and their trust in their students to think and make good decisions serves as a model for evolution educators in all school types, not just faith-based. Participating teachers appeared to have found a powerful key for diminishing controversy during the teaching of evolution by simply acknowledging what almost any teacher of teenagers already knows: teenagers make their own decisions. Students consider what their teachers say, but they come to their own conclusions, despite pressure from teachers or other adults with an agenda. These teachers lifted the reality of their students' decision making into the overt learning climate of their classrooms.

Participating teachers were passionate about teaching evolution well to their students. Their passion makes clear the profound importance of caring, skilled teachers when students from faith backgrounds are learning evolution. These teachers' words remind us how learning evolution is a matter of the heart for many students, with profound and often eternal implications in students' minds. These teachers' practices give us a good image of how teaching evolution and caring for children's souls can be intertwined successfully.

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Chapter 13
Challenges Faced by Faith-Based Schools with Special Reference to the Interplay Between Science and Religion

Michael Poole

Introduction

Faith-based schools should encourage a spirit of enquiry into their core beliefs and how these relate to wider society, on the assumption that if the beliefs are true, they will withstand detailed inspection. Outside the boundaries of the faith-based school, however, there is a different ethos, and students may spend much time in that environment. Secular and humanist groupings have little sympathy with such schools and public support is mixed.

After making some general points about *world views,* this chapter looks at the challenges faced by faith-based schools, with particular reference to the English scene.

Science is often cited as the main reason for rejecting religion and faith-based schools. Suggestions are therefore offered to such schools concerning their role and responses to current debates concerning science and religion in society and its institutions. Where disagreements exist about the relationships between science and religion there are often, lurking largely out of sight like the proverbial iceberg, clashes between different world views held by the protagonists.

'World Views' and 'World Pictures'

World views and *world pictures* are related terms, but distinct. Current usage tends to reserve *world pictures* for how our Earth physically relates to its immediate neighbours and the rest of the universe. Prior to Copernicus and Galileo the world picture was predominantly geocentric; afterwards, increasingly heliocentric.

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A 'world view' is an *interpretation* of the world, for instance whether the world/ universe is *chaos* or *cosmos (*order*)*, *accidental* or *planned*. World pictures make use of *physics;* world views involve *metaphysics.* Of course, this demarcation is far too stark—hence the phrase 'related terms'—for when the world picture was geocentric, it resonated with perceptions of humankind as the summit of creation, occupying the central, and therefore surely the most important, place in the World (universe). When the world picture changed to heliocentric, people questioned whether the perceived special significance of humankind was rendered illusory. But this notion took the view that centrality of location is a measure of importance, as it often is. But as the historian (Brooke 1991) perceptively points out, an alternative view was possible.

> Even if men and women were removed from the center of the cosmos, this was not necessarily to diminish their status. The center of the geocentric cosmos had not been salubrious. It was the point to which earthly matter fell, the focus of change and impurity, the physical correlate of humanity's fallen state. To be placed on a planet was to move upmarket. … At last it enjoyed legal citizenship in the heavens.[1]

More recently, with our understanding of an expanding universe lacking any 'centre', the spurious notion that cosmic position has any bearing on human status has been resurrected—and dubbed 'the great Copernican cliché'.[2]

World Views in Collision

All of us have world views, recognized or not, consisting of collections of beliefs amassed throughout life. World views may be adopted on rational grounds or taken up to *rationalize* a preferred lifestyle already adopted for other reasons. World views are of particular importance here because faith-based schools, *via* governors and staff, articulate them in 'mission statements'. These would normally be expected to include their religious underpinning, affirming certain beliefs and by implication rejecting others. Other people need to be able to take into account our world views in order to evaluate what we say. Accordingly, I make it clear that I am offering a Christian perspective although, *mutatis mutandis,* many of my comments have wider implications for religions in general.

One theistic world view with a long pedigree is the 'God's Two Books' metaphor. God is seen as the Author of the Book of Nature and the Book of Scripture—the Bible. Having a common 'author', they would not be expected to be at variance when each is properly understood. This includes taking into account the respective languages of science and religion, addressed later.

The Christian world view of a creation declared as 'good' and 'very good' (in contrast to locally prevailing world views of matter as evil) has had a strong

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[1] Brooke (1991) 85, 88.

[2] Danielson (2001) 1029ff.

influence on the rapid rise of science in the West from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Humankind's responsibility as steward/manager of God's workmanship is inherent in the Genesis 1–3 account; so 'Surely we could be better stewards if we understood how things work' seemed an argument to encourage science. But science as a human activity doesn't exist in a philosophical vacuum. To get started it has to assume the creation is *intelligible* and that its behaviour is *uniform* and *orderly,* so that we can summarise it in *scientific laws.* Underpinning all these necessary presuppositions is a belief in *rationality*—human and divine.

Joseph Needham, world authority on Chinese science, posed the question

> Why did modern science, the mathematization of hypotheses about Nature, with all its advanced technology, take its meteoric rise *only* in the West at the time of Galileo? …[3]

His answer was

> … the available ideas of a Supreme Being, though certainly present from the earliest times, became depersonalized so soon, and so severely lacked the idea of creativity, that they prevented the development of the conception of laws ordained from the beginning by a celestial law-giver for non-human nature. Hence the conclusion did not follow that other lesser rational beings could decipher or reformulate the laws of a great rational Super-Being if they used the methods of observation, experiment, hypothesis and mathematical reasoning.[4]

Science is only one way of looking at the natural world. Painters and poets have others. The Association for Science Education gave one of its six Aims for Science Education as

> The attainment of a perspective or way of looking at the world together with some understanding of how it complements and contrasts with other perspectives or ways of organizing knowledge and inquiry.[5]

Furthermore, as has been recognised in *Science in the National Curriculum for England,* 'there are some questions that science cannot currently answer, and some that science cannot address.'[6] This provides an opening to relate science teaching in faith-based schools and others, to different types of compatible explanations, including religious ones, which can legitimately co-exist.

Challenges Faced by Faith-Based Schools

Religious detractors often claim religion as irrational, in contrast to their own rational views. *We* rely on the *facts; they* appeal to *faith.* What *we* do is *education* (a 'hurrah' word); what *they* do is *indoctrination* (a 'boo' word—replaced by 'brainwashing' if the

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[3] Needham, .J. (1969) 16.

[4] *Ibid*, 37.

[5] Association for Science Education (1981) 6 Aims for Science Education, No 4, Hatfield:ASE.

[6] (DFEE/QCA) Department for Education and Employment/Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (2006) 37.

temperature of the debate rises too high). The finer point of distinguishing whether the charge of indoctrination refers to the *content*, the *method*, the *consequences* or the *intentions* of the teacher usually gets overlooked, as does, when using *brainwashing*, the absence of bright lights, sleep deprivation, humiliation, interrogation and real or threatened physical pain.

Of course, such dichotomies are overstated, none more so than the entrenched *'facts v. faith'* and *'faith v. reason'*. A charge of indoctrination might, however, be laid at the door of some atheists. In one school the science department decided to promote a 'conflict' view of science-and-religion in their teaching! Indeed, it was in an educational context that I first encountered the atheistic views of Richard Dawkins, through his beautifully presented (1991) *Royal Institution of Great Britain Christmas Lectures,* 'Growing Up In The Universe', delivered to an audience of schoolchildren. But I ended up complaining to the organisers and to the lecturer that the latter 'seemed hardly to lose an opportunity to intrude his personal, anti-religious beliefs, as though these beliefs necessarily followed from the biology. Alternative viewpoints were scarcely evident and where they were glimpsed they were treated dismissively and sometimes trivially, placing the series outside the best traditions of education.'[7] A published written debate[8] with Richard Dawkins arose out of my comments.

The Misrepresentation of 'Faith'

Much superficial dismissal of religion rests on a gross misunderstanding of 'faith'. Dawkins, an arch opponent of faith schools, has tried hard to persuade people that 'faith' is *unevidenced belief* and that religious beliefs are 'mind viruses', 'self-delusion', 'placebos', 'wishful thinking' and 'indoctrination', even though each of these can serve as two-edged swords, capable of wounding the user equally to the intended victim.[9]

The persistent caricature of 'faith' as *unevidenced belief* lies behind one main criticism of faith-based schools. Although an unfounded perception, its ubiquitous character suggests a determined effort to perpetuate the misunderstanding. But the widespread use of 'faith' as a synonym for 'trust', without any suggestion of a sneer, shows it does carry an air of respectability, often and unfairly denied it in a religious context. We *do* exercise faith, or trust, in people like friends, surgeons and teachers, without shame. We also talk about having faith or trust in inanimate things like medicines, cars and timetables. Of course we may be let down if we put our faith in a relegated football team, a wayward lover or even, nowadays, a bank. But we already possess a precise word in the English language for unevidenced belief and

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[7] Personal Correspondence from the author to the BBC Producers, Professor Day, Director of the Royal Institution and Dr. Richard Dawkins 24th July 1992.

[8] Poole (1994) 41–59; Dawkins (1995) 45–50; Poole (1995a) 51–58 & Poole-Dawkins Exchange at http://faculty.smu.edu/jclam/science_religion/poole_dawkins.html. Accessed 4 Sept 2012.

[9] Poole (2009) 22–29.

that is *credulity*—believing without evidence or against contrary evidence. For religious 'faith' or 'trust' to be properly grounded it must be based on evidence.

> … the fact that some understanding is required for intelligent faith does not mean that complete understanding is necessary. Without some knowledge, faith would be superstition. With full knowledge there would be no need for faith at all, Faith is reason exploring, it is reason become courageous, it goes beyond the evidence but it is not actually denied by the evidence.[10]

Evidence and Proof

A pupil who demanded 'Prove to me scientifically that God exists and I'll believe' hadn't realized that science can only investigate the material world. Despite Dawkins' claim to the contrary, religion is not a 'scientific theory'. 'Knock-down' proofs are restricted to formal logic and some branches of mathematics. *Proving* originally meant *testing,* as in 'the proof of the pudding is in the eating'. 'Proving' often parallels what happens in a court of law. Here, many small pieces of direct or indirect evidence, none of which by themselves might be fully persuasive, may nevertheless build up a cumulative case against the accused, sufficient to compel belief and consequent conviction. Legal language speaks of 'proof by preponderance of evidence and proof beyond reasonable doubt'. Evidence for religious belief is in the nature of a *cumulative case,* with evidence drawn both from the private and public domains. In the former lie religious experiences—our own and others.[11] The public domain might include there being a world at all and what it is like—is it 'fine-tuned' for life as we know it (the 'Goldilocks effect')? Would a *multiverse* necessarily entail a rethink about design? Additionally, in the Judeo-Christian faith the works of God in history are cited—e.g. the Exodus and preceding plagues and miracles, along with signs and wonders, fulfilled prophecies and, in Christianity, evidences for the incarnation and resurrection of Jesus Christ. Furthermore, science in the forms of archeology, astronomy and geology can be of help in evaluating evidence concerning the crossing of the Red Sea and the river Jordan, the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, the 'star' of Bethlehem, as well as the date of the crucifixion and associated evidence for the resurrection.[12]

The misrepresentation of 'faith' is only one of the challenges which reflect secularists' deep dislike of religion featuring in the educational scene. This dislike stands in direct contrast to the reasons why many parents *want* to send their offspring to faith-based schools. Halstead (2012) lists seven arguments used against such schools and seven arguments for them.[13] Among the latter he cites 'They

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[10] Hull (1974) 60.

[11] Davis (1999).

[12] A prolific author on these phenomena is Humphreys. Humphreys and Waddington (1983), & Humphreys (1991, 2004, 2011).

[13] Halstead (2012) 103ff.

remove some of the barriers to faith that are often found in the common school, such as the promotion of relativism, neutrality and secular values'[14]—which makes an appropriate heading for another challenge faced by these schools.

'The Promotion of Relativism, Neutrality and Secular Values'

Historically, in the UK, the legal and educational systems have deep Christian roots. Secular pressures have long existed within the educational system over matters like school assemblies and religious education, while a rapidly increasing multi-faith society with diverse and often conflicting claims has reshaped the content of compulsory Religious Education in the English state school curriculum. Inevitably in a multi-cultural society, some claims are cultural and call upon the empathy and understanding of those of different traditions. Other claims reflect deeply held religious and associated moral traditions regarded as non-negotiable. These factors highlight Pontius Pilate's question to Jesus, 'What is truth?' Many have responded as in Frances Bacon's aphorism: 'What is *Truth?* said *jesting Pilate*; and would not stay for an answer'.[15] They dismiss or redefine the idea of truth, embracing various forms of relativism. Subtle and not-so-subtle changes of speech are evident, saying something is 'unacceptable' rather than 'wrong'. Residents on a housing estate where, despite police efforts, vandalism is endemic, may find they have to accept it, even though it is wrong! More serious is a shift away from the word 'true' meaning some kind of *correspondence* between a statement and 'what is the case', towards phrases like 'true for you' but not 'true for me', whatever they might mean. *Coherence* is a *necessary*, but not a *sufficient* condition for truth. To claim 'there is no such thing as absolute truth' is technically *incoherent,* as is quickly seen by turning the claim upon itself, applying the principle of reflexivity. 'Truth' has a take-it-or-leave-it quality. It is not open to negotiation. Consequently truth-claims often stir up trouble since, as one philosopher (Trigg 2012) points out, 'Respect for people cannot be translated indiscriminately into respect for all their beliefs'.[16] Furthermore, while 'neutrality' as a position may be commendable when chairing a debate, or as a procedural tool when seeking to present opposite sides of an argument fairly, it is inadequate as 'a stance for living'.

'The promotion … of secular values' by governments through legislation and state education is certainly another of the 'challenges faced by faith-based schools'. In England this matter is currently receiving considerable attention, and since it may increase the demand for faith-based schools, some comments are appropriate.

Two successive governments (Labour 1997–2010 and the succeeding Conservative/ Liberal Democrat Coalition) have passed/supported legislation about sexual ethics which is at variance with traditional Christian theism, Jewish law and the teaching

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[14] *Ibid*, 103.

[15] Bacon, F. (1625) 377. Accessed http://fly.hiwaay.net/~paul/bacon/essays/truth.html. 29 June 2012.

[16] Trigg (2012) 67.

of the Qur'an.[17] It is difficult to believe that those who drafted some of this raft of legislation could have failed to spot the hornet's nest they were creating. Maybe it was naïvety, maybe not, but it has certainly led to some over-zealous policing, a catalogue of court cases against religious believers who wish to live by their beliefs, and an increase in intolerance and government attempts to stifle free speech. 'Freedom of religion', guaranteed under worldwide Human Rights legislation, now seems in England to be interpreted as freedom to believe in private and to meet publicly with others of like mind, but not to live out one's religious beliefs in public and professional life. The formerly respected freedom of an individual to act according to their conscience and the willingness of many employers to accommodate those beliefs, even if they disagreed with them, has been hugely eroded. If an employee is currently asked to act against their conscience, then, apparently, we are told, they have freedom of religious belief because they are 'free' to resign and seek other employment,[18] while their families may have to live on the breadline as a result of this 'freedom'. The apparently laudable desire of some public authorities not to cause offence to anybody, by banning all religious references in their literature and practices, might be viewed as purely altruistic. Others might see, as more realistic, the alternative interpretation of implementing a secular wish to excise all religion from public life. The people they would unavoidably offend are those who do not wish to see religious references so removed.

Alongside these moves, the current Coalition government at the time of writing emphatically declares its determination to 'redefine' marriage, despite an initial response of some 600,000 signatures against doing so. Readers familiar with Lewis Carroll's *Alice Through the Looking Glass* may recall a conversation between Alice and Humpty Dumpty: Alice scolds Humpty Dumpty for using one word to mean something quite different. Humpty's immortalized reply is 'When *I* use a word, it means just what I choose it to mean—neither more nor less.' Alice responds 'The question is whether you *can* make words mean different things', which provokes the sinister assertion 'The question is which is to be the master—that's all.'[19] Their exchange prompted the labeling of a category of words, not least by philosophers, as 'Humpty-Dumpty words', words which might otherwise have been more academically termed 'stipulative definitions'. The relevance of this exchange to the redefinition of the word 'marriage' needs no further comment.

That is a sufficient glimpse of one saga to indicate a likely demand for more faith-based schools, to cater for Halstead's second argument for them: 'The 'right of parents to choose a form of schooling that is in line with their own beliefs … enshrined in … the European Convention on Human Rights'.[20]

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[17] e.g. The Employment Equality (*Sexual Orientation*) Regulations 2003. The Equality Act (*Sexual Orientation*) Regulations 2007 & The Criminal Justice and Immigration Act 2008.

[18] A position further supported by the reported words of a judge [04.09.12] that a Christian "under difficulty" is not discriminated against if they have the choice of "resigning and moving to a different job" http://www.christian.org.uk/news/govt-lawyer-christians-should-leave-faith-at-home-or-resign/?e070912. Accessed 10 Sept 2012.

[19] Carroll (1962) 75.

[20] Halstead *op. cit.* 103.

Faith-Based Schools: Their Role and Responses to Current Debates Concerning Science and Religion in Society and Its Institutions

This section roughly divides into issues arising out of the *nature* and the *content of science*. An initial examination of the strengths and limitations of science raises questions about the validity of the reasons given by two movements for regarding science and religion as incompatible—the so-called *'conflict thesis'* of enduring warfare. The first, *logical positivism*, was philosophical, belonging to the early twentieth century, while the second is popularist, contemporary, somewhat diminished from its initial fervour and termed, since 2006, the *'New Atheism'*.

Logical Positivism

The rise and fall of logical positivism is a fascinating story spelt out more fully elsewhere.[21] Bridging the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, *Saint Simon (1760–1825),* patron of the nineteenth century French philosopher *Auguste Compte* put forward his 'law of the three stages' which postulated the history of science as inevitably and irreversibly developing through three stages, *theological, metaphysical* and *positivist*. The term *positivism* arose from a belief that sensory experience gives direct knowledge of the physical world about which we can be *positive* because it is 'given'.

In the 1920s and 1930s a group of philosophers, the *Vienna Circle,* developed the ideas of positivism into a theory of the meaning of language, called *Logical Positivism.* Ernst Mach (1838–1916), physicist and philosopher, was a member of the Circle and saw science, based on sensation, as enabling its claims to be *verified.* He conceded that the postulation of unobservables might temporarily help but considered them as having no existential status. In contemporary thought the *interpretive factor* in sensation is widely recognized, for 'there is more to seeing than meets the eyeball'.[22]

The philosopher A.J. Ayer (1910–1989) wrote a book when he was 24 entitled *Language, Truth and Logic,* championing logical positivism. In the second edition (1946), following earlier criticisms, he composed a revised form of the Principle of Verification, on which the whole superstructure of logical positivism was erected. It read, 'a statement is held to be literally meaningful if and only if it is either analytic or empirically verifiable'[23] Any proposition [a statement which can be agreed or disagreed with] must, according to the logical positivists, either be analytic (i.e.

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[21] Poole (1995b) 34–38.

[22] Hanson (1962) 7.

[23] Ayer (1974) 12.

true by definition, such as 'a tricycle has three wheels') or synthetic, such as 'grass is green', which can be empirically verified, and in this instance requires the qualifier 'usually'. Under this tight stipulation, religious statements like 'God is love' and ethical statements like 'lying is wrong' were dismissed, not as 'untrue' but more politely as 'meaningless'. Thus the language of science was treated as a *meta*language against which all other linguistic forms were to be judged. The positivist agenda was succinctly summarized in these words of Bertrand Russell, published in 1935:

> Whatever knowledge is attainable, must be attained by scientific methods; and what science cannot discover, mankind cannot know.[24]

The ideas caught on like wildfire until the awkward question was asked, 'into which of the only two classes of meaningful statements does the Verification Principle itself fall?'. Despite much debate, and considerable *angst,* the answer which emerged had to be 'neither'. The Verification Principle fell victim to its own stipulated criterion of meaning. In an interesting video interview with the philosopher Bryan Magee, Professor Sir A.J. Ayer, logical positivism's champion in England, admitted that 'nearly all of it was false'.[25]

The 'New Atheism'

If the champion of logical positivism in early twentieth century England was Professor Ayer, then the champion of the 'New Atheism' in early twenty-first century England is undoubtedly the biologist, Professor Richard Dawkins. His most outspoken book is *The God Delusion*[26] but there are other writers like Daniel Dennett[27], Sam Harris[28] and the late Christopher Hitchens[29] who have written along similar lines.

Whereas both logical positivism and the 'new atheism' have espoused a world view that the 'material' is all there is—viewing *metaphysics* as the enemy—they tend to dismiss religious claims for separate reasons. The logical positivists dismissed them as 'meaningless' while some of the new atheists seem to favour dismissing religious questions like 'What is the meaning of life?' and 'Why is there something rather than nothing?' by claiming they are 'not *real* questions'. This, in their own minds, leaves them secure, by stipulative definition, with their assertion that science can answer every 'real' question. But the question remains unanswered as to why these properly-formed locutions can properly be denied the status of

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[24] Russell (1970–1972) 243.

[25] Ayer, A.J. An Interview with Brian Magee posted on 17th Mar 2008 http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4cnRJGs08hE&feature=related (Accessed 29 June 2010).

[26] Dawkins (2006).

[27] Dennett (2006).

[28] Harris (2004).

[29] Hitchens (2007).

'real questions'? But *that* 'real question' has not been answered! Assertions by themselves are not enough; valid arguments are essential.

In the context of this book's central concern with faith-based schools a key task is to ensure adequate teaching about the nature, the history, and not just the content, of science. The late Professor C.A. Coulson, whose ground-breaking popular book entitled *Science and Christian Belief* was published in 1955, frequently pointed out that much confusion about the relationships between science and religion arose through bad science teaching. This may be exacerbated by the teaching, or lack of it, of the history and philosophy of science. Sensational, but sometimes grotesque, versions of the Galileo affair, the Wilberforce-Huxley exchange and the post-Darwinian controversies seem entrenched in popular perception, promoted by some tendentious media programmes which pander to a public appetite for confrontation and therefore help the coveted viewing-ratings. Such programmes often seem more prolific than scholarly assessments of the interplay, as do presentations which reflect a generally hostile attitude towards religion in which the selection and portrayal of adverse material seems part of policy. Some alternative accounts are listed below and offered as antidotes to dubious examples of historiography.[30]

Reductionism and Emergence

Much of science consists of studying matter at the component level (analytically), reducing complex entities mentally or in practice to more simple ones, as one of its many methods of enquiry. This procedure is known as *methodological reductionism* and offers no threat to religion. What *would* offer a threat, if true, is the claim that matter is all there is, that the world is *nothing but* atoms and molecules. This assertion is known as *ontological reductionism* (*ontology:* the study of being) and for obvious reasons is dubbed *nothing-buttery.* It is classically illustrated by Francis Crick's

Astonishing Hypothesis … that "You," your joys and your sorrows, your memories and your ambitions, your sense of personal identity and free will, are in fact no more than the behaviour of a vast assembly of nerve cells and their associated molecules.[31]

The inadequacy of this assertion illustrates how easily a factor called *emergence* can be totally overlooked; for when atoms and molecules join up chemically, entirely new properties may emerge which were not possessed by their constituent parts. Science operates synthetically as well as analytically. A simple and oft-quoted example is that of two molecules of the gas hydrogen and one molecule of the gas oxygen combining chemically, rather than just being mixed together. Two molecules

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[30] Galileo: Brooke and Cantor (1998) 106–138; Poole (1995b) 99–113 Wilberforce/Huxley encounter: Brooke (2001) James, F.A.J.L. (2005).

[31] Crick (1994) 3.

of water are formed and, with the formation of many such molecules, a new colligative property, *wetness,* emerges. At the vastly greater complexity of living matter, new properties such as consciousness and self-consciousness can emerge.

The scientific enterprise is sometimes spoken of as a 'universe of discourse', meaning something like an 'area of enquiry'. Each 'universe of discourse' consists of 'a system of concepts and entities related to a particular topic or area of interest, within which certain terms and expressions acquire their own meaning or significance'.[32]

Explanation

A key task of science is to *explain*, to make plain, the structure and working of the physical world. Religious questions include ones like 'Is there anything *other* than the physical world [God?] to which the world owes its existence?' It is no use going to science, the study of the physical world to answer the question 'Is there anything *other* than the physical world?' To claim that 'religion is a scientific theory'[33] is technically *incoherent*. Explanations of mechanisms (science) and sentient agency (e.g. God) are answering different questions. They can be logically compatible and, if God exists, can both be accepted. It would be nonsense to restrict an explanation of the existence of the LASER to electrons in higher energy levels falling down 'in step'; and treat this as an alternative to the 'sentient agent', Charles Townes, its 'creator'.

Scientific Laws and Miracles

An important undertaking of science is to seek out regularities and to encapsulate them in concise expressions called scientific *laws.* The metaphoric use of the word 'law' in science (cf. the 'law' of the land) has caused confusion. Scientific laws are *descriptive* of the normal ways the natural world *does* behave; laws of the land are *prescriptive* of the ways societies *ought to* behave. Scientific laws do not 'govern' the world's working and the word 'broken' when used in connection with them is misleading. If regular events occur which are not in accord with the scientific law then the law needs revising. Scientific laws are not 'broken' like laws of the land. The theist sees scientific laws as reflecting the normal ways in which God works. Without such regularities life would be chaotic. But if God wishes, for signs, occasionally to act uniquely in miracles, scientific laws describing *normal* behaviour do not need revising on this account. In Christian theology, miracles are not God acting where he does not normally act, but God acting in a different way

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[32] Flew (1979) 334.

[33] Dawkins (1992) and (1995) 46.

from normal, perhaps uniquely. Some further confusion arises over the allied term 'Laws' of *Nature*, encountered at the end of this chapter. For now we turn to the matter of origins.

Cosmogony and Creation

Cosmogony is concerned with the origin of the world/universe. *Creation* is a theological concept, often confusingly 'borrowed' to talk about physical beginnings, but its religious meaning is the 'bringing-into-being-and-sustaining-in-being-by-God-of-everything-there-is' by whatever processes. The 'sustaining' does not imply a static world; it is a dynamic one of ongoing processes. Creation is a timeless act, time and space themselves being part of the creation. As Augustine ventured in the fourth century BCE, creation is 'with time' not 'in time', a position now recognised by modern physics. So it is meaningless to say 'before' the universe began, because there was no 'before'. Genesis conveys the right impression by starting with the words 'In the beginning …' rather than 'Once upon a time …'

Current science places the universe as starting with what Professor Fred Hoyle disparagingly dubbed a 'Big Bang', a theory of origins and an expanding universe advanced in 1927 by Belgian priest, astronomer and physicist, Georges Lemaître. It was developed by Ukrainian-born cosmologist George Gamow at a time when the (1948) Steady State theory of Bondi, Hoyle and Gold was the alternative. But in 1965, the detection of background radiation from space at a temperature of 2.7 K, by Penzias and Wilson, indicated an early hot stage of the universe, giving strong support to a Big Bang model. Currently, this cosmic explosion is placed about 13.7 billion years ago.

One doesn't have to choose between Creation and a Big Bang—indeed one cannot—since they belong to different categories. It would be making some kind of *category mistake*, rather like saying one had to choose whether a flower is 'yellow' or 'scented'.

Creation*ism* and the Intelligent Design (ID) Movement

Some people reject current estimates of 4.6×10^9 years for the age of the Earth, citing the six 'days' of Genesis 1. This has led to various positions being taken, loosely termed 'Creation*ist',* of which *young-Earth creation*ism has attracted most attention by claiming the Earth was created some 10,000 years ago. The revival of this interpretation in the mid twentieth century was curious, since, as one historian (Livingstone 1987) pointed out:

… by and large, Christian geologists had both encountered and accommodated the issue of the age of the earth long before the appearance of Darwin's theory.[34]

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[34] Livingstone (1987) 27.

Although some readers may disagree, Genesis Ch.1 appears to draw attention to how the word 'day' is being used when, referring to Day 4 in verse 16, it says, 'God made two great lights—the greater light to govern the day and the lesser light to govern the night. He also made the stars'. So how are we to understand the first three 'days' if none of the heavenly bodies, sun or stars *by which a day can be defined,* existed before 'Day 4'?[35] Certainly there are connections with the working week and the Sabbath, and some general points will shortly be made about the various ways in which language is used in scientific and religious discourse to access complex ideas.

Belief that the universe is designed by God has a long history and is shared by the Jewish, Christian, Islamic and some other faiths. But the Intelligent Design (ID) Movement, dating from the early 1990s[36] claims that *intelligence* in the created order is shown by *irreducible complexity* in nature. This term refers to biological systems that will only work if all components are simultaneously present. The usual example of *irreducible complexity* quoted is that of the *bacterial flagellum,* a minute propeller that moves certain bacteria. A term, *specified complexity*, has been coined for naturally occurring objects that are deemed too complex to have arisen by natural processes alone. God is not openly identified as the *intelligence* involved, but seems implied. Problems with the ID argument include:

- If only what has *specified complexity* points to *intelligence*, what about the rest of creation, all of which is traditionally believed to be God's handiwork?
- No-one knows whether a 'natural' explanation will be found for a currently unexplained phenomenon, but if it is, on ID reasoning, 'intelligence' would appear to be no longer required.
- The ID Movement seems to overlook how intermediate components of evolutionary change can fulfil functions that are different from the 'end' product, thereby seeming to undermine their argument.
- It appears that ID is little other than an up-to-date-version of the philosophical muddle of the 'God-of-the-gaps' since it calls on what cannot currently be explained by science as evidence for God, rather than embracing the overarching rôle of God as Creator and Sustainer, both of things presently having a scientific explanation and what, currently, does not.

Language

In physical and spiritual matters we encounter what is invisible, novel and conceptually difficult. To talk about them we commonly resort to the 'it-is-as-if' language of similes, metaphors and models. We compare what presently eludes our mental

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[35] See Wenham's contribution to Poole (1987) 22–23.

[36] The word 'intelligence' is superfluous since 'design' implies intelligence.

grasp with what we understand well and which appears to share some features with what is puzzling *(isomorphism).* We do so hoping there will be other comparable, shared features to enlighten us.

Metaphors omit the word 'like', characteristic of similes, and when they have many features in common with what we are trying to understand, which can be systematically explored, they are usually termed *models*. These are *conceptual* models like the comparison of some behaviour of light with water waves or the behaviour of an electrical circuit with the flow of water in pipes. These linguistic devices are not taken *literally,* at face value, but are *literary* forms which enable us to talk about what would otherwise elude us. Theoretical physicists, dealing with what cannot be seen, are constantly using such literary devices. At different times there has been the 'billiard-ball' model of gases as well as the 'plum-pudding' and 'solar-system' models of the atom. Mathematical modeling such as that using the Schrödinger wave equation is another example of isomorphism.

Religion, too, resorts to the analogical language of metaphors and models in order to engage in talk about God, spirit, heaven and resurrection. In the Bible alone there are many different linguistic forms used to speak about what would otherwise elude us. For example these include allegories, apocalyptic writings, elevated prose, enigmatic sayings, history, hymns, ironies, jokes, letters (individual and circular), metaphors, parables, paradoxes, personifications, poetry, prayers, prophecies, riddles and similes. It is no loyalty to scripture to take words *literally* if a particular *literary genre* is intended. Some people have taken 'He stretches out the heavens like a canopy, and spreads them out like a tent to live in' (Isaiah 40:22) to be saying something about the physical shape of the heavens. Others have taken 'while the morning stars sang together' (Job 38:7) as meaning sounds in the heavens–which incidentally could never reach us due to the lack of an intermediate medium for conducting sound. Such people might do well to ponder whether a lot of theological discussions might be impossible without resorting to metaphorical language. As C.S. Lewis put it:

It is a serious mistake to think that metaphor is an optional thing which poets and orators may put into their work as a decoration and plain speakers can do without. The truth is that if we are going to talk at all about things which are not perceived by the senses, we are forced to use language metaphorically.[37]

One pitfall in the use of metaphoric concepts is to try to press every feature/property/characteristic, positive or negative, into service. But at a trivial level, in science we don't expect light waves to be wet or magnetic fields to have cows grazing in them; neither in religion do we normally seek an answer to the question 'if God's our father; who's our mother?'.

A philosopher of science (Hesse 1966), pointed out that there are, in addition to positive and negative features, neutral ones which do not presently appear helpful but might prove fruitful at a later stage, since

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[37] Lewis (1947) 88; (1949) 9–20.

… as long as the model is under active consideration as an ingredient in an explanation, we do not know how far the comparison extends—it is precisely in its extension that the fruitfulness of the model may lie.[38]

It seems that the 'mother' concept referred to above might prove fruitful and such an example arises when God speaks to his people through the prophet Isaiah saying, 'As a mother comforts her child, so will I comfort you'. (Isaiah 66:13 NIV)

A further pitfall is to confuse what is a conceptual device with a real object or cause, the *Fallacy of Reification*, which is particularly evident in the life sciences in connection with natural selection and evolution, topics to which we now turn.

Evolution, Chance and Design

For some religious believers evolution has become a bit of a bogey, not only because it brings in the origins of humankind and raises questions about the biblical accounts of beginnings, but also because it raises questions about the rôles of stochastic processes like chance and randomness in the formation and functioning of a world claimed to have been designed by a loving God. Can natural selection, with its apparent 'wastage' and suffering, be squared with this teaching? The problem of *theodicy* is one of seeking to take account of and reconcile these two factors, the power and love of God.

Chance and randomness appear to present fewer problems for claims of divine design than was the case before computers were programmed to employ so-called *genetic algorithms*[39] for designed ends. Such programs mimic the biological processes of reproduction and natural selection. Random mutations, crossover and recombination are mimicked to achieve desirable ends like the design of maximally efficient steam jets or the geographical positioning of ambulances within a county, to minimize the average time needed to reach patients. Indeed, it has always been the case that our orderly world arose out of the chaotic conditions pertaining in stars. The random collisions of elementary particles in these nuclear furnaces resulted in an orderly array of elements which are classified in The Periodic Table. 'Chance' may be seen as 'unpredictable from prior data'. What we call 'waste' raises interesting philosophical questions about the meaning of this concept. In the living world, *chance* and *waste* take on more complex meanings as we adopt anthropomorphic attitudes towards them.

The word evolution, rarely used by Charles Darwin who preferred the term 'descent with modification', has generated quite a lot of *angst* among some religious believers. The idea of 'descent with modification' has been known to doting parents from antiquity: 'he's got his father's nose, but his mother's eyes'. It was also recognized that offspring do not have exactly the same characteristics as their parents. There may be differences in the colour of eyes, the lengths of legs, shape of beaks,

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[38] Hesse (1966) 162.

[39] Bartholomew (2008) 170–171.

and so on. In captivity, humankind has, from antiquity, artificially bred animals and plants for desired characteristics, plants for food and carrier pigeons and race-horses for speed. What was not understood in Darwin's time was how this came about, since the idea of genes came later.

Darwin's genius was to suggest a plausible mechanism whereby characteristics that favour survival and reproduction would be expected to become more widely represented in populations in the wild. Random mutations which occur in living things may give rise to variations in offspring with a better chance of survival against predators, disease or food shortage. Longer legs help in a chase, a different shaped beak may help in hooking insects out of crannies, while 'camouflage' helps escape detection. Thus, more of the population are likely to come to possess such characteristics, resulting in a gradual 'descent with modification' or 'evolution' over time. By analogy with the 'artificial selection' practiced by breeders of pigeons and racehorses, Darwin called this process 'natural selection'.

In brief, the living world seems to have a built-in ('programmed') mechanism of ensuring that in general, major catastrophes apart, life goes on adapting to changes in its competitors and surroundings. It could be argued that this inbuilt mechanism is a much more economical way of divine design than Paley's *ad hoc* idea of each living thing having been separately designed by God for its own ecological *niche*. A passage in Mark's gospel reads:

A man scatters seed on the ground … the seed sprouts and grows, though he does not know how. All by itself [Gk *automatos*] the soil produces corn—first the stalk, then the ear, then the full grain in the ear. [Mark 4:27, 28 NIV]

While not wishing to fall into the trap of uncritically transliterating the Greek word *automatos* into the contemporary word *automatic,* there certainly seems to be the implication of some inbuilt propensity. This propensity is referred to by Van Till as the *functional integrity* of creation.[40] The 'integrity' or 'completeness' expresses the idea of being 'fit for purpose', endowed by the Creator with an inbuilt capability to operate. Overlooking the *integrity of creation* leads to the explanatory confusion of the 'God-of-the-gaps', whereby 'God' is dragged in to try to account for the bits that science has not yet been able to explain. For Mark, God is the creator of all there is, the parts that cannot presently be explained as well as the ones that can. This returns us to a key point made in the earlier section on *explanations.* If God is the divine agent, the *mechanisms* can be still explained in physical terms, for explanations of physical mechanisms are logically compatible with explanations of divine agency. This point is poignantly exemplified by Simon Hatterstone's interview, in *The Guardian,* of Richard Dawkins, who 'went to a C of E school, was confirmed, and embraced Christianity until his mid-teens'. On being asked 'So what changed?', Dawkins is reported as replying

'I suppose that by that time the main residual reason why I was religious was from being so impressed with the complexity of life and feeling that it had to have a designer, and I think it was when I realised that Darwinism was a far superior

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[40] Van Till (1996).

explanation that pulled the rug out from under the argument of design. And that left me with nothing.'[41]

Of course Dawkins is correct in thinking that Darwin's theory 'pulled the rug out from under the argument of design' in its Paleyan form of separate acts of creation for living things. But it certainly did not destroy all ideas of design as Dawkins still seems to think. Darwin himself had sympathy for the idea of design residing in God as the celestial lawgiver of the laws of nature.

But there was a much deeper, philosophical flaw in Dawkins' early perception, and if someone had pointed it out, one can only speculate what different course Dawkins' world view might have taken. He believed he had to choose between a scientific explanation of the physical processes of 'descent with modification' by natural selection, on the one hand, and an explanation of these processes in terms of the purposes of a divine agent, God, in bringing them about. This exemplifies the Fallacy of the Excluded Middle by trying to force an 'either/or' choice instead of recognizing a third, a middle position, 'both/and'. It also commits an *explanatory type error* by replacing an explanation of divine agency with an explanation of a different *type—a physical process*.[42] A consequence of this is the tendency to fall into the *Fallacy of Reification,* mentioned earlier, of confusing a *concept* like *evolution* with a real object or cause. Concepts like *'the blind designer', natural selection, scientific laws/laws of physics, chance* get treated as objects or causes and virtually personified like *Old Mother Nature.* Accompanied by a vigorous denial of divine activity, this greatly exceeds the legitimate use of figures of speech, as *concepts* are being credited with sentient abilities to *'choose', 'build', 'manufacture' and 'create',* as in *'Natural selection has built us'*[43] Here are two instances of this muddle, involving the laws of physics/science/nature encountered earlier:

The kind of explanation [that characterizes biological objects] we come up with must not contradict the laws of physics. Indeed it will make use of the laws of physics, and nothing more than the laws of physics.[44]

The known laws of physics … are alone sufficient to explain how everything came into being, spontaneously … is there then, still a role for God?[45]

The philosopher Wittgenstein, in his *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus,* comments:

At the basis of the whole modern view of the world lies the illusion that the so-called laws of nature are the explanations of natural phenomena. (6.371)

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[41] *The Guardian*, Monday 10 February 2003. Darwin's child, *The Monday Interview* between Simon Hattenstone and Richard Dawkins.

[42] In everyday parlance, a type-error is committed when an explanation is proffered that is not, either deliberately or unintentionally, of the required type, something which can happen in pure and applied science too. 'Why did the bridge collapse?' would have an explanation in terms of the strength of materials and loading, but could also have an explanation in terms of human agency, 'the troops didn't break step when they crossed'.

[43] Dawkins (1976) vii.

[44] Dawkins (1986) 15.

[45] Gribben (1986) 16.

So people stop short at natural laws as something unassailable … in the modern system it should appear as though everything were explained. (6.372)[46]

The philosopher (Feser 2010), referring to these passages, gives two reasons for the inadequacy of this popular perception:

'First, "laws of nature" are mere abstractions and cannot explain anything. … talk of "laws of nature" is merely shorthand for the patterns of behavior they tend to exhibit given those essences. Second, that some fundamental level of material substances (basic particles, or whatever) exist and behave in accordance with such laws can also never be the ultimate explanation of anything, because we need to know, not only how such substances came into existence, but what keeps them in existence … they cannot possibly account for themselves …'[47]

C.S. Lewis commented whimsically in similar vein:

The dazzlingly obvious conclusion now arose in my mind: in the whole history of the universe the laws of nature have never produced a single event … The laws are the pattern to which events conform: the source of events must be sought elsewhere.[48]

Conclusion

Good science education, in faith-based schools and others, needs to be integrated with other aspects of the school curriculum, particularly with religious education/studies, history and philosophy/critical thinking (see Berry (2012) and Black & Poole (2007)). It also needs to convey a clear message that there is no *necessary* connection between science and atheism, nor any necessary disparity in following a scientific career and following God. The notion that science and Christian belief are at loggerheads appears to reflect muddles about the philosophy, history and languages of science and religion, rather than conflict. Wittgenstein cautioned, 'Philosophy is a battle against the bewitchment of our intelligence by means of language.[49] Points to be made clear in teaching science are:

- The presuppositions of rationality, uniformity, intelligibility and orderliness underpin the scientific enterprise.[50]
- The concept of *explanation* and the plurality of different *types* of compatible explanations need to be spelt out.[51] Other concepts that need clarifying are those of 'chance', creation and miracles. The fallacies of *Reification* and *The Excluded Middle* need to be flagged.

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[46] Wittgenstein (1922) 6.371/2.

[47] Feser, E. The Early Wittgenstein on scientism. Tuesday June 1, 2010 http://edwardfeser.blogspot.co.uk/2010/06/early-wittgenstein-on-scientism.html. Accessed 20 June 2012.

[48] Lewis (1979) 53.

[49] Wittgenstein (1968) 47e (109).

[50] Poole (2007) 7f.

[51] Poole (2002).

• Science deserves promoting as a worthwhile activity, particularly in view of human managerial responsibility.

The seventeenth century English naturalist, John Ray, wrote 'It may be … part of our Business and Employment in Eternity, to contemplate the Works of God, and give him the Glory of his Wisdom, Power, and Goodness, manifested in the Creation of them. I am sure it is part of the Business of a Sabbath-day.'[52]

The second Charter of the Royal Society, founded in 1660 commanded Fellows to direct their studies 'to the glory of God the Creator, and the advantage of the human race'.

In the great oak door of the original Cavendish laboratory in Cambridge is carved, in Latin, what has come to be called the Research Workers' Text, Psalm 111:2. The same text, this time in English, appears above the doors of the modern Cavendish laboratory, It reads 'The works of the Lord are great, sought out of all them that have pleasure therein.'

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[52] Ray (1717) 70f [quotation supplied by John Hedley Brooke].

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Chapter 14
Sex Education and Science Education in Faith-Based Schools

Michael J. Reiss

Context

Faith-based schooling remains controversial. On the one hand those who support it argue that to ban it is to trample on the rights of parents to frame their children's education and, furthermore, that when faith-based schooling is banned, all that happens is that children are removed from schools and educated at home so that the last state is worse than the first (*Matthew* 12:45). On the other hand are those who argue that faith-based schooling inevitably entails at least a certain amount of indoctrination and, furthermore, that such schooling is socially divisive. Other chapters in this Handbook extensively explore such issues (cf. also Parker-Jenkins et al. 2005; Haydon 2009; MacEoin 2009; Oldfield et al. 2013).

The aim of this chapter is somewhat different. I assume the existence of faith-based schooling and then look at the consequences of this for two contrasting parts of the school curriculum, namely sex education and science education. However, as I hope will be clear, nearly all of what I write is equally applicable to schools that are not faith-based. This is for two main reasons: first, even within faith-based schools, students differ (often considerably) in their religious beliefs and the centrality of those beliefs to their lives; secondly, this is true too of schools that are not faith-based. Given that teachers need to respect their students and help them to flourish both at school and subsequently (Reiss and White 2013), one of my conclusions is that whether or not a school is faith-based makes less difference to how sex education and science education should be taught than is generally presumed.

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Sex Education

For some people, their religious faith is absolutely the core of their being: they could no more feel comfortable acting or thinking in a way that conflicted with their religious values than they could feel comfortable not breathing. Other ways of expressing this are to say that their worldview is a religious one or that religion plays a central part in their identity. For other people, religious faith is either an irrelevancy – an historical anachronism – or positively harmful with many of the ills that befall humankind being placed at its door (Halstead and Reiss 2003).

Religious believers need no arguments to be voiced in favour of taking religious values seriously, both generally and with particular reference to sexual ethics and behaviour. Agnostics and atheists might be tempted to ignore religious values but this would be a mistake. For a start, it is still the case that even in countries, such as Denmark, England, Sweden and The Netherlands, where the national significance of religion has been in decline for many decades, a substantial proportion of people still report that they have a religious faith when asked in national surveys. Although a stated belief in God may not translate into much overt religious activity, such as communal worship, it often connects with what people feel about important issues in life.

Then there is the fact that most of the world's religions, while they may not have anything very direct or clear to say about certain of today's ethical questions – such as the legitimacy of genetically modified foods or the use of drones in warfare – do have a great deal to say about sexual values. Religious values still permeate, for historical reasons, much of society and need to be understood. Of course, those with a religious faith also need to understand something of secular reasoning about sexual ethics: it is still too often the case that those with a religious faith assume that only they (a) really know what is good sexual behaviour; (b) can put such knowledge into effect.

Religious Values in the Context of School Sex Education

Until fairly recently, relatively little had been written in any detail about religious values and school sex education. In recent years, though, there has been an increasing acknowledgement from all sex educators, whether or not they themselves are members of any particular religious faith, that religious points of view needs to be taken into account, if only because a significant number of children and their parents have moral values significantly informed by religious traditions. More generally, it has been argued that religion is increasingly becoming a means through which identities are articulated on the public stage (Thomson 1997).

The first major attempt in the UK among believers from a number of religious traditions to agree a religious perspective on sex education resulted in an agreed statement by members of six major UK religions (The Islamic Academy 1991).

This statement provided a critique of contemporary sex education, listed principles which it was felt ought to govern sex education and provided a moral framework for sex education. This framework 'Enjoins chastity and virginity before marriage and faithfulness and loyalty within marriage and prohibits extramarital sex and homosexual acts', 'Upholds the responsibilities and values of parenthood', 'Acknowledges that we owe a duty of respect and obedience to parents and have a responsibility to care for them in their old age and infirmity' and 'Affirms that the married relationship involves respect and love' (The Islamic Academy 1991: 8).

Another early UK project to look at the important of religion and ethnicity for sex education was the Sex Education Forum's 'religion and ethnicity project'. A working group was set up which "was concerned to challenge the view that religions offer only negative messages around sex, wanting to explore the broader philosophy and rationale behind specific religious prescriptions" (Thomson 1993: 2). Each participant was sent a total of 28 questions (e.g. 'Are there different natural roles for men and women, if so why?' and 'What is the religious attitude towards contraception and/or 'protection' for example, safe sex re: STDs, HIV?') and the project chose to present a range of views, rather than attempting to reach a consensus. The outcome was a pack described on its title page as 'A resource for teachers and others working with young people'. One apparently minor, though noteworthy, feature of the pack – which has chapters on Anglican, Hindu, Islamic, Jewish, Methodist, Roman Catholic, secular and Sikh perspectives – is its postscript which reads:

> We would like to draw readers attention to the absence of a perspective in this pack that addresses Caribbean or African cultural attitudes to sex and sexuality. The primary concern of the pack is to explore religious perspectives on sex and sexuality, which inevitably also involve questions of ethnicity and culture. The absence of such a perspective that specifically addresses the cultural beliefs and practices of the large Caribbean and African communities in the United Kingdom should not be taken to obscure the existence or relevance of such traditions. It is hoped that schools and others working with young people will use this pack to initiate dialogue with parents and the community at a local level. We hope that schools will include Caribbean and African communities in such consultation. We apologise if the title of the pack is misleading.
>
> (Thomson 1993: 125)

The postscript indicates a difficulty in writing in the field of religious values. One steers forever between the Scylla of generalities, emphasising the commonalities between the outlooks of the world's various religions, and the Charybdis of specificities, stressing the particular viewpoints of each religion and acknowledging the considerable diversity of opinion to be found within each of them too.

At the same time as Rachel Thomson was compiling her pack, Gill Lenderyou and Mary Porter of the Family Planning Association were putting together a booklet arising from the 'Values, faith and sex education' project (Lenderyou and Porter 1994). At a 4-day residential event in this project, a bill of pupils' rights was drawn up by 22 people of different religious faiths, and agreed statements on sex education were produced under the headings of: Respect and difference, Faith and change in society, Male and female equality, Relationships and marriages, Homosexuality,

Cohabitation, Disability and sexuality, and Celibacy. The bill of pupils' rights is more liberal and the agreed statements are more tentative than the contents of The Islamic Academy (1991). For example, included in the bill of pupils' rights are the assertions that pupils have the right to sex education that 'Provides full, accurate and objective information about growth and reproduction on topics including puberty, parenthood, contraception, child care and responsible parenthood' and that pupils have the right 'To be consulted about the manner in which sex education is implemented in the classroom in connection with issues such as whether it takes place in single sex or mixed groups or which topics can be included in the programme' (Lenderyou and Porter 1994: 37).

Subsequently, Shaikh Abdul Mabud and I edited an academic book titled *Sex Education and Religion* which concentrated on Christian and Muslim views about sex education (Reiss and Mabud 1998), and publications resulted from projects funded by the Department of Health's former Teenage Pregnancy Unit including 'Supporting the Development of SRE [sex and relationships education] within a Religious and Faith Context' (Blake and Katrak 2002). Since that time, an increasing of publications have considered the importance of religion for sex education (e.g. Rasmussen 2010; Smerecnik et al. 2010) while alongside this whole story Revd Richard Kirker was a perennial presence. He was a founder member and first General Secretary of the Gay Christian Movement from 1976, with the organization changing its name in 1987 to the Lesbian and Gay Christian Movement.

Christian Views of Sex and Sex Education

The phrase 'Christian views' suggests that there may be more than one Christian view about this subject. However, the very suggestion that there can be a diversity of Christian views about sex and sex education, as opposed to a single, definitive position, causes some Christians to be suspicious. After all, it might be felt, is not the acceptance of the notion that there may be more than one Christian view about so important an issue as human sexuality and sex education tantamount to the denial of a straightforward reading of the Christian scriptures as the word of God? Does it not amount to the adoption of a relativistic view of morality in which no unified, objective set of moral principles can be defended (Reiss 1998)?

A full response to this point of view would require me to deal with the whole issue of conservatism and liberalism in the Christian Church and other religions too. In an important book James Barr argues that what is generally termed 'fundamentalism', and also known as the doctrine of scriptural inerrancy or literalism, is untenable precisely because taking literally the words of the (Christian) scriptures shows that the scriptures themselves do not take themselves literally (Barr 1984).

At the same time, it needs to be acknowledged that the liberal position can be held as dogmatically as the conservative one. Religious liberals are sometimes as dismissive of the conservative position, and those who hold it, as religious conservatives are of the liberal position, and those who hold it. For some, the advent of

post-modernism offers a resolution to this impasse. Not the form of post-modernism that dismisses all knowledge as wholly subjective and relative, but the post-modernism that rejects the notion of there only being a single way of discerning truth. This latter version is not just more tolerant of a diversity of co-existing viewpoints but requires them, generally rejecting the single grand metanarrative.

Christian Views About Sex

Christian views about virtually everything derive from perhaps five main sources: first, the writings of the Bible, containing both the Jewish and New Testament scriptures; secondly, the teachings of the Church down the ages; thirdly, the conscience of individuals informed, they believe, by the Holy Spirit; fourthly, their God-given, though imperfect, powers of reason; fifthly, the particular cultural milieu they inhabit. This catalogue alone makes it likely that there will be a diversity of Christian views about almost any important subject.

To illustrate Christian views about sex, I concentrate on marriage and same-sex sexual relationships. This is partly because both subjects are extremely important ones, but also because more of a consensus exists among Christians on one than on the other. Christian teachings about marriage are widespread in the New Testament and the doctrine of marriage has been very widely debated over the last two millennia with considerable agreement resulting. On the other hand, the New Testament teaching about homosexuality is sparser and it is only in recent decades that it has been analysed in any great depth and there currently exists a wide diversity of opinion on the subject in Christian circles.

Christian Views About Marriage

Traditional Christian understandings of marriage are outlined in the marriage services of the various Christian denominations. In the Church of England the following, or variants thereof, is currently the form of words proclaimed at a marriage by the officiating minister to the congregation as the bride and bridegroom stand near the beginning of the service:

> The Bible teaches us that marriage is a gift of God in creation and a means of his grace, a holy mystery in which man and woman become one flesh. It is God's purpose that, as husband and wife give themselves to each other in love throughout their lives, they shall be united in that love as Christ is united with his Church.
>
> Marriage is given, that husband and wife may comfort and help each other, living faithfully together in need and in plenty, in sorrow and in joy. It is given, that with delight and tenderness they may know each other in love, and, through the joy of their bodily union, may strengthen the union of their hearts and lives. It is given as the foundation of family life in which children may be born and nurtured in accordance with God's will, to his praise and glory.

> In marriage husband and wife belong to one another, and they begin a new life together in the community. It is a way of life that all should honour; and it must not be undertaken carelessly, lightly, or selfishly, but reverently, responsibly, and after serious thought.
>
> (Common Worship 2000: 15)

Of course, each sentence in this quotation could be the subject for a chapter in itself. However, several points can be stressed. Marriage is something that two adults, a man and a woman, choose to enter. It is life-long, exclusive and the only proper place for sexual intercourse. Further, it has a mystical element to it, the relationship between a married couple reflecting the relationship Christ has with his Church. Indeed, in the Roman Catholic tradition marriage is one of the sacraments.

This is not, of course, to maintain that every Christian marriage lives up to this high calling. Enough is known of sexual behaviour within and without marriage both in history (Porter and Hall 1995) and more recently (Natsal 2013) to appreciate that this is far from the case. Furthermore, issues such as polygamy, divorce, cohabitation and contraception have been significant sources of tension, both doctrinally and pastorally, for the Christian Church at different times and in different places. In recent decades, a variety of feminist perspectives have developed, critiquing hitherto unquestioned assumptions about the relationships between the sexes. And, of course, the institution of marriage has been viewed as under threat as fewer couples choose to get married, as the divorce rate has climbed and as various new reproductive technologies such as *in vitro* fertilisation and surrogacy pose fresh ethical dilemmas.

Nevertheless, it is still the case that a considerable consensus about marriage exists both among theologians and among the public at large, whether or not people describe themselves as practising Christians. Indeed, many adults still choose, at some point, to get married (most people still hoping that their marriage will be permanent), only a minority (albeit a large minority) divorce and most children are still conceived in the time-honoured manner.

One significant shift in Christian views about marriage, though, is in the attitude taken towards people who live together (cohabit) before marriage. Although many Christians still see this as a second-best option, cohabitation is increasingly being accepted. An early instance of this was the 1995 report on the family from a Working Party of the Church of England Board of Social Responsibility which resulted in furious debate, exemplified by the front-page headline in the *Church Times* of 9 June 1995 'Living together no longer a sin'. The chief offending passage was as follows:

> … the widespread practice of cohabitation needs to be attended to with sympathy and discernment, especially in the light of the enormous changes in western society that have taken place recently and the effect these have had on the understanding and practice of personal relationships. Anxiety among churchgoers about cohabitation is best allayed, not by judgemental attitudes about 'fornication' and 'living in sin', but by the confident celebration of marriage and the affirmation and support of what in cohabiting relationships corresponds most with the Christian ideal. Being disapproving and hostile towards people who cohabit only leads to alienation and a breakdown in communication. Instead, congregations should welcome cohabitees, listen to them, learn from them and co-operate with them so that all may discover God's presence in their lives and in our own, at the same time as bearing witness to that sharing in God's love which is also available within marriage.
>
> (Working Party of the Board for Social Responsibility 1995: 118)

Critics of the report argued that it had lost any substantive theological underpinning, reducing itself, instead, to a sociological commentary on contemporary mores. Advocates of the report argued that not only had its conclusions on cohabitation pastoral and historical support (there is no formal marriage ceremony in the Jewish or Christian scriptures; Jewish law, technically, regards cohabitation as a legitimate form of marriage; until the Hardwicke Marriage Act of 1753 marriage 'without benefit of clergy' was the practice for most couples in the UK), there is a theological justification too. The theological justification is that the defining element in a sexual relationship is arguably not so much the marriage ceremony but the first act of sexual intercourse. As St Paul wrote "You surely know that anyone who joins himself to a prostitute becomes physically one with her, for scripture says, 'The two shall become one flesh'" (*1 Corinthians* 6.16). In other words, some would argue that the distinction between cohabitation and marriage is smaller than generally supposed. Of course, one logical consequence of this view is that the ending of a relationship characterised by cohabitation (assuming that both parties are still alive) is closely analogous from a theological perspective to the ending of a marriage by a divorce.

A different contemporary Christian perspective is offered by those, such as Adrian Thatcher (2002), who argue that marriage is to be understood not as a sudden event that starts with a wedding or cohabitation, but rather as a gradual process, so that a wedding is seen as the authentication of what has gone before. Indeed, as someone who had conducted dozens of marriage services over the last 20 years, this position seems widespread with the most frequent reason given, in my experience, for why two people want to get married being that it is a sign of their commitment to one another.

Christian Views About Same-Sex Sexual Relationships

The relative degree of consensus that exists among Christians about marriage does not exist among them about same-sex sexual relationships, though in a number of Western countries positions are shifting rapidly towards what can be described as a more liberal view. The traditional view is that homosexuality is, at best, a sin that can be cured by repentance, prayer and Christian counselling; at worst, it is an abomination, an instance of humankind at its most depraved. While homosexuality receives relatively little attention in the scriptures, the references to it are, at least on initial inspection, unambiguously condemnatory – notably the story of Sodom in *Genesis* 19:4–11, the prohibition against it in *Leviticus* 18.22 and 20.13, and Paul's recitation of God's judgement in *Romans* 1:27.

Over the last few decades, however, a tremendous amount of scholarship has questioned this traditional view. This re-evaluation has tackled the question from a range of viewpoints: hermeneutical, scientific, sociological, ethical and pastoral.

The hermeneutical approach has concentrated on a detailed reassessment of the scriptural position on homosexuality. It has been argued that some of the classic 'proof' texts have been over-interpreted. For example, while the story of Sodom in

Genesis 19 does include reference to homosexuality, the chief sin of the men of that city was their inhospitality and their various religious and social sins (*Jeremiah* 23:14; *Ezekiel* 16:49). This is not to conclude that homosexuality is celebrated or even condoned in this passage; rather that this *locus classicus* of the scriptural condemnation of homosexuality has been seriously over-emphasised. After all, few commentators conclude from the near parallel account in *Judges* 19 (in which a woman is raped to death) that heterosexuality is denounced.

Then there is the argument that much of the repugnance expressed by writers both in the Jewish scriptures and in the New Testament stems from the importance attached to Jews and Christians standing aside from certain customs and practices of Canaanite and Graeco-Roman culture. Further, it can be maintained that the writers of scripture were probably mostly unable to envisage a state of homosexuality in which two adults of the same gender freely enter into a monogamous relationship. The authors of the Jewish scriptures implicitly associated homosexuality with cult-prostitution; those of the New Testament mainly with paederasty.

The scientific reassessment of same-sex sexual relationships has failed, as yet, to produce any very definite conclusions as to the cause of a person's sexual orientation, whether gay/lesbian or heterosexual. It is frequently maintained that a person's sexual orientation is a result of their upbringing. For example, the classical Freudian position is that the relationship a child has with its parents in the first few years of life determines its future sexual orientation. Others hold that genetic and/or hormonal influences are crucial in the determination of a person's sexual identity, orientation and desires.

On the other hand, many people argue that there is a spectrum of sexual orientation, with 'pure' homosexuality at one pole and 'pure' heterosexuality at the other. Some of us unambiguously find ourselves at one or other pole; others of us, though, sit between the two extremes. A different point of view is that rather than finding ourselves somewhere along this spectrum, we position ourselves on it. In other words, our sexuality is not entirely a 'given'; it is, at least to some extent, something we determine for ourselves. Queer theory – with its perspective that none of us fits securely into a set of objectively defined sexual boundaries – can be seen as an extension of this analysis. A related point of view is that what we now see as 'homosexuality' and 'heterosexuality' are social and cultural constructions, terms whose meanings are contingent on their historicity (Foucault 1990).

Finally, contemporary Christian views about homosexuality have been influenced by the personal testimonies of many gay and lesbian Christians. Both scripture and tradition place a high value on what an individual's conscience tells that person, while the Bible and Church history contain a number of accounts of people who fail to act in accordance with tradition or the injunctions of scripture, yet are subsequently blessed by God (e.g. Peter at Joppa in *Acts* 10). Listening to people's stories about themselves can be an effective way of discerning what God is saying in a situation.

For all these reasons a consensus among Christians about homosexuality currently does not exist. Some Christian Churches are moving towards a position in which mutually faithful homosexual relationships – though typically only among the laity rather than among the clergy – are considered acceptable. Time alone will

tell whether this is merely a further sign, as some would maintain, of the spiritual decline of institutionalised Christianity, or the beginnings of a full acceptance of all people, whatever their sexual identity.

Christian Views About Sex Education

Two extreme, opposite positions with respect to Christian views about sex education can be rejected. One is that a Christian perspective on sex education is wholly distinct from a secular one; the other is that a Christian perspective differs only marginally, if at all, from a secular one. As is so often the case in life, the truth lies between the extremes.

Of course, precisely what a Christian holds as the Christian position on sex education differs according to the particular form of their faith. One person, of a conservative theological persuasion, may hold that the teachings of scripture can straightforwardly be applied to today's moral situations. Such a person is not likely then to be persuaded by a liberal Christian position which argues that the particular cultural situation in which anyone lives is so significant that laws, however divinely inspired, of two or more thousand years ago cannot simply be translated directly into today's settings.

Of course, this polarisation between the conservative and liberal positions is not restricted, in Christian circles, to issues to do with sex and sex education. Related debates have taken place at different times in Church history over questions as diverse as usury, slavery, the position of women and our use of the environment.

Science Education

For many science educators, whether or not they have any religious beliefs themselves, the relationships between science and religion, i.e. the 'science/religion issue', appears somewhat outside the scope of science education. However, a range of factors, including a greater awareness of the benefits of dealing explicitly in the school classroom with the nature of science and the increasing influence of creationism in schools, suggests that this perspective may be too narrow (Reiss 2008).

The function of school science education is principally to introduce learners to the methods that the sciences use and to the different forms of knowledge that the sciences have produced. While historians tell us that what scientists study changes over time, there are reasonable consistencies:

1. Science is concerned with the natural world and with certain elements of the manufactured world – so that, for example, the laws of gravity apply as much to aeroplanes as they do to apples and planets.
2. Science is concerned with how things are rather than with how they should be. So there is a science of nuclear fission and *in vitro* fertilisation without science telling us whether nuclear power and test-tube babies are good or bad.

The argument in favour of including religion in science education is then a very specific one: aspects of religion should be included if they help learners better to learn science. (Precisely the same argument holds, I would argue, for teaching science students about history: this too should be done if it helps learners better to learn science.) So, under what circumstances might the learning of science be helped by a consideration of religious issues? Perhaps the most obvious instance is when teaching the topic of evolution to students who are creationists or, at any rate, have creationist sympathies.

The Importance of Creationism for Science Education

Creationism exists in a number of different versions, but something like 50 % of adults in Turkey, 40 % in the USA and 15 % in Norway reject the theory of evolution: they believe that the Earth came into existence as described by a literal (fundamentalist) reading of the early parts of the Bible or the Qu'ran and that the most that evolution has done is to change species into closely related species (Miller et al. 2006). For a creationist it is possible, for example, that the various species of mice had a common ancestor but this is not the case for mice, squirrels and horses – still less for monkeys and humans, for birds and reptiles or for fish and pine trees.

Until recently, little attention has been paid in the science classroom to creationism. However, creationism appears to be on the increase, and there are indications that there are more countries in which schools are becoming battlegrounds for the issue. For example, while the USA has had several decades of legal battles about the place of creationism and (more recently) intelligent design in schools (Moore 2007), school-based conflicts over these issues are becoming more frequent in a range of other countries (e.g. Graebsch and Schiermeier 2006).

As a result, there has been a growth in the science education literature examining creationism (e.g. Jones and Reiss 2007; Reiss 2011). Most of the literature on creationism (and/or intelligent design) and evolutionary theory puts them in stark opposition. Evolution is consistently presented in creationist books and articles as illogical (e.g. natural selection cannot, on account of the second law of thermodynamics, create order out of disorder; mutations are always deleterious and so cannot lead to improvements), contradicted by scientific evidence (e.g. the fossil record shows human footprints alongside animals supposed by evolutionists to be long extinct; the fossil record does not provide evidence for transitional forms) and the product of non-scientific reasoning (e.g. the early history of life would require life to arise from inorganic matter – a form of spontaneous generation rejected by science in the nineteenth century. Radioactive dating is said to make assumptions about the constancy of natural processes over aeons of time whereas we increasingly know of natural processes that affect the rate of radioactive decay), and evolution in general is portrayed as the product of those who ridicule the word of God, and a cause of a whole range of social evils – from eugenics, Marxism, Nazism and racism to juvenile delinquency, illicit drug use and prostitution (e.g. Watson (1975),

Baker (2003), Parker (2006) and countless articles in the publications of such organisations as Answers in Genesis, the Biblical Creation Society, the Creation Science Movement and the Institute for Creation Research).

By and large, creationism has received similarly short shrift from those who accept the theory of evolution. In an early study the philosopher of science Philip Kitcher argued that "… in attacking the methods of evolutionary biology, Creationists are actually criticizing methods that are used throughout science" (Kitcher 1983: 4–5). Kitcher concluded that the flat-earth theory, the chemistry of the four elements and mediaeval astrology "… have just as much claim to rival current scientific views as Creationism does to challenge evolutionary biology" (Kitcher 1983: 5). An even more trenchant attack on creationism is provided by geologist Ian Plimmer whose book title *Telling lies for God: Reason vs creationism* (Plimmer 1994) indicates the line he takes.

The scientific worldview is materialistic in the sense that it is neither idealistic nor admits of non-physical explanations (here, 'physical' includes, as well as matter, such 'things' as energy and the curvature of space). There is much that remains unknown about evolution. How did the earliest self-replicating molecules arise? What caused membranes to exist? How key were the earliest physical conditions – temperature, the occurrence of water and so forth? But the scientific presumption is either that these questions will be answered by science or that they will remain unknown. Although some scientists might (sometimes grudgingly) admit that science cannot disprove supernatural explanations, scientists do not employ such explanations in their work (the tiny handful of seeming exceptions only attest to the strength of the general rule).

Whereas there is only one mainstream scientific understanding of today's biodiversity, there are a considerable number of religious ones. Many religious believers are perfectly comfortable with the scientific understanding, either on its own or accompanied by a belief that evolution in some sense takes place within God's holding (compass or care), whether or not God is presumed to have intervened or acted providentially at certain key points (e.g. the origin of life or the evolution of humans). But many other religious believers adopt a more creationist perspective or that of intelligent design (Reiss 2008).

The Response of Science Education to Creationism

Given all this, how might raising the issue of religion in science lessons help? Might it not just make the situation even worse? The response by science education to the range of positions held about evolution needs, I believe, to take account of the following (Reiss 2013):

1. Among scientists, the theory of evolution is held to be a robust, well established and, at its core, a scientifically uncontroversial theory.
2. Within biology, evolution occupies a central place. There is much in biology that has been discovered and can be studied without accepting the theory of evolution

but an evolutionary framework is what enables biologists to provide coherence to the diversity of life that we see around us and to situate today's life in an historical context.

3. In common with many scientific theories, evolution is not easy to understand. It has contra-intuitive elements and, in addition, is actively rejected by many people for religious reasons.

Few countries have produced explicit guidance as to how schools might deal with the issues of creationism or intelligent design in the science classroom. One country that has is England. In the summer of 2007, after months of behind-the-scenes meetings and discussions, the then DCSF (Department of Children, Schools and Families) Guidance on Creationism and Intelligent Design received Ministerial approval and was published (DCSF 2007). The Guidance points out that the use of the word 'theory' in science (as in 'the theory of evolution') can mislead those not familiar with science as a subject discipline because it is different from the everyday meaning, when it is used to mean little more than an idea. In science the word indicates that there is a substantial amount of supporting evidence, underpinned by principles and explanations accepted by the international scientific community.

The DCSF Guidance goes on to say: "Creationism and intelligent design are sometimes claimed to be scientific theories. This is not the case as they have no underpinning scientific principles, or explanations, and are not accepted by the science community as a whole" (DCSF 2007) and then states:

> Creationism and intelligent design are not part of the science National Curriculum programmes of study and should not be taught as science. However, there is a real difference between teaching 'x' and teaching *about* 'x'. Any questions about creationism and intelligent design which arise in science lessons, for example as a result of media coverage, could provide the opportunity to explain or explore why they are not considered to be scientific theories and, in the right context, why evolution is considered to be a scientific theory.
> (DCSF 2007)

This seems to me a key point and one that is true for all countries, whether a country permits the teaching of religion (as in the UK) or does not (as in France, Turkey and the USA). Many scientists, and some science educators, fear that consideration of creationism or intelligent design in a science classroom legitimises them. For example, the excellent book *Science, evolution, and creationism,* published by the US National Academy of Sciences and Institute of Medicine, asserts "The ideas offered by intelligent design creationists are not the products of scientific reasoning. Discussing these ideas in science classes would not be appropriate given their lack of scientific support" (National Academy of Sciences and Institute of Medicine 2008: 52).

As I have argued (Reiss 2008), I agree with the first sentence of this quotation but disagree with the second. Just because something lacks scientific support does not seem to me a sufficient reason to omit it from a science lesson. Indeed, good science teaching typically requires consideration of students' ideas when these do not agree

with scientific knowledge. Nancy Brickhouse and Will Letts (1998) have argued that one of the central problems in science education is that science is often taught 'dogmatically'. With particular reference to creationism they write:

> Should student beliefs about creationism be addressed in the science curriculum? Is the dictum stated in the California's *Science Frameworks* (California Department of Education, 1990) that any student who brings up the matter of creationism is to be referred to a family member or member of the clergy a reasonable policy? We think not. Although we do not believe that what people call 'creationist science' is good science (nor do scientists), to place a gag order on teachers about the subject entirely seems counterproductive. Particularly in parts of the country where there are significant numbers of conservative religious people, ignoring students' views about creationism because they do not qualify as good science is insensitive at best.
>
> (Brickhouse and Letts 1998: 227)

It seems to me that school science lessons should present students with the scientific consensus about evolution and that parents should not have the right to withdraw their children from such lessons. Part of the purpose of school science lessons is to introduce students to the main conclusions of science – and the theory of evolution is one of science's main conclusions. At the same time, science teachers should be respectful of any students who do not accept the theory of evolution for religious (or any other) reasons. Indeed, nothing pedagogically is to be gained by denigrating or ridiculing students who do not accept the theory of evolution.

My own experience of teaching the theory of evolution for some 30 years to school students, undergraduate biologists, trainee science teachers, members of the general public and others is that people who do not accept the theory of evolution for religious reasons are most unlikely to change their views as a result of one or two lessons on the topic, and others have concluded similarly (e.g. Long 2011). However, that is no reason not to teach the theory of evolution to such people. One can gain a better understanding of something without necessarily accepting it. Furthermore, recent work suggests that careful and respectful teaching about evolution can indeed make students considerably more likely to accept at least some aspects of the theory of evolution (Winslow et al. 2011).

Conclusion

The role of religion is therefore, I would argue, somewhat different in science education and in sex education. In science education, a teacher needs to be sensitive to religious objections to aspects of the science curriculum for two reasons: first, out of respect for students; secondly, because not to be sensitive is to make learning in science less likely for some students. However, it is not the case that a science teacher should alter the science that is taught because of the religious views of students or anyone else. Scientific knowledge is independent of religious views. In the case of evolution, science teachers may decide not to try to persuade creationist students that they are mistaken but all students, including creationists ones, should

be introduced to what science teaches about evolution. At the same time, well-designed examination material should be able to test student knowledge of science and its methods without expecting students to have to convert, or pretend that they have converted, to a materialistic set of beliefs. So, for example, it is appropriate to ask students to explain how the standard neo-Darwinian theory of evolution attempts to account for today's biodiversity but it is not appropriate to ask students to explain how the geological sciences conclusively prove that the Earth is billions of years old.

In sex education, though, religious views, while they should not have the power that some religious believers would like, nevertheless can, indeed often should, have a place in decision making. This is because of the central importance of values in general and religious views in particular for sex education (Halstead and Reiss 2003) and because values lack the degree of objectivity of scientific knowledge. A well-argued religious viewpoint is neither privileged nor disqualified in the public space simply by virtue of its being religious. The same point holds equally for agnostic and atheistic views. In a multicultural society we need to hear a diversity of well-argued viewpoints. Of course, in a faith-based school, there will be a degree of consensus as to the importance that religious values play – though even here unanimity should not be presumed.

It is largely because of the diversity of individual pupil positions about religion that whether or not a school is faith-based makes less difference to how sex education and science education should be taught than is generally presumed. All schools, father-based or not, should prepare their students, in a way that respects human dignity and rights, for life in school and beyond school, a life that is perhaps increasingly characterised by a diversity of value standpoints.

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Part II
Conceptions: Nature, Aims and Values of Education in Faith-Based Schools

Section Editor: Yusef Waghid

Chapter 15
Faith-Based Education and the Notion of Autonomy, Common Humanity and Authenticity: In Defense of a Pedagogy of Disruption

Yusef Waghid

Introduction

An examination of the nature, aims and values of education in contemporary faith-based schools all over the world today is not only an enormous task, but quite a daunting prospect considering the plurality of faiths that seem to dominate the lives of every community. At least every person involved in faith-based schooling at present is affected by it on the basis of what has been communicated to him or her in relation to his or her spiritual depth, in particular what counts as some immediate and spontaneous experience of 'the sacred'. At its very best, faith-based schooling has been presented in various religious languages, images and symbols as a project which promises fuller human flourishing that can 'rescue people from a deep disorder in the lives' (Taylor 2007: 509, 512). Alongside this perpetual idea of becoming educated to advance human flourishing we have witnessed, from the 1960s onwards, the emergence of a 'cultural revolution … where people feel free to speak their minds' (Taylor 2007: 532) that destabilised and at times undermined the unchallengeable status that faith-based schooling had enjoyed previously. At once, issues like the banning of school prayer, abortion and, more recently, homosexual marriages became highly charged debates which radiated to faith-based institutions, such as schools. So, instead of working through a maze of empirical data on faith-based schools in the contemporary world, and without discounting what richly informed images of faith-based schooling would unfold if I were to embark on such an intellectual inquiry, I shall focus on at least three prominent philosophical issues in relation to the nature, aims and values of education that seem to have an impact on faith-based schooling in the modern era: firstly, faith-based education aims to inculcate in learners a sense of autonomy; secondly, faith-based education aims to

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cultivate the notion of a common humanity; and thirdly, faith-based schools are confronted by a culture of authenticity in which every individual chooses his or her own way of realising his or her humanity. In relation to the aforementioned issues, I shall firstly, confine my examination of faith-based education to some of the Anglo-Saxon literature that has been produced on the subject over the past decade, with the intention of pointing out how the notions of autonomy, common humanity and authenticity seem to have impacted on thinking about faith-based schooling. Secondly, I shall show how autonomous, humane and authentic action under the guise of democratic citizenship education can be cultivated especially in the Arab and Muslim world where such a form of education seems to be constrained. And, for such autonomous, humane and authentic action to be engendered, I shall invoke the notion of a pedagogy of disruption.

Faith-Based Education and Autonomy

To begin with, I use the notion of faith-based education in a broad sense. Instead of speaking about religious education in a confessional sense, I refer to the integration of religion(s) in education as being open to ideas of democracy and citizenship that can assist learners in their deliberations about issues of relevance to a pluralistic society. Hence, for me, faith-based education involves initiating learners into a discourse of religion education – an idea that finds support in the work of Weisse (2011: 23). On the one hand, scholars like Alexander (2009) and Callan (2009) make the argument that faith-based schooling (that is, the process through which learners are educated) can assist learners to think autonomously, that is, think critically about religion and how the latter can guide them to make informed, individual choices about their lives. An autonomous learner is a self-determining, independent thinker who can judge alternative perspectives and make informed choices in relation to his or her evaluative judgments. On the other hand, scholars like Halstead (2009) and Brighouse (2009) argue that faith-based schooling actually indoctrinates learners by being unable to create conditions for them to challenge and question issues of public concern. Learners are indoctrinated when they fail to take into controversy those standpoints that they are confronted with by merely uncritically endorsing the views of others. I shall now examine the aforementioned dichotomous views of faith-based education.

Firstly, proponents of the 'initiation' thesis posit that socialising learners with the tenets of particular faiths would enable them (learners) to make rational choices about religion, as they have been guided by teachers in faith-based schools to do so. Such learners would not understand only the dogma (thoughts and practices) of their faiths, but also develop the capacities to think through various concepts and practices about their faiths in relation to other faiths and non-faiths. They are thus prepared to take into scrutiny the moral standpoints of their particular faiths and how to appropriately guide their actions towards attaining a life informed by 'goodness'. As aptly stated by Alexander (2001: 183): '[Faith-based] education, in

this view, initiates [learners] into ethical communities with common conceptions of the good … [that is] it is about becoming a good person who acquires knowledge as her ethics demands … and [accordingly] celebration of the good life is self-justifying and self-reinforcing'. What follows from such a view of faith-based education is that learners are initiated into a conception of a morally worthwhile action aimed at bringing them into contact with a higher good. As Alexander (2001: 185) puts it, 'to be initiated into a [faith] community's concept of goodness entails becoming *literate* in that concept … [that is] it means learning to speak its languages, perform its rituals, sing its songs, … listening to its stories, laws, rules, standards, and customs and learning to recount and reenact them at the appropriate times and in the accepted manners'. Yet, being initiated into the traditions and customs of one's faith does not mean that one does so uncritically. Again, it is apposite to refer to Alexander (2001: 185):

> To be initiated into a vision of the good life is not only to be trained in the rudiments of that vision. It is also to be taught to understand it, to operate within it, not only to be shaped and molded by it, but also to shape and to mold it. Education as renewal refers not only to the regeneration of what was, but also to the creation of what is new on the basis of what came before.

Based on the views of a leading proponent of the 'initiation' thesis, one deduces that faith-based education is not just confined to uncritically – teaching dogma in terms of which learners are expected to remain passive recipients of knowledge, but also to think critically as they (learners) endeavour to 'renew' the interpretations of particular conceptions of goodness – a matter of evaluating, adjusting and modifying previous understandings of the faith. Hence, it seems as if the initiation thesis is not just aimed at indoctrinating learners with an inherited body of facts, traditions and customs associated with particular faiths. On this basis, proponents of such a view of faith-based education purport that learners are initiated into becoming critical agents.

Secondly, others like Halstead express concerns that efforts to inculcate understandings of faith in learners may result in indoctrination, and that faith-based education is not being attentive enough to engender critical judgement and openness to new ideas. Halstead (2004: 517) holds that faith-based education does not promote 'independence of thought and personal autonomy' because learners are not required to think and judge on what is taught in schools. Proponents of such a view of faith-based education contend that indoctrination involves 'nurturing a specific faith, religious beliefs and practices and engaging emotional and mental commitment to that faith without factual evidence' (King 2010: 285). Now, considering the two opposing views, on the one hand that faith-based education initiates learners into becoming independent critical thinkers and, on the other hand, encourages them (learners) to become doctrinaire, passive recipients of knowledge, I would like to argue that faith-based education cannot be seen as just producing critical learners or merely nurturing them to become uncritical, doctrinaire learners. In my view, it seems as if indoctrination applies mostly to controversial issues such as creationism, abortion or sexuality, about which there seems to be political and moral disagreement in most liberal societies. Faith-based schools are then more inclined to

impose a particular faith's views on learners because of a lack of public consensus about such issues. But, this does not only mean that such schools always 'indoctrinate', as learners are encouraged to think critically about other issues that perhaps affect their sense of democratic citizenship. I think specifically of learners in faith-based schools being encouraged to think critically about torture and human rights violations in the public sphere, even though some members of their faith might be the perpetrators of such acts of violence and humiliation. For this reason, I concur with Pring (2005: 58), who argues that indoctrination seems to apply 'when the doctrines or content of what one is teaching are controversial – when there is no public agreement over what is true or false, valid or invalid'. Otherwise, faith-based education does not always nurture indoctrination. The point I am making is that faith-based education seems to be complicit in socialising learners about a particular faith's views on controversial issues (about which there might not even be consensus in relation to different interpretations within a faith) in quite an uncritical way. However, this does not necessarily mean that learners are always initiated into preconceived understandings without being challenged to reflect and think critically, especially regarding matters of public concern. Consequently, I am not entirely in agreement with Halstead (2009) when he claims that 'faith schools make it more difficult for children to grow into autonomous adults because in seeking to nurture faith they are engaging in forms of implicit or explicit indoctrination'. It would be grossly unfair to unilaterally accuse faith-based schools of being indoctrinatory when there are moments when learners are initiated into schooling to deal critically with understandings that involve searching for different interpretations and dealing with the unexpected. Hence, I would argue that initiation in faith-based schools should be considered as existing on a continuum from being more critical to less critical (especially about controversial issues of faith), rather than being rational on the one hand, against being doctrinaire on the other hand. If faith-based education is more critical about a controversial issue such as, say, homosexuality, then such an education teaches quite biasedly a particular faith's view of the issue. Yet, remaining less critical would imply that learners would be taught that there are others in society who do not share their convictions and who also have a claim to being reasonable. Here, I agree with Hand (2009: 99), who claims that 'a compromise might involve freedom for faith schools to pass on to children their own community's teaching about homosexuality while at the same time sharing the responsibility to teach children about the need to respect the civil rights of other minorities'.

Faith-Based Education and the Common Good

Drawing on Pring (2009), I would say that faith-based schools can serve the common good by building democratic communities. This, he argues, can be achieved on the basis that faith-based education brings insights to learners that can assist them to deal with 'competing and disintegrating factions of a very diverse society'

(Pring 2009). If faith-based education encourages the building of democratic communities, then such schools promote equality, justice and human dignity, and raise awareness of concerns surrounding human rights. In this regard, McGettrick (2005: 110) avers that faith-based schools promote thoughts and practices in consonance with the 'common good' and do not become 'hostile to education and the purpose of faith-based education'. Likewise, Jackson (2011: 43) claims that faith-based education has much to offer discussions on democracy and citizenship, as there already is a significant amount of theoretical and empirical research on the relationship between the two fields.

Contrary to the aforementioned view that faith-based schools cultivate in learners an orientation towards the common good such as to become good citizens in a democracy, there are others, like Brighouse (2009), who remain adamant that such schools do not build 'democratic competence', as they impede learners from being autonomous democratic beings, and hence discourage them from contributing towards the common good. It might well be that some faith-based schools are too excessive about their insulation and that they do not necessarily consider their role as contributing to the cultivation of a democratic citizenry. Rather, such schools are intent on producing morally good persons. However, to inculcate in learners values such as respect for morality through which they can achieve salvation is an idea not necessarily inimical to learning about respect for persons and engaging with them in mutual conversation – that is, learning moral values might not be incommensurable to acquiring democratic values. And, learning to be morally good to achieve salvation is not necessarily at variance with learning to act democratically. In this way, learning moral goodness in faith-based schools might not be out of true with learning to be a democratic agent. Therefore faith-based education cannot be considered as antagonistic towards the cultivation of democratic values. It is in this regard that I agree with Nishimuko (2008: 698) that '[faith-based] education can play an instrumental role in providing the means to obtain information through literacy and cultivating people as to having a sense of their rights, citizenship and democratic values … [that] can lead to people exercising power and participating in social and political activities'.

Faith-Based Education and the Culture of Authenticity

The culture of authenticity whereby each one of us decides how to live his or her life to realise his or her humanity, without surrendering to conformity to some kind of religious authority, has emerged as a contemporary ethic (Taylor 2007: 476). In other words, individuals make their choices about religious life or practice on the basis of what makes sense to them, and this does not mean the individual remains attached to a religion. As aptly put by Taylor (2007: 531), the culture of authenticity implies that people 'no longer live in societies in which the widespread sense can be maintained that faith in God is central to the ordered life we (partially) enjoy'. People are drawn minimally to religion and rather pursue a kind of 'spirituality' that

makes them conforming less to 'the disciplines and authority of religious confessions' (Taylor 2007: 523). Considering that the culture of authenticity seems to have permeated many liberal communities today, faith-based schools have adjusted their curriculum for it to be attentive to 'the individual student [identity], the syllabus, the process of learning, the school mission, and the ethos of the faith community' (King 2010: 285). In this regard, McGettrick (2005: 109) holds that faith-based education is premised 'on a spirituality of education, which places faith and learning together … striving for an understanding of unity of [individual] person, scholarship and community'. Consequently, one finds that proponents of faith-based schools advocate a responsiveness to teaching controversial issues, that involve the authenticity of the individual. Here, Hand (2007: 69) advocates that faith-based schools teach controversial issues such as homosexuality 'because moral objections to homosexuality are rationally indefensible', and that 'the moral legitimacy of homosexual acts in the moral education of children and young people' should be emphasised.

The culture of authenticity also necessitates the teaching of religious pluralism in faith-based schools, as the diversity of religions requires that learners be taught not to be intolerant towards others' views (Noddings 2005: 14). For instance, in the UK a large majority of faith-based schools embraced a multi-faith religious education curriculum not only to reflect the diversity of their learners, but also to encourage respect between faiths and non-faiths and to guide learners in relating to each other with respect and sensitivity (Barker and Anderson 2005: 128–129). It does not make sense nowadays, when 'many forms of belief and unbelief jostle' and where people 'feel free to speak their minds' (Taylor 2007: 531–532), to teach a faith-based education that does not relate to the unique qualities of the individual and engage with empathy towards others in order to open the doors for peaceful human co-existence (Noddings 2005: 12). An example of how religious diversity can manifest in faith-based education is articulated in an approach to religion in education that aims to address how religions and values can contribute to dialogue or tension in Europe, namely the REDCo-project (Religion in Education: A Contribution to Dialogue or a Factor of Conflict in Changing European Societies (Weisse 2011: 15)). Through REDCo, insights are negotiated to ascertain how European citizens of different religious, cultural and political backgrounds can live together and enter into a dialogue of mutual respect and understanding (Weisse 2011: 15).

I have attempted to give an account of three of the main philosophical issues that undergird a study of faith-based education in most liberal societies today. However, where democratic citizenship has been very prominent, particularly in relation to Western liberal societies, I have raised three philosophical issues, namely autonomous learning, learning for the common good, and learning to be responsive to a pluralist society, as challenges that confront faith-based schools today. Of course I have not said much about faith-based education in the Far East, nor have I said anything about faith-based schooling in the Arab and Muslim world. My motivation for doing so is premised on the idea that democratic citizenship education has not been in the ascendancy in the aforementioned regions of the world. In the next section, I shall argue as to why democratic citizenship education seems to be difficult to implement in faith-based schools in the Arab and Muslim world and how a pedagogy of disruption can address a lack of democratic citizenship education in faith-based schools.

The argument that democracy is out of step with the tenets of Islamic *Shari'ah* (law) and that the politico-social and religio-cultural affairs of Muslims should not be conducted on the basis of a system of democratic governance that has no grounding in its primary texts (Qurān and Hadīth) should be dismissed on the basis that *shūrā* (mutual engagement) is authoritatively and experientially a practice which occurred in various historical junctures of Muslims. The Prophet of Islam evoked the collaborative opinions of his adherents in settling religious disputes; the medieval scholars encouraged consultation and consensus in the offering of religious decrees (*fatwahs*); and today, all Muslim governments are legitimate members of the United Nations and the Arab League. Thus to still argue against the notion of democracy seems to be an evasive ploy on the part of those whose governments and other members of civil society (including religious leaders) intent on excluding others from legitimate decision making. Of course I am not denying the multiple variants of democracy that exist and continue to evolve. But at the heart of any form of democratic discourse albeit at a political, institutional or cultural level is the practice of engaging intersubjectively with ourselves and others. As long as we derive our decisions though engaging with others, listening to what one another has to say, and to offer our views – whether through dissent or agreement – on the basis of having been included, we have acted democratically. The point is, if we have invoked our collective and conscious will formations (Habermas 1996), with the intention to arrive at a temporary consensus on the grounds that there is always more to learn and our decision making remains subjected to reflexive action (Benhabib 1996), through an engaging process of democratic iterations (Benhabib 2011), we have acted democratically.

Similarly, citizenship has always been about the rights, responsibilities and sense of belonging of people albeit to the nation state and or global community. As aptly stated by Yuval-Davis (2011: 46), the notion of citizenship can be seen as 'the participatory dimension of belonging to a political community'. That is, the focus on citizenship needs to be seen as either the individual contractual relationship between the person and the state, or that relationship that has been mediated by the community within which the citizen has grown up and been shaped by, or by an embodied category that involves people who are differentially situated in terms of gender, class, ethnicity, sexuality, and ability (Yuval-Davis 2011: 48). To impose on Muslims the category of being citizens of a country with rights, responsibilities and an attachment to the country or global *ummah* (community) to which they belong is not tantamount to acting contrary to the injunctions of their faith. How pernicious can it be to claim that Muslims are citizens of a country whose laws they can both challenge and adhere to on the grounds of their rights to dissonance, dissent and consensus? Most notably the Arab Spring has witnessed revolts and protestations by the people of nation states who willingly took to the street to express their outrage and dissatisfaction with the governments. They merely exercised their citizenship rights and duties especially considering that several Muslim and Arab governments have often ruled through their deeply entrenched dictatorial legacies. By implication, to make an argument for democratic citizenship education is to both advocate the necessity of people engaging through deliberation, and to act in

accordance with the responsibility and sense of belonging to act in the interest of justice (Benhabib 2011). To my mind, countries in the Arab and Muslim world should become agents of advocating democratic citizenship education. It is democratic citizenship education that has the potential to cultivate conditions of freedom and choice, and opportunities for agreement and dissent amongst people in societies. And my argument is that the seeds of democratic citizenship education ought to be cultivated in faith-based schools.

On the (Im)possibility of Democratic Citizenship Education in the Arab and Muslim World

Now considering that authoritarian rule still prevails in most of the Arab countries (Schlumberger 2007: 1) it would not be inaccurate or an exaggeration to conclude that for the foreseeable future 'democratisation remains off the agenda in any Arab country' (Schlumberger 2007: 14). The resilience of authoritarianism in the Arab world can be ascribed to the rigidity and inflexibility of regimes 'to adapt to, absorb, and ultimately resist pressures for political reform' (Heydeman 2007: 21). That is, authoritarianism persists in the Arab countries because governments repress their opponents (Heydeman 2007: 23). Of course, there have been some significant political changes due to protestations such as human activists and women's rights activists in particular in Bahrain that gained considerable ground despite repressive moves by the regime; women advancement in Kuwait in the form of them now having acquired voting rights for the first time; and the installation of a parliament in Oman (Schlumberger 2007: 3). However, democracy was and is not high on any Arab regime's agenda (Schlumberger 2007: 5). In the main, Arab regimes' autocratic legitimacy remained mostly in tact due to opposition forces being allowed to participate to a limited degree in the formal political game but are not permitted 'to question the rules of the game that govern their participation' (Schlumberger 2007: 15). Likewise the Arab regimes have driven out the military from politics and awarded the military forces economic benefits that would make them less threatening and thus enhancing the regimes' chances of survival (Schlumberger 2007: 16). By implication it seems inconceivable at this stage that the countries in the Arab and the Muslim world would have any legitimate form of democratic citizenship education functioning in schools. This is so because authoritarian rulers although subscribing to democracy verbally and enthusiastically (mostly to expunge violent uprisings in Arab countries) has remained inhospitable to democracy (Kienie 2007: 232). People actually live under the impression of being participants in without actually participating in the making of decisions – that is, people's participation remains fungible and is reabsorbed at new reconfigured levels of authoritarian institutional arrangements (Kienie 2007: 247). For instance, since 2011 Bahrain has a largely elected lower house of parliament at the price of being subjected to veto powers of an upper house (Issan 2013: 145).

The 2011 Arab uprisings created the expectation that instantaneous democracy is possible in the Arab and Muslim world considering that these revolts have succeeded in citizens removing their leaders. However, despite these uprisings, it seems rather unlikely that democracy at least at this stage will thrive in the Arab and Muslim world as both the political and social climate in the Arab countries are not yet conducive to accepting diversity, respecting different views, and encouraging dissent (Turner 2011: 45). Looking beyond the euphoria of the Arab Spring, requires more sustainable educational changes beyond addressing technical aspects such as building more schools, introducing computers to schools, improving test scores in mathematics and sciences, and bridging the gender gap in education (Faour and Muasher 2011: 1). That is, learners also need to be taught 'what it means to be citizens who learn how to think, seek and produce knowledge, question, and innovate rather than be subjects of the state who are taught what to think and how to behave' (Faour and Muasher 2011: 1).

By far entire generations in the Arab and Muslim world were and continue to be ingrained with the notion that allegiance to one's country means pledging loyalty to the ruling political party, system or leader, and that diversity, critical thinking, and individual differences are treacherous (Faour and Muasher 2011: 3). And it happens that in schools learners are not supposed to question, think about, analyse, or consider any other interpretations. That is, teaching in most states in the Arab and Muslim world continues to be didactic, teacher-directed, and not conducive to foster critical thinking, creativity, and problem-solving capacity, with teachers communicating in classrooms using textbooks that contain ostensibly indisputable knowledge (Faour and Muasher 2011: 5). The educational reform initiatives in the Arab and Muslim world have either ignored or unsatisfactorily addressed democratic citizenship education with schools' curricula mostly reflecting a civic education component that integrates the state ideology, laws, and policies, as well as strong ethics that emphasizes moral and often religious values and norms (Faour and Muasher 2011: 11). In fact school curricula still instill obedience and submission to a regime rather than freedom of thought and critical thinking (Faour and Muasher 2011: 11). In the main, the political commitment to produce independent, creative learners has been weak in the Arab and Muslim world for reasons of self-preservation because doing so would produce citizens capable of challenging authority – albeit political, religious or cultural. By implication, educational systems in the Arab and Muslim world have been unwilling to promote the social values that flourish in democratic societies as aptly stated by Faour and Muasher (2011: 13):

> Loyalty to one's ethnic or religious group is fierce; authoritarian values dominate; opportunities for participation in governance processes and decision-making are limited; and freedom of speech and belief are constrained. The resistance of hardline religious groups and authoritarian political parties to democratic values will be a major obstacle. Most political regimes are non-democratic; corruption prevails and public accountability is scant; liberal freedoms are outlawed; and people live in constant fear of repression.

In as much as an education for democratic citizenship seems improbable in the Arab and Muslim world, I remain optimistic about disrupting the autocratic regimes' education through a pedagogy of disruption.

Towards a Pedagogy of Disruption

Indeed, any conception of pedagogy – whether of criticality, hope or oppression – has to be both understood and approached within the philosophical, ideological and socio-economic milieu of its formulation, construction and elucidation. A gender-barriered societal discourse, such as defines the majority of Arab countries, cannot be understood or altered in isolation from its context. So while it might be easy to describe what an authoritarianism looks like – namely one (dis)configured by intolerant de-individualisation held in check by an unquestioning collective submission – it might be of more importance to actually comprehend the motivation of authoritarianism in order to both understand and address it. Authoritarianism, as characterised among Arab countries, neither exists, or evolves arbitrarily, nor does it flourish in a vacuum. Inasmuch that authoritarianism exists to serve the visions and agendas of certain loci of power – however distorted and rigid – it survives on the basis of a particular pedagogical discourse, even when that pedagogy is one of oppression. To expect, therefore, that a language of repression and oppression can simply be translated into one of freedom and democracy – as no doubt, on a very simplistic level, was the intention of the Arab Spring, is to fail to understand the motivation of an authoritarian state, and is undermining of the philosophical underpinnings which informs that state. To this end, my call for a pedagogy of disruption cannot be couched in a pedagogy of opposition to the monologic instructive discourse of authoritarianism, since this in itself would be contrary to our own call for a democratic citizenship education. This means, that we accept that we cannot change a proliferation of authoritarianism – unless by a demonstration of violent force, but even then we expose ourselves as believing that authoritarianism, like extremism, exists in a vacuum. What we need to cultivate is a pedagogy, which responds to that of authoritarianism. In order to respond, we would need to listen to, and to comprehend its motivation, which will inform the shape of our engaged pedagogy.

In seeking to cultivate a pedagogy of disruption, we have to recognise that the recognition and understanding of that which is not familiar to us, such as a state run according to a democratic agenda, does not mean a desertion of what it means to be who we are, or in this instance, what it means to be Muslim. The preservation of faith and identity and that which is familiar to us is not held in check by that which we keep at bay. Rather, we preserve who we are based on whether our interactions with others are based on integrity, justice and a willingness to accept the other. To argue, therefore, that individual differences and critical thinking are treacherous is to bring into question the very capacity of individuals to exercise reason and choice – ironically, the same capacities, which Islam appeals to in terms of just action and judgement. The starting point for the teaching of democratic citizenship education in Arab states, therefore, ought to be less concerned with civic education, and more focused on what it means to have the right to think, to reason, to talk back, and to exercise free will – which, of course, will bode well not only for the public square, but for the flourishing of a socially just society. The point I am trying to make here is that a notion of civic education is intricately tied to

rights, responsibilities and a sense of belonging as a public citizen, My concern, however, is with the cultivation of a particular type of private citizen – one who knows how to think, to talk back, so that she is able to publicly participate amongst and within diverse identities and ways of being. It is indeed a concern that is especially valid within an overwhelmingly patriarchal society as is prevalent in Arab countries – where women experience serious forms of repression within the private spaces of their homes. In terms of education this means that a reformed teaching in the Arab states is not limited to challenging the proliferation of rote learning and text-based learning, but also in recognising that it is precisely through the cultivation of individual autonomy and critical thinking, that the self can be preserved. And unless we capacitate the individual, there cannot be a collective form of anything – least of all social justice – because the collective is constituted by the individual.

In capacitating the individual to understand the self we are cultivating the grounds for other forms of encounters – and so perhaps, one ought to speak of a pedagogy of disruption, since so much of what sustains authoritarian states is located in what they forbid their citizens from encountering – be it in the form of encountering individual freedom, thought and action, or encountering women as equal beings – what Smith (2011: 3) describes as an unsettling prospect. And yet, says Smith, self-reflection and genuine learning is inspired when the learner is presented with an unsettling idea, and must seek to position herself in relation to it. There are two inter-linked aspects here, which I contend are critical to a pedagogy of disruption. Firstly, by introducing an unsettling idea, the teacher introduces that with which the student might not be familiar – such as listening to the stories of how women experience their daily lives, and indeed their (mis)encounters within an Arab society. Secondly, through creating the spaces for unsettling ideas, the teacher begins to create spaces for other voices – voices that might have been silenced in a discourse of authority or of patriarchy. So, on the one hand, we have a space for the voicing of a story, a narrative, an experience, which sheds light on the perspective of another. And on the other hand, we have the gradual bringing into question the notion of a dominant voice. For me, this is an especially valuable tool for allowing a male-dominated society into the world of seen-but-not-heard women. The power of such an encounter is not as much in its content, as it is in the narration of one life to another. To this end, to merely teach about a subject or event is less impactful than to have an experience thereof. The use of narrative, therefore, in dismantling pre-conceived notions of less-than is useful not only in creating spaces of encounters based on equality, but more so in bringing into contestation those who consider themselves as irreproachable and unaccountable, as is prevalent in authoritarian societies. The shift, which a pedagogy of disruption expects is one of teacher-directed to that of learner-engaged. What matters is the space for an encounter of difference and otherness, critically sustained by respect and a willingness to listen to unsettling ideas and unsettling individuals – which in itself is an act of democracy, and, in turn, cultivates further and more profound encounters with those constitutive of democratic citizenship education.

For me, a pedagogy of disruption is concerned with the possibility of breaking away from the 'circle of powerlessness' (Biesta 2011: 34) that connects citizens to

authoritarianism – that is, a powerlessness that ties learners to authoritarian educators. A pedagogy of disruption raises the concern as to whether teaching can happen without any form of authoritative explication on the part of a 'master explicator' (Rancière 1991: 12). Rancière (1991: 13) raises the point in *The Ignorant Schoolmaster* that it is possible that learners (students) can learn from their own engagements with texts without being taught often by the 'superior' insights and understandings of educators. If learners are also taught to learn for themselves by being summoned to use their own intelligences or what Rancière (1991: 13) refers to as the exercise of their liberties, then they would have been provoked into pedagogical disruptiveness. That is, through a pedagogical disruption an educator interrogates and demands learners to be attentive to their own paths of learning without necessarily being directed to a path of knowing already familiar to the 'master' educator. Following Rancière (1991: 99), in a pedagogical disruption, educators summon learners to use their intelligence, what Biesta (2011: 35) elucidates as reminding learners that 'they can see and think for themselves and are not dependent upon others who claim they can see and think for them'. And, this is what should happen in the Arab and Muslim world: a recognition that people have the capacities to think and see things for themselves without always being told what to see, what to think about, and what to make of it. To me, the value of a pedagogy of disruption is couched in an understanding of unexplored ways of thinking and being – ways of seeing the world so that we see others not in terms of cultures, nationalities, ethnicity, religion or language, but in terms of the possibilities of new and renewed encounters. Thus, if the values of autonomy, common human and authenticity were to flourish in faith-based schools, in particular in the societies where democratic citizenship education is constrained a pedagogy of disruption can countenance autonomous, humane and authentic action.

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Chapter 16
The Hermeneutical Competence: How to Deal with Faith Issues in a Pluralistic Religious Context?

Gé Speelman

Introduction

Most of the faith-based schools in the Netherlands are either Protestant or Roman Catholic, although there are some Islamic faith-based schools. These schools operate in a complex system inherited from the typically Dutch 'pillar system'. In this chapter, I want to explore some answers given by specialists in the field of Religious Education (RE) to the question of how RE could contribute to the education of young people who are self-confident citizens in a multicultural, multi-religious society. First, I give a sketch of the Dutch educational system and some of the public debates about this system. Then, I give a brief overview of some trends in the formation of the religious identity of the younger generation, where I focus on young Muslims in the Netherlands. In the Dutch context, RE is sometimes seen as teaching *into* religion, sometimes as teaching *about* religion and sometimes as teaching *from* religion. In the last part of the chapter I focus on the context of schools with a Christian confessional background that struggle with the fact that they have to cater to a much more multi-religious school population. How can teachers in these schools create an open climate of interreligious understanding?

The Dutch School System

The Dutch School system has a remarkable heritage. Early in the nineteenth century, Orthodox Protestant groups objected to the teaching in the state-run primary schools. They felt that the religious education in such schools did not aim at socialization into a particular church community, but rather at a generalized education in

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'Christian' (actually liberal) public virtues (Ter Avest and Bakker et al. 2007: 203). Soon, these Orthodox Protestant voices were joined by representatives of the Roman Catholic Church. As a result of this dissatisfaction, parents began to organize their own denominational schools where education was aimed at a continuation between the norms and values of their own families, the Church community and the school. The outcome of the so-called '*School Struggle*' was the *Pacification Act* of 1917, and the new policy of the government was formulated in the *Education Act* of 1920. Since that date, article 23 of the Dutch Constitution guarantees every citizen 'freedom of education'. This principle is interpreted as the right of any group of parents to found a school of their own preference if they meet certain conditions. The most important conditions are: a minimum number of pupils,[1] a board of trustees that is accountable financially, and conformity to the end-terms of the Inspection for Education (that is, each child should meet certain requirements at the end of his or her schooling). Within this framework, schools can be founded based on religious affinity or other ideological considerations. And if the formal requirements are met, then they become eligible for state funding.[2] This practice has led to the typically Dutch phenomenon of 'Pillarisation', where religious diversity could take place in a mono-cultural setting (Lijphardt 1968). Around the schools, different religious groups organized their own associations, trade unions, broadcasting companies, hospitals, social work and political parties. Until the late '60s, Dutch cultural and political life was largely organized around and by the Protestant, the Roman Catholic, the Socialist and the Liberal 'Pillars'. In the Socialist and the Liberal pillars, a principal choice was made for the religiously neutral state schools. To complicate matters further, some wings of the dominant Netherlands Reformed Church also chose for religiously neutral state schools. These Protestants saw their Church as a National Church (Volkskerk), that had to fulfill its role as educator of the total population. The school ought to be undivided, and in every school there should be the opportunity for children of different backgrounds to get to know the Christian message. In the late 1960s, the process of 'de-pillarisation' set in. People no longer felt bound to their own pillars in every respect. They started voting for non-religious political parties, became members of the religiously neutral trade unions and church attendance started to drop very quickly. De-pillarisation however hardly took place in the school system. Here, tightly organized networks of faith-based schools managed to attract many children of parents from largely secularized backgrounds.

One of the results of pillarisation in the Netherlands is that faith-based schools are in the majority. In 2007, 31 % of the children of primary school age went to a state school, 34 % visited an RC school and 28 % a Protestant school. Eight percent of the pupils went to a school categorized as 'other': in this category one can find both 'special, but religiously neutral' schools, like Montessori or Dalton schools and

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[1] Generally, the norm is 200 pupils, but this norm may be waived if the school is in a more sparsely populated region.

[2] For the norms required for the foundation of a school, see http://www.rijksoverheid.nl/onderwerpen/vrijheid-van-onderwijs/openbaar-en-bijzonder-onderwijs and http://www.vng.nl/smartsite.dws?id=41726. Consulted 25 June 2012.

Hindu, Jewish or Islamic schools.[3] Currently, there are 73 Islamic Primary schools in the Netherlands, 66 of which are united in one organization, the ISBO.[4] The Foundation for Hindu Education organizes five Hindu schools.[5] So far, there has been only one Buddhist school in Amsterdam.[6] Islamic schools, initially the result of local parents' initiatives, have met with much resistance in Dutch society. The resistance has been due to the general tone of the public debate in the Netherlands, which is highly Islamophobic, as well as a justified fear by local authorities that the quality of the schools was not up to standard.[7] Also there is a fear that a separate system of education may contribute to the isolation of the Muslim minority in Dutch society. Whether this fear is justified or not is one of the topics of debate. One may point out that the great majority of Muslim children attend either Christian or neutral state schools. Furthermore, the fact that many schools in the 'better neighborhoods' of the cities and in the country-side have an exclusively white school population, has not lead to alarms about the mono-cultural character of schools. One remarkable feature is that many Islamic schools in this pioneering stage have a staff that is mainly non-Muslim (Ter Avest and Bakker et al. 2007: 216). Boards of locally founded Islamic schools have, in most cases, voluntarily united in the abovementioned ISBO, which has ensured a level of professionalism. But, resistance has not been limited to the existence of Islamic schools. Some politicians want to reopen the debate about article 23 of the Constitution, as they feel that faith-based schools have too much liberty to fill in their own educational and confessional concepts. There are, of course, sometimes tensions between what religious communities want to teach and what is felt to be in the public interest. These tensions sometimes come to the surface, for instance when orthodox Protestant schools refuse to accept homosexual teachers, or when schools do not want to teach the evolution theory.

Secularisation: 'Spirituality' Versus 'Religion'

One of the problems faced by educators in faith-based schools is that the learner population has become much more varied. Both Muslim and Hindu children attend Christian schools. And at many Christian schools, only 25 % of the pupils indicate that they and their parents are regular Church-goers (Ter Avest and Bakker et al. 2007: 209). How can the teacher shape the Religious Education in such a context?

In the post-modern situation, there is not one well-defined religious tradition shared by parents, children and teacher. Yet parents and teachers value an education that gives children access to religious resources, which, apart from other considerations, is one of the reasons Christian schools remain very popular among the

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[3] CBSLJaarboek Onderwijs in Cijfers, p. 20 http://www.cbs.nl/NR/rdonlyres/ED15A0FB-33E5-4020-8DCC-AD88327C2C9E/0/2009fl62pub.pdf. Consulted 24 June 2012.

[4] http://www.deisbo.nl/?page_id=2376, Consulted 3 July 2012.

[5] http://www.shon.nl/index1.htm, Consulted 3 July 2012.

[6] http://www.mandalaschool.nl/boeddhisme.html, Consulted 3 July 2012.

[7] http://uva.academia.edu/MichaelMerry/Papers/833094/Islamic_schools_in_the_Netherlands_Expansion_or_marginalization

population. Many parents indicate that their choice of a Christian school is because of its 'values and norms'. This attitude of the parents shows that there is no linear connection between the de- insitutionalisation of religions in the Western European context and the rise of atheism or agnosticism. Much research has been devoted to the way in which secularism works out on religious ideas and practices of ordinary people in Europe, and these show that 'secularisation' can be interpreted as a transformation rather than as a loss of the sacred. Heelas and Woodhead (2005) distinguish 'Religion' as a way of being concerned with the sacred, from 'Spirituality'. Whereas 'Religion' in their theory stands for a commitment by the subject to external, institutionalized roles, duties and organizations, 'Spirituality' marks the turn towards a more subjective, individualized way of relating to the sacred. In their terms: a turn from 'life as' (life lived as a dutiful wife, father, husband, Church member etc.) towards 'subjective life' (Heelas and Woodhead 2005: 3). Where institutionalized religion and its concomitant authoritarian networks are losing their grip on European individuals, people look inward for their spiritual nurturance. The conclusions of Heelas and Woodhead are applicable to people with a Christian background. 'Secularization' certainly means that they are no longer feeling obliged to be active Church members; this does not mean, however that they 'do not believe anything'. Rather, their beliefs are more diversified, more individualized and more the result of personal reflections. Institutionalized religion becomes personalized spirituality.

An interesting question is whether we can see a similar development among the second and third generation of migrants. Can we also see a similar tendency among, for instance, Muslims? A survey of the Central Planning Agency (CPB)[8] in 2009 shows a steady decline in mosque attendance in the Netherlands. The figure below shows the number of people who indicated that they visited a religious gathering at least once a month. Among Catholics, Church attendance is the lowest, but the decline among Muslims is more marked: where in 1998/1999 47 % of the Muslims visited a mosque at least once a month, this has declined in 2005/2006 to 35 %.

Bron: CBS

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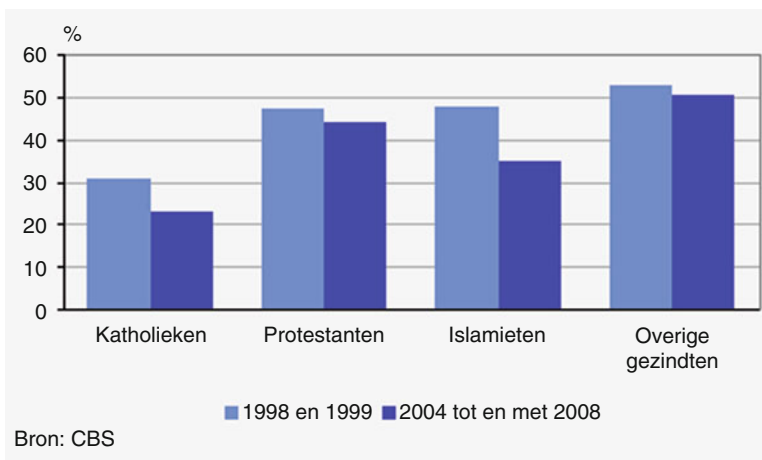
[8] http://www.cbs.n1/n1-NL/menu/themas/vrije-tijd-cultuur/publicaties/artikelen/archief/2009/2009-2853-wm1.htm. A more extended analysis in: Schmeets 2009.

The involvement of Muslims in prayers at the mosque reflects a downward trend if we compare first and second generation migrants. And yet younger Muslims indicate time and again that Islam is very important in terms of their identity. The approximately 63 % of young Muslims who never see a mosque from the inside, who can be said to be 'believing without belonging', go on subscribing to "Islamic" norms and values (Phalet and Ter Wal 2006: 29). Their identity as 'Muslims' is enormously and increasingly important for young Dutch-Moroccan, Dutch-Turkish or Dutch-Surinamese Muslims. It partly takes the place of a more ethnically or culturally defined identity. Research in Rotterdam in 2000 revealed that 87 % of the Dutch-Turkish and 94 % of the Dutch- Moroccan young people indicated that Islam had a great personal significance for them (Phalet et al. 2000: 25). *What* 'Islam' *meant*, however, was interpreted in a personal, individualistic way by most of the interviewed Muslims. Seventy-three percent of the Turkish participants and 56 % of the Moroccans interpreted the rules for themselves, whereas 27 % and 44 %, respectively, conformed to the rules of the community (Phalet et al. 2000: 22).

Recent publications show the tendency among Muslims of the younger generation to dissociate themselves from the 'Cultural Islam' of their parents: a form of Islam where religion is part and parcel of the cultural habits of the home-land. Young people are in search of a 'Pure Islam'[9], untrammeled by Moroccan or Turkish cultural habits. Olivier Roy (2004) has characterized this 'new' translation of the Islamic identity as the result of three interrelated processes: de- territorialisation ('Islam' is no longer connected to a local culture, but is experienced by young Muslims in Europe as a global religion), pluralisation (greater divergence in organizations and more individualistic approach) and de-institutionalisation (loss of authority of religious officials). Some younger Muslim people, however, do feel that they need to be a part of organised Islam. They try to reform Islam by taking over the mosque organisations from their elders (Nielsen 2001: 38), which may result in a struggle for power in the mosque organisations, both between old and young and between those of different ideological orientations (Jenkins 2007: 135). In this struggle younger visitors complain about the traditional, local forms of Islam the *imam* from their parent's home villages preaches. They long for new ways of creating Islamic identity. The different identities the younger generations develop sometimes take the direction of the *salafi* orientation, the idea of a globalised community united around certain and inflexible rules of conduct (Roy 2004: 128), although in a new, modified and individualised way: a person may choose which Mufti he or she is going to follow (Roy 2004: 79).

Young Muslims in the Netherlands also sometimes turn more inward towards what Roy qualifies as 'neo-sufi' currents. The popularity among young Dutch-Turkish professionals of the movement of Gülen is a case in point. One could look at the popularity of Egyptian da'i/preacher Amr Khaled among young Moroccan-Dutch women (De Koning 2007: 253–257). All this makes for a more personalised Islam, a form of religiosity that reminds one of the 'turn towards spirituality', the individualistic and subjective mood that Heelas and Woodhead (2005) connect to European religiosity

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[9] As is the title of a recent publication on the identity development of Young Moroccans in Gouda: Martijn de Koning *Zoeken naar een 'Zuivere Islam'* (de Koning 2008).

in general. This turn is in some ways strengthened by the fact that there is a tension between the religious identity at home and the expectations of the school and society. In this field of conflicting values, pupils have to make up their own story about their religious identity. Van de Wetering and Bakker (1998) show that the personal formulation of an Islamic identity begins at the last stage of Primary School and are continued in the beginning of secondary school.

The Shape of RE in the Dutch Context

The distinction made by Grimmitt (1987) into three levels of RE: learning *into* religion, learning *about* religion or learning *from* religion is useful within the context of the complicated debates in the Netherlands about RE. Learning *into* religion is the ideal for the present-day founders of Islamic or Hindu schools. It is also still largely the praxis in many more orthodox Christian schools. Here, the old principle of the *School Struggle* of 1917, that the school is an extension of the home milieu, is put into practice. The faith identity of faith-based schools is safeguarded in the RE lessons around biblical stories or around the Ibadat that are compulsory for all pupils, regardless of their religious background. Also, schools are paying great attention to religious festivals, and many open the day and week with prayer or religious songs.

The tendency to introduce children to the faith tradition that has given the faith-based school its identity and that justifies its very existence is fortified by a number of 'identity' organizations that guard the identity of the different pillars in the educational context. The main streams each have their own (state-funded) educational support systems (Pedagogical Study Centers). Also, there are large private associations like the former *Union for School and Gospel* (Unie School en Evangelie), which has undergone a change first from an organization stimulating the debate about the Protestant Christian identity of Christian schools towards involvement with Christian education abroad and later towards an involvement with the totality of faith- education that caused it to fuse with the Association of Sunday Schools under the name *Unienzv*[10] The RC bishops are involved in the RC schools via special delegates that help the schools to maintain a largely Catholic identity. In 1987, the bishops tried to regulate the identity of schools via a general regulation (algemeen reglement), that caused quite a stir among RC schools, some of whom interpreted this as a move to bring the schools under the authority of the Church.[11] The problem in many faith-based schools is that they provide an adequate program to learn *into* the religion that is connected to the identity of the school, but they see this identity as a monolithic whole. They convey the teachings of a concrete religious community in a deductive manner and so they bypass the actual, lived identity

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[10] http://www.unienzv.nl/organisatie/geschiedenis

[11] http://www.rorate.com/kerkrecht/kr_print.php?t=ro_kerkrecht&id=342

of pupils and their parents. Also, pupils do not learn how to deal with religious differences, or develop a dialogical attitude.

In contrast, the identity of the neutral state schools is being defined as 'accessibility for everyone', and in school practice this means for most schools a careful avoidance of all reference to religious issues. Yet there is an opportunity for pupils in state schools to be introduced into the religious tradition of their parents. State schools are obliged since 1920 to enable 1 h a week instruction in the religion of the children if a group of parents desire it (Rath and Penninx 1996). This instruction should be given by a qualified teacher from the religious community, and the school should provide the necessary space and facilities. Also, lessons in humanism are possible on request. The Churches and the Humanist Association are responsible for the content as well as the payment of RE/humanist teachers in the state schools. For this purpose, an interchurch organization (IKOS) has been set up.[12] The attendance of Muslim students has triggered a debate about the possibilities and the advisability of giving this opportunity for RE in the state school. In 2008 a Dutch (Muslim) MP, Ahmed Marcouch, suggested the possibility to set up RE on the request of Muslims parents in Amsterdam state schools. He wanted to counter the 'backward' teachings of imams in mosques, by setting up a network of independent religious teachers from Islamic background. He met with much resistance in the public debate. Many politicians and opinion leaders were shocked and surprised to find out that the law of 1920 existed, and there was talk of abolishing it altogether.[13] Apart from the more principled question, there are many practical problems around the voluntary RE of Muslim children in state schools, as there are hardly any qualified personnel to give the instruction. Most imams and hocas are not proficient in Dutch in order to teach the classes (Ter Avest and Bakker et al. 2007: 211).

To make matters more complex, there is a need for all children to know *about* religion. In 1985, the new Law on Primary Education introduced the new field of 'Religious and Ideological Movements' – so that religious and ideological movements could be presented in an objective and neutral way. In the debate around the new law, it was said that the teachers should avoid teaching about the actual *experience* of a religion or conviction. Rather, the *ideas* behind it should be taught (Ter Avest and Bakker et al. 2007: 213). Religions are presented as systems of ideas, as static wholes, and the significance of learning about them is somehow lost. Many teachers in state schools would like to guide their pupils towards a more fruitful relationship with religious traditions, but are afraid to appear biased. Also, they lack the competence to guide them in religious traditions they do not know about. The school may decide on the context in which religions and ideologies are brought into the curriculum: as a part of the lessons in history or geography, or as a separate subject. In 2005, another law obliged schools to pay attention to citizenship education, however, how this should be done, and the potential relationships between the latter and other subjects remain unclear.

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[12] http://www.ikoslandelijk.nl
[13] http://www.parool.nl/parool/nl/5/POLITIEK/article/detail/267328/2009/11/11/Marouch-teruggefloten-over-islamonderwijs.dhtml

Recently, a research study at state schools has shown that many teachers see the identity of the state school as 'the school for everybody', and that they interpret the teaching of tolerance in a passive way (allowing the other to be different). At the same time, many teachers hesitate to bring in religions or worldviews in the classroom. Their interpretation of the need to teach religions is that there are facilities for RE on the request of parents (although some teachers are opposed to these lessons). Many teachers seem to confuse these lessons with the required lessons in Religious and Ideological movements. So, in many cases, religions are not discussed at all by the regular teachers in state schools (Struik 2011: 166–173). Struik indicates that the avoidance of religion in classrooms does not prepare children adequately for an attitude of active tolerance (2011: 166), and does not help them to become citizens in the present-day Dutch multicultural society. One could add, neither does an approach where pupils learn *about* religions, but not about real lived religions, only about objectivized doctrinal content of religious ideas.

Grimmitt has developed methods of inductive learning where pupils learn to reflect upon the basic questions that all religions deal with, starting from their own ideas. Thus, they can learn that religions try to formulate answers to questions that everybody has to deal with. He shows that in this approach, one can take a step from learning *about* a religious tradition towards learning *from* religion, as children will be able to bring experiences, norms, stories from a religious tradition into conversation with their own experiences. This will enable them to appropriate religious narratives in a more active way, thus enabling them to learn more, but also to open up to religious traditions not their own. The teaching of religion in such a 'bottom up' way, however, requires a number of competences from the teachers guiding them in the process (Grimmitt 2000: 207–227).

In the project REDCo (Religion in Education: A contribution to Dialogue or a factor of Conflict in transforming societies of European countries), launched by the European commission, researchers from different European countries including the Netherlands, have been weighing the possibilities and impossibilities of different types of RE when it comes to citizenship and interreligious cooperation (Weisse 2007: 10–11). In the Dutch context, many methods have tried to develop such an inductive, questioning attitude – for a learning process that is open, reflective and dialogical, the attitude of the teacher is crucial.

The Dialogical School: The Teacher as Bridge

In the Netherlands, especially in Christian schools, there have been attempts to introduce a more inductive teaching method and a more dialogical approach in school practice. If this sort of approach is to work, much depends on the role of the teacher. For the complex praxis that is required to enable young people to become competent for the present-day religious reflection, the teacher would have to change from a religious expert to a hermeneutical guide: someone who is able to correlate the everyday experience of children and their questions about existence

with insights from (their) religious traditions. This requires a different expertise, with different competences. A teacher cannot become an *expert* in Islam, Hinduism and Christianity in their different shapes and guises. He/she has to become a *guide* asking the right questions.

Gommers and Hermans (2003) have shown that the faith identity of the teacher in Roman Catholic schools determines the way in which he or she interprets the Roman Catholic identity of the school and the way in which faith is brought into the classroom. They distinguish four categories of dealing with their own faith tradition: (1) Monological, (2) Neutral, (3) Pluriform, (4) Dialogical. In a multicultural, multifaith classroom, only categories 3 and 4 lead to a situation where religious values are really being learned by the pupils. Teachers who identified themselves as 'doubters' or 'agnostic' scored high in the third category, whereas teachers who identified themselves as 'churchgoers' favour the 4th dialogical approach. In this approach, also labeled as 'active openness' by the researchers, the teacher is part of the process and not only a neutral coach of the process of spiritual discovery (Gommers and Hermans 2003, quoted in Bakker 2004: 15). In other words, the attitude of the teachers is crucial for the success of more dialogical approaches in RE. An interesting outcome of the research is that a lived religious commitment on the part of the teacher is not a hindrance to a dialogical atmosphere in the classroom but can be of help that the teacher develops reflective competences, in other words, that he learns to reflect hermeneutically on HIS religious life and that of HIS pupils.

Bakker and Ter Avest quote different researches on teachers' attitudes that highlight the need for an open debate within the faith-based school about the way the school identity works in everyday practice. Their central question is: 'looking back on their professional career and on their individual biography, how do teachers of Christian schools interpret their professional thinking and acting concerning the formal Christian identity of the school and the relative decrease of the number of children with a Christian background?' (Bakker and Ter Avest 2009: 130). They assume that there is a tension between the formal school identity and the actual, pluralist identities of the players in the field. Teachers however, indicate that this tension does not exist for them. That is because they have a narrow understanding of the meaning of 'Christian identity'. For them this identity is mainly tied to the explicit religious practices like opening the day with prayer or telling biblical stories. This 'Christian identity' can be seen as another school subject, as a pocket of knowledge that has to be presented deductively. If challenged to reflect upon the religious diversity in the classroom, the teacher perceives this as not being any different from the general problem of diversity. In every classroom, there are more and less intelligent pupils with different characters and from different home situations. Teachers feel challenged as professionals by this diversity; in their view, a good teacher should be able to cope with differences in the group. If this is done creatively and skillfully, the teacher can derive a certain professional pride (Bakker and Ter Avest 2009: 132).

The 'religious identity' of the Christian school is an institutionalized given that teachers handle in a deductive manner, and 'religious diversity' is part of the everyday praxis that requires an inductive approach. In the mind of the teachers,

these two components are not connected. If teaching *into* religion is to be replaced by an approach where pupils and teachers learn *from* religion, then a more broad approach of the identity of the school is required. Bakker and Ter Avest make a plea for an ongoing Structural Identity Consultation (SIC) for the Christian schools they study. This is a necessary condition for the development of a more open approach to religion, an approach that enables pupils and teachers to connect religion to their personal life-stories. Then 'religion' is no longer a set of propositions and rules, but part and parcel of the individual process of meaning-making of both the teachers and the pupils. Such an approach would invite the teachers to reflect upon their personal life stories and the way religion comes into them. They invite teachers to reflect on moments that they themselves experienced as 'good practice', critical incidents that to them embodied what they felt was crucial for the identity of the school: not the formal identity guarded by the board of trustees, but the 'demotic discourse' (Baumann 1999), informal everyday identity (Bakker and Ter Avest 2009: 140). The following incident is from a teacher:

> It was to one of the girls in my group that I had to bring the message that her results were not good enough to pass on to the next group. During the past year I was able to establish a good relationship with her, and we did discuss the abnormal behavior she displayed as well as her learning disabilities. At the end of the conversation on her poor results she was very emotional, she cried and was worried. We repeatedly talked about the situation and one day she said she felt sad and she said she was afraid. Together we walked down the stairs and halfway we sat down. I said to her: 'Whenever I feel sad God is in my mind and I then talk to him. One day God said to me not to worry about what tomorrow might bring.' in reaction to this she hugged me. During the last weeks that she was in my class she frequently came to me and said: 'Do you remember, miss?' After one more year I again became the teacher of the group she was part of. She often reminded me of that particular moment and we liked to keep this a little secret of our own. (Bakker and Ter Avest 2009: 140)

In many examples teachers give of their own good practices, 'relationship' is a key word. In this particular case, the teacher in this instance does not explore the personal strengths of the girl ('what is your own solution if you feel sad?'), instead she offers the girl a solution that she had found helpful in her own personal life, and which at the same time convey one of the core messages of her own Christian tradition ('put your trust in God'). The girl hugs the teacher, a sign that for her this is a moment of mutual interrelation (Bakker and Ter Avest 2009: 141). If teachers learn to reflect on their own moments of good practice, they may open up an approach of religious identity that is not so much rooted in concepts and rules, but embedded in everyday life. In this approach, both teacher and pupil can learn how to lead a life that is worthwhile and inspired by religious stories and practices, but is not confined to a reified religious institution. They learn the skills needed in contemporary plural Dutch society to reflect on their lives, using the religious resources they have.

Such an approach asks of the teacher a number of skills that are related to the general teaching skills that he or she takes pride in; that have to do with 'being a good teacher'. These competences can be trained and reflected upon in the school staff.

I enumerate a number of the necessary competences:

- The ability to change perspectives: teachers have to learn in the classroom to reflect on the differences they meet, not by imposing their own solutions straight away, but by listening to the perspectives of their pupils.
- The ability to do justice to diversity: by drawing the pupils' attention to the differences among them, and discussing these differences in a non-threatening way, pupils learn how to be dialogical in their daily praxis.
- Learning to ask the right questions: trying to find out what is behind a remark of a pupil, which sometimes means having an in-depth discussion. Sometimes this can end up in a heated debate about God's punishment of the wicked, but when it is done inductively, these debates can end in more mutual understanding of teacher and pupil or of pupils among themselves.
- Learning to confront the other without fear: this could imply that the teacher learns to stand up for his or her own faith, without losing the ability to listen to other faith narratives. One of the problems in Dutch schools is, as I have discussed earlier, that talking about religion is avoided in order to avert conflicts in the classroom. This is particularly so for state schools, where teachers are afraid to lose their neutral and welcoming attitude if religion is brought into the classroom, but it may easily happen in faith-based schools as well.
- The ability to change: if religion or spirituality is something accompanying people in their daily life, then they are subject to changes as well. Teachers can learn new things from their daily practices in a diverse classroom.
- Lastly, there must be a modicum of real knowledge about the religious traditions of the pupils -not only about doctrines, rules, ideas, but also about the role religion plays in the daily lives of the children and their families. Too often, the Hindu child in class is the only expert on Hinduism, and teachers cannot relate in a meaningful way to the information that is imparted to them. This may make the child in question feel lonely and not understood.

While the requirements above are formulated within Christian schools, one could make a similar case for Muslim, Jewish or Hindu schools. Up till now, these schools have a far more homogeneous school population, as they serve religious and ethnic minorities. Even so, an inductive approach in their case would prepare the pupils better for a society where religion is far more individualized and less bound to particular religious communities. In dealing in an inductive way with the everyday practices of their own religion, and by using autobiographical and narratives entrances, pupils would learn *from* their religious traditions how to relate to others who follow other religious paths. If religion in faith-based schools in general is perceived not only as a school subject, but as an integral part of the day-to-day identity of the school, this would teach pupils to relate to their own faith tradition, to the religious changes these traditions are undergoing and to the religious other who is their neighbor.

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Chapter 17
Faith-Based Ideological School System in Israel: Between Particularism and Modernity

Zehavit Gross

Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to analyze state religious education in Israel as a faith-based ideological school. The Jewish population in Israel consists of three basic groups: Secular, Religious Zionist and Ultra-Orthodox. Accordingly, there are three types of state-supported school systems within the Jewish Israeli educational system: The secular State Educational System, the Religious Zionist Educational System and the Ultra-orthodox Educational System. The latter is subdivided into Sephardic (Oriental) and Ashkenazi (Western). Since its establishment in 1948 the State of Israel, unlike the USA or Europe, has no separation of state and religion. This stems from the fact that the Jewish Nation has for long considered nationhood and religiosity to be one historical entity (Horowitz and Lissak 1990). The phenomenon of non-separation of state and religion affects the public sphere. For example, the national symbols of the state are religious in essence and the State is governed according to the Jewish calendar.

The role of State Religious Education, an integral part of the State Educational System in Israel, is to provide educational services to a population interested in both secular and religious education. In 1953, the State Religious Educational System (SRE) was defined by law. On the one hand, it was granted administrative and ideological autonomy; on the other, it was subject to the procedures of the State Educational System (Goldschmidt 1984). According to this law, '(S)tate education amounts to education provided by law, according to a curriculum, without any connection to any political or ethnic institution except the government and under the supervision of the Ministry of Education….' State Religious Education means state education, but its institutions are religious according to their (i.e. the religious

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Zionist) way of life, curriculum, teachers and inspectors. Within this framework, students are educated to follow the Jewish law according to the Jewish religious tradition and the religious Zionist spirit (Law Book, 131 September, 1953). SRE has been given a great deal of independence in shaping the lifestyle and atmosphere in its schools, constructing curricula and selecting staff and students who are required to meet specific criteria of religious behavior. The State Education Regulations (Inspection Arrangements) 1956, stipulate that the training and pedagogical inspection of educational institutions in the state-religious schooling system, in terms of their religious nature, must be performed by the Director of the Religious Education Administration. Israel's education ministry has eight districts across the state, and each one has a representative of the Administration, who supervises education processes in state-religious schools. In the 2010–2011 school-year, there were 2,654 state elementary schools and high schools in Israel, and 654 state-religious elementary and high schools, as well as close to 9,900 kindergartens, of which 2,300 (23 %) belong to the state-religious education system. According to McGettrick (2005: 106), faith-based schools' are more likely to thrive under the system which gives precedence to the values and aspirations of the community, and the state is a servant of that community'. In a faith-based school, 'the particular faith tradition has an effect on the ethos and spirituality of the community of learners that forms the school' (2005: 108). Relating this to SRE, a religious school should not be a site for educating religious pupils, but rather a system that provides religious education.

The Three Main Tenets of State Religious Education

The SRE policy is not organized as a systematic philosophy and has no mandatory practical applications (Goldschmidt 1984). This is both the strength and weakness of this dynamic system. Its principles are continuously forged and developed in accordance with changing circumstances and practical needs (Gross 2003a: 150). We can learn a lot about the guidelines underlying this policy from the circulars for religious principals. These are regularly published by the SRE Administration. We can also learn about the guidelines from a document called *Guidelines for Shaping the SRE Philosophy* (1992). This document was written by previous SRE directors, but it may be changed and shaped by SRE directors yet to come.

The theoretical and practical principles behind SRE are based on a combination (Katz 1999) of the values of traditional, religious yeshiva education which has always been part of the Jewish people, and modern Jewish education which was developed primarily in Germany under the influence of the nineteenth century Jewish Enlightenment (Haskalah) movement (Feiner 2002; Schweid 2002). Rabbi Samson Raphael Hirsch was one of the main proponents of integration of traditional Judaism with secular education (Ayalon and Yogev 1998; Rosenak 1996). In light of this philosophy, the State Religious Educational system is based on three main tenets (Kiel 1977; Gross 2003b: 150–151):

- Religious education – is a traditional, Jewish religious education that includes teaching belief in God and the observance of precepts; the advanced study of sacred texts, i.e. the Bible, Oral Law, Jewish law, Talmud, and the writings of the rabbis and Jewish thinkers who have shaped the spiritual heritage of the Jewish people for generations.
- Modern education – involves teaching the basic skills that students need to acquire in order to function properly as future citizens in a secular, democratic state. Therefore, the SRE system has created a mandatory curriculum that incorporates secular subject matter such as math, physics, English. These subjects will enable the students to pass the national matriculation examinations and, upon completion of their education, to either continue with their studies or find a job and to contribute to society.
- Nationalist education – Zionist Education is required in order to preserve the unity of the Jewish people, whether they are secular or religious, living in Israel or in the Diaspora; to strengthen their feeling of identification with, and contribution to the Land of Israel which is perceived as having religious significance; and to reinforce their sense of loyalty and belonging to the State of Israel and its laws. According to Rabbi Kook, the revival of Jewish nationalism had a religious meaning. He considered the establishment of the Jewish state as the first step toward Jewish redemption. In accordance with his philosophy, SRE promotes the founding of settlements throughout the country and encourages Jews to contribute to the homeland through army service in elite military units (Gross 2003a: 150). Furthermore, the SRE system requires identification with the State on national holidays, such as Independence Day and Jerusalem Day – in contrast with the ultra-Orthodox sector which does not celebrate these holidays.

The ideal graduate of the SRE school system acts in the private and public spheres in accordance with Jewish law on the one hand and integrates in modern society by applying the general secular knowledge acquired during schooling, on the other (Dagan 1999). This integration of tradition and modernity becomes even stronger in the context of the civic responsibility required of an SRE graduate. He or she is taught that the founding of the State of Israel is the beginning of the Jewish redemption. Thus, his religious and civic obligations are clear. The fact that there is no separation between state and religion enables teachers to refer to religious and civil issues simultaneously in the course of the years. The success of SRE can be gauged by the accomplishments of its graduates. Hereafter I will analyze each tenet and highlight some challenges that SRE has to cope with.

The Religious Tenet

Religion is a major factor in the SRE and its major foundation. When there are educational dilemmas the religious consideration will always have a priority in relation to other considerations. SRE in Israel is an education into religion. Religious

education relates to the systematic instruction concerning a specific faith or practices that are categorized as religious. It encompasses a multitude of concepts, institutional settings, and national heritages. Religious education can relate to education *into* religion, education *about* religion or education *from* religion (Schreiner 2002: 86). Education *into* religion brings the pupil into one specific faith tradition. In education *about* religion, the pupil learns what religion stands for to believers of a particular faith. In education *from* religion, pupils are expected to consider different answers to major moral and religious questions in order to develop their own views.

SRE is granted pedagogical autonomy regarding the religious curriculum and has separate religious inspectorate for history, civic education, literature and all religious studies. Because there may be conflict between the contents of general studies and religious Zionist values, in general studies, a special curriculum adapted to the needs of SRE, was devised (e.g., relating to the theory of evolution or maps of the state of Israel and its biblical and actual borders) (Schwartzwald 1990: 23–25). Within the framework of SRE, Jewish studies are considered a necessary cultural capital in religious society (Yogev 1998: 60). The prestige of the different subject matters is connected to the ideological value given to them by society. The prestige of religious studies, which are humanistic in nature, is higher than in the secular sector and more hours are dedicated to these subjects. From this aspect, there is a fundamental difference between the religious and secular systems. This causes what Yogev calls 'curricular inequality' (1998: 55) and is the result of the autonomy SRE is granted by the state. The SRE director is not under the authority of the Minister of Education and thus can function according to the particularistic needs of religious Zionist society. Yet he is obliged to adapt the religious needs regarding general studies to the spirit of the state education law.

SRE is associated with the modern orthodox movement. There is an unfinished debate among SRE stakeholders, teachers and parents about what the nature and character of the ideal educational model should be – should the religious education system develop an ideal educational model with a clear and unequivocal perspective (Schremer 1985) whose religious properties are based on an Ashkenazic-European point of view? Or is it possible to develop several alternative, and equally legitimate, religious educational models? Should the ideal model continue to be the traditional '*talmid chacham*' (religious scholar), or perhaps the modern 'pioneer' or the Jewish-religious engineer, pilot or scientist (see also Rosenak 1996)? This question is closely related to the matter of whether the ideal model proposed by SRE prepares its graduates to leave the hothouse environment of the school and successfully enter military and civilian life. Can SRE pupils and graduates realistically live with the monumental ideal educational model presented to them in school, or in life are they actually working against this ideal model (Gross 2002a)?

State Education allocates a special budget for the unique religious demands of SRE. These include additional hours for religious studies, employing rabbis who are spiritual leaders in each school, infrastructure (e.g. synagogues in the schools) and separation between boys and girls in school. Moreover, there are special requests for unique religious outreach and informal education programs.

The Modern Education Tenet

As an integral part of the state educational system, SRE schools are obliged to teach the official state curriculum in terms of general studies; it has the same inspectorate and its students take the official state matriculation examinations (*Bagrut*). Israel's schooling system has three types of educational institutions, distinct from each other by their ownership and the degree to which they are subordinate to state control. The three types are: (1) *official education* in whose institutions state education or state-religious education are administered; its institutions are fully funded by the state or local authorities; (2) *recognized, non-official educational institutions*, which are owned by public bodies or private entities. They enjoy some degree of autonomy in the curriculum. The ministry must monitor their activities, and grants them partial or full funding; (3) *exempt institutions* – that are not recognized as educational institutions: students enrolled there are exempt from compulsory attendance. In these institutions, the Education Ministry's supervision is limited and funding by the state is very small relative to the other two types. Most pupils at state-religious schools study in the official education framework, and the schools are wholly funded by the Ministry. Among the prerequisites for funding is teaching the core subjects that are considered a basic requirement for proper functioning in the modern world.

Israel's Education Ministry has put in place a basic curriculum for core studies in elementary and middle schools, and anchored the regulations governing them in an official bulletin from the Education Ministry's Director. In the bulletin, the Ministry recognizes the need to consolidate a joint educational and cultural infrastructure, through a binding basic program (the core curriculum) to provide a basis for strengthening shared contents within society, and by doing so, provides different social groups with options for accomplishing their unique goals. The basic program defines the contents that students in Israeli's state schooling system must study, and includes the learning skills and values that they must acquire. The Core Curriculum Bulletin details the core subjects (languages, literature, mathematics, nature, science, technology, etc.) as well as the hours allocated to studying the various subjects in each grade. English-language studies are part of the core curriculum, and the curriculum is binding on all students in Israel's elementary and junior-high schools: English studies are a precondition for state funding. However, the most recent report by the State Comptroller (2012) stated that the comptroller's office had carried out examinations eliciting that a number of state-religious elementary schools are not teaching English. In their defense, the principals of these schools maintained that what characterises their schools is intensive Bible studies. Their version is that, after graduating from elementary school, their students continue on to religious educational frameworks (yeshivas) where English-language studies are unnecessary. And therefore, they see English studies as wasting precious study time. A major dilemma resulted – should the government cease budgeting and funding these schools? Underlying the dilemma is a matter of principle, since if government funding of these schools is withdrawn, the schools will seek

alternative funding from private religious organizations interested in supporting them for ideological reasons. As a result, such a school would become a recognized, non-official educational institution, instead of an official educational institution. It is not only a financial decision, but mainly an ideological one with a nationalist character, since a recognized, non-official educational institution may allow itself to educate for values not always consistent with those of the state. The Religious Education Administration therefore strives to ensure that all the schools under its responsibility are within the category of official education, since religious educa-tion sees itself primarily as belonging to the state, and providing services to the whole population, as shown below.

In all the religious schools where it transpired that English studies were lacking, the principals were sent official, strongly-worded notifications, stating that they must teach English in order to receive state funding, and that the hours designated by the state for English studies would be reduced from each school's quota of hours. It should be noted that the education ministry allocates funding to schools in terms of weekly teaching-hours. The curriculum set by the ministry and teachers' salaries are also defined in hours. Each school's teaching staff must be scheduled according to the hours allocated to the institution, according to the ministry's directives, as well as by the curriculum for every grade and the scope of each employee's teaching position. Excluding English studies in a school could therefore cause it direct financial damage and also to its teachers – who are supposed to be paid according to those specific hours. And as noted above, beyond the financial damage caused, the chief problem caused by failing to teach English in religious schools is that it damages one of the three main goals of state education, noted previously – which is that the purpose of imparting modern education is to ensure that school graduates can integrate well into modern civic life in Israel.

One of the major dilemmas concerning the aim of modern education deals with the status of secular studies in the religious education system. One of the innovations initiated by the SRE system was the legitimate introduction of secular studies into the official religious education system, as an integral part of the ideology and unique educational concept. This concept was inspired by the educational approach of the *Torah im derech eretz* movement founded by Dr. Samson Rafael Hirsch. The main objective of this approach is to enable complete integration of SRE graduates into any field of endeavor in the country. Of concern to the SRE schools is the time allo-cation between secular and Judaic studies, when these subjects should be studied (in the morning, when the children are more awake, or in the afternoon), and what e resources should be allocated to each one of the spheres (Ayalon and Yogev 1998). This dilemma relates to the contradictory aspirations of the SRE system to be open to the modern world on the one hand, and to seclude itself within the world of reli-gion and *halacha* (Jewish law), on the other hand. Furthermore, this question is connected to the problem of how to cope with the values and lifestyles of the Western world and its culture while carefully trying to maintain a full religious way of life (Dagan 1999).

The National Tenet

SRE is an ideological educational system. Its main ideology is a religious national ideology. This tendency was strengthened particularly since 1967. Israeli society, according to Horowitz and Lissak (1990) is an ideological society that was founded by virtue of its ideology, and is destined to realize the ideological goals of Zionism. With the establishment of the state, when the vision and the utopia became reality, secular Zionism suffered a serious crisis. This crisis was exacerbated and intensified as a result of the change in the ethical and spiritual-collective emphases towards highlighting an individualistic and hedonistic value system. But while the secular-Zionist elite were suffering a severe moral crisis, Israeli society saw the development of an alternative – a pioneering, active, religious-Zionist elite.

The peak of this process came in 1967, when the State of Israel was forced to participate against its will in a war that was imposed upon it by the Arab armies, and captured Judea, Samaria the Gaza Strip and the Golan Heights. The Six Day War and the return to the holy sites (in Jerusalem, Hebron, Bethlehem, and Shechem) inspired a religious atmosphere on both the secular and religious parts of the population. As a result of this, the secular population underwent a change in its relationships with religion and tradition: from an anti-religious or selective approach, towards a more favorable approach of reinterpreting the religion (Liebman 1982; Gross 2003b). Along with the secular population, the religious population also felt a strong need for religious revitalization in order to bring the redemption closer, and in the 1970s, this trend influenced the desire of the religious society to reinforce the religious schools, which had been perceived as being religiously 'lukewarm' and superficial for the reasons cited above. The historical processes gave rise to a feeling that redemption was at hand, particularly in light of the regaining of control of the holy sites in the West Bank. Therefore, in order to realize this, there was a feeling that it was necessary to establish an elite religious educational network that was appropriate for and suited to achieving this task. It should be noted, as stated above, that the need to establish schools as alternatives to the official SRE schools had already begun in the 1940s with the establishment of the yeshiva high schools. Indeed, in light of the geopolitical changes that took place in 1967, there was a feeling in the 1970s that a radical, system-wide change had to be carried out throughout all the SRE institutions, which was defined as the need for transition from 'religious education to Torah (more intensive religious) education' (Filber 1973).

In light of the definition of this new orientation within the religious-Zionist public, a new educational network was established to compete with the SRE system, known as Noam (for boys), and followed by Zvia (for girls). These schools demanded enhanced Judaic studies, total separation between girls and boys, and more stringent criteria for pupils and teachers concerning religious behavior. Thus many religious families, especially those from European origin, left the SRE schools out of a clear preference for the new elitist and selective schools that had been founded. On the one hand, this process weakened the SRE system even more, but on the other hand, that mass exodus from its ranks forced it to reshuffle and assess its

educational and religious activities, and make improvements. At the same time, especially at the initiative of the religious-Zionist public and with the encouragement of SRE, massive settlements began to take place during the mid-1970s in Judea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip, and the religious public began moving from the large cities to settlements in the West Bank. This phenomenon also emptied most of the State-religious schools in the cities and changed their character. The religious-Zionist public was perceived as a symbol of renewed Zionist activity, and its appreciation by the general public as the productive elite was quite high.

One of the greatest crises to have been endured by the religious-Zionist movement was the withdrawal from the Sinai Peninsula in 1982 and the return to Egypt of Jewish settlements in the Yamit region. Religious-Zionism, which saw itself in 1967 as the redeemer of Jewish territories as part of an overall process of national and transcendental redemption, began to feel a tremendous upheaval. The physical withdrawal from the occupied territories created a threat of metaphysical and ideological withdrawal from the concept of the Dawn of the Redemption.

The sights and sounds of the evacuation from Sinai and Yamit left a void, and even introduced into the Israeli public discourse new, militant behavior and speech patterns that had been previously unknown. The attempt by religious-Zionists to renege on the peace treaty with Egypt was seen as damaging to the nationalist dreams. Beginning with this period, the public legitimacy given to the religious-Zionist sector began to erode, because of its anti-government demonstrations and policies. Following the evacuation of the Sinai region, a drive towards legal and illegal settlements began flourishing in the West Bank, based on arguments of religious and Jewish law. Furthermore, a series of militant protest activities was initiated against the peace process and against the government, which turned the religious-Zionist public into a scapegoat. As a result of this, the religious-Zionist sector was accused of jeopardizing the country's economy and its security.

From here on out we see the beginning of a sweeping process to delegitimize the religious-Zionist public. Religious education was blamed as constituting a factory for these destructive processes, because its pupils took an active part, with the encouragement of the education system, in all protest activities. At the same time, the educational emphasis within the SRE schools was to reinforce Jewish settlement in Israel and to nurture Zionist attitudes that leaned more towards the political right, and these were perceived as religious attitudes (Gross 2002b). The climax of this process was the discovery of the Jewish underground, whose members included graduates of the religious-Zionist education system, and later on in 1995 with the assassination of Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin by Yigal Amir, who was identified with the religious-Zionist camp and religious education despite the fact that he was never officially one of its pupils. It should be noted that both the members of the Jewish underground and Yigal Amir were radical fundamentalists, whose actions were a direct result of a fatal combination between Jewish particularistic considerations and Messianic activism (Don-Yehiya 1998). All of them were anti-establishment and acted as individuals, and were defined as 'bad seeds'. But the fact that they were from the religious-Zionist sector associated and identified them with the SRE schools.

Since the assassination of Prime Minister Rabin, the SRE deals with the question of the boundaries of religious-Zionism, the question of the relationship between the religious Zionist society and the sovereignty of the state, democracy and the status of country's laws (Gross 2003b). Furthermore, clarifications were undertaken regarding the character and nature of the link between Judaism and democracy, and the question of which came first. In reality, the terrible murder of Prime Minister Rabin made Israel's entire education system aware of the need for more intensive teaching of tolerance and accepting those who are different or may hold different opinions, as a condition for creating a healthy society. In the SRE system there was a feeling that because of its clear ideological line, SRE did not nurture among its pupils pluralistic attitudes that accept difference as a legitimate option. Surprisingly, at that same time many new and varied religious educational institutions began to emerge, which promoted different aspects of the human personality. State-religious and yeshiva schools whose orientation was more in the direction of science, technology, agriculture, music, art, etc., were founded. The process of institutional differentiation undoubtedly gained momentum with the increased openness towards and awareness of the needs of 'the other' and those who were different. This approach also led to dialogue on the need for openness regarding the variety of religious behavior patterns in the SRE system.

Three Basic Types of SRE Schools

State religious schools are not monolithic; they include different types that place a different emphasis on the three components mentioned above: religious, modern and nationalist (Gross 2011). The balance and interrelationships between these three components are determined de facto according to the ideological orientation of the parents in different parts of the country. There are schools in the SRE system, which mainly emphasize the religious studies (*Talmudei Torah*). In these schools, the curriculum concentrates mainly on religious studies and in some of them, matriculation exams are optional. The ideal graduate of this type of school and the ideal teacher for boys is the scholar (*Talmid Hacham*); for girls, the ideal teacher is a woman who enables her husband to become a scholar. There are also schools that emphasize the national component, (especially in the settlements on the West Bank). In these schools, the curriculum mainly emphasizes the connection to biblical Israel and the fact that the national components are necessary for the future of the Jewish people. The ideal graduate of this school and the ideal teacher are people who settle the biblical parts of the country (the West Bank, east Jerusalem, etc.), and their entire being is channeled toward the implementation of their interpretation of the national aspiration of Judaism.

However, there are also schools that emphasize the modern aspect (especially in the large cities like Tel Aviv, Haifa, and Jerusalem). In these schools, the ideal graduate and teacher is the one who is integrated into the Israeli economy, in industry or science, and who has broad knowledge and skills in general studies alongside their religious devotion. Most of the SRE schools integrate these three components

(the religious, the modern and the national) with one or two components dominating, depending on the school population.

SRE: Between Modernity and Tradition

SRE has a modern orthodox ideology that is interpreted through a pedagogical philosophy that strives to combine religious life with a secular occupation that is suitable to the secular modern world. This demands a compromise between secular and religious studies within the curriculum. There are two basic approaches in SRE. The conservatives emphasize the superiority of religious studies and view secular studies as a 'necessary evil'. which needs to be taught for instrumental reasons. This group has a selective approach and asks to include only those subjects that do not contradict religious values. The liberal group believes that all secular studies should be included in the curriculum, even if they contradict the religious values (such as the theory of evolution, or secular ideas against God that appear in works of literature). This group thinks that including such studies proves the superiority of religious thinking over the secular and shows that is open enough to contain it (Schremer 1985; Yogev 1998). Confronting these contents, while adopting and adapting them, strengthens the reliability and validity of the religious corpus. The pedagogical autonomy granted to SRE enabled this process of adaptation. Interestingly, in the time of the Mishna and the Talmud, the same dilemmas arose: there was a question if studying Greek knowledge and culture was permissible. Initially, this was rejected; then it was agreed that only high society could study Greek, and later, it was allowed for the sake of bread winning (Lieberman 1984). The SRE system finally adopted the 'golden way' that integrated secular studies into religious studies so that SRE graduates would be able to fully integrate professionally into civic society in Israel.

Has SRE Achieved Its Goals?

It is generally difficult to evaluate the achievement of educational goals, but nonetheless it is clearly visible that in recent years state-religious education has recorded substantial success in three main areas: achievements in the religious sphere; inclusion in modern life; and in the national sphere, in accordance with its distinctive perception – as described below.

Religious Education Tenet

Most of the SRE graduates (approximately 70 %) remain religious with varying degrees of observance, even after completing the school socialization process

(Leslau and Rich 1999; Dagan 2006). Moreover, Israeli yeshiva high schools and advanced academic yeshivas which accommodate graduates of the SRE schools, contributed to the revival of Jewish-religious centers in Israel following the destruction of the centers of Jewish religious life in Europe during the Holocaust (Gross 2003a). The Jewish-religious revival in Israel, a secular, liberal, democratic state, constituted a new pattern of religiosity that integrated Jewish tradition with aspects of modernity and sovereignty. The accomplishments of the SRE graduates in the three domains, attest to the possibility of a combination between religiosity and modernity. This special synthesis is not only a theoretical issue but it also has practical manifestations (Gross 2003b: 160–161).

The tenet of inclusion in modern life- SRE graduates has played key roles in all spheres of endeavor in Israel, while they publicly preserve their religious way of life. Similarly, SRE has become one of Israel's important official institutions for absorbing new immigrants. Because of its policy of 'being open to everyone', it absorbed many new immigrants who came from deprived socio-economic backgrounds. Jewish immigrants from Muslim countries were absorbed into the schools in the 1950s, and Jewish immigrants from Ethiopia and the Former Soviet Union were absorbed in the 1980s and 1990s. Their successful integration into Israeli society can serve as an example of a minority coping with the needs of other minorities. The most important achievement is in the academic field – State-religious education can be proud of the fact that a high percentage (66 %) of its graduates turn out eligible for matriculation. Success in matriculation exams can be shown with regard to general subjects such as maths and English, as well as Judaic Studies. State-religious education is particularly noteworthy for its high success rate among students defined as disadvantaged youth. In 1995, the former director of the State Religious educational division, Dr. Mati Dagan, decided to cancel vocational studies in religious schools as these studies did not prepare the students for their matriculation examinations. By doing so, he converted the SRE schools into academic institutions where students would be able to finish their studies with a full matriculation certificate. As a result of this, the academic and educational status of high schools in the peripheries has improved, and the low-income population has become more successful in finishing high school with a certificate.

The National Tenet

83 % of graduates of the state-religious schooling system enlist in the IDF, or do national service. Its graduates head the list for participation in officers' course. Intensity of aspiration to serve in a combat unit stands at 78.13 % for state-religious education graduates, as compared to 71.69 % of graduates of secular state schools. Students in state-religious schools were found to have a stronger national identity than their peers in secular state schools. Graduates of the state-religious schooling system were found to have stronger awareness of the importance of themes such as Zionist and Israeli identity (79.53 %), than graduates of secular state schools (68.68

%). The former are thought to be more motivated towards military service and view it as the culmination of national-Jewish fulfillment and, moreover, they consider settlement in every part of Israel as possessing supreme value (Dagan 2006: 180). Compelled by ideological-national reasons, they form the main mass of the settlers in Judea, Samaria, and Gaza. In terms of emigration from Israel, the percentage of emigrants among graduates of state-religious education is relatively low.

In conclusion, despite the impressive achievements of the state-religious schooling system in accomplishing the goals listed above, three principal criticisms are leveled at the system. Some maintain that its religious standard is too low, though others claim it is seclusive and exclusive, and prevents the access of liberal religious practices. While many consider that its education is parochial and outdated, others believe that its emphasis on achievement-targeted education is too strong, and comes at the expense of imparting value-based education in general, and quality religious education in particular. Yet others assert that the major emphasis on achieving national goals means that students receive a nationalist, rather than national, education. Despite and because of criticism of state-religious education as a unique form of education, it invests considerable and valiant efforts in coping with the many challenges confronting it. State-religious education constantly seeks the appropriate balance and equilibrium between traditional, particularist commitment and the postmodern global world.

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Chapter 18
Religious Values and/or Human Rights Values? Curriculum-Making for an Ethic of Truths

Petro du Preez

Introduction

Both greater diversity in the population, and less understanding of the moral purposes of education have influenced the conceptualisation of values in education in secular school as well as faith-based school contexts. In the face of greater diversity, the questions pertaining to values in education, which have become more complex, have often been framed by dichotomous reasoning. The principal aims in this chapter are to contribute to the dilemma of contradicting value systems in education and the inability to frame a value system for a diverse context, as well as to explore theoretical possibilities to think about curriculum-making processes that could overcome these problems. Drawing on Rorty (1979) and Badiou (2002), I argue that discourses of values in education have erroneously sought objective answers to address descriptive moral challenges and, in so doing, too little focus and thought has been placed on continuous conversation that centres on humanity and its infinite striving for truths. This phenomenon has resulted in an inability to escape dichotomous reasoning and enter the domain of alternative, innovative understandings of values in education. Implications of these arguments will continuously be explored in the context of curriculum-making in secular and faith-based school contexts. Towards the end I argue for an ongoing process of curriculum-making for an ethic of truths to provide a normative base from which values in education can organically stem. The objective is not a good way of being in the abstract, but a concrete departure point.

Questions related to values in education have a long history. These questions have been framed within both religious and secular contexts and include notions of the self and the other. For this reason values in education have occasionally been caught up in dichotomies that raise the question of whose values should be addressed

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in education. There is a large body of scholarship on the question of values in the field of curriculum. According to Quinn (2010: 740):

> [t]he work of education via schooling largely concerns socializing a generation into the norms, values, traditions, and practices of a society or culture, and curriculum is a central agent in this work. Many have suggested that education, explicitly religious or not, reflects what a people deem to be sacred. Here, too, the curriculum, in addressing what knowledge is of most worth, must be recognized as ever ideologically laden: endorsing and inculcating specific, normative ways of knowing and acting in the world in relation to self and others, however tacitly or overtly. Because of this, strengthened by the existence of conflicting values and aims, ideology is an important and ongoing object of address in the field of curriculum studies.

In making a case for the inclusion of values in the curriculum, Cairns (2000) bases her argument on the fact that learners spend a considerable amount of their lives at school, and that the curriculum should expose learners to real-life experiences. It is thus inevitable that values in education will be addressed.

In this chapter I will not concern myself with the questions of whether values should be included. My point of departure is that the inclusion of some type of values in the curriculum is both required and inevitable since knowledge is both ideologically and value-laden. In addition, I will also not concern myself with the question of whose or which type of values should be included because literature too often proves that this question will lead to a polarized position in which universalist values (values that we all share) are placed in opposition to particularist values (values shared by a particular religious, ethnic or cultural group). How to include values will also not be a central concern of this chapter. Where it is necessary to provide a context for my argument, approaches to addressing values in the curriculum will be discussed.

In what follows, I will give a brief outline of the nature of values thinking in the South African education landscape. In so doing, the reason for the specific question – religious values and/or human rights values? – in the title of this chapter, will become evident. Seven arguments regarding values in education, relating both to secular and faith-based school contexts will be discussed and problematised because of their tendency towards creating simplistic dichotomies. The curriculum approaches taken within the context of these seven arguments will also be alluded to and discussed in relation to secular and faith-based school environments. The main purpose of the chapter becomes evident when I engage in an exploration of Alain Badiou's (2002) thoughts on an ethic of truths. This will be done to frame my argument that we need to move beyond polarized landscapes in values in education. Towards the end of the chapter, I propose that values in education should be based on the notion of curriculum-making for an ethic of truths. This approach makes it possible to move beyond essentialist binaries built on an ethic of evil. In this argument, I will also draw on Richard Rorty's (1979) notion of edification to exemplify what the nature of education ought to be to address values in education based on an ethic of truths.

My principal aims in this chapter are to highlight the dilemma of contradicting value systems in education and the inability to frame a value system for a diverse context, as

well as to explore theoretical possibilities of thinking about curriculum-making processes that could rise above these problems. Inspired by Rorty (1979) and Badiou (2002), I will argue that discourses of values in education have been fixated with finding objective answers. The result is the need for continuous conversation that centres on humanity and its infinite striving for truths, which is essential if we are to address descriptive moral challenges and enter the domain of alternative, innovative understandings of values in education. Curriculum-making in secular and faith-based school contexts will enjoy attention throughout.

Values in the South African Education Landscape

Greater diversity and a decline in the understanding of the moral purposes of education has not only had an impact on secular school environments, but also influenced faith-based school contexts. This is as a result of our rapidly changing society at a time of globalization and the domination of values such as materialism, individuality and competition with strong overtones of masculinity (Porteus 2002: 223). The change in the nature of schooling is described by Hargreaves (1994: 58) as follows:

> [T]he decline of the Judaea-Christian tradition as the prime purpose underpinning schooling and teaching in a context of greater religious, cultural and ethnic diversity raises penetrating questions about the moral purposes of education. One of the greatest educational crises of the postmodern age is the collapse of the common school: a school tied to the community and having a clear sense of the social and moral values it should instil.

It is therefore no surprise that curriculum scholars frequently ask questions about the debunking of ethics in education as a result of the postmodern condition (Cary 2007). Pleas are constantly made for an ethical turn in the study of curriculum.

In South Africa, with its secular public education, questions about the ethical turn have also featured in curriculum debates. For example, arguments have been presented for the inclusion of human rights values as the basis for moral education (Du Preez 2005). This was widely embraced by some. Others, however, are sharply critical on the grounds that an ideology is proposed as a moral underpinning instead of a religion. For example, during 2000 and 2002 when South Africa encountered one of its many large scale curriculum transformations, religious lobbies commented on the nature of the values in the curriculum. The campaign of the Christian Right movement vehemently opposed the adoption of humanist (human rights) values, interfaith religion, and exposure to 'pagan' faiths and cultural practices in the curriculum (Chisholm 2005: 203; Chidester 2002: 94–96). Their movement was framed against "… the right to 'private conscience, private enterprise and family values'" (Chisholm 2005: 203). The Association of Muslim schools, on the other hand, celebrated the openness of the curriculum and the values, derived from the Constitution of the country, that were included in the curriculum documents (Chisholm 2005: 203). These values, as stated in the *Manifesto on Values, Education*

and Democracy (2001), included: equity, equality, non-racism, non-sexism, an open society, respect, the rule of law, human dignity, social justice, reconciliation, democracy, accountability and responsibility. The Christian lobby was the minority voice and as a result the national curriculum for public schools did not change in terms of their arguments. However, in 2003 a policy on religion education (National Policy on Religion and Education 2003), was designed that addressed some of the issues raised by this group's campaign. This policy did not aim to advance any religious or anti-religious positions; rather its aim was to provide a framework for dealing with religion based on constitutional values such as human rights, equality, equity, freedom from discrimination and freedom of religion (Chidester 2002: 91). As a result of this policy, many public schools compiled their own policies to facilitate the process of dealing with religion in diverse school contexts.

Questions have also often been asked about the ability of faith-based schools to prepare learners to function in diverse societies, and particularly, what their role is in terms of curriculum-making inclusive of minority and/or marginalized groups from various ethnic, religious, cultural, national, class, disability and gender orientations. In this regard, Burtonwood (2002: 240) asserts that "[l]iberal educators have often expressed concern about the apparent parochialism of faith-based education and favoured instead a more cosmopolitan version of education which aims to take individuals beyond the boundaries of the here and now". Cairns et al. (2000: 6) ask: 'Will current forms of learning enable active engagement with contemporary experiences and challenge conceptions of what it means to be human as we move through the new millennium?' Although many faith-based schools include teaching and learning about religious and cultural traditions (and perhaps other forms of diversity) as part of their personal reflection and spiritual growth agenda, it is a moot point whether human rights, for example, are addressed as part of the ethical agenda of the school. It could equally well be asked whether it is at all necessary to include human rights as an ethical practice in the curricula of faith-based schools.

In order to contextualize these debates regarding values in education in South Africa, and to frame further discussions in this chapter, several arguments that often arise when values in education are explored will be discussed next.

Arguments Regarding Values in Education

Arguments for the inclusion of values in education have varied considerably over the years. These arguments include those who argue for a religious value system to be included in the curriculum, those who argue for the inclusion of all religious value systems in the curriculum, and those who are against the inclusion of any religious value system. Some scholars view all religious values as being compatible with human rights values and therefore argue that human rights values could be included. Others, however, because of their own religious beliefs or because they see human rights in a tension with religion, are strongly against the inclusion of human rights values. Yet another school of thought proposes that

any values system could be included in the curriculum as long as these values can be justified by and negotiated in relation to a universal, core set of values. In what follows, I will discuss each of these arguments in terms of several researchers' explorations. Thereafter, I will problematise the assumptions underpinning these arguments as a backdrop for my own proposal related to values in education.

1. *Particular religious values should be included in the curriculum, since these values are based on a clear philosophy that provides the foundation of a good life.*

De Klerk and Rens (2003: 356–357) for example, argue for the inclusion of Christian Reformational philosophy and values in the curriculum as the basis for a good life when they state:

> … the Bible gives a clear explanation of the origin of values. God created heaven and earth, and therefore the whole creation is a reality. God rules creation through the laws of creation; these laws are valid and binding for all created beings. … A person allocates a specific value to the laws that he/she is supposed to obey. Man [*sic.*] is not born with values, but only with the ability to allocate value to things in creation. The totality of the ways in which human beings value things in creation develops into a life and worldview. In other words, the realisation of values is the manifestation of a person's life and worldview in reality.

2. *Any religion's values could be included in the curriculum, since all religious values are good and compatible with one another. All religious values contribute to living a good life.*

The position that all religions' values are inherently good is described by Gevisser and Morris (2002: 204) as follows: '… as cultural systems for the transmission of values, religions are resources for clarifying morals, ethics and regard for others. Religions embody values of justice and mercy, love and care, commitment, compassion and cooperation. They chart profound ways of being human in relation to other humans'.

3. *Particular religious values should not be included in the curriculum because they are exclusively the values of other religions or the values of those who do not adhere to any religion.*

Szoke (2009) provides examples of how religion can by its nature be exclusive to otherness and argues that human rights, on the contrary, are consciously inclusive and therefore human rights play a role in including those that religion has marginalized.

4. *Human rights values should be included in the curriculum because it is compatible with the values of most religions.*

Many scholars argue for a dialectical relation between the inclusion of human rights values and religious values in the curriculum (De Gaay Fortman 2011). These arguments are based on the inherent good and virtue of these values, as they are also based on the questions: do human rights need faith or does faith need human rights?

5. *Human rights values should not be included in the curriculum because they place the human at the centre of the good and not a transcendental figure or God.*

In similar vein to the Conservative Christian lobby's arguments posed above, Szoke (2009) observes that '[s]ome commentators have expressed the view that human rights are a product of a secular world which is self centred, self serving and focused on individuals'. Those arguing from this position often critique human rights ventures as a new global religion (De Gaay Fortman 2011).

6. *Human rights values should not be included in the curriculum because of the multiple layers of tension between human rights and religion.*

For example, one of the tensions includes whether higher priority should be given to the right to religious freedom than other rights (Szoke 2009). McNamara and Norman (2010) conducted an empirical study in which they gave evidence that Catholic schools often negate policies of equality in the name of religious tradition, irrespective of rights-based legislations. Szoke (2009) contends that it is important to explore the intersections between human rights and religion, bearing in mind that the inevitable tensions between the two can be addressed through dialogue.

7. *Any religious values system could be included in the curriculum, but these values should be justified on a universal, human rights level.*

Drawing on Parekh's (1999: 130–131) notion of minimum universality, some argue that although humans express their moral life in different ways based on the values of any religion, this does not exclude them from being judged according to basic universal (human rights) values. These basic universal human rights values are described by other authors as a set of 'non-negotiable core rights' that all local values and principles should acknowledge (Clayton in Badse and Swank 1997).

These positions mostly emanate from people's beliefs regarding the question of whether values are universal or particular. More specifically, some scholars argue that human rights are a universal construct. Even though they emanate from Western thought, they are common to all human beings (Føllesdal 2005; Lassen in Badse and Swank 1997). Others, however, argue that the beliefs, practices and values of one culture or religion should not be judged by the standards of another. Viewing them as universal might limit or challenge the beliefs, practices and values of a religion or culture (Badse and Swank 1997). According to the report, Values Change the World: World Values Survey (1981–2007), the polarization between universal values and particular values reflects what different societies consider to be important. For example, societies that ascribe value to religion will typically emphasize traditional family values and particularist outlooks, while societies with a stronger secular thrust are more likely to favour universalist values (Values Change the World: World Values Survey 1981–2007: 6). In addition, the report indicates that although it is believed by some that the increase in globalization will lead to the 'convergence of values', data from 20 countries collected between 1981 and 2007 could not provide any substantive evidence of this phenomenon (Values Change the World: World Values Survey 1981–2007: 10).

The dichotomy between universalism and particularism in the values debate raises important questions of people's loyalty towards values (Badse and Swank 1997): is it possible to expect people to set aside their religious ideals and adhere to human rights values as a core social morality in the public domain, and simultaneously prioritize their religious ideas of the good life in their private lives? Cairns (2000) argues that this should not be seen as a problem since people generally live in a wide range of ecologies, each with its own rules and values, and individuals tend to adjust to these varying experiences. Although this might be the case in some areas, a vast majority of instances where value ecologies contradict one another and where people find themselves in a moral conundrum result from the relativism they experience when they are exposed to so many value systems (Badse and Swank 1997; Szoke 2009; Du Preez and Roux 2010; De Gaay Fortman 2011).

Curriculum-Making in a Polarized Education Landscape

These positions have also given rise to varying approaches to curriculum-making and teaching-learning for values in education in an attempt to overcome these issues. These will be discussed next and include: religious and character education approaches, multireligion education approaches, diversity and inclusivity approaches, and social justice and equity approaches.

1. *Religious education and character education approaches*
   Religious education, an approach that aims to inculcate learners in the values and beliefs of a particular religious tradition, is mainly confessionalist in nature (Chidester 2002). In the South African context, religious education is not endorsed in public school contexts, but is offered as a subject in faith-based schools. According to Levinson and Levinson (2008: 287), the religious education approach has a propensity towards segregation and might not adequately prepare learners to deal with diversity. During the Apartheid era in South Africa, all students were exposed to this type of religious education. Curren (2008: 510) criticises this approach because it leads to indoctrination, forecloses alternative options for viewing the good, and it does not take account of local diversity or denominational variation. Research conducted in South Africa indicates that many teachers regard values in education and biblical studies as synonymous and that they cannot address values without biblical studies (Porteus 2002: 231). These results are also indicative of the socio-cultural debris of Apartheid education.
2. *Multireligion education approaches*
   The multireligion education approach aims to equip learners with knowledge to deal with diverse peoples in society. Gumbo (2001: 234) describes this approach as a reform movement that represents, firstly, the struggle against marginalization of minority groups and, secondly, the desire to empower learners to optimally function in a diverse societal context. Values in this context refer, in most instances, to universal values that give direction to a good life and that is consistent with the

beliefs and values of a variety of religious traditions. The Matrix Model to the study of religion is often used in this context. The Matrix Model of the study of religion consists of two axes (Southard and Payne 1998). The horizontal axis represents the religions under investigation (e.g. Judaism, Christianity, Islam, African Religion) and the vertical axis the list of analytic categories to be compared (e.g. god, founder, symbols, scriptures). In this model learners are required to master all the knowledge in the matrix-cells (Southard and Payne 1998: 53). Southard and Payne (1998: 53) offer two critiques of this model. The first is that it relies on analytical categories that are derived from Western religions and are Western thought constructions, and the second is that the religions in this construct are presented as monolithic with little or no room for internal or denominational differences. This approach has also been critiqued as weak in the sense that it does not provide opportunities for deep learning. Cross (2004: 389, 402), for example, argues that this approach is instrumentalist on the grounds of empirical evidence that a multireligion approach is unable to promote social justice and equity.

3. *Diversity and inclusivity approaches*

The diversity and inclusivity approach transcends traditional conceptions of diversity because it accommodates not only religious and cultural differences, but also diversity in terms of sexual orientation, disability, ideology, and socio-economic status (Cross 2004: 391). This approach also focuses strongly on personal identity formation and the dialogical approach that facilitates how people engage with religions other than their own. Important values include those that suggest ways of accommodating and embracing diversity and inclusivity in the broadest sense of the words. Teaching and learning in this approach is context oriented and aims to provide learners with opportunities to learn about, in and from diversity through direct experience. In this regard, Levinson and Levinson (2008: 284) argue:

> In order for people to come to tolerate and respect others, it is generally thought that they need to interact with these 'others' in close, meaningful ways that enable them to see the commonalities among them … and at least to understand the reasons for the differences that remain between them.

The transformative potential of this approach is often questioned when it is presented as an 'add on' subject or programme and could lead to 'diversity fatigue' (Cross 2004: 403).

4. *Social justice and equity approaches*

The social justice and equity approach is transformational in its intent and aims to develop higher order integration of matters regarding diversity in current knowledge schemes (Cross 2004: 402–403). It also aims to challenge students in terms of what they think they know or understand in terms of diversity so as to promote solidarity (Cross 2004: 404).

Faith-based schools might typically opt for religious education and/or character education approaches, with elements of multireligion education. These approaches are committed to ensuring the preservation of a particular ethos or philosophy that informs the values of the particular school context. Secular schools would typically adopt a multireligious, diversity and inclusivity, and/or social justice and equity

approaches. However, I do not wish to classify any school's approach too strictly, since there are always variations to the rule. Rather, what I wish to do is to indicate how curriculum-making in a polarized education landscape tends to draw on approaches that sustain binaries instead of challenging them. In what follows I will begin to formulate my argument for curriculum-making anchored in a polarized education landscape as a way of facilitating the process of addressing questions pertaining to values in education in a diverse context including both secular and faith-based school contexts.

Moving Beyond Polarized Landscapes in Values in Education: Badiou's Ethics

When considering the arguments of values in education and the curriculum approaches it has led to, as discussed above, Alain Badiou might question the foundational understandings of ethics that underpin these arguments and approaches. For him ethics concern the part of philosophy dealing with 'the search for a good "way of being"' (Badiou 2002: 1). I would argue that values are the moral directives in the search for a good way of being. For Badiou (2002: 3) the problem with current conceptions of ethics is the fact that it is linked to abstract categories such as Human, Rights, Law, the Other, etc. He argues that when we conceptualise ethics based on these categories, we relate merely to 'what is going on' and tend to reduce it to pity for victims (Badiou 2002: 2–3). In short, Badiou (2002: 3) proposes that we refer ethics back to particular situations and relate it to the destiny of *truths*. In doing so we might transcend the 'will to nothingness' or nihilism that epitomizes our current society (Badiou 2002: 30).

In his book, *Ethics: An Essay on the Understanding of Evil*, Badiou (2002) devotes a chapter to the question 'Does Man [*sic.*] Exist?' and another to the question 'Does the Other Exist?' In asking these questions he aims to attack the universalist and differential (particularist) poles created by ethical ideology or the liberal-humanist recourse to ethics (Badiou 2002: xiii). His attack on the universalist underpinning of ethics begins with the following:

> According to the way it is generally used today, the term 'ethics' relates above all to the domain of human rights … We are supposed to assume the existence of a universally recognizable human subject possessing 'rights' that are in some sense natural: the right to live, to avoid abusive treatment, to enjoy 'fundamental' liberties … These rights are held to be self-evident and the result of a wide consensus. 'Ethics' is a matter of busying ourselves with these rights, of making sure that they are respected. (Badiou 2002: 4)

Firstly, this understanding of ethics is problematic inasfar as it assumes a priori Evil from which the Good should be derived (Badiou 2002: 8–9). Badiou (2002: 10) argues, and provides examples from religion, that it has always been easier to reach consensus about what is Evil, forbidden or barbaric, than 'to try to figure out what should be done'. Secondly, this understanding of ethics assumes a human subject that is a passive victim and another that is the identifier of suffering, the active subject

that needs to stop Evil (Badiou 2002: 9). Badiou (2002: 10) claims that '[e]thics thus defines man [*sic.*] *as a victim*'. He continues arguing that this equates humans to the animal substructure in which survival involves a daily struggle to resist death (Badiou 2002: 11). In essence, Badiou (2002: 5, 16) rejects 'the ideological framework of "ethics"', i.e. ethics based on human rights, because it is abstract and 'merely imaginary constructions'. For him 'the theme of ethics and of human rights is compatible with the self-satisfied egoism of the affluent West' (2002: 7).

Badiou's attack on the differential pole of understanding ethics begins with a critique of Emmanuel Lévinas's notion of the ethics of the other. He argues that Lévinas has no philosophy as such because his ethics is built on religion, 'i.e. of that which relates … to the Other under the ineffable authority of the Altogether-Other' (Badiou 2002: 22–23). In addition, underscoring the ethics of difference or the other is the idea that the other is only celebrated if they are good when he exclaims: 'Become like me and I will respect your difference' (Badiou 2002: 24–25). For Badiou the question and difficulty lies not so much on the level of differences between humans, the infinite alterity, but on the recognition of the same (2002: 25). Whereas the other relies on what is, the same is concerned with what comes to be: the same is indifferent to differences (2002: 27). He argues that the differential pole of understanding ethics elaborates an 'ethics' on the basis of cultural relativism (2002: 28) In the translator's introduction of the book, Peter Hallward, writes '[e]very truth, every compiling of the Same, is subtracted from, or transcends, the merely known or established, the merely differ-ed' (Badiou 2002: xv). For him '[e]thics is what helps a truth (a compilation of the same-through-subtraction) to persist' (2002: xvi).

Badiou (2002: 40) argues that there is no ethics in general. Ethics for him emanates from an ethic of a truth which arises when a subject, through fidelity, bears the trajectory of an event, from which truth emerges, that pierces the boundaries of a situation. To make sense of this, it is important to understand what Badiou means when he uses the concepts truth, subject, event and situation. In order to allude to these, I will describe Badiou's ethic of truths by means of an example from the South African context. During the Apartheid-era the ordinary realm or state of the situation reflected racial and sexual discrimination, ideological totalitarianism through the endorsement of Nationalism, and religious indoctrination. For Badiou (2002: ix), '[i]n the ordinary situation, the domination of its state is effectively absolute … It is precisely this indetermination that ensures conformity or obedience from the … members of the situation'. The process of entering the realm of truth or the exceptional requires singular innovations in order to evade domination: this signifies the event (Badiou 2002: viii–ix). With the abolition of Apartheid and the struggle to evade domination, a new truth came into being. This was only possible because of '… subjects who maintained a resilient *fidelity* to the consequences of an event that took place *in* a situation but was not *of* it' (Badiou 2002: x). In the South African context these subjects were referred to as freedom fighters: comrades in the struggle against Apartheid. The fidelity marked the process of realizing the ideals of the event (Badiou 2002: 67). The event (the pursuit and attainment of freedom by these subjects), which is the beginning of ethics, is situated because it is linked to a situation (Apartheid), and supplementary because it is detached from the rules of

the situation (Badiou 2002: 68). Noys (2003: 126) summarises this well: 'The ethical then is the 'ethic of a truth', not something general but something that maintains fidelity to the truth emerging from a particular event'. Under the imperative of 'keep going!' – continuing fidelity to the event and the truth embedded in it – ethics unites resources of discernment, courage and moderation (Badiou 2002: 91). Discernment serves to remind a subject to not fall under delusions concerning the event; courage teaches the subject not to give up, and moderation warns the subject not to get carried away in totalitarian extremes (Badiou 2002: 91).

On the question of whether human rights values should serve as an ethical base in any education context, Badiou's answer would be no. Firstly, he would argue that human rights are an ideological construct that arose from Evil in society, that is, the descriptive, ordinary realm. Instead of agreeing on what is wrong, we should rather aim to determine what should be done to maintain a good way of life. This line of reasoning takes us beyond the situations where we provide objective answers to (complex) descriptive moral challenges, because it extends our search beyond the realm of the descriptive into the realm of the normative. Secondly, Badiou would argue that human rights values assume a value system that are applicable to victims as well as values that fuel the narcissism of active subjects who need to put a stop to Evil. This, he would probably agree, leads to an 'us and them' situation in which ethics as the search for the good way of being implies two types of a good way of being: that of the victim and that of the protector. Badiou would also be apathetic to the inclusion of religious values in diverse school contexts. For him this approach would amount to a situation where people who do not belong to the religion concerned will only be granted respect if they ascribe to the religious values of the majority. This increases the focus on difference instead of recognizing the same.

In short, Badiou would argue that the quest for values in education – the embryonic society epitomized by difference – should not be based on abstract ideologies such as human rights, or on the Altogether-Other. Instead, the quest for values in education should emanate from an event and the fidelity of subjects who bears the trajectory of such an event that pierces and transcends the boundaries of the ordinary realm. Values in this sense should thus be rooted in the specificity of an event and should be sourced by discernment, courage and moderation. Values, as the directives of a good way of life, organically stem from the ethic of truths that is upheld through the principle, 'keep going!' Next, the implications for this thesis will be considered in the context of curriculum-making.

Conceptualizing Values in Education: Curriculum-Making for an Ethic of Truths

In the culture of prescribed curriculum and uncritical implementation of it, teachers often argue that they do not have any input on curriculum-making and can thus not be agents of change. Although this culture clearly epitomises our current situation and our general instrumentalist interpretation of curriculum work, that does not

mean we cannot exceed the confines of the situation and transform situations we are committed to. The classroom as embryonic society has the potential to be the central site of change: the site where an event can take us beyond the ordinary situation into the exceptional realm. This was illustrated in South Africa in the 1980s when the classroom became the central place for the struggle against Apartheid (Graham-Jolly 2009: 250). The latter movement has been known as the people's education discourse and it – to use Badiou (2002) – language was characterised by a transcendence of the situation by subjects who bore the trajectory of the event under the imperative of 'keep going!'

As a contribution to the discourse of the ethical turn in the study of curriculum, I would like to propose the following in terms of values in education: the explicit curriculum should be seen as the situation and the enacted curriculum the space where an event could transpire from which an ethic of truths could emerge. The conditions for this event include the resilient fidelity of subjects (teachers and children) who bear the trajectory of the event and express discernment, courage and moderation in their pursuit for a good way of life. From this pursuit and through their commitment to the event, a value system that is specific to the context, but universal in its intent – the quest for a good way of being – could emerge. This ongoing process I will refer to as curriculum-making for an ethic of truths. In similar a vein to Jacques Rancière's (1991) idea that equality should never be an aim, but the departure point, I would argue that the good way of being should not be an abstract aim, but a concrete starting point. However, important to realize is that this process assumes a particular ontological understanding of education and the curriculum as such. To explain the desired ontology for this process, I will draw on the notion of edification as discussed by Richard Rorty (1979) in the closing chapter of his book *Philosophy and the Mirror of Nature.*

Whereas Badiou (2002) is concerned with the truth claims that underpins our conceptualization of the good way of being, Rorty (1979) is concerned with the nature of philosophy and education. For Rorty (1979: 341, 360) the problem of contradicting value systems and the inability of people to conceptualize values beyond a religious point of view could be ascribed to people's inability to change their perceptions from values-as-inner versus facts-as-outer, to values and facts as interrelated and dialectic. To perceive values and facts as a unity is for him akin to a poetic activity that edifies the subject (Rorty 1979: 360). He makes a distinction between systematic and edifying philosophy, and extends this thinking to education. Systematic education would be an education centred on facts and epistemology, where rationality and justification are central notions underpinning curriculum-making (Rorty 1979: 366–367). He argues instead for an edifying education that is suspicious of the pretentions of epistemology and that is essentially reactive and pragmatic (1979: 366–378). Rorty (1979: 376), drawing on the work of Sarte, argues that the urge to find necessities and clear foundations is akin to voiding oneself of freedom: freedom to come up with alternative ways of thinking about the good way of being. In Badiou's terms an edifying education will question the foundation of the epistemologies underpinning our understandings of ethics and result in a movement from the given to the possible. Rorty's (1979: 360, 376) notion of education as a poetic activity, is not only concerned with the incoherence of the urge to find clear foundations, but

assumes the rethinking of familiar circumstances (which Badiou names the ordinary realm) in unfamiliar terms (which Badiou refers to as singular innovation that takes us to an exceptional realm) where new beginnings could emerge. An edifying pedagogy assumes teachers and children who do not attempt to find an objective truth that all could accept, but cherish an ongoing conversational process (Rorty 1979) in which their commitment and fidelity to an event and the truth it bears are central to the formation of a specific value system (Badiou 2002).

To sum up, conceptualizing values in education and enabling curriculum-making for an ethic of truths necessitates that we reflectively and critically consider the situations in which we find ourselves, so as to pierce the boundaries of our situations. This process will not only enable us to formulate values in line with the context we find ourselves in, but will also assist in attending to the universal beginning of the good way of life. To make this process possible, we also need to think about the way we ontologically frame discourses about and in education and the curriculum, since a systemic understanding might undermine our intentions and fidelity to change. As was argued in this section, an edifying perspective might be more helpful in this process.

Conclusion

The main purpose of this chapter is to propose an alternative argument for the normative base for values in education for diverse school contexts – whether secular or faith-based. Achieving social justice and equity in society and in the curriculum requires conceptualizing ethical directives or values in ways that are free from dichotomous reasoning. I have argued that we need a holistic understanding of facts and values to enable us to think beyond superficial dichotomies. In addition, a normative base for values in education should not set a good way of being as an abstract aim, but a concrete departure point. Alain Badiou's idea of the ethic of truths was useful in theorizing ongoing curriculum-making processes for values in education because it creates a conceptual space to argue beyond the current arguments on this topic.

The issue is not whether or not we agree with Badiou, but rather that he provides an alternative and innovative way of reconceptualising values in education for diverse societal contexts. The question of values in education, as was mentioned in the opening of this chapter, has a long history akin to a winding path. In the words of the late Michael Dummett (in Green 2012: 9):

> The path constantly twists back on itself, so the direction it faces at one stage is a virtually worthless clue to the direction in which the eventual solution lies; but, as in a maze, the only way of reaching the centre – the eventual solution to or dissolution of the problem – is to advance along that twisting path.

It is possible to view the seven arguments about values in education, together with the proposal I make here, as empty clues to the direction in which we ought to look; or, we can view these arguments as 'way stations on a path that would ultimately point in a different direction' (Green 2012: 9).

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Chapter 19
Capturing Green Curriculum Spaces in the *Maktab*: Implications for Environmental Teaching and Learning

Najma Mohamed

Introduction

Despite the fact that Islam remains a strong social force in the lives of the majority of its adherents, scholars have commented about the silence of the Muslim voice in the religion and ecology movement (Foltz 2000; Kula 2001). While Muslim scholars and activists started contributing to the contemporary environmental debate in the late 1960s, today there is in fact an 'authentic Islamic environmental movement' which is not only articulating the ecological teachings of Islam, but also working towards putting this into action (Schwenke 2012; Wihbey 2012). This global ecoIslamic movement relies extensively on educational interventions to spread awareness and garner action on a range of ecological questions.

From the pulpits of the mosques in South Africa to the *pesantren* in Indonesia, the educational landscape of Islam is being drawn upon to broadcast this green message and promote action for the earth. The work of this growing ecoIslamic movement, both theoretical and practical, alludes to the important position of the Islamic educational establishment in imparting environmental teachings (Al-Naki 2004; Haddad 2006; Abu-Hola 2009; Akhter et al. 2010). Few studies, however, have considered the pedagogical implications of implementing these teachings in the educational landscape of Islam. Boasting an extensive and growing educational establishment, both traditional and modern institutions, the *maktab* and Muslim school for example, continue to present educational visions and pedagogical under-standings of relevance in the world today.

Religion and ecology studies often aim to 'understand theory and practice, ideas and actions, worldviews and lived religion together, as complementary and mutually informative' (Bauman et al. 2011: 6). The doctoral research which informs this chapter, adopted this synthetic approach in making the connections between Islam,

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ecology and education. Essentially, it sought to distil the educational implications for revitalising an eco-justice ethic of Islam by way of environmental education within the educational landscape of Islam broadly, and within the *maktab*, in particular.

Ethics, Ecology and Education in Islam

While there is no Islamic doctrine of the environment *per se*, Islam puts forward a doctrine related to humankind's relationship with Allah (*tawḥīd*), the responsible trusteeship of humankind (*khilāfah*) and the position and value of creation (*khalq*) (Khalid 2010). The ecoIslamic movement, operating at various levels in society, is centred upon this message, and is actively working towards building the ecological literacy of Muslims. Environmental education (EE) is among the primary strategies being used to reinvigorate the ecological narrative of Islam.

Ecological Ethics in Islam

Rooted in the concept of monotheism, the ecological ethics (ecoethics) of Islam is avowedly theocentric, situating humankind within a created order. The oneness and unity of Allah, or *tawḥīd*, affirms that Allah is the absolute source of all values and the Owner and Sustainer of the entire universe. *Tawḥīd* has profound implications for human conduct, including human-environment relations and is *the* principle which gives the religion of Islam its distinctive morphology and makes the ecoethic of Islam wholeheartedly theocentric. *Tawḥīd* also indicates that an understanding of the metaphysical aspects of the Creator has profound implications for ethical conduct since humans are enjoined to act morally in obedience to the Creator and in fulfilment of His commands (Irving 1979). Another central principle, *khilāfah*, speaks to the purpose and nature of human conduct on earth.

Stewardship or *khilāfah* in Islam incorporates both responsible trusteeship (*amānah*) and accountability (*mas'uliyyah*), and requires the believer to live by the Qur'anic principles of justice, kindness, gratitude and compassion to *all* of creation. In her relation to the Creator, a Muslim is a *trustee* on earth, with the responsibility of living in kindness, compassion and justice with all of creation and caring for the gift of nature in accordance with the laws of its Bestower – in accordance with the *Sharī'ah*. Humankind enjoys the rights – as do all other living beings, to partake of nature's bounties, but humans are at the same time a *partner* of creation, unified in praising and glorifying the Originator of the universe. Human trusteeship is qualified by several parameters outlined in the Qur'an. These include moderation, justice, kindness, prudence, wisdom and respect.

Nature (*khalq*) and its bounties are to be appreciated not only for its value in sustaining life on earth, but as signs of the Most High, praising and worshipping Him. Muslims are repeatedly forewarned in the Qur'an against causing corruption

(*fasād*) on earth, by exploiting and oppressing the weak and poor, and misusing, polluting and wasting natural resources – created in measure and for the benefit of all. Instead, Islam urges Muslims to observe the rights of others and live in accordance with the teachings of the Divine Law, the *Sharī'ah*. The dynamic Islamic legal system, the *Sharī'ah*, is composed of both a legal methodology and substantive laws which respond to contemporary environmental challenges (Shah Haneef 2002; Llwellyn 2003). The ultimate objective of the *Sharī'ah* lies in securing the universal common good and welfare of creation, in compliance with Islamic teachings. The *Sharī'ah*, it is argued, at once, seeks to rectify humanity's relationship with the Creator, inculcate just and moral behaviour in society, and mitigate all creaturely harm (Jenkins 2005). Thus, Muslims are meant to actualise the precepts of their faith by implementing the *Sharī'ah*, the roadmap for navigating life on earth.

This eco-justice ethic of Islam, comprised of cogent eco-ethical precepts and a dynamic legal system, promotes just, responsible and respectful interaction between humans and nature. The religious duties of humankind, in the Islamic worldview, extend to the environment since caring for the earth is an act which can earn reward and lead to punishment. Thus, the Muslim should 'not only feed the poor but also avoid polluting running water. It is pleasing in the eyes of God not only to be kind to one's parents, but also to plant trees and treat animals gently and with kindness' (Nasr 1997: 9). This eco-justice ethic also highlights the importance of religion as a vehicle for political, socio-economic and environmental change.

Below, I will begin to draw out the pedagogical implications of an eco-justice ethic of Islam, and extract the conceptual underpinnings of the environmental education approach required to revitalise this ecoethic.

Environmental Education (EE) in Islam

Education is central to the development of the Islamic personality. From the cradle to the grave, a Muslim is charged with seeking knowledge—of her Creator, of His Laws, and of the workings of creation—drawing on all the sources of knowledge – in revealed and non-revealed knowledges, through sensory and spiritual experiences, in the Qur'an and in the universe. This wondrous search for knowledge should be visible in her life, and manifest itself in just action in this world, in *a'māl ṣāliḥāt* (good works) which incorporate, as discussed above, environmental care.

As the essence of the Islamic worldview, *tawḥīd* constitutes the 'conceptual environment' of the world- and knowledge-structure of Islam (Acikgenc 1996). Humankind has been given the position of *khalīfah*, a trustee of Allah on earth, which carries the attendant responsibility of living in accordance with Divine laws, worshiping Him, and establishing the universal common good, justice and welfare of the entire creation. In this way, every Muslim man and woman strives to be the best *khalīfah* (steward) and *'abd* (servant) which he or she can be. *The* determining factor in fulfilling these roles successfully and achieving human destiny, i.e. to be the best steward and servant which she can be, is knowledge.

The critical pedagogy strand in Islamic education, which highlights these transformative objectives, has been drawn upon to conceptualise environmental education (EE) in Islam. The growing engagement between Muslim educationists and critical pedagogues is based on common assumptions, objectives and concerns between the two educational philosophies, such as the role of human beings as agents of social change (Memon and Ahmed 2006; Hussein 2007) and the importance of "transformative, liberatory politics" (Waghid 2008). These objectives, particularly as they pertain to EE, will be expressed in three concepts which have been central in discussions of Islamic education.

Ta'līm, *tarbiyyah* and *ta'dīb*, have often been utilised to delineate the various dimensions of the educational process in Islam (Cook 1999; Hussain 2004; Waghid 2010). *Ta'līm*, derived from the Arabic word *'ilm*, encompasses several meanings including knowledge, learning, and intellection. As described in the Qur'an, *'ilm* delineates a broad spectrum of knowledge, revealed and non-revealed. The Qur'an also uses a variety of terms to denote the various methods of knowing such as "listening (in the sense of understanding), observing, contemplating, reasoning, considering, reflecting" (Guessoum 2009: 64). *Ta'līm* incorporates student-centred learning and is an interactive process in which the teacher facilitates the student's journey towards knowing, comprehension and conceptualization, vividly illustrated in the Prophet Muhammad's approach towards developing the intellectual capacities of his companions (Günther 2006; Ramadan 2007).

Ta'līm thus conceptualises education as 'deliberative and reflective engagement' with knowledge. It requires, of necessity, the cultivation of critical thinking, independence and courage as demonstrated in the Prophetic pedagogy. The implications of *ta'līm*, in constructing the ecological knowledge paradigm of Islam thus requires that Muslims reflect and deliberate upon the inherited body of knowledge of Islam, such as key ecoethical principles in the Qur'an (*tawḥīd*, *khilāfah*, *khalq*) and the legal instruments and institutions (the *Sharī'ah*) oriented towards environmental care; and also critically engage with contemporary ecological knowledge in constructing an ecoethic which responds to the social and ecological injustices of our times.

The second concept, *tarbiyyah*, derived from the Arabic root *rabā*, means to make or let grow, to raise or rear up, or to educate and teach a child. The derivative term *tarbiyyah* is said to refer to pedagogy, instruction, and education (Cowan 1974). *Tarbiyyah*, in the educational sense is frequently used in reference to 'nurturing and caring for children' and teaching them, not *about* Islam, but what it means to *be* Muslim – the beliefs, values, principles, rights and responsibilities and attitudes which a Muslim should uphold (Tauhidi 2001). Bagheri and Khosravi (2006) postulate that the usage of the word '*rabb*' (a derivative of *tarbiyyah*) in the Qur'an (The Forgiver 40: 7 and in Ṭāhā 20: 114), denotes the link between *tarbiyyah* and *'ilm* (knowledge). Waghid (2010) goes further by interpreting one of the names of God, '*Rabb*' to mean not only Lord, but also Educator. He also assigns to *tarbiyyah* the meaning of responsible action which I would take to mean raising children to be responsible in their interaction with others. As it relates to the ecological knowledge of Islam, *tarbiyyah* extends the process of engaging with the ecoethic of Islam

(*ta'līm*) towards actualisation of this ethic, or in other words, understanding the 'why' of being a good human being.

The concept of *ta'dib*, as elaborated by Al-Attas, denotes the final and critical aspect of Islamic education – social activism. The vital link between knowledge and action, as evidenced in good actions ('*amāl ṣalihāt*), has been highlighted earlier. *Ta'dib* further entrenches the transformative objectives of Islamic education which is essentially about personal and societal transformation (Memon and Ahmed 2006). *Ta'dīb* is drawn from the concept of *adab*, meaning 'a custom or norm of conduct passed through generations' (Douglass and Shaikh 2004: 14). It also refers to the recognition and acknowledgement of the right and proper place of all things and beings – manifested in the condition of justice (Al-Attas 1979). What Al-Attas means here is that *ta'dib* entails not only having the knowledge of the right and proper place of all beings in the universe, but to strive to be in harmony with the entire cosmos – to not only live in a state of justice but to be active and willing participants in achieving this state. Waghid (2010: 246) argues that *ta'dīb*, as social activism or good action, has 'emancipatory interests in mind, which can be made possible through a just striving which takes into account [and assures] the rights of others', human and non-human.

EE, as conceptualized here, thus builds on critical Islamic pedagogy to actualise the eco-justice ethic of Islam. When viewed through an environmental lens, *ta'lim* requires critical engagement with all knowledge structures in constructing an eco-justice ethic. *Tarbiyyah* extends the process of engaging with this ecological knowledge (*ta'līm*) towards actualisation of this ecoethic, or in other words, understanding the 'why' of being a 'green' Muslim. Finally, *tadīb* transports the ecoethic of Islam, as all other social values, into the realm of social action – '*amāl ṣāliḥāt* which encompasses both individual and societal change.

Educational interventions, implemented across the span of Islam's institutional landscape, have been among the primary strategies used to revive Islam's environmental teachings and practices. According to Sheikh (1993: 492), '…religious education has a tremendous contribution to make in promoting the protection of the environment through inculcating moral and spiritual values.' EE activities in the ecoIslamic movement have involved the articulation of the ecoethics of Islam; and the development of teaching and learning materials to introduce these ecoethics into the educational landscape of the Muslim world, old and new, including the *masjid*, *madrasah* and *maktab*. However, the *maktab*, despite its pivotal role in providing elementary Islamic education, remains underutilised and neglected in the ecoIslamic movement (Mohamed 2012).

Environmental Education in the *Maktab* Curriculum: The Case of South African *Madāris*

The *maktab* (pl. *makātib*) – especially in Western societies – has evolved into an institution which provides supplementary schooling, and essentially focuses on imparting 'religious' teachings. Traditionally, the *maktab* provided elementary education

and its curriculum incorporated a range of subjects such as writing, Qur'an reading and memorisation, the fundamentals of Islam belief, moral teachings, arithmetic, poetry and physical education (Makdisi 1981; Zaimeche 2002). The bifurcation of knowledge and education which led to the dual system of education in the Muslim world has also impacted upon elementary Islamic education: today secular education is provided by government schools and religious education by *makātib*.

The *madrasah* (pl. *madāris*) as the *maktab* is known in South Africa, thus refers to the supplementary Islamic education which most Muslim children at primary school, i.e. from ages 6 to 12, attend – either after school or over the weekend. Most *madāris* are based at a mosque, home or community centre, and provide instruction in the foundations of Islamic beliefs and morals, as well as Qur'an reading and memorisation. The *madrasah* is well-established in most Muslim communities; is relatively inexpensive and well-attended; and targets Muslim children at an age where, according to Islamic pedagogy, ethical reasoning is beginning to develop.

The curriculum review exercise, undertaken as part of doctoral research, examined the role of the *madrasah* curriculum in building the ecological literacy of the Muslim child. It considered two curricula, the Madrasatul Quds and Tasheel series, widely used in South African *madāris*, to evaluate the ways in which curriculum materials incorporate the environmental teachings of Islam, position the reader in relation to the natural world, and motivate the Muslim child to act *for* the environment.

The *Madrasah* in South Africa

Amongst the foremost Muslim educational institutions in South Africa, the *madrasah* focuses on imparting the basic beliefs of Islam (*tawhīd*), ritual worship (*fiqh*), moral values, Qur'anic recitation, history and Arabic. It is provided in tandem to secular education and is explicitly oriented towards education of the religious sciences. While the *madrasah* syllabus is broadly structured around the subjects outlined above, the quality and rigour of instruction vary considerably.

By the 1960s, efforts at uniting *madāris* in South Africa were initiated with various degrees of success (Adam 1993). These efforts, which would enhance curriculum content and structure, were impeded both by poor organization and a lack of co-operation (Haron and Mohamed 1991). To date, a unified *madrasah* system has still not been achieved. Despite the importance of the *madrasah* as a socio-religious educational institution, there is not much research available on this establishment. A few notable works have sought to identify key challenges facing the *madāris* in South Africa.

The *madrasah* in South Africa faces several challenges at the functional level which most *makātib* across the world encounter such as dated curriculum content and inadequate teacher training (Waghid 1994; Mogra 2007; Patel 2010). According to Waghid (1994), many of the problems evident in South African *madāris* can be traced back to a neglect of the formal element of *madrasah* education, i.e. the principles which distinguish it from other types of education. He contends that while *madrasah* education, centred on the principle of creative

order, should emphasize 'coherence and congruence with revealed teachings' (1994: 15), it should also allow for creativity and flexibility. Among the elements related to the functioning of the *madrasah* or the material elements of *madrasah* education, there are also several areas of disquiet. These include the crowded day which Muslim learners, who attend public school in the morning and *madrasah* thereafter, have to cope with. Other concerns relate to a lack of funding, poor facilities and dated curricula.

Notwithstanding these concerns, evidence is emerging, both in South Africa and globally, that this institution can play a role in introducing the Islamic perspective on contemporary social issues, such as the environmental question, to learners (Hossain-Rhaman 2006; Islam and Citizenship Project 2009). Waghid (2009), in a study which looked at the introduction of democratic citizenship education in the *madrasah*, found that *madāris* do cultivate a minimalist view of democratic citizenship

> …whereby learners are taught to respect the life-worlds of others, the rule of law and the protection of others' rights — that is, madrassah schooling does focus on teaching learners to be good Muslims, in particular what it means to respect human and non-human life. (Waghid 2009: 123)

Karodia (2004) suggests that EE for Muslim children will develop not only their character, but also contribute towards building environmental citizenship in South Africa. The space for introducing the environmental teachings of Islam, concerned with securing the welfare of all creation, exists in the *madrasah*. Do South African *madāris* reflect engagement with environmental knowledge (*taʿlīm*); do they cultivate the qualities required to undertake responsible environmental action (*tarbiyyah*); and do they seek to effect meaningful and positive change in self and society (*taʾdīb*)? Below, I will consider the extent to which *madāris* in South Africa integrate EE in their curricula.

Green Spaces in the *Madrasah* Curriculum

The curricula reviewed here were produced by two leading religious bodies in South Africa, Madrasatul Quds and Jamiatul Ulema Taalimi Board and are widely used in South Africa, as well as internationally. Curriculum materials, which incorporate textbooks, continue to play a vital role in teaching and learning in the South African *madrasah*. Here, we will focus on one aspect of these curricula, the way in which they incorporate the ecological teachings of Islam.

The Madrasatul Quds Curriculum

Madrasatul Quds, which has been running since 1992, is amongst the leading institutions providing Islamic education to young children in Cape Town. The Madrasatul Quds syllabus, which covers the standard subject areas taught at

madāris, is not only in use locally, but internationally as well. Published in 1997, the syllabus which comprises textbooks, activity books and workbooks, caters for the primary school child and is graded according to the school system in South Africa.

Comprised of 17 books, the syllabus covers the following subject areas: *Fiqh* (ritual worship), *Tawḥīd* (belief), History, *Akhlāq* (moral education), *Hifdh* (Qur'an memorisation) and Arabic. The syllabus was compiled by the Madrasatul Quds Textbook Committee, Human Resource Team and various *madrasah* teachers. Each book contains an introduction with important guidelines for teachers and also an overview of the books for the particular grade. Each textbook also outlines the didactic principles of Islamic teaching and learning which the institution seeks to uphold which includes: 'Approach every person and everything with the consciousness of *amānah* – sacred trust'.

In general, opportunities for highlighting the environmental philosophy of Islam abound in the Madrasatul Quds curriculum. The subject area in which environmental elements are located in the highest frequency is *Tawḥīd* which deals with the fundamentals of Islamic belief. Foundation phase textbooks focus particularly on the following aspects: Allah as the Creator of the universe; the attributes of Allah (e.g. The Sustainer, The Originator of the Worlds, The Fashioner); and the creation of Allah. The ecophilosophy expounded in the series is undoubtedly theocentric and human trusteeship is qualified by the attendant requirements of accountability, justice, gratitude, frugality and mercy which every Muslim is urged to acquire. The intimate link between belief (*imān*) and good actions ('*amāl ṣāliḥāt*) is also stressed.

The second subject area in which the environmental teachings of Islam can be discerned is *Fiqh*, which deals with various aspects of ritual worship in Islam. Several references to environmental concerns can be found, mainly in relation to water usage in ritual purification and cleanliness of the surroundings. Throughout the series wastefulness in water use is discussed and learners are encouraged to find ways to prevent wastefulness during ritual purification. Environmental issues are also highlighted in *Fiqh* through an emphasis on cleanliness of the surroundings, including places of prayer, homes, neighbourhoods, and the environment in general. Learners are required to formulate a response to questions which delve into the practical manifestation of belief, such as 'Is a Muslim allowed to litter?' and 'Why is it so important to keep our homes, schools and mosques clean?' In one textbook, learners discuss the earth as a sacred trust (*amānah*) and are required to provide instances of environmental abuse and destruction, suggesting ways in which they fulfil their sacred trust of caring for the earth. *Fiqh* lessons in this series mainly focus on the prayer.

Environmental teachings and concerns are virtually absent in History lessons even though there are countless incidents in the life of Prophet Muhammad which illustrate the importance of caring for the natural world in Islam (Ramadan 2007). Though the series highlights the importance of taking the prophets and messengers as examples, stories of earlier prophets such as Noah, David, and Solomon, are also not utilised to highlight the environmental teachings of Islam. While one would expect the section on Moral Training to pay greater attention to environmental concerns, references to environmental care are approached indirectly. The series instead

emphasises core values which aim to inculcate right action, with the Creator and creation, and in this way introduce some of the vital elements for transformative environmental action. Many of the lessons in this subject area use stories and parables to illustrate the centrality of good behaviour to all creation.

While close reading of the Madrasatul Quds series does bring to light the key elements of the environmental philosophy of Islam, there is still room to improve the understanding of the human-environment relationship espoused by the Islamic worldview. In summary, the importance of environmental awareness, concern and action, couched within the theocentric worldview of Islam, is most vividly expressed in *Tawḥīd* lessons while the environmental references in *Fiqh*, History and Moral Training contain much fewer references to environmental care in Islam. The series would improve its environmental content greatly through a deeper exploration of the implications of human trusteeship (*khilāfah*) in *Tawḥīd* lessons; an extension of the acts of ritual worship (e.g. fasting, charity and pilgrimage) as well as an inclusion of laws and institutions supportive of environmental care in *Fiqh*; an emphasis on stories and incidents highlighting the environmental care of the prophets and messengers in History; and an accent on the environmental implications of core values such as kindness, justice, and respect in Moral Training.

The Madrasatul Quds series, in emphasising the *tawḥīdic* framework of the Islamic worldview, showcases the importance of belief in the Oneness of the Creator and the implications which this has for human interaction with the natural world. If one were to assess the environmental philosophy which this series espouses, one would concur that it shows that environmental care is a religious duty. It also focuses on the inextricable link between belief and action. While it employs various learning strategies to engage the Muslim child in reflective engagement with knowledge (*taʿlīm*) and highlights the importance of responsible environmental action (*tarbiyyah*), it still needs to concretise the human-environment imaginary of Islam and show how this impacts on action in the world today (*taʾdīb*).

The Tasheel Series

Developed by the Jamiatul Ulema Taalimi (JUT) Board in 1998, revised in 2004 and reprinted in 2008, the Tasheel series has been developed for both primary and secondary education. Only the textbooks aimed at primary school children were reviewed here. The Tasheel series, which means 'to make easy', is produced under the auspices of the Curriculum Development Committee of the JUT Board and is distributed worldwide. In total, 35 textbooks were reviewed, covering the following subjects: *Aqeedah/Tawḥīd*; *Fiqh*, History, Morals and Manners, and *Hadīth* (prophetic sayings). The Tasheel series is well-written and clearly demarcated into various grades and subject areas. Virtually all the textbooks have an introduction to the subject being taught and seek to explain the importance of gaining knowledge of the particular subject.

The Tasheel Series presents many insights into the environmental philosophy of Islam through lessons in Muslim belief. Elements of Islamic ecoethics are scattered throughout the series, e.g. the Oneness and Unity of Allah, the Creator and Sustainer of the Universe; and the importance of showing kindness and mercy to all creation. The books on Muslim belief (*Tawhīd*) contain countless references to the natural world and in virtually all lesson plans, discussion of the attributes of Allah show how His beneficence extends to all creation. In higher grades, lessons in belief continue to expand the relationship between humans, the Creator and the rest of creation stressing that the 'foundation of Islam is built on fulfilling the rights of the Creator and the rights of Creation'.

The textbooks on *Fiqh* contain numerous references to environmental care, chiefly within the content dealing with cleanliness and ritual purification for prayer and other acts of worship. In lower grades, cleanliness of the surroundings, the classroom, school, mosque, home, and *madrasah* is stressed through lesson notes, activities and poems. The careful use of water, a gift and blessing of Allah, is also emphasized throughout the series. In particular, learners are instructed that there should be no wastage of water in ablution and the purificatory bath – wastefulness is tabled as an offensive act in religious law. References to environmental care are largely restricted to cleanliness and ritual purification, as it was in the Madrasatul Quds series.

History lessons, which cover the life stories of earlier prophets as well, generally focus on the life of Prophet Muhammad who is regarded as the best example and 'the most excellent and noble personality ever to tread the earth'. The environmental elements within the stories of earlier prophets are brought to light by references to the stories of earlier prophets. The life story of Prophet Muhammad is the focus area for higher grades and many elements such as his kindness to animals; just and fair treatment of all people; and meditation in nature are highlighted.

Kindness to all creation and to animals in particular is an oft-repeated message of the entire series (Mogra 2007). The textbooks are structured around a particular characteristic or moral, for example justice, truthfulness, sincerity – the virtue of which is then displayed through Qur'anic verses, prophetic narrations and stories. While stories centre on incidents in the lives of Prophet Muhammad, his companions, as well as pious Muslims throughout the ages, stories about the behaviour of 'ordinary' Muslim girls and boys are also used to draw out lessons. The environmental values emphasised in lower grades reflect the focus areas and themes of cleanliness of the environment, careful use of water, and the importance of caring for animals. Wastefulness is also discussed and learners are made aware of the need to be aware of and grateful for the bounties which they will have to account for. Higher grades focus on litter, pollution, and healthy living. The books on *aḥādīth* (prophetic sayings) aim to encourage memorisation and practice. Each grade is given about ten *ḥadīth* to memorise – these cover diverse topics such as charity, mercy, compassion and kindness to creation.

In general, the Tasheel Series builds a strong case for environmental care as intrinsic to Muslim belief, worship and character. It also equips the Muslim child to recognise that environmental care is a religious obligation and an act which earns

reward. The three subject areas in which the environmental teachings of Islam are most vividly illustrated are *Tawhīd*, *Fiqh* and Morals and Manners – History and *ḥadīth* textbooks are weaker in this aspect. The Series does succeed in providing an understanding of the theocentric ecoethic of Islam which positions humankind as a vicegerent of God on earth, responsible for and accountable for her use and interaction with the natural world but this must be extended to, and deepened in higher grades. The Series displays a willingness to engage with emerging trends in learning and child development. Whether this could be translated into an engagement with contemporary concerns, and result in the actualisation of Islam's ecoethics in society and in nature, remains to be seen. The textbooks do not yet provide enough opportunities, particularly in higher grades, to engage with the transformative intent of Islamic principles, teachings, and values.

The curriculum documents of Madrasatul Quds and Jamiatul Ulema's Tasheel Series, produced and designed as a series of textbooks aimed at introducing the fundamentals of Muslim belief, worship and values, both provide an accurate, though cursory, conception of the relationship between human beings, the Creator and creation. While they spell out the theocentric ethic of Islam, highlighting many of the environmental aspects of *tawḥīd* (monotheism), the holistic construction of the place and position of the natural world in the web of creation (*khalq*); outline the checks on human vicegerency (*khilāfah*); and discuss the impact of human abuse and misuse of natural resources (*fasād*) ─ the ecological philosophy presented does not elucidate how and why the holistic and dynamic ecological ethic of Islam differs from eco- and anthropocentric ideologies.

While the Tasheel Series does a better job at portraying the ecoethics of Islam, the Madrasatul Quds series extends this ethic further into the realm of action by eliciting learners to identify ways of caring for nature, saving water, and taking care of their local environments. However, neither of the two curricula displays the liberatory dynamic of an Islamic eco-justice ethic which promotes just, responsible and respectful interaction between humans and nature. While both these curricula include a cursory introduction into the laws and institutions which promote environmental care, there is scope to broaden this considerably. Curriculum organization in both series follows an integrated model in which environmental teachings are weaved into the religious sciences. However, a complementary model, in which the ecoethics of Islam are introduced as an independent subject area, could prove more successful since it could provide a cogent conception of the contemporary narrative on Islamic ecoethics; would not entail extensive curriculum revision; and could be adapted to different contexts, environments and cultures in the Muslim world.

Both curricula contain the essential ingredients of an EE programme based on the teachings of Islam: they reflect an engagement with the environmental teachings of Islam (*ta'līm*) and stress many of the qualities required to undertake responsible environmental action (*tarbiyyah*). They both fall short, in my view, of highlighting purposive and positive change in self and society (*ta'dīb*) as a valued educational outcome in Islam. This could be remedied by re-examining the very intent of *madrasah* education which should demonstrate that, while remaining faithful to the Islamic tradition; the Muslim child must take her place in combating the injustice,

oppression and tyranny which threatens society and nature. She must act in accordance with these teachings by reflecting these principles in her environmental 'action space' and in her lifestyle decisions, be it at home, school, or on the playground; by voicing her protest at environmental abuse; and by recognising that the ethical horizons of Islam extend to all creation.

'Greening' *Maktab* Education?

The absence of a praxis-oriented ecoIslamic approach at the *maktab*, the central institution in the transmission of the Islamic tradition at the foundational level, was clearly demonstrated in the curriculum review undertaken here. While the *masjid*, *madrasah* and Muslim school, have become focal points for the efforts and activities of the ecoIslamic movement, the *maktab*, despite its importance, remains underutilised. This curriculum review provides some insights into strengthening the EE potential of the *maktab*.

EE in Islam, as outlined here, incorporates critical and reflective engagement with all knowledge (*ta'līm*); responsible action (*tarbiyyah*); and meaningful and positive change in one's self and in society (*ta'dīb*). It is driven by the *tawḥīdic* (monotheistic) worldview of Islam, the *sin qua non* of the Islamic religious tradition, and is put into action by the integrated knowledge-structure of Islam. EE thus seeks to enable the Muslim child to become a better vicegerent, aware of and responsible for her interaction with the natural world, and striving towards positive environmental action in society.

Glimpses of this theocentric eco-justice ethic of Islam do emerge in the *maktab* curricula reviewed here, particularly within the subject areas which deal with the principles of belief in Islam (*Tawḥīd*). The curricula reviewed here also considered the position of humans as responsible trustees on earth, who will be called to account for the just and responsible discharge of this trusteeship in accordance with the Divine Laws. However, the ethical horizons of this trusteeship, which extends to *all* creation and speaks to the ultimate intent of the *Sharī'ah*, the welfare of *all* creation, needs to be explained in light of the ecological question. Even as the Muslim child is alerted to the importance of cleanliness of the environment, frugal water use, and the rights of animals, the position and place of the natural world as signs of the Creator, entitled to and deserving of care and protection, is not spelt out clearly.

The *maktab*, in its present form, engages primarily with revealed knowledge, as well as the knowledge relating to the beliefs, rituals and values of Islam. It is thus effectively functioning as a centre of spiritual and religious education – contributing to 'the preservation and promotion of Islamic values, Islamic epistemology and Islamic spirituality' (Mogra 2007: 389). It is therefore not surprising that the curriculum review described above showed very little engagement with other knowledge-structures in equipping children to understand how the environmental narrative of Islam concurs with, and differs from other positions. While educational

reform has been on the agenda of Muslim thinkers for decades, *maktab* education has not yet embodied the vision of learning encapsulated in *ta'līm*.

The curriculum materials reviewed here echo the findings of Mogra (2007) which showed that *maktab* curricula do not make explicit the theory underlying curriculum development, are largely instruction-based, and allot very little space for debate and discussion as well as engagement with other knowledges. *Ta'līm* requires that the EE process promotes 'deliberative and reflective engagement' into an inherited body of knowledge, revealed and non-revealed: the ecoethical principles in the Qur'an, legal instruments and institutions (the *Sharī'ah*) oriented towards environmental care, *and* knowledge which speaks about human interaction with the natural world. Critical thinking, independence and courage are exemplified in the Prophetic pedagogy – *maktab* education should therefore embody an interactive learning process in which the teacher facilitates the student's journey towards knowing, comprehension and conceptualization. This learning approach is essential if Islamic schooling in the *maktab* is to embody the intent of *ta'līm*.

Makātib have achieved greater success in the realm of *tarbiyyah*, which, in the educational sense, means to nurture children to be responsible in their interaction with others, and teaching them what it means to *be* Muslim. *Tarbiyyah* thus begins to extend the process of knowledge acquisition into the realm of action. The *maktab* plays a pivotal role in the life-affirming spirituality of Islam which attaches an ethical value to each and every action. *Tarbiyyah* also requires a learning approach which encourages learners to reflect upon, and respond to social realities. Social concerns, such as the environment, is beginning to find its way into the *maktab*, showing young Muslims, that while remaining faithful to their religious tradition and its ethical principles, they must respond to the social realities which confront them.

The *maktab* not only aids the promotion of the core values, ethics and principles of Islam – the bedrock upon which the ecological ethic of Islam rests, it should also encourage the activation of these values in society. The concept of *ta'dīb*, elaborated in this study, denotes the final and critical aspect of EE in the *maktab* – social activism. *Ta'dīb* denotes the transformative objectives of Islamic education which is about personal *and* societal transformation. *Ta'dīb* is central to actualising an eco-justice ethic of Islam in the educational process since it affirms that just action, in all human relations, is an indispensable component of learning. This has been, along with deliberate and active engagement with knowledge, the weak link in *maktab* education.

EE in the *maktab* requires an understanding of, and engagement with the cosmological and philosophical underpinnings which renders Islam a living and transformative educational force in the lives of its adherents. It is thus essential that educators be equipped with an understanding of the human environmental imaginary of Islam – what Islam says about human interaction with creation, and why it is important to teach Muslim children about their responsibilities and rights towards the natural world. *Maktab* education could thus nurture a *khalīfah* who understands her role and position in relation to the Creator and creation; strives

to know and understand Divine Laws in the Book of Revelation and in the Book of Nature; and puts this knowledge into action by living in justice, respect and compassion with all creation.

Makātib, if it is to take its place in the institutional establishment of Islam, can play a vital role in alerting Muslims to the rich ecological narrative within the Islamic tradition. The EE process in the *maktab* should not only instil a personal ethic for the earth, but extend this concern into the realm of action. The *maktab* is in a position to bring out the environmental teachings of the various Islamic sciences being taught and should extend this engagement to all knowledge – in the Books of the Qur'an and Nature. To achieve this, they need to impart the ecoethics of Islam, with a particular focus on elucidating

- the theocentric ecoethics of Islam which presents an environmental imaginary, based on the sovereignty of God (*tawḥīd*), the responsible trusteeship of humankind (*khilāfah*) and the value of all creation (*khalq*);
- the integrated knowledge-structure which is purposive, links revealed and non-revealed knowledges; and is grounded in an ethical framework which seeks to ennoble the human being; and
- the objectives of knowledge which incorporates reflective and critical engagement with environmental knowledges, especially the environmental values of the Qur'an (*ta'līm*); responsible environmental action (*tarbiyyah*); and social activism (*ta'dīb*) aimed at righting social and ecological injustice.

The environmental tradition or narrative of Islam is a living and thriving conversation. EE in the *maktab* should enter into this narrative and activate this philosophy which is not reactive, stemming from the foreboding of crises, but 'an ecology at the source in which humankind's relation to nature rests on an ethical bedrock linked to understanding the deepest spiritual teachings' (Ramadan 2009: 235). A complementary approach to introduce Islamic ecoethics in the *maktab* curriculum is the model which is most likely to succeed in activating this ecoethic, not only on pragmatic grounds, but for philosophical reasons as well.

Conclusion

The *maktab*, an important civil space, can provide Muslim children with opportunities to engage with knowledge, voice their opinions, and participate in public deliberation, striving to fulfil their duties as Muslims in advancing ecological and social justice. It is opined here that the conceptual underpinnings and philosophy of environmental learning in Islam and the empirical factors which support and activate this philosophy, must reflect the ecoethics of Islam – an ethic which enables Muslims to find their *own* voice, their *own* answers and their *own* response to the ecological question. This is essential if EE is to embrace pluralism and ensure that there is representation and recognition of the ecoethics 'congenial to (and emerging from) every culture and religion' (Pigem 2007).

For the *maktab* to take its place as a key instrument in making known and revitalizing Islamic ecoethics, it needs to reflect the action-oriented, lived spirituality which this ecotheology embodies. It must represent the holistic knowledge-structure and objectives of Islamic education in relation to environmental learning, and produce men and women, environmental educators, who can present the environmental message of Islam in a creative manner, showing the dynamism within this universal message of peace.

While the *maktab*, one of the foundational institutions in the Muslim educational landscape, does not yet embody the liberatory ecoethic of Islam, there are promising indications that the curriculum spaces to introduce a transformative and activist EE process, exist. Traditional institutions, such as the *maktab*, continue to play a vibrant role in providing lifelong education to Muslims, and therefore possess untapped potential as one of the key centres of EE in Islam.

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Chapter 20
Towards a Logic of Dignity: Educating Against Gender-Based Violence

Juliana Claassens

Introduction

Statistics of violent crimes indicate that a culture of violence is permeating South African society today. One of the contributing factors to the widespread occurrence of gender-based violence may be what Peter Ochs (2006) calls 'a logic of indignity' that is associated with violence against women. In order to counter gender-based violence, this flawed logic that considers women as less than fully human, as objects that can be used and abused at will, has to be replaced with a logic of dignity. Such a logic will unmask harmful stereotypes and reclaim values of a woman's worth as a subject in her own right, worthy of honor and respect.

In this chapter, I propose that in the context of faith-based schools, biblical texts may serve as a helpful teaching tool for educating against gender-based violence. The Hebrew Bible contains numerous examples of the logic of indignity referenced above as evident in for instance the gruesome narrative of the rape of the Levite's wife as narrated in Judges 19. And yet one also sees how this logic of indignity is resisted in subtle ways when the canonical placement of this text contributes to the formation of a logic of dignity. I propose that by using one of the lesser known religious stories from the Judeo-Christian tradition, students receive the opportunity to hone their critical thinking skills which may include reading against the grain and reading for compassion in order to identify the underlying logic of indignity inherent to the representations of gender-based violence in the text and substituting this logic for a logic that upholds the inherent worth of every human being. Moreover, these skills attained in encountering the biblical text in a classroom setting may be utilized by students in 'reading' the many violent images that surround them in the form of popular culture (MTV music videos; commercials, movies).

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It is estimated that South Africa has one of the highest figures of rape in the world with a woman being raped approximately every 17 seconds.[1] These shocking numbers are determined by multiplying the actual reported instances of rape and sexual violence by 20, based on the assumption that typically only one in 20 rape victims reports the crime to the police. These numbers, which each in its own right represent the harrowing ordeal of a flesh-and-blood woman, indicate indeed that a culture of gender-based violence is permeating South African society today; violence against women sadly having become part of the social fabric of society.

Violence against women forms part of a broader phenomenon of gender-based violence. According to the 1993 Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women adopted by the United Nations General Assembly,[2] gender-based violence can be defined as violence rooted in gender inequality, finding expression in for instance sexual violence and intimate partner violence. Even though gender-based violence has typically been focused on violence against women, there is growing recognition that men also find themselves as victims of gender-based violence, particularly in the context of gang-related violence and war (Bott et al. 2005:3). And yet, as the statistics cited above indicate, violence against women remains a widespread problem – an occurrence that should continue to receive focused attention.[3] So Louise du Toit in her article in the *South African Journal on Human Rights* argues that even though statistics indicate that 'male-on-male rape is more substantial than previously assumed,' it still is 'far outweighed by male-on-female rape, especially in supposedly peaceful or 'normal' social settings outside of war contexts and all-male prisons.' Thus, Du Toit argues that 'in spite of renewed attention to male rape victims and female perpetrators especially in war contexts, the data still suggest that rape is a crime that is overwhelmingly perpetrated by men against women and girls' (2012:385–386). For the purpose of this essay, I will thus focus on violence against women, all the while acknowledging that gender-based violence also extends to men and children.

There are many factors that can be cited to understand the widespread occurrence of gender-based violence in South African society today. One of the contributing factors may well be what Peter Ochs (2006:143) calls 'a logic of indignity' that

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[1] According to statistics from the South African Police service, in 2009/2010, 55 097 women are reported to be raped – a total of 150 women a day (Cf. Rape Statistics South Africa and Worldwide 2011). Actually the total number of sexual offences are much higher (68,332) which can be explained by a broader definition of rape (beyond the formerly exclusive notion of vaginal rape, also oral and anal rape are now included, hence also male rape). The total number of sexual offences that has not previously been part of rape or indecent assault – such as sex work, pornography, public indecency and human trafficking. Cf. also the statistics outlined sexual violence in schools cited by Monica Mak (2006:114–115).

[2] http://www.un.org/rights/dpil772e.htm. Accessed 21 September, 2012.

[3] Cf. also the United Nations Population Fund's State of World Population Report (2005) that argues that even though 'Violence is a traumatic experience for any man or woman… gender based violence is predominantly inflicted by men on women and girls.' This violence 'both reflects and reinforces inequities between men and women and compromises the health, dignity, security and autonomy of its victims.'

is associated with violence against men, women, and children. This logic of indignity constitutes humanly constructed thought-patterns that find expression in such dignity-defying actions such as racism, sexism and homophobia, and I would add, in particular violence against women. In order to counter gender-based violence, this flawed logic that considers women as less than fully human; as objects that can be used and abused at will, has to be replaced with a logic of dignity that constitutes according to Ochs, 'a logic of redemption'.[4] – which he describes as the 'visible mapping of patterns of activity in this world that would otherwise be merely implicit in our activities, and, in that sense, invisible. Such a logic will unmask harmful stereotypes and reclaim values of a woman's worth as a subject in her own right, worthy of honor and respect.

The focus of this chapter pertains to the complex question of how to teach about the reality of gender-based violence in a school setting. Debra Robbin (1992) rightly proposes that schools can be considered as a microcosm of society at large, and may be one of the 'primary purveyors of cultural, or at least dominant cultural-norms' that tend to reinforce 'sex-role stereotyping and mythical images of what is supposedly 'appropriate' male and female behaviour'. Schools, which represent the period during which adolescents are figuring out their gender identity, are thus on the one hand fertile breeding ground for creating the sexual stereotypes and norms that contribute to this logic of indignity that underlies gender-based violence.[5] And on the other hand it also may serve as the space in which education occurs that may provide some essential steps in transforming a rape culture by challenging a logic of indignity and substituting it with a logic of dignity that may prove to be redemptive[6] (see Leach and Mitchell 2006).

In this chapter, I propose that in the context of faith-based schools, biblical texts may serve as a helpful teaching tool for educating against gender-based violence. The Hebrew Bible contains numerous examples of the logic of indignity referenced above as evident in the gruesome narrative of the rape of the Levite's wife as narrated in Judges 19. And yet one also sees how this logic of indignity in the text is resisted in subtle ways when the canonical placement of this text contributes to the formation of a logic of dignity.

The reason for focusing on faith-based schools while acknowledging that *all* schools serve as a potential breeding ground for gender-based violence pertains to the choice of a biblical text as the subject of inquiry. Religion in schools remains a contentious issue, and as the assumption of this paper is that biblical texts may serve as a productive means to combat gender-based violence, it is more likely that biblical texts may be introduced in a faith-based school setting. However, this focus

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[4]Peter Ochs (2006:143) describes this 'logic' as the 'visible mapping of patterns of activity in this world that would otherwise be merely implicit in our activities, and, in that sense, invisible'.

[5]Debra Robbin (1992) actually remarks that schools may be one of 'the primary purveyors of cultural-or at least dominant cultural-norms' that tend to reinforce 'sex-role stereotyping and mythical images of what is supposedly "appropriate" male and female behavior.'

[6]Cf. the collection of essays from a variety of international perspectives on addressing this issue in a school setting edited by Leach and Mitchell (2006).

does not exclude other schools from also employing biblical texts as a teaching tool. In the second part of the paper, some suggestions will be made as to how a biblical text may fruitfully be utilized in initiating a conversation on gender-based violence in an educational setting.

Before turning to some reflection on the pedagogical means available for addressing the problem of gender-based violence among high school students, it may be helpful to take a closer look at the formation of this logic of indignity in a school setting particularly as it pertains to masculinity and its association with violence.

Masculinity and Gender-Based Violence

In recent years, much has been written on the nature of masculinity and its association with violence. For instance, Michael Kaufman (2007) writes of the triad of male violence – violence against women, violence against other men, and violence against oneself that seems to be built into the very structure of our societies (2007:33–35). Already from an early age, boys and young men are socialized into a particular form of masculinity that finds expression in power and violence, often by observing personal and social violence. Kaufman's example explains this well: 'man kicks boy, boy kicks dog' (2007:37). Yet, many of these young men who project an image of the tough hypermasculine male actually may be quite unsure of their own masculinity. Kaufman writes that it is exactly this fragile masculinity that is responsible for acts of violence against those who are perceived to be weaker (women and other men) (2007:43–44).

The time students spend in high school and university is also the time during which most adolescents shape their own sense of masculinity. There are several influences that inform these young boys' sense of what it means to be real men. For instance, in a fascinating article on the link between male subcultures and gender-based violence, Laura O'Toole (2007:217) writes that peer pressure is probably one of the strongest influences in the formation and expression of masculinity. Particularly in subcultures such as sport teams and college fraternities, and I would add in a South African context, boys' schools and gangs, one finds according to O'Toole's definition: 'groups with clear and defining boundary characteristics that have institutionalized normative systems and rituals' (2007:218–219).

Within these subcultures, which also can be found at co-educational schools, sexual violence often functions as an essential part of defining a heterosexual and typically violent masculinity. For instance, a frequent occurrence in these groups regards locker-room talk that dehumanizes women and promotes sexual violence by drawing on stereotypical notions of women as sexual objects (O'Toole 2007:219–220). Also, sexist and homophobic talk and actions, calling other 'lesser' men 'faggot', 'wuss' or 'girl' forms a central aspect of these groups' identity formation in terms of hypermasculinity (Miedzian 2005:65). Michael Messner (2005:41), in describing the effect of such language, states: 'It forms an exciting and pleasurable

erotic bond that holds the group together and it constantly threatens humiliation, ostracism and even violence against a boy or man who fails to conform with the group values and practices.'[7] It ultimately is the fear of being seen as a sissy or a wimp, or even worse in their eyes, 'gay' or 'faggot', which is responsible for many young men engaging in violence, and in extreme cases even in gang rape (Miedzian 2005:161; Kimmel 2005:146).

According to Messner (2005:42), a common feature of this type of male bonding at the cost of their victims' concerns, the 'suppression of empathy'. In these subcultural groups, men are taught to suppress their empathy towards women and 'lesser' men, who are taunted and assaulted by the group. In such instances, it is evident that the human dignity of these persons is not respected, leading to the logic of indignity mentioned earlier in connection to gender-based violence. It is this logic of indignity that can be viewed as the root cause of males being socialized in becoming sexual aggressors.

A further contributing factor to the association of masculinity and violence that is cited in the literature regards the role of the media in shaping a violent image regarding masculinity (O'Toole 2007:214). For instance, Myriam Miedzian (2005:164) contemplates the role of the constant stream of violent images in films (e.g. Arnold Schwarzenegger, Steven Segal, Jean-Claude van Damme), music videos (e.g. Eminem and Rihanna's song that glamorizes domestic violence, 'I love the way you lie') and video games (e.g. Grand Theft Auto and Call of Duty 4: Modern Warfare) that 'encourage boys to associate masculinity with dominance and power and to accept violence as a normal response to conflict, anger, or frustration'. Miedzian (2005:163) points out that, according to the American Psychological Association, the average child, before finishing elementary school, has already watched 8,000 murders on television – most of which have been committed by males. This number doubles by the time he or she finishes high school. This violence, quite often directed at women, is responsible for the fact that boys/young men are less able to empathize with real victims of violence (Miedzian 2005:164). As Miedzian writes in another essay:

> It makes sense that boys who grow up surrounded by the gore of slasher films, the xenophobia of professional wrestling, the rapist lyrics of some heavy metal and rap groups, not to mention the endless violence on TV and in toys, will become so desensitized that nothing becomes unthinkable in terms of gore and violence (2007:429).

As the editors Emilie Buchwald, Pamela Fletcher and Martha Roth ask in the introduction to the anthology of essays *Transforming a Rape Culture* (2005:xiv), we may indeed also ask: 'What would it take … to build a future without rape?' As outlined above, young boys are indeed programmed from a very early age to engage

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[7]Cf. also Michael Kimmel (2005:146) who cites an interview with Eminem about using language such as 'faggot'. Eminem is reported as saying: 'the lowest degrading thing that you can say to a man when you're battling him is to call him a faggot and try and take away his manhood…. Faggot to me doesn't necessarily mean gay people. "Faggot" to me just means taking away your manhood'.

in violence. The only way this reality can be changed is to teach boys already on elementary and secondary school level to embrace a logic of dignity that makes another way of being in the world possible.[8]

In the rest of this chapter, the focus will be on various creative strategies in which the topic of gender-based violence may be broached in a school setting with the ultimate goal of transforming a rape culture. Because this chapter is interested in using a biblical text as a means of addressing gender-based violence, the focus will be on faith-based schools. This is a conversation though that conceivably could be extended to secular schools, with the provision that comparable material be found in order to raise awareness of the reality of gender-based violence.

Transforming a Rape Culture

In her essay that investigates sexual violence in elementary and secondary schools in the United States, Nan Stein (2007) makes the following recommendations that may well apply to a South African context. She proposes that schools introduce throughout the school curriculum 'high-quality, age-appropriate and successfully evaluated lessons about sexual violence' that reflects both boys' and girls' experiences. Moreover, teachers and administrative staff ought to receive training in recognizing and addressing gender-based violence among their students (Stein 2007:330).

But what should the content of these lessons be? In the next section, I will introduce a specific example of using a biblical story as conversation starter on the topic of gender-based violence in the context of faith-based schools. But let me first offer four criteria that may inform all lessons on this very important topic:

First, a key aspect of educating on gender-based violence is the notion of naming, i.e., to help children name experiences for which they may have no vocabulary. Carol Adams (2005) uses the example of the film, *The Burning Bed*, which deals with the painful topic of domestic violence to illustrate how 'naming' often follows after 'representation and identification'. After this film was first screened, domestic violence shelters and hotlines were inundated with calls from women who could recognize themselves in the cinematic portrayal (Adams 2005:82). An ancient text such as the story of the Levite's concubine as told in Judges 19 with its highly contemporary theme may, in a school setting, have a similar effect in raising awareness among both the victims as well as the perpetrators of gender-based violence.

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[8] Shekhar Seshadri and Vinay Chandran (2006:136–137) argue that school can serve as 'counter-socialisers' to promote an alternative model of masculine behavior. Cf. also the example of the Hutterite Bretheren community employed by Myrian Miedzian (2007:430–431) to show how boys can be raised to value community, charity, love and nonviolence. In this community, television is limited; no toy guns are allowed and teachers are helping students to solve conflict non-violently. The result of these efforts is that domestic violence and criminal behavior is largely unheard of in this society.

Second, continuing the link between masculinity and violence outlined in the previous section, it is of the utmost importance that we teach boys in our schools to embrace another form of masculinity. As Myriam Miedzian (2005:161) puts it, 'we must move men, and especially young boys, away from a masculinity that centres on toughness, power, dominance, eagerness to fight, lack of empathy, and a callous attitude towards women.'[9] This means challenging the gender stereotypes of both men and women as presented in the media, and teaching values of respect that are rooted in the inherent dignity of all men and women.

Third, a vital skill to teach with regard to the reality of gender-based violence is the importance of empathy or compassion (Miedzian 2007:431–432). It was noted earlier that the lack of empathy often is at the root of the eruption of violence. Alternatively, if students can learn to see the face of the other, to hear the cry of the victim, they may be less likely to engage in violence. The biblical story that will be introduced in the subsequent section offers a good example of helping students see the victim of a horrific act of violence that mirrors the act of giving a voice to victims of gender-based violence both locally as well as around the world. Literature indeed offers a great opportunity of re-engaging the imagination. Martha Nussbaum (2001:426–433) writes beautifully about the role of literature and art in public education to 'cultivate the ability to imagine the experiences of others and to participate in their sufferings.'[10] She writes:

> To promote empathy across specific social barriers, we need to turn to works of art that present these barriers and their meaning in a highly concrete way…In that way, it exercises the muscles of the imagination, making people capable of inhabiting for a time, the world of a different person, and seeing the meaning of events in that world from the outsider's viewpoint (2001:431).

Finally, closely related to the act of challenging the dominant view of male and female as presented by society and particularly in the media is the notion of teaching critical thinking. Probably one of the key skills we can teach our children is the ability to think critically, to question what for instance the media proclaims as gospel. In this regard, by using one of the lesser known religious stories from the Judeo-Christian tradition, students receive the opportunity to hone their critical thinking skills. As the example in the next section will show, this may imply reading against the grain and reading for compassion in order to identify the underlying logic of indignity inherent to the representations of gender-based violence in the text and substituting this logic for a logic that upholds the inherent worth of

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[9]Cf. also the work by Robert Morrell and Gethwana Makhaye (2006) who introduce initiatives in the South African context that have the goal of generating new models of masculinity. E.g. the Inkunzi Isematholeni project, which can be translated as 'how the calf is raised will determine the quality of the bull,' seeks to encourage adolescent boys to embrace forms of masculinity that refrain from violent and destructive behavior and to become responsible and caring fathers and husbands (156–157).

[10]Cf. also Miedzian (2007:428) who quotes Hannah Arendt as having said that the lack of empathy exists in the absence of imagination.

every human being. Moreover, these skills attained in encountering the biblical text in a classroom setting may be utilized by students in 'reading' the many violent images that surround them in the form of popular culture (MTV music videos; commercials, movies).

Reading Literature, Reading Life

In the book of Judges, a horrifying story of violence against women is told (Judges 19). It is the story of an unnamed woman[11] who leaves[12] her Levite husband (the cleric or pastor of his day); of the husband's attempts to bring his wife[13] back from her father's house where she sought refuge, as well as of their fateful journey home. The travelling party ends up in the town of Gibea at nightfall – a particularly dangerous time for travelers. An old man takes them in, but this act of hospitality will prove to have disastrous consequences, especially for the young woman (Trible 1984:72–73).[14] That night, a group of thugs knock on the door of the house, demanding to have sex with the male visitor. Being a society where homosexual rape is considered more serious than the rape of a woman, the host offers the wife of his guest as well as his own virgin daughter to appease the lust of the perpetrators. In the end, it is the Levite himself who throws his wife out to the wolves, where she is gang-raped throughout the night by the group of thugs.[15]

It is significant that the rape scene in this narrative is presented in sparse detail with only a few words dedicated to the events of that terrible night. We hear no sound from the woman, no response to the repeated acts of sexual violence. Her only act the next morning at daybreak, after her violators had left, is to fall on the

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[11] In order to resist the namelessness of this woman that denotes her low social status, Cheryl Exum (1993:176) gives this woman the Hebrew name of Bath-Sheber, meaning 'daughter of breaking'.

[12] The reason for the woman's leaving are ambiguous. The ancient witnesses are divided on this issue. So the Hebrew text (MT) reads that she 'played the harlot against him'. Alternatively the Greek translation (LXX) reads, 'she became angry with him'. Exum argues that the question at stake here is 'male ownership of women's bodies' and 'control over women's sexuality.' She considers whether a woman who leaves her husband not in this society automatically makes her guilty of sexual misconduct (177). Cf. Koala Warsaw-Jones (1993:173).

[13] Warsaw-Jones (173) outlines well the differences in status between the primary wife and the secondary wife in terms of social rank. It is significant that the Levite's wife is called a *pilgesh* in Hebrew (often Translated as 'concubine') that suggests her lower social status and leaves her with less protection than a primary wife would have. In order to acknowledge this woman's value, I will refer to her throughout this paper as the Levite's wife, suggesting that she is deserving or respect no matter her status as first or second wife.

[14] Trible notes that the explicit reference in Jdg 19:18 that their host brought 'him' into the house foreshadows that fact that only the male guest will be guaranteed any safety in his house (75).

[15] Alice Bach (1999:395) proposes that by substituting his wife in order to avert the threat of violence against himself, the Levite is able to retain his honor and standing in the community, so much so that he can rally the troops to go defend his honor. Cf. also Warsaw-Jones 1993:177.

threshold of the house, ordinarily a place of safety, but sadly not for her – a scene memorialized in Rembrandt van Rijn's striking etching, 'The Levite finds his wife in the morning,' (Kuferstechkabennett Museum, Berlin).

Callously, the Levite gets ready to leave the next morning, commanding his wife to get up. When she does not respond, he throws her broken body over his donkey and carries her home. At home, the violation of this helpless woman continues and escalates when the Levite takes a knife, seizes his wife and cuts her body[16] up into 12 pieces, whereafter he sends her dismembered body throughout the country as a grim reminder of the injustice done to him (Jdg 19:29–30). It is ironic that the Levite's outrage is not so much directed at what happened to his wife but at the dishonor caused to him when his 'property' was damaged.[17]

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[16]The text is ambiguous whether the woman at this point of the narrative is dead or alive. The ancient witnesses are once more divided. So the Greek translation (LXX) makes explicit the notion that the woman was already dead whereas the Hebrew text (MT) is silent on the matter (Cf. Warsaw-Jones 1993:178; Trible 1984:80). In an intriguing argument, Bal (1991:122) points out how this ambiguity is captured in Rembrandt's etching shown above according to which the movement of the woman's hand is captured by her hand being slightly blurred with some vague lines underneath it.

[17]It is significant that when the Levite recounts his story, he fails to mention his own role in the violence committed against his wife, rather choosing to emphasize that the attackers sought to kill him and ravished his concubine. The community's outrage that follows then is in response to the dishonor committed to the man rather than what happened to his wife (Cf. Trible 1984:82).

If one continues to read Judges 20–21, one notes that the violence against this young woman leads to even more violence. So a battle erupts with the purpose of punishing the Benjamites for the dishonor bestowed upon the Levite (not for the violation done to the woman) erupts. More than 25,000 men, women and children are killed with only 600 Benjamite men escaping, creating a further crisis as to where the survivors will get wives. In Judges 21, the remaining Benjamites are given permission to steal wives for themselves among the virgins of Shiloh. Hence, 400 women are forced into marriage, so amplifying, as Alice Bach notes, 'the violence done to one woman by violating many women' (Bach 1999:397).[18]

Several themes emerge from this troubling story that can be utilized in a conversation on gender-based violence in faith-based schools. First, the reading of the narrative has a distinct shock value associated with it. Few students, even those familiar with the Bible, would have heard this story before. However, the narrative has the ability to draw one in, likely causing the reader to be shocked by the woman's plight, abhorred by the Levite's coldhearted treatment of his wife as a sexual object to save his own skin. And in her death, this woman is even further objectified when her body becomes a literary device with the purpose to shock and appall its recipients. In terms of naming, this narrative offers teachers and students the opportunity to speak of the many similar stories of rape and abuse in our South African society as well as in the global community.[19] Actually for some students, this story will be especially painful to hear as it may reflect experiences that are far too close to home.

As outlined in the previous section, this narrative is used with the goal of teaching students critical thinking, i.e., by being invited to judge the actions of the rapists, the complicit husband and host, as well as the glaring lack of response of the town's people who did nothing to stop the heinous crime. In particular, the teacher may help students identify the logic of indignity evident in this story. For instance, in the patriarchal context underlying this text, women are typically objectified – epitomized in the fact that the female character in this narrative is nameless and moreover depicted as a concubine; thus a lesser woman and not the main wife that makes her even more vulnerable to abuse. One also sees this indignity displayed when the female character(s) is not considered worthy of respect even by her own husband (and father in the case of the host's virgin daughter) who inadvertently participates in the suffering of this unnamed woman, not to mention the indignity reflected in the heinous acts of violence conducted by the perpetrators. This indignity continues in her death – the dehumanizing treatment of his wife's body signaling his lack of respect for his wife. Phyllis Trible rightly describes her as follow:

> Of all the characters in scripture, she is the least…. Neither the other characters nor the narrator recognizes her humanity. She is property, object, tool, and literary device. Without name, speech, or power, she has no friends to aid her in life or mourn her in death (1984:81).

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[18]Bach notes that the text does not even call the vile act 'rape' but rather serves as 'a triumph that reunites the tribes, the men of Israel' (392).

[19]Bach, for instance, reads this story against the background of the real life plight of the victims of the Bosnian rape camps (1999:391, 398).

The shocking injustice outlined in this narrative indeed exposes the tragic reality of gender-based violence. A narrative such as Judges 19 may thus fruitfully be used in a classroom setting to draw attention to the voiceless victim who stands for the numerous victims of gender-based violence in communities near and far. This is a good example of Nussbaum's (2001) proposal referenced above of using narrative to cultivate empathy in students.

Second, themes of masculinity and male bonding play a significant role in the plot of this narrative. At her father's house, one finds an elaborate scene of male bonding when the Levite, who seeks to woo back his wife (Hebrew 'speak to her heart'), ends up speaking only to her father. For three days, her father wines and dines the Levite (cf. Jdg 19:6 'The two men sat and ate and drank together'), seeking to keep his son-in-law by means of abundant hospitality at his home. One wonders whether the father is protecting his daughter, or whether he is suspicious of the true nature of the Levite. In this scene of male bonding though, the daughter has no voice and definitely no choice whether she stays or goes (Trible 1984:68–69).[20]

At Gibea one finds further forms of male bonding when the Levite is once again the recipient of hospitality from his male host (Bach 1999:396).[21] No reference is made to the hospitality extended to the young woman – it will soon be evident that this omission translates into an utter disregard for her safety. Probably the most harmful expression of male bonding occurs when the men of the town band together ready to launch a homosexual attack against the male guest in their midst. The status of the man as foreigner is significant in light of the theory of masculinity outlined in the first part of this chapter. It is evident that these men are using sexual violence to establish in-group/out-group boundaries. Within this process, it often happens that women are caught in the crossfire – in this particular story, the woman paying with her life.

The representation of masculinity in this narrative offers the opportunity to engage in an interesting conversation regarding how men are presented in the media and society, in particular touching on the tough guy-mentality that is so evident in the subcultures found in schools and societies. It also offers the opportunity to talk about an alternative form of masculinity that is rooted in compassion and wisdom and not in brute force or violence.

Third, there is not much in this story that appears to be redemptive. Exegetes have proposed that this shocking story is told in the larger context of the book of Judges to depict the moral decline of society (cf. the narrative framework in which this narrative is set, i.e., the reference in Jdg 19:1 that it was a time in which there

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[20]Cf. Warsaw-Jones' (1993:180) critique of Trible that the daughter could not be considered as excluded from the said hospitality for being a member of the household. Even though Warsaw-Jones' point is valid, it does not take away the exclusion of the young woman from the process of discernment that so directly affected her future.

[21]Bach notes that the Levite is enjoying himself as much as the home of his host than he did at the home of his father-in-law.

was no king in the land as well as the concluding statement in Jdg 21:25 that because there was no king, everyone did was right in his own eyes).[22]

There is to some measure of redemption in the reception of the narrative. Even though the violence against the Levite's wife as well as the subsequent injustice committed to the scores of victims of war and forced marriage is met by silence in the text,[23] Trible (1984:84–85) makes the intriguing observation that the story told in Judges 19–20 is followed by the book of Ruth in the Greek version (LXX), as well as by the story of Hannah as told in the book of Samuel in the Hebrew Masoretic version (MT). These two female characters, who both come from the same tribe as the unfortunate woman in Judges 19 are not only named in these stories, but they are also said to be in relationships with men who love, honor and respect them. Their narratives thus seem to offer a counter-narrative rooted in a logic of dignity. As Trible rightly notes: 'The absence of misogyny, violence, and vengeance' in these two counter stories 'speaks a healing word in the day of the judges' (1984:85).

Conclusion

In a World Bank Study on *Preventing and responding to gender-based violence in middle and low-income countries*, Sarah Bott et al. (2005:5) identify a number of strategies schools may follow in order to help reduce women's vulnerability to gender-based violence. These strategies include 'educating staff about gender, human rights and nonviolence' and 'developing sexual harassment policies' and 'school-based programs for students that promote nonviolence, human rights and more equitable gender roles'. This chapter proposed that a biblical story, such as was discussed above, which compellingly raise the multi-faceted issue regarding violence against women, can fruitfully be employed in a school curriculum with the focus of raising awareness and challenging the flawed logic identified in the introduction to this paper, i.e. a logic of indignity that considers women as less than fully human, as objects that can be used and abused at will. I proposed in this chapter that the biblical story found in Judges 19 of the horrifying rape and mutilation of the Levite's wife can be utilized as a tool to combat gender-based violence by naming the reality of gender-based violence, by starting a conversation on an alternative form of masculinity and by teaching critical thinking regarding the biblical text but also regarding the numerous violent images found in culture and society. Such a strategy may

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[22]Cf. Trible's proposal that the editor is using the narrative to promote the monarchy and in particular the reign of King David. Cf. also Warsaw-Jones' (1993:181) critique of Trible (1984:84) when she argues that Judges 19-21 portray 'a society in chaos,' where men, women and children are victimized. She thus argues for the recognition of other forms of victimization.

[23]Bach (1999:390) notes that 'the silence about the women of Shiloh, both in the biblical narrative as well as in the interpretations of this text, is as loud as the silence of the women themselves, given no voice or no subjectivity in the narrative'.

contribute to an alternative culture in which women are respected as subjects in their own right, worthy of honor and respect – a vital step in transforming the rape culture that still makes up the reality of many women in South Africa today.

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Chapter 21
Islamization and Muslim Independent Schools in South Africa

Suleman Essop Dangor

Introduction

A study of select Muslim schools by Inga Niehaus (2008) determined that Muslim independent schools were initially established in South Africa to provide an environment which would protect Muslim learners from the predicaments that beset public schools, including a drop in standards and ill-discipline, as well as to accord them the space to practise their faith without obstruction and develop their Islamic identity. An added advantage would be that learners would not be compelled to attend religious classes [the *madrasah*] after school hours since the *madrasah* curriculum would be integrated with the normal school curriculum. As for Islamization, it was 13 years after the founding of the first Muslim independent school in South Africa, the Habibiyyah Girls College in Cape Town 1983, that the notion of Islamization was introduced to these Muslim schools.

The calls for Islamization could be viewed in the broader context of recognition by educationists of the need to revisit early approaches to education. In the words of James Bowen 'there has been a universal recognition of the need for reconceptualization of education' (1981: 557). The pioneers of the Islamization project – AbdulHamid AbuSulayman, Ismail al-Faruqi, Sayyid Hossein Nasr and Sayyid Muhammad Naquib al-Attas – focussed primarily on conceptual issues relating to Islamization. Publications – primarily *Muslim Education Quarterly, The American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences, Journal of Islamic Science* and *Shajarah* – in addition to seminars and conferences, became the instruments to promote what came to be known as 'Islamization of knowledge'. Subsequently, educationists embarked on a project to 'Islamise' subjects that constitute the public school curriculum.

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To date, seven international conferences on Islamization have been held. The Sixth International Education Conference in Cape Town in 1996 focused specifically on Muslim schools where the so-called 'Islamized syllabi' for major subjects in the South African school curriculum were produced. It was assumed that these would be gradually phased in by Muslim independent schools in South Africa and, if successful, replicated in Muslim schools abroad.

This chapter will commence with an exploration of the tensions between Western and Islamic epistemologies, as identified by the pioneers of Islamization, and as a prelude to the emergence of the concept of Islamization of knowledge. Next, it will assess the implementation of Islamization in Muslim independent schools in South Africa. Finally, it will assess the prospects of the Islamization project. This chapter hopes to demonstrate that the notion of Islamization of knowledge accords with Ralph Tyler's theory that an educational and social philosophy can actually act as a screen for selecting and eliminating educational objectives (1975: 34).

Catalysts for Islamization

In this section, we will explore what we consider to be the primary factors that contributed to the emergence of the notion of Islamization.

Bifurcation of Knowledge

One of the major challenges for Muslims in the contemporary age is how to resolve the dilemma of the bifurcation of knowledge and the educational system in Muslim countries into modern secular and traditional Islamic. Abdul Hamid AbuSulayman attributes this educational crisis in the Muslim world to the imposition of secularism:

> There also exists in the Muslim world an imported, secular knowledge, which dominates every aspect of life…. This secularism is perpetuated and popularised by institutions, universities and organisations in the various Islamic countries (1988: 103).

The influence of the secular paradigm on Muslim societies (including their educational system) in the twentieth century is succinctly captured by John Esposito:

> By the mid-twentieth century, most of the Muslim world had achieved political independence. The post-independence period witnessed the emergence of modern Muslim states whose pattern of development was heavily influenced by and indebted to Western secular paradigms. Few questioned the accepted wisdom that modernization meant the progressive Westernization and secularization of society. Modernization was imposed from above by governments and Westernized elites (n.d.: 2).

The secular-religious divide that now characterizes educational institutions in Muslim countries has resulted in a chasm between the so-called 'secular sciences' and the *shari'ah* (Islamic legal) sciences. The pioneers of 'Islamization of

knowledge' believed it was possible to achieve a synthesis of the two divergent systems of education, which differ substantially in their ultimate aims and in their fundamental values.

The challenge of reconciling two contrasting systems of education is best summed up in the following extract form a report on the first World Conference on Muslim Education held at Makkah in 1977:

> The existing conditions in present-day educational institutions in most Muslim countries do not truly reflect the Islamic ideal; and these institutions do not play their rightful role in the education of the younger generation in Islamic faith, thought and conduct; and there exists presently a regrettable dichotomy in education in the Muslim world; one system namely, religious education being completely divorced from the secular sciences, and secular education being equally divorced from religion, although such compartmentalisation was contrary to the true Islamic concept of education and made it impossible for the products of either system to represent Islam as a comprehensive and integrated vision of life (cited in Saqib 1981: 53).

Modern education, which is based on a secular foundation, differs substantially from the Islamic system of education in respect of aims and values. This will be elaborated on below.

Contested Aims of Education

To begin with, it is well-known that there is no unanimity among Western scholars on the aims and objectives of education (Sharifi 1979: 78). According to Roger Dale 'the aims and expectations of education are far from homogenous and, are, in fact, frequently contradictory' (1989: 60). In Jeffrey's view, the most serious weakness of modern education is the uncertainty about its aims (1972: 61). There are educationists who question whether education should have aims (Peters 1959), and others who support the notion of a value-free educational system (see Husain and Ashraf 1979: 47).

Let us summarise the divergent aims of education as propounded by some of the leading thinkers:

- Mathew Arnold believed that the study of culture [including religion] would give society a commonality of experience and lead individuals to strive towards the ideal of human perfection.
- Francis Bacon argued that human society must be perfected through an expansion of knowledge through scientific discovery.
- While Émile Durkheim recognised the importance of moral education, he advocated the teaching of secular morality.
- Immanuel Kant held that the goal of education was to enable learners to think autonomously in order to become capable of genuine moral acts.
- According to John Locke, the main goals of education are moral training, followed by the learning of social skills, the development of wisdom and the acquisition of useful knowledge.

- John Stuart Mill viewed education as the training the mind for the rigorous pursuit of knowledge along empiricist lines.
- John Milton asserted that education should prepare learners for their role in society.
- Bertrand Russell posited free and open enquiry as the goal of education.
- For Israel Scheffler, education should be concerned with rationality and reason.
- In Herbert Spencer's perception, education should encourage the process of self-development by facilitating an educational programme based upon children's interests and needs (Manery 2010: 181–205).

Three of the above thinkers – Durkheim, Kant and Locke – emphasised the importance of morality. In this respect, there is consensus between them and the proponents of Islamization for whom education bereft of a moral purpose is inconceivable. However, they differ substantially in their conceptualisation of morality.

According to Johann Herbart, the chief aim of education is moral development. He specified five major ideas as constituting the foundations of moral character: the ideas of inner freedom, perfection, benevolence, justice and retribution. His major concern was producing an 'educated individual of good character and high morals" (Ornstein and Levine 1993: 129). Downey and Kelly, however, argue that the moral positions adopted by learners should be a matter of personal choice reached by careful and critical appraisal, and that moral education cannot be linked to religious education (1979: 168–169). The morality embedded in an Islamized curriculum, by contrast, is a clearly-defined religious morality.

The dominant theoretical positions relating to the purpose of education are the society-centred position and the child-centred position. The society-centred position emphasises real world experiences, group problem solving and understanding citizenship. Advocates of this approach argue that education should prepare individuals to function and adapt successfully in their respective societies. The child or person-centred position, on the other hand, stresses the needs, capacities and interests of the learner. According to some advocates of this position, the primary purpose of education is to prepare individuals to attain happiness by achieving maximum social and economic success. Others stress the development of the intellect and personality of the child or learner (Smith et al. 1957: 548–551). This would confer benefits specifically upon the individual and favour his/her own development.

In sum, the emphasis of these two positions is on intellectual progress for the material well-being of the individual and society. These positions, as will be demonstrated below, differ substantially from the Islamic approach to education.

To begin with, the idea of producing a 'good citizen' is contentious. The ultimate goal of education cannot, from an Islamic perspective, be simply the attainment of comfort, prosperity and happiness in this life. Finally, moral/spiritual development is integral to the overall development of the learner's personality. Basheer El Tom, while agreeing with John Dewey that education should respond to the needs of society and is pragmatic in that sense, rejects his definition of education as 'life itself' since Muslims believe in the perennial validity of Islamic values (1981: 39).

Interestingly, the importance of the spiritual dimension in education has been recognised by educationists globally. John P. Miller suggests the development of a 'spiritual' education that will allow teachers and learners to re-establish the inter-connectedness of human beings with each other and with nature. Ron Miller concurs, arguing that holistic education means that life has a purpose greater than mechanistic laws described by science. He supports a spiritual worldview which emphasises connection between human beings across boundaries (Flake 1993: 222, 225). Linda Lantieri considers 'matters of the heart and spirit' as 'positive building blocks of healthy development' (2004: 192). She proposes redefining what it means to be an educated person and integrating the inner lives of learners into the school curriculum, pointing to recent studies that illustrate the benefits of nurturing children's spiritual development (ibid: 201–203).

What are the aims of education according to Muslim scholars? The theologian, Muhammad `Abduh of Egypt, advocated that the student's "personality should be shaped by education [*al-ta`lim wa'l tarbiyah*] and by inculcation of values so that he becomes a good and proper man in himself …." (Wan Daud 1998: 125). Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas, like `Abduh, was highly critical of the utilitarian approach to education and declared:

> …the purpose of seeking knowledge is to inculcate goodness or justice in man as man and individual self, and not merely in man as citizen or integral part of society; it is man's value as real man, as a dweller in his self's city, as citizen in his own microcosmic kingdom, as spirit, that is stressed, rather than his value as a physical entity measured in terms of pragmatic or utilitarian sense of his usefulness to state and society and the world (cited in Wan Daud 1998: 131).

The purpose of education, in his view, is to instil and inculcate *adab* in the learner which he defines as "encompassing the spiritual and material life of a man that instils the quality of goodness that is sought after" (Al-Attas 1979: 1, 37). He attributed what he termed "the de-Islamization of the Muslim mind" to the infusion of aspects of 'the Western philosophical outlook in the minds of the Muslim educated elites' (ibid: 10). Syed Sajjad Husain and Syed Ali Ashraf contend that 'what distinguishes the Islamic system of education from the modern Western system is the importance it attaches to faith and piety as one of its fundamental aims' (1979: 38). In Islam, education is intended to produce a God-conscious and righteous individual who lives in accordance with the Divine mandate. For Muslims, education without an awareness of *Allah* (God) is 'meaningless' (Mabud 1992: 90). Allah Buksh Karim Buksh Brohi highlights the fact that disciplines such as physical science, chemistry, biology, mathematics, history, geography, economics that make up the school curriculum make no reference to the metaphysical realm (1988: 7).

According to Sayyid Vali Reza Nasr, revelation occupies a fundamental place in the Islamic epistemology. In addition to reason, sensory perception, intuition and experience (including experimentation and observation), revelation is a primary source of knowledge. In fact, it forms the very essence of the Islamic *weltanschauung* or world-view which informs and guides the Islamization process (1991: 30 (3): 395). John Sahadat (1997: 14 (4): 25) declares that an informed individual is not

necessarily an educated one; there is an existential challenge in Muslim education which seeks to lead the individual beyond the stage of knowing to the stage of being. The term `ilm` (literally, 'knowledge') encompasses all facets of life: intellectual, material and spiritual.

Education, argue Husain and Ashraf, must be directed at the balanced growth of the human personality through training its physical, emotional, intellectual, imaginative as well as spiritual aspects. A holistic approach to education means cultivation of the mind, development of the inner self and acquisition of intellectual and spiritual virtues (1979: 44).

For Seyyed Hossein Nasr (1987: 123), the goal of education is not only

> …the training of the mind but of the whole being of the person. That is why it implied not only instruction or transmission of knowledge [*ta`lim*], but also training of the whole being of the student [*tarbiyyah*]. The teacher was not a *mu`allim*, a `transmitter of knowledge', but also a *murabbi*, 'a trainer of souls and personalities.

It is evident from the above that education in Islam is not confined to serving the material needs of learners or to providing them with professional skills and career opportunities. Education cannot be purely utilitarian in character and simply have career-planning as its basic methodology. Nor can knowledge be regarded as an end in itself – a means to satisfy intellectual curiosity. It is, in fact, a means of attaining higher moral and spiritual goals; to foster the development of righteous beings and to affect the spiritual, moral and physical wellbeing of families, societies and humankind in general.

To sum up, the objectives of education should be to:

- Facilitate the acquisition of knowledge, skills and virtues;
- Develop all aspects of an individual's personality;
- Motivate learners to promote virtue and forbid evil;
- Foster the development of God-conscious individuals;
- Advance the physical, moral and spiritual well-being of the family, society and humankind in general.

The emphasis on individual growth and development should not be supposed to mean that society is not important. As Seyyed Hossein Nasr argues

> When we say that the purpose of knowledge is to produce a good man, we do not say that to produce a good society is not its purpose, for since society is composed of people, making everyone or most of them good produces a good society (cited in Wan Daud 1998: 151).

Furthermore, in the modern system of education, faith in God, personal piety and righteousness are not relevant factors in determining the teacher's calibre. The earlier demand by the school of Idealism that the educator has to be a model of all that is good, upright and beautiful (Akinpelu 1981: 36) has little support in current educational theory or praxis.

In contrast, the traditional Islamic understanding of educators is that apart from imparting useful knowledge to learners, they are models to be emulated. Educators are required not only to be persons of learning but also persons of virtue and piety whose conduct could influence learners, and are expected to do their utmost to impress upon the minds of learners the general ethos and the morality of Islam at the

social and intellectual levels. They are to be revered as people entrusted with training the learners' entire personality (Husain and Ashraf 1979: 34, 104).

The Primacy of Islamic Values

Closely related to the basic aims of education are values in education. Though some educationists have proposed that education should be neutral to values, the reality is that every educational system has values. Richard Pring asserts that different societies will emphasise different values and that 'what counts as a valued form of life is essentially a matter for moral debate'. Furthermore, he contends that schools are actively involved in promoting values and that one of their functions is to assist in developing a certain kind of citizen (1986: 182, 185). Robert Hutchins argues that 'If the object of education is the improvement of men, then any system of education that is without values is a contradiction in terms… A system that denies the existence of values denies the possibility of education' (1953: 71–72).

Educationists recognise unique individual character, beliefs, ideas and attitudes. Krathwohl's Taxonomy, for instance, lists 'Characterization by a Value or Value Complex' as a major category of the Affective Domain. This relates to the development of a philosophy of life and coherent value system, and respect for human life and dignity (Krathwohl et al. 1964: 165). However, none of the objectives for this category can be classified as 'spiritual' in nature.

Thomas Lickona makes a strong plea for Values Education (1992: 20–22). He believes that 'not to equip the young with a moral sense is a grave ethical failure on the part of any society' [ibid: 19], and identifies common values such as respect and responsibility – which he designates as universal moral values – as the core values that should be taught in public schools.

L. Kohlberg posited a hierarchy of moral reasoning which is based purely on cognition and which all learners have to pass through (Ling and Stephenson 1998: 10). Even for D. J. O'Connor, moral values are not directly dependent on religion. It is presumed that learners can act according to a moral base without resort to religious beliefs; people can act morally without a religious element underpinning their action or behaviour (ibid: 12).

Though John Dewey was opposed to the inclusion of moral education and values in the curriculum, he suggested that they could form an 'integral and inevitable part of all the experiences and activities through which a learner passes' (ibid: 7). Jeffreys argues that 'if we are to educate people to be persons and not only technical executive instruments, we must produce people who…do the kind of thinking that springs from deep convictions. A system of education through which people can reach deep and strong convictions, must itself spring from convictions about the nature and destiny of man' (1972: 63).

According to Ornstein and Levine (1993: 537), there is increasing demand by educators, parents and community members in societies around the world for schools to teach learners the basic values of honesty, responsibility, self-discipline, compassion, tolerance, and respect for rights of others since the fast pace of modern

society, breakdown of the nuclear family and decline in religious influence have led to confusion and uncertainty in the minds of many people. Nonetheless, while beliefs and values have been recognised as important components of education, there is no unanimity on what values should be taught. There are three approaches to the teaching of religious values, religious morality or values education in public schools:

> a] Religious Monopolism. In terms of this approach, morality is dependent on one's own religion. This is considered by many scholars as unsuitable for pluralistic societies.
> b] Moral universalism. This involves identifying universal moral principles which are commonly agreed upon.
> c] Consensus pluralism. This allows for values education to include religious values since the school curriculum reflects values obtained through community negotiation and consensus (Ling and Stephenson 1998: 13–14).

For the majority of Muslims, however, essential moral values are a 'given'; their primary sources being Qur'anic revelation and the Prophetic Tradition. Moral/ethical values derive from and are based on these sources. They are the standard by which all other values are measured, and either accepted or rejected. Basheer El Tom asserts that 'these values govern and direct every notion of what is right within all systems of life….: the ethical, social, educational, economic, political and so on' and 'The perennial validity of Islamic values is a result of their revealed and divine origin' (1981: 39). These values are not considered relative, but absolute and eternal, and ought to be reflected in the educational curriculum. Professor Anis Ahmad suggests a value-centric approach to education (Ahmad 1996: 55–56). Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas affirms that knowledge is influenced by an individual's culture:

> We should know, and earnestly realize that knowledge is not truly neutral,…that different cultures have their own conceptions about knowledge, even though there are similarities (cited in Wan Daud 1998: 72).

According to Ustaz Ahmed Al-Beely (1980: 18–19), the distinctive features in an Islamic Education Curricula include, inter alia, the following:

- Focusing attention on the spiritual and material needs of the individual which are inextricably united;
- Aiming at the inculcation of faith in the minds and hearts of the younger generation, the correction of morals and the spiritual edification of the soul;
- Requiring that a spiritual atmosphere be established between the instructor and his disciples so that belief and surrender to God's divine can be cultivated in the minds and the souls of the learners;
- Creating in minds and souls the foundations of eternal happiness and constant security through belief in Allah, the unity of all mankind, discipline and hope;
- Stressing the value and sincerity of man's work in the cause of Allah and mankind;
- Requiring that man should believe in Allah and that he should be loving, righteous and compassionate toward his fellow-man;
- Gauging man's belief, morals and scholarship in the light of his sincerity and dedication to work;
- Adopting methodologies mentioned in the Qur'an.

The curriculum, from this perspective, should be infused with an Islamic ethos, educators should be God-conscious, and learners should be inculcated with moral and spiritual values.

The Islamization Response

In this section, we will deal with the responses of early scholars to knowledge in general, then deliberate on the Islamization of knowledge project initiated by contemporary Muslim scholars, and finally examine the attempts at Islamization by Muslim independent schools in South Africa.

Approach of Early Muslim Scholars to Knowledge

The theologian, philosopher and mystic al-Ghazali (d. 1111) classified knowledge into *al-`ilm al-`aqli* (knowledge acquired through human reason and intellect) and *al-`ilm al-naqli* (transmitted knowledge) which is obtained from Divine Revelation (*wahy*), accepted by the majority of Muslim scholars as the primary source of knowledge in Islam. In terms of this classification which came to be accepted as standard by Muslim scholars, the 'sacred' and the 'secular' were integrated and not classified into mutually exclusive and contending domains. The division between traditional and modern secular education that now obtains in the Muslim World is a later development.

In the seventh and eighth centuries Muslims studied, analyzed and transformed ancient Greek, Hindu, Chinese and other sciences and philosophies including algebra, geometry, astronomy, navigation, chemistry and medicine in the academies of Baghdad and other Muslim cities. Part of this knowledge was rewritten and assimilated into the Islamic framework. Hence, according to M.A. Kazi, Islamization of knowledge is not a new phenomenon (1988: 183).

From the eighth to the twelfth century Muslims were actively engaged in the acquisition, dissemination and advancement of knowledge and became world leaders in philosophical and scientific thought (Nakosteen 1964: 52). A century later, al-Ghazali succeeded in achieving a synthesis. The character of Muslim education (its aims, contents and methods) as established by al-Ghazali, remained virtually unchanged until the nineteenth century. Practically all educational literature down to the beginning of modernization is inspired by his writings (Tibawi 1972: 31).

The Islamization of Knowledge Project

With the secularisation of Muslim societies, the empiricist-positivist tradition which gained impetus in the twentieth century in Europe established itself in Muslim educational institutions, with the exception of the *madrasah* and *dar al-`ulm*

(seminary). The rejection by logical positivists of all 'moral, aesthetic and metaphysical assertions' (Feigl 1975: 879), and insistence by logical empiricists that all theories must be empirically verifiable and their disregard of all statements about moral and religious values as 'scientifically unverifiable and meaningless' (Levi 1975: 273) are completely at variance with Islamic epistemology.

For the past four decades Muslim scholars have been engaged in a discourse on the epistemology of modern [secular] education and its impact on Muslim society. They have been debating the need to reconstruct the theory and methodology of modern disciplines on the basis of Islamic principles and values. Their reasons for proposing an alternative approach are as follows:

- According to Ausaf Ali, the conceptual framework of modern science is not applicable to Islamization of Knowledge (1989: 6 (1): 37)
- Ibrahim Ragab concurs with Ausaf Ali, asserting that the underlying assumptions of modern sciences are unacceptable from an Islamic perspective (1993: 10 (1): 4)
- For al-Faruqi, 'western' or Eurocentric social sciences are incomplete since they overlook revelation as a source of knowledge (cited in Haneef 2005: 3).
- Tahir Jaber al-Alwani argues that the methodologies and aims of social sciences are in conflict with the Islamic perspective (1989: 6 (2): 233)
- M. A. Kazi contends that the basic assumptions of modern and Islamic systems of knowledge are different, and views Islamization of modern empirical knowledge as an effort to assimilate what is good in this knowledge in an Islamic framework and to use this knowledge for the greater good of Muslim society (1988: 182).
- Mona Abul Fadl is critical of modern sciences for renouncing God (1988: 5 (2) 165).

According to some sources, the concept of 'Islamization of knowledge' and of the social sciences was originally conceived by AbdulHamid AbuSulayman in the late 1960s. He was also instrumental in founding The Association of Muslim Social Scientists in 1971 in the United States. Others attribute the origination of the idea to Ismail al-Faruqi. AbuSulayman together with al-Faruqi became the driving force behind the Islamization project. Wan Daud, however, claims that Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas, was the real 'founder' of the Islamization agenda and that al-Faruqi was inspired by his writings (1998: 380).

The efforts of Muslim scholars resulted in the establishment of the International Institute of Islamic Thought in Washington in 1981, the International Islamic University in Islamabad in 1981, the International Islamic University Malaysia in 1983, and the International Institute of Islamic Thought and Civilization in Malaysia in 1987 of which al-Attas became director.

What does Islamization of knowledge entail? Let us examine the views of the pioneers and other prominent writers on Islamization.

- According to Mona Abul-Fadl, Islamization 'constitutes that process of reforming and revitalising the current underlying structures of thought and perception by means of their exposure to a radical critique in the light of an integrated set of cognitive, affective and symbolic values derived from the Islamic tradition' (1988: 5 (2): 165).

- For Mohammad Mumtaz Ali the Islamization of knowledge, viewed as a philosophy and movement, refers to the intellectual, methodological and epistemological efforts of Muslims (1999: 16 (1): 94–95).
- Ismail al-Faruqi defined Islamization of knowledge as a 'comprehensive, normative framework for individuals and society, for thought and action, for education and practice, for knowledge and organisation….' (cited in Ali 1999: 16 (1): 102). He also understood it as 'integrating the new knowledge into the corpus of Islamic legacy by eliminating, amending, reinterpreting and adapting its components as the worldview of Islam and its values dictate' (Al-Faruqi 1982: 30).
- From Abdul Hamid AbuSulayman's perspective, Islamization involves rectifying the revelation-reason relationship, redefining knowledge, clarifying the role of *ijtihad* and *ifta*', and reorganising and reorientating the methodology of Islamic education in order to end the existing dualism between secular and religious education (1988: 100–106)
- Syed Muhammad Naguib Al-Attas explained Islamization as 'the deliverance of knowledge from its interpretation based on secular ideology, and from meaning and expressions of the secular' (cited in Wan Daud 1998: 313). It involves 'a critical examination of the methods of modern science; its concepts, presuppositions and symbols; its empirical and rational aspects, and those impinging on values and ethics, its interpretations of origins, its theory of knowledge …' (Al-Attas 1995: 114).
- Fazlur Rahman declared that among his educational objectives was 'to mould the character of the students with Islamic values for personal and collective life' and 'to imbue higher fields of learning with Islamic values' (1982: 131). He called on Muslims to return to their legacy so that Islamic disciplines can be developed first (1988: 5 (1): 11).
- To A. K. Brohi, Islamization means to 'reorganise the elements of modern knowledge and to purge it of deleterious elements, which are currently at war with the sanctity of our religious beliefs and practices' (1988: 12).
- Rosnani Hashim concludes that the first step towards Islamization is to ensure that 'the sources of educational purposes are drawn from the Islamic worldview, whether they be about the nature of the learner, the nature of the knowledge, or the subject specialization, or contemporary life itself' (1999: 16 (2): 38).
- Mohamed Aslam Haneef asserts that Islamization of knowledge is 'all about providing meaning and presenting knowledge based upon an Islamic epistemological framework and through an Islamic epistemological framework utilizing methodologies derived from these' (2005: 23).
- Taha Jabir al-Alwani considers Islamization as an epistemological or methodological movement for civilizational building (Ali 1999: 16 (1): 101).

To summarize, the Islamization project demands a revisit of the Islamic heritage, and the development of a new epistemology, paradigm of knowledge and methodology.

In 1973 Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas proposed a gathering of scholars who would

> … carry out a concentrated and detailed research on the Islamic conception of knowledge
> with a view to establish an Islamic university in which and through which such a conception
> of knowledge will be disseminated (cited in Wan Daud 1998: 305).

The first international conference to discuss and debate the issue of Islamization was convened in Saudi Arabia in 1977. This conference endorsed the need to reform contemporary Islamic thought, redefine the intellectual and academic basis for the Islamization of knowledge and establish a research institute. The following extract is instructive:

> The primary aim of this conference is not merely to re-define the goal of education as the
> training of human sensibility so that a human being becomes aware of his destiny as the
> vice-gerent of God, but also to find ways of translating this aim into action. [This will come]
> through revised courses, a re-classification of knowledge from the Islamic point of view,
> and the construction of a curriculum on the basis of this re-classification (cited in Hulmes
> 1989: 38).

In its report, the Committee on Education and Society that was appointed at the conference made the following recommendation:

> The Committee recommends that proper institutions should be established and material as
> well as human resources be made available to start systematic and properly planned work
> on such reformulation of educational goals and objectives and consequent reconstruction of
> the curricula, syllabi and textbooks without further delay (Report cited in Khan 1981: 128).

Subsequently, conferences were held in Islamabad (1980), Dacca (1981), Jakarta (1982), Cairo (1985), Amman (1990), Cape Town (1996) and Doha (2004). The second conference called on Muslim social scientists to Islamize their disciplines. The third was devoted to textbook development and the fourth to teaching methodology. The fifth conference endorsed the recommendations of previous conferences. The sixth conference in South Africa was dedicated specifically to the production of 'Islamized' syllabuses for Muslim schools, planning in-service staff development programmes and drafting curriculum guidelines for primary and secondary phases of education. The seventh conference focused on evaluating the process of Islamization.

Ismail R. al-Faruqi's monograph, 'Islamization of Knowledge: General Principles and Work Plan', which was published in 1982 became the blueprint for the Islamization of disciplines, initially at tertiary institutions, but later at the school level where it was felt that the foundation had to be laid. In this seminal work, he lay out 12 steps he believed were vital in the Islamization process:

1. Mastery of the Modern Disciplines
2. Detailed Survey of Disciplines
3. Mastery of the Islamic Legacy : The Anthology
4. Mastery of the Islamic Legacy : The Analysis
5. Establishment of the Specific Relevance of Islam to each Discipline
6. Critical Assessment of Modern Disciplines
7. Critical Assessment of the Islamic Legacy
8. Survey of the Ummah's Major Problems
9. Survey of the Problems of Humankind

10. Creative Analyses and Syntheses
11. Recasting the Disciplines under the Framework of Islam and the Production of University Textbooks
12. Dissemination of Islamized Knowledge

This Work Plan, while welcomed as a useful starting point by proponents of Islamization, was subject to criticism by various scholars. Abdelwahab Elmessiri (n.d.) explains the methodology of Islamization adopted by Muslim scholars:

> The Islamization process would, in most cases, take the form of "omitting" those aspects of Western modernity deemed *haram* (prohibited) by Islamic law, without any addition or innovation, underscoring those aspects of Western modernity deemed *halal* (permissible) by Islamic law, and searching for those aspects within the Islamic worldview analogous to some aspects found within Western modernity.

Implementation of Islamization by Muslim Independent Schools

Since the establishment of the first Muslim independent school in South Africa, the Islamiyya College (formerly Habibiyyah Girls College) in 1983 in Cape Town, over 70 other schools have emerged. The original motive for founding independent schools for Muslim learners was to provide an Islamic environment which would enable them to protect their Muslim identity (Khan 2006: 161). The public school environment was viewed as unsuitable for Muslim learners for this and other reasons outlined above.

Muslim independent schools operated initially as the state-aided schools where the Islamic Education Curriculum was combined with the Public School Curriculum. Following the Sixth International Education Conference in Cape Town in 1996, Muslim independent schools agreed in principle to implement the Islamized syllabi which were developed during the conference. They then began to reconceptualise the integrated curriculum model and began experimenting with the Islamization of Knowledge approach. The original motto of the schools was changed to include a commitment to implement Islamized curricula and syllabi (Khan 2006: 162).

Consequently, a number of Muslim private schools initiated 'Islamized syllabi'. Islamic concepts were introduced into lessons, examples were selected from the experience of Muslim societies, the Islamic perspective on issues was presented, etc. However, the implementation of the Islamized syllabi was fraught with difficulties, some of which will be discussed below. The fact that several Muslim state-aided schools in the former province of Natal, where the Islamic curriculum was integrated with the normal school curriculum, were transformed into independent schools explains to some extent why they initially struggled to make the transition from the one model to the other.

In essence, Islamization of the school curriculum was understood to mean providing an Islamic perspective on issues in the syllabi and locating, where relevant,

secularized disciplines within the Islamic *weltanschauung*. The Sixth International Conference alluded to earlier took the form of workshops where South African teachers and international academics were brought together to generate Islamised syllabi for the major school disciplines. These draft syllabi were published by the International Board of Educational Research and Resources (IBERR) and were implemented in varying degrees in some Muslim independent schools.

The rationale for Muslim independent schools is best summed up by Mawlana Ali Adam who was the founder and principal of the first Muslim independent school in South Africa:

> The sprouting of Muslim schools internationally is a clear indication that Muslims no longer wish to subject their children to a purely academic secular programme. A curriculum that is anthropocentric rather than theocentric will have a negative impact on the hearts and minds of our loved ones. It thus becomes our responsibility to ensure that the curriculum is dynamic and that a true Islamic culture is evident at our schools. (IBERR 2004: 17 cited in Khan 2006).

According to a study on Muslim independent schools conducted in 2005, the majority of educators (92 %) supported the Islamized syllabi. Yet, the majority (62 %) of educators had not received adequate training in implementing the Islamized curriculum. This was despite the fact that sufficient resources as well as a network existed to assist in the process. Interestingly, at least half the parents were not informed about the new curriculum and syllabi (Khan 2006: 160–182).

The introduction of Outcomes-Based Education forced Muslim independent schools back to the drawing board. Schools were virtually obliged to abandon the Islamized syllabi. In an interview I had conducted in 2008 with Mr Ebrahim Ansur, Principal of Orient Islamic Institute, it emerged that is much more complicated to implement Islamization under the OBE method than under the previous method. Nonetheless, some Muslim schools found a way to integrate elements of Islamization in Social Studies in Grades 1–3 of the school curriculum. In Grades 4–12, Islamic values in relation to controversial issues such as sexuality are filtered through Life Orientation.

According to Mawlana Ali Adam, Director of Islamia College and of IBERR, the original Islamization approach has been abandoned as unworkable. IBERR has initiated a 'Skills for Life' Syllabus. The Syllabus is grouped as follows: Group A contains content for ages 3–5; Group B contains contents for ages 6–8; Group C contains content for ages 9–11 while Group D and E contains content for ages 12–16. Textbooks for the first three groups will be published in due course. Research on contents of the other two groups is at an advanced stage.

In 1999, the Turkish community in South Africa established the Star International High School in Cape Town, another in Durban and then the Horizon High School in Johannesburg. These schools, which are managed by the Horizon Educational Trust, admit learners of all faiths and function like a normal public school. They follow the South African public school curriculum and there is no formal Islamic education during the normal school hours.

The Star schools are inspired by the philosophy of Bediuzzaman Said Nursi. While Nursi called for viewing education holistically and challenged the artificial boundary that has been created between religious and secular education, he did not

concern himself with the foundation of the secular sciences as did the founders of Islamization. His demand was for religious sciences to be taught in the "secular" school and natural sciences in the *madrasah* (Vahide 2005: 48). In the Star School model, the emphasis is on what is termed 'universal moral values' as propounded by Said Nursi in his *Risāle-I Nūr* through *temsil* (example) by teachers who are expected to embody these values. These values are: love, compassion, tolerance, and forgiving (Unal and Williams 2000: 253). This is considered to be the teacher's obligation (*hizmet*) to his charges. Here we can detect a *sufistic* approach, in which *ahklāq* is a defining characteristic, though Nursi rejected attempts to link his movement with any Sufi order or to classify himself as a *sūfī shaykh*. As for 'Islamization', Muslim learners are encouraged to pray, fast, etc. by their teachers who act as mentors to Muslim learners during school hours. In addition, a camp is held at the end of the term where learners are taught aspects of Islam.

More recently the Sama school was established in Johannesburg; it is managed by Fountain Educational Trust. This school was founded on the same principle as the state-aided schools in Durban which allowed for integrating the Islamic Education curriculum with the Public School curriculum.

Critical Attitudes to the Islamization of Knowledge Project

The Islamization project faces many challenges, from a conceptual perspective as well as in relation to implementation. We have already alluded to the difficulties of implementing 'Islamized' syllabi at Muslim schools in South Africa. As a consequence, the so-called 'Islamized syllabi' came to be applied randomly at Muslim schools. Some schools did not implement them at all, and even in schools where they were introduced, implementation depended essentially on the enthusiasm and initiative of individual educators.

At the global level, there has been little or no support for Islamization from Muslim governments. The notable exceptions are the International Islamic University, Islamabad (established in 1981), the International Islamic University Malaysia (established in 1983), the Islamic University in Uganda (established in 1988), Islamic University of Niger (established in 1986) and International Islamic University, Chittagong (established in 1995) which were funded by the Organisation of Islamic Conference and/or several governments, in addition to private donors. Since then, support for these universities has ceased, except for the universities in Bangladesh, Pakistan and Malaysia.

At the theoretical level, there are substantive differences among scholars with regard to the issue of Islamization. There are scholars who regard Islamization as an irrelevant exercise, some even viewing it as an absurdity. Others remain sceptical about the entire enterprise. They doubt that the objectives of Islamization are achievable or that Muslim scholars have the capacity to produce an alternate paradigm of knowledge. Lastly, there are those who consider Islamization, with all its pitfalls, as a welcome development.

We will cite the views of some of the critics of Islamization below. Abdus Salam, Abdul Karim Soroush and Muhsin Mahdi reject the notion of Islamization altogether. Mahdi points out that in early Muslim history there was no notion of 'Islamic science' (1994: 252–253). Soroush asserts that the term 'Islamic philosophy' was never used by Muslim philosophers (cited in Wan Daud 1998: 409). While Fazlul Rahman agreed that much of contemporary knowledge reflects a Western ethos, he disagreed with the Islamization of knowledge project (1988: 5 (1): 10–11). He contended that it is not possible to devise a methodology or detail a strategy for achieving Islamic knowledge. Ziauddin Sardar and Louay Safi are in favour of Islamization but, like Rahman, are critical of its methodology. Sardar is of the view that Muslim scholars should develop new paradigms from which various disciplines would evolve (Sardar 1989: 48–49). Safi believes that Islamic methodology will emerge through appropriating elements of both classic Islamic and modern Western methods (1993: 10 (1): 41).

Seyyed Vali Nasr contends that there is a need for Muslim scholars to understand both the 'philosophical underpinnings of scientific thought and praxis in Islam' as well as 'the basic premises of modern and social sciences, understanding the key assumptions and theorems upon which the structures of the sciences and social sciences rest' (cited in Haneef 2005: 13). Tariq Ramadan describes the approach adopted by Muslim schools as "the adoption of a dualistic and Manichean approach based on 'us' as opposed to 'them'" (2004: 127). He considers the environment in Muslim schools as an artificial environment, and contends that learners in a Muslim school live 'in another dimension, while not being completely 'here' they are neither completely 'there'…' (ibid, 2004: 131). Farid Alatas dubs the Islamization of knowledge project as 'incoherent' (1995: 102).

Turning to South African academics, Aslam Fataar (2003) contends that Muslim schools deprive learners of the opportunity to interact with the broader South African community and to relate their 'organisational activities and discourses to broader civic and national citizenship processes'. The Turkish schools, in his view, are better positioned to involve their learners in a 'constructive and progressive interaction with the secular democracy in South Africa'. Yusef Waghid (1998) attributes the bifurcation between natural sciences and traditional sciences that obtains in the educational curricula of Muslim schools to the omission of key concepts relating to education developed by Muslim scholars in the third century, specifically the notion of *adab*. He questions whether these schools, as they currently operate, can contribute to democratic citizenship.

Abdulkader Tayob (n.d.) is of the view that the main objective of independent Islamic schools is to maintain the privileges Muslim schools enjoyed under the old regime, and that they have failed in integrating modern and Islamic education, and are, as a matter of fact 'entrenching the bifurcation of cultural education and secular pursuit'. Yasien Mohamed, while supportive of Islamization, is critical of Faruqi's work plan (1993: 33) because he believes it does not get to the heart of the matter.

To sum up, the major criticisms against the Islamization project are the following:

- There is too much focus on aspects of Western secularized education which contradict the Islamic worldview;
- Neither the principles of an Islamic epistemology for the natural and human sciences nor the principles of an Islamic methodology have been clearly formulated;
- No textbooks have yet been produced despite the fact that the Islamization project commenced four decades ago and seven international conferences have been held to date;
- No university in the Muslim World (apart from the International Islamic University in Malaysia) has implemented the proposed Islamized syllabi;
- There is no unanimity among Muslim scholars on the issue of Islamization.

Conclusion

Though it is difficult to predict what direction Islamization will take in the future, Islamization as a notion of reconceptualising knowledge or generating an Islamic methodology of education remains a cherished goal of advocates of Islamization. Since its inception, the Islamization of knowledge project has made fairly substantial advances. We will list the major achievements.

- The Association of Muslim Social Scientists which was originally established in the United States in 1972 and later in Britain and India has annual conferences and has generated numerous publications;
- The American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences continues to publish articles on discourses on Islamization as well as on the social sciences from an Islamic perspective;
- The Research Centre of the International Islamic University in Malaysia has undertaken research on numerous projects linked to Islamization;
- Among the research projects of the International Board of Educational Research and Resources are: 'The ideal balance between the traditional Islamic sciences and so-called modern sciences' and the production of educational books and supplementary materials for Prophetic Teaching Methodology and Islamic Philosophy of Education. IBERR published the Islamised Curriculum for Primary Schools in 1997, as well as Islamised Syllabuses for all subjects from Grade 1 to Grade 12;
- 'Islamized' syllabi for pre-tertiary education have been produced. In most Muslim independent schools, individual educators have attempted to introduce an Islamic perspective to specific lessons, specifically in the social science disciplines. A number of schools have been offering support to educators through in-service training and liaison with religious scholars.

The notion of Islamization has taken root among Muslim scholars and educators, though the debates on its practical realisation will most certainly continue in the foreseeable future. As for the implementation of Islamization in Muslim schools, it appears that the process is still at a rudimentary stage. Educators involved in the project concede that the Islamization experiment has not yielded the desired results and that there is an urgent need for evaluation. This is clear from the following declaration by the International Board of Educational Research and Resources:

> Muslim schools have reached a stage where a trial and error approach can no longer produce satisfactory results fast enough. Policy and methodological innovations must now be based on serious, in-depth analysis and research. Members of IBERR believe that research oriented projects could provide Muslim schools with effective guidance on many of the practical problems they are facing. Further developments in the Islamic education movement need to be based on findings of evaluation of both past and present experiences of Muslim schools, by those involved directly, individually and in partnership with other appropriately qualified stakeholders (About IBERR).

It does seem that for the foreseeable future, scholars who are convinced of the efficacy of Islamization will continue to pursue its goals. While implementation on a broad scale is not likely under current circumstances, piecemeal introduction of so-called Islamized syllabi is likely to occur in select schools. In her study on Muslim schools, Inga Niehaus observed a renewed interest among directors, principals and teachers to Islamise the curriculum and an emphasis on developing the Islamic ethos of the school (2008).

I wish to now return to Ralph Tyler's theory that an educational and social philosophy can actually act as a screen for selecting and eliminating educational objectives. In my view, Islamization is a perfect example of how the objectives of modern secular education are being challenged by the Islamic philosophy of education. These objectives are being substituted by alternate objectives which proponents of Islamization consider to be 'authentic' or 'indigenous' to Islam.

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Chapter 22
The Nature, Aims, and Values of Seventh-Day Adventist Christian Education

Phillip Paul Plaatjes

Introduction

To call it an educational upheaval will be putting it mildly when one thinks in terms of the dramatic changes in the educational landscape over the last decade or so, not only in South Africa, but all over the world. The Seventh-day Adventist church has moved with the times as far as Seventh-day Adventist Christian education is concerned. Yet, in spite of the world-wide changes in education, some of which the SDA schools have embraced, the Seventh-day Adventists have remained true to the aims, objectives, ideals, values, and uniqueness of the kind of education offered and practiced in their primary schools, high schools, as well as their tertiary institutions. The Seventh-day Adventist denomination spans the entire globe, so does their education system. The world church comprises 13 Divisions. Each Division is made up of Unions and each Union is made up of Conferences. Each Division comprises several countries, which in turn are parts of Unions and then further broken down into Conferences. The education institutions are located in various countries of the world. The World Education Statistics as at May 2010 indicate that the SDA church operates 5,899 primary schools, 1,748 high schools, 47 worker training institutions and 110 colleges and universities. These SDA institutions are home to 1,673,828 students who are taught by 84,997 teachers. One can readily see that the SDA church operates one of the largest Protestant school systems but, before we discuss Seventh-day Adventist Christian education, what do we understand by religious education and Christian education? How was religious education practiced by the early Christians?

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What Is Christian Education?

Person (1961) says that Christian education is a term that denotes a relationship with general education. It is education of a particular type. Religious education has traditionally been the teaching ministry of the church. With time the term Christian education came to be used more and more. Person (1961) citing Walter Athearn says that religious education is the introduction of control into experience in terms of religious ideas and ideals. This definition he says is broad so as to include non-Christian religions as well as Christian. Person (1961) also cites Paul Veith who has described Christian education as the process by which persons are confronted with and controlled by the Christian gospel. He says that this definition is gospel centred; encompasses character education in a sense that it modifies human nature. Furthermore, Person (1961) cites Robert Ulich of Harvard who quotes Plato's definition of education as the process of drawing and guiding children towards that principle which is pronounced right by the law and confirmed as truly right by the experience of the oldest and most just (1961: 15–18). Tulasiewicz and To (1993: 1) speaking about religious education indicate that religious education is understood as the teaching and learning activity as far as it affects the learner's religious affiliation before, after, and especially during compulsory schooling and including doctrinal, moral and social dimensions. They also speak about socialization being complete when the family, the church and the school coincide in the upbringing process (1993: 8). Seventh-day Adventists wholeheartedly agree that the home, church and school must work together for the education and salvation of children and young people. Spencer (1957: 10) states that education by definition, and indeed also by derivation is, a feeding – the feeding of the whole indivisible personality of the human being with food that will promote his growth towards his natural end, the end for which he was born.

Brennen (1999) describes education as the most noble of all human endeavours, and states that education is a continuing journey of discovery, and that education is a lifelong process that can take place anywhere and at any time.

Lee (2001) offers a Biblical theory of Christian education when he states that Christian education is the science that extracts gifts from individuals but also inculcates virtues into pupils. He says that the goal of Christian education is man's conscious subjection of the earth to God's glory. His contention is that whatever takes place under the name of Christian education must be done to glorify God (Lee 2001: 19). Adventist Christian education definitely advocates the education of the head, the heart and the hand. It emphasises the harmonious development of all the faculties, religious, social, spiritual, and mental. It is quite clear what Christian education means to a number of authors. We now look at the early beginnings of education in the Jewish and Gentile homes.

Education and the Early Christians

Arnoldsen (1998: 1) observes that because the very first Christians had almost been exclusively Jews, they upheld the traditions and values relating to the home and children. This of course meant that they upheld the important custom of teaching their children in the home. Arnoldsen (1998: 1) says:

> The purpose of these early Christian parents, as of the ancient Jews, was to train up their children in the fear of God. In order that the children might be exposed to as little as possible to the corrupting influence of heathen associations, their education was conducted within the precincts of the home.

We need to keep in mind that with the growth of Christianity the message was also taken to the Gentiles. We now have Gentile Christians who were Israelitish descendants but who had lost their religion and culture through assimilation. Their traditions as far as family, child and society were concerned were quite different to that of Jewish Christians. Schools for children were part of the Gentile's world as well as the Jews at this time. But there was a vast difference between the two peoples as far as family, children, and home were concerned. Thus the Gentile had to become a genuine Christian in order to appreciate, and inculcate a different view of family, children and home. The emphasis was on 'character' education (Arnoldsen 1998: 1–2).

Christian Schools

According to Arnoldsen (1998) it was only after the third or fourth centuries that Christians began to establish schools for children. He says that they were established for specific reasons which were to prepare young people for church membership, to cater for the growth of pagan educated church members and the growth of Christian schools, and because Christianity was no longer outlawed but became a legitimate and accepted religion. Up till about the fourth century, explains Arnoldsen (1998: 6) Jewish children were essentially educated at home by their parents. In other nations and societies, the teaching, education of children, evolved into a function of society, of the state.

It might be relevant, at this stage, to mention what Gaebelein (1951: 64) in the light of scripture, regards as the six criteria that identify a Christian school: (1) it must be built upon a thoroughgoing Christian philosophy of education; (2) it must have a faculty thoroughly committed to its distinctive philosophy; (3) the entire curriculum must be Christ centred; (4) it must have a student body that will actively support its philosophy and aims; (5) it must recognize the two aspects of Christian education, namely, the required and the voluntary; and (6) it must apply Christian ethics in all its relationships.

Development of Religious Education

Taylor (1960) states that you can trace the development of religious education as a full-scale and many-faceted movement to the turn of the century. He says that at the beginning of the 1900s the church's educational interests were widened to include the multifaceted emphases. The twentieth century, continues Taylor (1960: 21) saw many organizations that contributed to the expansion of the religious education movement. The movement brought about a number of significant advances in education at the beginning of the century. Emphasis came to be placed upon the development of the individual in terms of general religious experience (Taylor 1960: 30). What is significant is that Taylor (1960) highlights what he terms 'burning issues', which include:

> What is the role of philosophy of education? What faith shall undergird religious education, humanism or supernaturalism? What is the nature of religious knowledge? What is the function of the Bible and biblical theology…? Is the Bible a source book of religious experience or a means by which God communicates Himself? Has man failed to achieve his essential divinity or has he perverted his essential humanity …? Can religious education handle the categories of spirit without confounding them with either physical or mental processes? (1960: 32–33).

Seventh-Day Adventist Christian Education

According to Knight (1985) Adventist education began officially in 1872 when the denomination sponsored the Battle Creek church school, which it transformed into Battle Creek College in 1874, but became the antithesis of the stated hopes and purposes of its founders. The curriculum proved to be a problem at the time and some of the struggling programs were simply ended. Another aspect of early Adventist education was the fact that, the church had almost totally neglected the formal education of its younger members. When we look back at the history of Seventh-day Adventist Christian education, there is sufficient evidence of growth and advancement over the years. Knight (1985) contends that Adventist education may be closer to the ideal today than during most of its previous history. However, he says, this does not mean that Adventist education does not have some glaring problems today or that it may not have retrogressed in some areas. He further warns against complacency over the fact that Adventist education has advanced beyond some problems and misunderstandings of the pioneers and thereby feel justified in maintaining the status quo. Knight (1985: 30–34) states very cogently that the challenge faced by Adventist education is to build upon the understanding of both the successes and the failures its past history so that the same mistakes are not repeated. Prior to this, Hilde (1980) wrote about the critics that have criticised Adventist educational practice, educators, and schools. He said that no institution in the Seventh-day Adventist Church has received more criticism than has denominational schools. Criticisms, some warranted and some unwarranted have been levelled at the administration of the schools: that administrators have been too lenient or too strict; that the standards are too high or too low; and the buildings are too

elaborate or too bleak. Often influential critics have criticized the educational leadership for not following divine counsel given to Ellen G. White, a prophetess of the Adventist church. Hilde (1980: 11) asserts that often the accusations hurled at SDA schools were couched in blame, which led to caustic faultfinding, and was based on little evidence and shallow research. Furthermore, Hilde (1980: 17–19) identified several key problems: Firstly, Seventh-day Adventists failed to plan effectively when it came to school buildings – often abandoning projects before completion. Secondly, because church leadership failed to prioritise ongoing curriculum planning and development, they failed to budget adequately for curriculum development. And thirdly, because of its failure in understanding the curriculum as a vibrant part of the school program, the church leadership were unclear on learning theory and how children are to learn 'the truth'.

Hilde (1980: 23) emphasizes the fact that a close examination of the prime task of SDA education reveals that the concern must not only be *where* children are to be educated or *what* they are to be taught, but far more important than may have been surmised is the *how* of Adventist educational processes. He continues:

> Adventist educators and parents have had a special advantage in writing basic philosophies for their schools because the church has been blessed with (1) a clear message of "present truth," (2) the guidance of the Scriptures, and (3) the guidelines and principles found in the rich resources of the Spirit of Prophecy, the writings of Ellen G. White (Hilde 1980, p. 27).

Of importance to the SDA school were well-defined objectives which were actually executed, as well as the incorporation of the philosophy of the church into the daily school life. While educators initially struggled with these aspects, Hilde (1980: 29–30) maintained that the objectives were simply the implementation of the philosophy. He further says that parents and the church constituency have a right to know w*hat* the school is endeavouring to do and *how* it hopes to accomplish the task. The Adventist philosophy of education is very important, as well as the objectives as set out by the SDA Education Department. These form part of every SDA school around the world and will be discussed later.

Education and Redemption

The mission of the Seventh-day Adventist church can be found in Matthew 28: 19–20, 'Go therefore and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, teaching them to observe all that I commanded you; and lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the age.' In keeping with this mission, White (1952: 15–16) wrote: 'To restore in man the image of his Maker, to bring him back to the perfection in which he was created, to promote the development of body, mind, and soul, that the divine purpose in his creation might be realized – this was to be the work of redemption. This is the object of education, the great object of life'. She goes on to say that: In the highest sense the work of education and the work of redemption are one, for in education as in redemption, other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ 1 Corinthians 3:11

R.V. (1952: 30). Seventh-day Adventist schools have received their commission from the Bible and the counsel of Ellen G. White. This undergirds everything that is taught in SDA schools. It is within the framework of the Word of God that the SDA church operates schools where men and women will teach and work for the education and redemption of all the students placed within their care. Adventist schools were established specifically for those students who are interested in living a Christian life in this modern world that has for all intents and purposes turned its back on Christianity. Adventist education is to provide a barrier against a society that has become violent, corrupt, mercenary, and morally degenerate, and that considers life very cheap. The Adventist school therefore provides a safe haven where the learner's spiritual, mental, physical, and social faculties can be stimulated and developed, and where they learn to be of service to their fellowmen.

A Bible-Based Philosophy

The Seventh-day Adventist philosophy of education is a Bible-based philosophy. In order to understand this philosophy, it is important that I explain, in detail, the premises, philosophy, aim and mission of Seventh-day Adventist education as explained in the General Conference Policy Manual (2003: 221–228).

Premises

Within the context of their basic beliefs, the Seventh-day Adventists acknowledge the following premises, that:

- God is the Creator and Sustainer of the universe-animate and inanimate.
- God created perfect human beings in His own image with power to think, to choose, and to do.
- God is the source of all that is true, good, and beautiful, and has chosen to reveal Himself to mankind.
- Humans, by their own choice, rebelled against God and fell into sin that has separated them from God and each other, affecting the entire planet and plunging it into the cosmic conflict between good and evil. In spite of this, the world and human beings still reveal, albeit dimly, the goodness and beauty of their original condition.
- The Godhead met the problem of sin through the plan of redemption. This plan aims to restore human beings to God's image and the universe back to its original state of perfection, love, and harmony.
- God invites us to choose His plan of restoration and to relate to this world creatively and responsibly until He intervenes in history to bring about a new heavens and the new earth that is promised in His word (Policy FE 05, FE 10).

Ellen G. White (1952: 17), who was a prolific writer of the SDA church, also regarded as a prophetess of the SDA church, wrote the following:

> Every human being, created in the image of God, is endowed with a power akin to that of the Creator – individuality, power to think and to do. The men in whom this power is developed are the men who bear responsibilities, who are leaders in enterprise, and who influence character. It is the work of true education to develop this power, to train youth to be thinkers, and not mere reflectors of other men's thought.

Philosophy

It is evident that the church leaned heavily on the Bible and E.G. White for the premises as part of their philosophy of education. When one studies the philosophy of Adventist education, one can once again see that it derives from the Bible and the writings of Ellen G. White. Briefly, it is stated as follows in the General Conference Policy Manual (Policy FE 05, FE 10):

> The Seventh-day Adventist philosophy of education is Christ-centred. The distinctive characteristics of Adventist education – derived from the Bible and the writings of Ellen G. White point to the redemptive aim of true education: to restore human beings into the image of their Maker. Adventists recognise, however, that human motives, thinking and behaviour have fallen short of God's ideal. Education in its broadest sense is a means of restoring human beings to their original relationship with God. Adventist education imparts more than academic knowledge. It fosters a balanced development of the whole person – spiritually, intellectually, physically, and socially.

Aim and Mission

Many institutions and businesses have a vision and a mission statement. Since this gives the institution direction, a goal to work towards as well as a reason for its existence, all Adventist institutions have been encouraged to develop their own mission and vision statements. All mission and vision statements would be pertinent to the school's situation taking into account the communities they serve, the school's demographics as well as their geographic location. Staff members have been encouraged to participate in the exercise, so that they may all feel a part of the process, own the mission and vision, and be more eager to apply it in their given situations. Many of the mission statements include elements from the aim and mission as outlined in the General Conference Policy Manual (Policy FE 05, FE 10). It reads as follows:

> Adventist education prepares students for a useful and joy-filled life, fostering friendship with God, whole person development, Bible-based values, and selfless service in accordance with the Seventh-day Adventist mission to the world.

George R. Knight (1998: 203) expressed the aims of Christian teaching in the form of the following diagram.

Primary Aims   Secondary Aims   Ultimate Aim/Final Outcome

Character Development

Leading young people into a saving relationship with Jesus Christ	Development of a Christian Mind Development of Social Responsibility Development of Physical Health Development for the World of Work	Service to God and other people for both the here and the hereafter
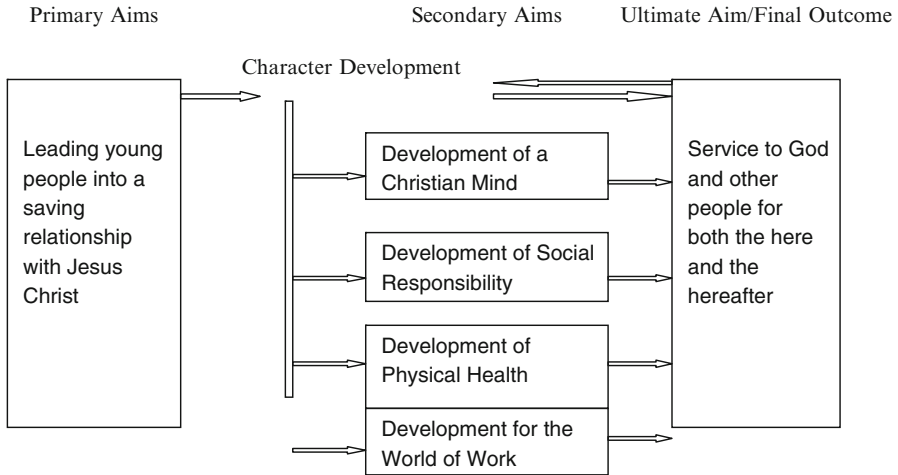
Knight (1998: 195) points out that:

> The nature, condition, and needs of the student provide the focal point for Christian educational philosophy and direct educators toward the goals of Christian education. All students must be seen as individuals who have infinite potential, since they are God's children. The redemptive, restorative, and reconciling goal of Christian education provides a focus for the evaluation of all other aspects of Christian education, including the role of the teacher, curricular emphases, proper instructional methodologies, and the reason for establishing Christian alternatives to public education.

Adventist schools are important as far as the mission of the church is concerned. Seventh-day Adventist schools provide leaders in various areas and this starts when children at primary school level participate in the program of the church. Not only do schools provide lay leaders but also professional leaders who work in many departments of the church all over the world. Service to the community starts in the primary school and carries on to high school and then to tertiary institutions. The children learn, at an early age, to be sensitive to the needs of their own communities as well as across the globe, particularly through the mission program operated by the Seventh-day Adventist church. Many learners are involved in service projects in their communities. Many of these projects are spearheaded by the school and are directly related to the mission of the school. Witnessing and outreach programs are carried out during the year. Thus learners are prepared for service in a number of ways. Very early in their lives, children and youth become involved in the mission of the church. They are definitely motivated to succeed academically, but they are also motivated to serve others at home, and in the case of tertiary students to serve as missionaries abroad. As these Christian values are nurtured, the students become aware of the global village in which they live, as well as their social responsibility towards their fellowmen. It is for this reason that Adventists believe in a holistic approach to education.

According to 'The Great Commission' found in Matthew chapter 28 the church is commissioned to 'make disciples of all nations' and 'baptize in the name of the Father and Son and the Holy Spirit'. This is the work of the Seventh-day Adventist church as well as their schools. Seventh-day Adventist schools equip their young people with various skills and educate them for various vocations– it is in these chosen professions, careers, and jobs that they are encouraged to live out the values inculcated at SDA institutions. It may well be said that this hidden curriculum is not that hidden since educators live out their faith on a daily basis in the classroom, and they make a concerted effort to influence their learners to accept Christ as their personal Saviour. Educators do much to promote their learners' self-worth, self-esteem, to always exhibit the right attitude and in so doing prepare the learner for life. However, at the same time, as indicated earlier learners are taught about a loving, long-suffering, caring God who wants them to live with Him one day and in this way the Adventist school prepares the learner for eternity. And so, Seventh-day Adventist schools exist to bring the learner into a saving relationship with Jesus Christ, and it is in this relationship that the character is developed. Adventists believe that above everything else a good character is to be cherished.

Seventh-day Adventist education stresses the harmonious development of the spiritual, mental, and physical faculties. Although this is not a new concept, SDA educators have done their best to make sure that they apply this in the classroom in order to prepare well-balanced young people to face the rigours of a world that can be very hostile when it comes to employment. Fowler (1989: 26) stresses that: What is unique to the Seventh-day Adventist concept of education is the means by which ultimate balance and complete development can be achieved by the pupil within the educational system. The Seventh-day Adventists look to a Person, and find in Him the integrating factor of their educational system.

Adventist educators, believe that they must not only provide their students with the necessary tools to meet the demands of a modern, technological age but also to provide them with strength of character and a non-compromising, unbreakable moral fibre as they face a world, rife with corruption and where Christian values and morals have been placed on the backburner.

Why Adventist Education?

Why does the Seventh-day Adventist church spend millions of rand on Christian education? Is it worth the expense especially when the church has such a vast evangelistic program that also needs enormous sums of money? The answer lays in the mission of the church as well the aims and goals of Seventh-day Adventist Christian education, as mentioned by Knight (2005: 7–9) below.

It introduces students to the Bible as a framework for thinking and evaluating.

The Bible introduces young people to Jesus Christ as Lord and Saviour. Adventist schooling at its best leads a person to a lifelong dedication of service to others.

Adventist schooling helps students to view every topic from the philosophical perspective of scripture. One of the major contributions of Adventist schools is to bring young people together in sufficient numbers so that they can make lifelong friends and meet spouses who share their vision of what is important in life. One of the most important educational influences is that of godly teachers and other adult role models. Lessons are best learnt when students hear the same message at school, home, and church. Not least in importance, extracurricular activities, including sports and other programs, often occur during the Sabbath hours in most schools and thus force Adventist students to make difficult choices between their faith and their social life.

The cost of Adventist education has been under the spotlight several times. Many parents are wondering whether it is worth the expense sending their children to Adventist schools. Many find that Adventist education is financially draining since everything has to be paid for and in many cases bursaries are either not available or if they are, they are insufficient. So, it has become a real sacrifice to send your child to an Adventist school. Is Adventist education worth the expense, when the same subjects are being offered at the public school at less expense? In support of Adventist education and in coining the acronym *ROSE* (Redemption Orientated Schools of Excellence), Dulan (2004: 3) has highlighted the following characteristics:

- They are very clear and unapologetic about their mission.
- Their goals and objectives stimulate attitudes and processes of operation that convey academic and behavioural expectations which are consistent with their mission.
- Their personnel (faculty and staff) exemplify institutional ideals and are selected with this in mind.
- They provide their students with opportunities for service and outreach, and inspire them to make contributions to society and to the church.
- Their programs are strong in quality and content.
- Parents, constituents, and church leaders perceive the education as excellent and well worth the cost, and provide solid financial support.
- The school, the local community, and the church constituency collaborate for success.
- The facilities reflect what is expected of a school with high standards.

The Agencies of Education

In educating the head, the heart, and the hand, Seventh-day Adventists stress the cooperation of home, church, and school. Adventist children attend the Adventist church and in many cases also attend the Adventist school. So, we are dealing with the same children. The home is the child's first school. The parents are the child's first teachers. In fact, the mother is probably the most important teacher since the child spends most of his time, during the first few years in the care of the mother.

Ellen G. White suggests that the mother must be the child's teacher for the first 10 years the child's life, suggesting that a child should go to school at about 10 years of age. Important lessons are learnt at the mother's knee. One cannot underestimate the influence of the home, especially that of the parents, in passing on the necessary values. The parents are to reflect the character of Christ to their children. The Seventh-day Adventist Education Policy states (FE 05, FE 10):

Parents are the first and most influential teachers and have the responsibility to reflect God's character to their children. Moreover, the whole familial setting shapes the values, attitudes, and worldview of the young. The church and the school, along society's other educational agencies, build on and supplement the work of the home. It is imperative that the home, in turn, supports the educational work of the school.

What happens in the home impacts on the school and the church. It is thus vital that these three agencies work together and in harmony, to secure the future success of the child. The school plays a major role in the life of the child. Children spend at least 6 h every day in the care of a teacher, and other work supervisors, in the case of certain institutions. Therefore, Seventh-day Adventist institutions prefer to employ qualified SDA teachers who are in good and regular standing in their respective churches. Kerbs (1987: 13) says that in order for students to learn the values of efficiency, cooperation, punctuality, and diligence, their work supervisors must be models of honesty, fairness, purity and Christian love. While I agree with what Kerbs says the same would apply to all teachers employed by the Seventh-day Adventist church. The values of efficiency, cooperation, punctuality, diligence, honesty, loyalty, perseverance, and an impeccable character are important as far as the future life and work of the students are concerned. These must be modelled, and to a large extent are modelled on a daily basis in all the Adventist schools. The school builds on the foundation laid by the home and church. Seventh-day Adventists believe that (Policy, FE 05, FE 10):

The Christian teacher functions in the classroom as God's minister in the plan of redemption. The greatest need of students is to accept Jesus as their personal Saviour and commit to a life of Christian values and service. The formal and non-formal curricula help students reach their potential for spiritual, mental, physical, social, and vocational development. Preparing students for a life of service to their family, church, and the larger community is a primary aim of the school.

The teacher plays a central role in the life of the child. In the primary school in particular, what the teacher says is more important than what anyone else says. The Seventh-day Adventist institutions, therefore, make sure that they employ committed Adventist teachers – teachers, who according to E.G. White (1952: 57), will stand for the right though the heavens fall: 'The greatest want of the world is the want of men–men who will not be bought or sold, men who in their innermost souls are true and honest, men who do not fear to call sin by its right name, men whose conscience is as true to duty as the needle to the pole, men who will stand for the right though the heavens fall'.

The church is also a vital agency in the education of SDA children. Churches are directly responsible for the operation of the primary schools in particular. This puts extra pressure on the home and the church to provide for the religious education of

the children. There are countless problems in state institutions that the SDA child can do without, let alone the negative influences of those who do not embrace any religion. I am not suggesting that there are no negative influences in SDA schools, but the SDA educators make it more difficult for learners to succumb to these negative influences by encouraging positive influences and exerting positive influences themselves. For one, all the educators are teetotallers, so the learners will not be exposed to tobacco, drugs, and alcohol. All SDA campuses are drug free, alcohol free, tobacco free, and gun free. So, congregations in the Adventist churches play their part, as communities of faith, to nurture children and youth in the church. We can see, therefore, that the home, the school, and the church are important entities in the education and salvation of SDA children and youth.

All teachers employed by the Seventh-day Adventist church must do a course in the Philosophy of Adventist Education as well as a course or seminar on the Integration of Faith and Learning, even if they are practicing Adventists. The SDA philosophy of Education is very different to that of other philosophies of education. Adventist educators embrace a worldview different to that of non-Adventist educators; therefore, it is important that educators trained in non-Adventist institutions complete the above mentioned courses. They then become aware of what it really means to teach in an Adventist school.

The Integration of Faith and Learning

Gaebelein (1968: 9) avers that, 'At the heart of all thinking about education whether Christian or secular, lies the problem of integration. Education is a living thing; no less than the individual it must have a philosophy. …it by no means follows that because a philosophy of education has been adopted it is being consistently put into practice. To declare allegiance to an educational point of view is one thing; to integrate a school or college in all its parts–curriculum, student activities, administration, and everything else–with that point of view is another thing. It is at this point that much of Christian as well as secular education is inadequate'. In the light of Gaebelein's observation, Seventh-day Adventist educators have done all in their power to apply the concept of the Integration of Faith and Learning in all their institutions. Several seminars and courses have been conducted to teach SDA educators what the Integration of Faith and Learning is all about. Isaiah 54:15 makes it very clear that 'All thy children shall be taught of the Lord, and great shall be the peace of Thy children'. White (1952: 13) wrote: 'True education … Is the harmonious development of the physical, the mental, and the spiritual powers. So God wants His children educated in a climate, and in an environment conducive to learning, and by educators who will prepare them for the joy of service in this world and for the higher joy of wider service in the world to come'.

What do we mean by the Integration of faith and Learning? Gaebelein (1968: 9) says that '… integration in Christian education … is the living union of its subject matter, administration, and even of its personnel, with the eternal and infinite

pattern of God's truth. This…is the heart of integration…' It is imperative that we understand that we are not just attaching religion to our daily timetable, or just making a few religious remarks before we start teaching a lesson. It is not just including a Bible story somewhere in the course of the daily program. It is the total immersion of the learners to think and to live a consistent Christian life. To Taylor V (2001: 2): 'True integration, however, occurs when faith and learning meet and merge, when they fuse to become the pervasive, driving force in Christian education. This implies that whenever learning takes place, faith must be exercised through an endeavour to see the fullness of life from God's perspective. Furthermore, faith itself implies a commitment to grow in knowledge (2 Peter 3:18; Eph. 4:15). It is not sufficient to merely stand for the truth. One must walk progressively in the truth (Ps. 86:11; 3 John 4).

Seventh-day Adventist educators must meet the educational needs of the youth today; they must teach those principles by which the youth can live as Christians, as followers of Christ. Educators must equip them with skills needed to meet the demands of a contemporary and a very modern world, but also to practice their Christianity in whatever situation they find themselves. The Seventh-day Adventist church must be able to justify the existence of a Seventh-day Adventist education system in the light of the Word of God. The goal is so high that it is only by the Grace of God that education institutions can reach it–Godliness – Godlikeness – is the goal to be reached. This becomes the responsibility of parents, educators, governing bodies, and members of the church. There are no half measures, all the role players dare not, and may not neglect the duty that Christ has entrusted them with.

The Integration of Faith and learning has thus become an important concept in SDA education, since it becomes a part of a foundation on which the student can build a Christian life and in so doing, inculcate those values and principles that will prepare him for life. Integration of Faith and Learning must permeate every subject, course, and class. It thus becomes a way of life in every Seventh-day Adventist institution. Imbedded in the Integration of Faith and Learning are the values that are vital for every learner to survive as a Christian.

Importance of Values

Stefani (2003: 38) says that values, worldview, and faith are the philosophical framework that undergirds all human activity – everyone, whether by choice or default, subscribes to certain values, a worldview, and a faith scheme. Stefani continues that values are important because they guide human actions and choices. Daniel et al. (1980: 57) puts it very cogently:

'In this day values are too often perceived in terms of pleasure, immediate satisfaction, utility, or adjustment to change. Seldom are they related to an absolute standard that transcends changing social custom. But the Christian's commitment to the God of revealed

truth is a commitment to ultimate good. …That One who is goodness itself has set forth standards of conduct and value for all of man's relationships'.

Gangel cited by Daniel et al. (1980: 57) stresses the church's responsibility to point out absolute standards for values: 'In the midst of a materialistic society, the church must attempt to inculcate a value system that takes its roots from complete commitment to citizenship in heaven rather than a cabin at the lake. It must teach these values in classrooms, preach them from its pulpits, and enable its parents to communicate them in day-by-day family living. The value of the cross and the eternal city are not relative values'.

The student is encouraged to develop his own value system which is also reinforced at the school and in his church, so the Adventist learner gets a triple dose of those values that he must now make his own. In adolescence and the teenage years there is a search for identity. Often the young person's values clash with that of the non-Christian. It is in these times that one hopes that the home, school, and church have done enough to inculcate those values that will give the young Seventh-day Adventist the moral fibre to withstand those things that go against the values for which he stands, and in this way he is able to show his true Christian identity. A value system is important in that the young person has to go out into the world, leave the shelter of home, school, and church and fend for himself. He will meet with many other worldviews and philosophies and his faith will be severely tried. He may even start doubting his own faith and even his upbringing. He may even reject his faith when confronted with so many philosophies. It is however, in these times that the Seventh-day Adventist educator refuses to lose heart but continues to pursue the philosophy of Adventist education, continues to teach from a biblical perspective, and continues to believe that the values inculcated, in the formative and later years, will eventually win through in the end. The individual always has the freedom of choice, and hopefully there will come a time when those values are remembered and the individual will choose the right and shun the wrong. God never gives up on anybody, and so the Adventist educator will not give up on any individual. This is one of the things that distinguish a Seventh-day Adventist educator from the rest.

Every day we make decisions, or judgment calls, or follow a course of action. We are guided by our values to make the right decisions, to make the right judgment calls, or to follow the right actions. Therefore, Adventist Education emphasises the inculcation of Christian values derived from the Bible as well as the Spirit of Prophecy. The Bible is the standard that forms the foundation of Adventist education and it is within this framework that Adventists find their philosophy of education. No wonder Stefani (2003: 39) says that 'values are powerful emotional commitments that derive from faith. They both grow out of and shape worldview'. I must agree with Stefani (2003: 41) when she states that:

> Seventh-day Adventism holds that its unique set of beliefs, its worldview, and its set of values are so important, both now and for eternity, as to justify expenditure of massive amounts of effort and money. Adventists believe that true education builds conviction and must make us more authentic in spirit… [and] more humane in our dealings with others. Given its origins, goals, and committed teachers, the church's education system is uniquely positioned to achieve this.

An important aspect of values is that you cannot really teach it. I believe that values are lived out in the everyday life of the teacher. I, further, believe that as children learn about God, values are passed on and learnt in the process. Values are passed on from significant others. Therefore, the teacher must set the right example in speech, dress, deportment, and attitude at all times, and so must parents, and those with whom children interact, that is why the choice of friends is so important. Children learn from their peers as well. It is a given that children learn more by watching what educators do than by what educators tell them to do. Adventist administrators are therefore, very careful when it comes to appointing educators. Values are also passed on from the various resources that are used in classroom. Care must be taken in the selection of reading material, study material, and any other textbooks that are used. Words and pictures can make an indelible impression on the mind, and in this way values are passed on to the learners. With the advent of all the latest technology, the Adventist educator takes pains to make sure that the cds, DVDs, television content, and any other audio-visual media will not influence the learner in a negative way. Various types of media are so easily and readily available today, and some of them can so easily corrupt and undo the values and standards upheld in Adventist schools. Gillespie (2005: 18) states, that

> 'While the home is the first and foremost place where Adventist values are shared, learned, and applied, we believe that church schools should reinforce students' commitment to Adventism's core beliefs, such as Sabbath keeping, modesty, purity, and healthful living. Schools can be a clear help here if they reinforce these values in a clear, loving, and grace-oriented way. This maxim also applies to the home, where understanding of popular culture issues begins and where primary support is very important. Another indicator of the quality of schools is whether students are regularly exposed to teachers' faith talk. This produces a strong clarification and reinforcement of our Adventist mission and purpose, something that is missing in public education'.

Classroom Climate and Teaching

Adventist educators work hard to create a classroom atmosphere conducive to learning, and where the Spirit of God can be felt. Every effort is made to cater for the academic and the non-academic learner. This is done in a loving, caring, and accepting environment. Learners are taught to look beyond colour, creed, sex, disability, and are challenged to see every classmate as a soul for whom Christ has died. They are taught to accept each other and to work together in harmony. Every Adventist educator and learner is encouraged to influence a non-Adventist learner to adopt an Adventist lifestyle and to accept Christ as a personal Saviour. In this way the mission of the Adventist church is carried out in the Adventist school.

Included on the daily timetable are periods for worship, Bible, and a chapel period. Besides integrating faith and learning in every aspect of the day, these periods are particularly devoted to religious exercises. In keeping with the Adventist faith, every school day starts with a staff gathering for worship and announcements. At this time religious thoughts are exchanged and prayer is offered. The first period

in the classroom is devoted to class worship. The interesting thing is that learners come from different denominations but all participate in the worship exercise. While no one is compelled, everyone participates. Prayer is offered and many learners confess that it is at the Adventist school that they learnt to pray. Bible is part of the curriculum of all Adventist schools and is taught every day. There is a Bible syllabus that is specially prepared for Adventist schools. During this time the learners enjoy Bible stories and also learn important life values. The chapel period occurs once a week, and use is made of special speakers who come to share truth-filled religious stories or inspirational talks. What is of great significance is that many non-Adventists prefer the Adventist schools. In a number of Adventist schools, the number of non-Adventist learners exceeds that of the Adventist learners. I must reiterate that many learners who attend Adventist schools come from a wide spectrum of religions. Most if not all Adventist schools have a special Bible class or what is commonly called a baptism class. Anyone is free to join this class. This class specifically prepares learners for baptism and membership of the Seventh-day Adventist church. The doctrines of the Adventist church are taught and explained in these classes. As a result of attending these classes learners are then given the opportunity to decide for baptism. Thousands of learners are baptised all over the world, but what is of significance is that many learners who came as non-Adventists leave the school as Adventists. Of course no learner is baptised without permission from the parents. In many cases, non-Adventist parents give their consent and the learner then goes home as the only Adventist in the family. The Adventist pastor nearest to where the new member lives is then encouraged to visit the member and to introduce the member to the nearest Adventist congregation. Adventist schools play a very important role in the lives of Adventist learners as well as non-Adventist learners. Even if the non-Adventist learners do not become Adventist, non-Adventist parents notice the difference in lifestyle and attitude of their children, after they have attended an Adventist school. According to world education statistics, as at December 2009, there were 171,444 education-related baptisms. This applies to the period 2005–2009.

The Education Department of the North American Division has embarked on what they call 'Journey to Excellence' in education. They, in particular, want to make sure that there is growth and that they produce excellent schools but more so, they want teachers and students to develop a personal relationship with the Master Teacher and experience the joy of serving Him. The rest of the Education Departments in the World Divisions of the Seventh-day Adventist church would do well to emulate the North American Division (Kovalski 2005: 30).

Conclusion

Seventh-day Adventist education is facing many challenges. One of the greatest challenges is to remain true to the aims, goals, and core values of Christian education in the face of secularism and post-modernism. Bruinsma (2006) states that the

greatest challenge of the church's educational institutions around the world is to maintain a clear Adventist identity in what is being taught in the classroom, in the dress code on and off campus, dorm life, cafeteria meals and in everyday life on campus. I conclude with another quotation from Bruinsma (2006: 23):

> Our [approach in Adventist education] needs to be relational, expressing genuine concern and love for others; it ought to be [driven by] friendship. … We need to become a true counter-culture community that radically lives out the life and teachings of Christ and the apostles in our own. Our [ministry] will be effective in postmodern culture only as we live lives of transparent honesty, integrity, and purity.

SDA educators can influence learners with the truth only if they know the truth. They can share the life of the Master Teacher with their learners only if they have walked and talked with the Master teacher Himself. Seventh-day Adventist educators will continue to carry out their God-given commission, and if needs be refocus on the task at hand, get a new vision of the tasks and challenges ahead, and bring about innovative change. Above all, educators, learners, parents, and church members, will be empowered to experience the saving grace of Christ through Seventh-day Adventist Christian education.

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Chapter 23
The Gülen Philosophy of Education and Its Application in a South African School

Yasien Mohamed

Introduction

Character education has been woven into the fabric of the curriculum of the Gülen schools worldwide. Through such education learners develop good academic skills and moral virtues that prepare them to achieve their highest intellectual and moral potential in order to become good human beings and good citizens. The media repeatedly report the increased violence, crimes, teen pregnancies and disruptive behaviour in schools. Educators are now aware that there is a moral crisis in our education system. As a result, character education has been receiving serious attention because research has demonstrated a positive correlation between good character education and academic achievement. Moral education also helps to create a safe environment for learners, which is also a vital factor in their academic performance.

This has certainly been the case with the Gülen schools, which currently have an international presence. This chapter examines the ethical philosophy of Fethullah Gülen, a Turkish Islamic thinker, and his impact on character education in Turkey and South Africa. In the South African context, we will examine the application of Gülen's thought at Star International High School, Cape Town. Based partly on interviews with teachers and principals, the chapter looks at how character education is being applied at this school. This is a new context for the Turkish educators at Star International and they have been faced with challenges that are quite different from schools in Turkey and other parts of the world.

Classical ethical philosophy, whether that of Aristotle or Miskawayh (1030), held that there are two dimensions to human virtue: those virtues that relate to society, such as respect, fairness, civility and tolerance, and those that relate to the individual, such as fortitude, self-discipline, effort and perseverance. In the context

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of a school, the combination of these virtues helps learners to develop resilience and achieve academically. In short, character education helps infuse in learners both universal values and values that assist academic and personal performance.

In the South African context there are at least two main types of schools: religious (in this case Islamic) private schools and secular liberal schools. A secondary objective of this chapter is to raise the question of whether Gülen schools provide a middle way between these two types of schools and to assess the extent to which Gülen schools prepare learners to integrate into a pluralist society. These questions cannot be fully answered in this chapter, however, and will require a fuller empirical investigation.

While Gülen schools are faith inspired, the Gülen movement refers to its schools as secular. Islamic studies are not taught as a subject and teachers are not permitted to preach religion in the classroom. But Gülen schools are also not secular in the way that secular liberal schools are in South Africa, which are free from ethical and religious conventions. This does not mean that one cannot be religious in such schools, but Muslim parents may find the liberal culture incompatible with Islam. Parents know that religious values will be respected at Gülen schools.

The discipline and dedication of school staff have been among the main reasons behind the pervasive success stories of all Gülen-inspired schools. Growing discipline problems and students' lack of respect towards their teachers are familiar feature of modern education. School violence, bullying, substance abuse, and other illicit problems are not new. These problems must be addressed professionally, but the educational environment in which learners grow and develop goes a long way to avoid or mitigate them. The goal of a good character education programme is to help schools create a safe, caring and inclusive learning environment for all learners where they can develop morally, socially, emotionally, ethically and academically. This requires a holistic approach whereby discipline is integrated into every aspect of school life.

The establishment of schools is one of the main activities of the Gülen movement and has become tremendously popular within Turkey. Since 1990 it has also proven to be successful outside that country, both in terms of achieving academic distinction and providing good character education. This is because although Turkish teachers are primarily inspired by the ethics of Islam, they teach values that are shared by all religious traditions.

The Gülen Philosophy of Education in the Turkish Context

Beginning with its formation in 1924, the Kemalist regime in Turkey identified religion as the cause of the country's neglect of science and its general backwardness. The regime promoted science and endeavoured to keep religion out of both politics and the public education system. Religion became a private matter and public education became secular. Even if parents wanted religious instruction in the schools to which they sent their children, only a single teaching period each week was allowed to religious instruction in the curriculum.

Religionists, on the other hand, had little confidence in the new secular system of education and separately promoted religious education, but their graduates were marginalized and were prevented from making significant contributions to Turkish society. Said Nursi (d. 1960), an influential Turkish Islamic philosopher, tried to remedy the dichotomy between secular and religious education in Turkey by harmonizing religion with science. A religious Muslim, he argued, can also be passionate about science.

Fethullah Gülen's thought is strongly influenced by Nursi's ideas, including his views on education and science. Over the past three decades Gülen has urged his followers to invest in modern schools rather than traditional *madrasas* and mosques. True education, he argues, combines modern science with Islamic knowledge. In his view, scientific knowledge without religion could lead to atheism, while religious knowledge without science could lead to fanaticism. When combined, Gülen contends, they increase both the student's faith and knowledge (Kuru 2003: 120; Yilmaz 2005: 203–204). With a balanced education, learners can become agents of positive change (Michel 2003: 74). Teachers, Gülen says, should be trained in nurturing the whole person, should lead by example, and should reject 'their inner worlds of hatred, rancor, and jealousy, and adorn their outer world with all kinds of virtues' (cited in Michel 2003: 78). They should combine the study of science with the development of character. In Gülen's view, success should be measured by both scientific and moral progress.

Gülen's overall aim of overcoming the dichotomy in education is thus to create a 'golden generation' armed with the tools of both science and religion. By combining scientific knowledge with human values, this new generation (*yeni nesil*) will solve the problems of the future (Agai 2003: 57). For Gülen, education should prepare learners to be useful citizens and people of character. Good schools cultivate moral virtues and are equipped with the best technology to enhance their scientific character. Such schools nurture both the mind and the soul (Mohamed 2007: 554–556). Character building is thus an integral part of Gulen's educational philosophy. He is inspired by Miskawayh (d. 1030) (Gülen 2006: 203–204; Mohamed 2007: 556–557), who held that the cardinal virtues of courage, wisdom, temperance and justice emerge when the irascible, concupiscent and rational faculties are kept in a state of balance.

According to Gülen, there is a 'gradualism' in God's creation, so human nature develops both biologically and intellectually by gradually moving through different stages of life, each with its own requirements for optimal growth. In light of this, the educators in private schools inspired by Gülen's philosophy understand that helping children to develop a good character is not a quick fix for the learners, but a gradual process of teaching, role modelling and learning good habits in everyday discourse.

Gülen recommends less conspicuous ways of Islamizing the younger generation. The focus should be on *temsil* (example), not *tebligh* (preaching) (Balci 2003: 10–16). Teachers should embody universal values through their own example (Agai 2002: 37). The teacher's vocation is holy, even if he/she teaches secular subjects (Gülen 1998: 17). For Gülen, teaching is not only about transmitting information, but about transforming the whole person. He states: 'Education is different from

teaching. Most people can teach, but only a very few can educate. Thus true teachers are preoccupied with what is good and wholesome' (Gülen 2004: 208). Teaching is therefore 'sacred' as it cultivates wisdom and provides guidance. The 'golden generation' of learners will combine spirituality and knowledge, heart and mind (Gülen 1998).

Thus, there should be no dichotomy in education in terms of which religion and morality are banished from the public school. This has become a problem in the West, where the moral autonomy of the individual, not the authority of the church, has become primary. This has resulted in the neglect of morality in the schools. Schwartz (2002: 7–17), for example, is concerned about the moral crisis in the West. He proposes that virtues such as honesty, trust, respect, fairness and responsibility should be cultivated in a subtle way. External impositions of morality are ineffective and learners should rather embrace the virtues for themselves, and this can be achieved through a code of honour. The learners themselves should create such a code of honour and take responsibility for it. This creates a sense of moral autonomy and responsibility, and learners become accountable to their peers, who act as a force for moral restraint. Learners would thus be ashamed to cheat or do anything wrong in front of their peers and would be afraid to violate the honour code. Gülen's approach is a reflection of this idea of learning moral values subtly. Gülen schools in South Africa do not have a code of honour determined by learners (although this might be something for them to consider). Rather, they believe that the learning of virtue requires repetition and reinforcement, whereby students learn to take responsibility for their own actions and become a social force for personal and societal moral restraint.

Gülen would agree with Sommers (2002) that since the Enlightenment there has been a shift away from the Aristotelean ethical virtues and religious moral philosophy in favour of cultivating a spirit of independence and autonomy on the part of the learner. As a result, character education has been conceived to be a form of indoctrination. Aristotle inspired the virtue ethics of Islamic and Christian philosophers for centuries, holding that parents and educators should cultivate good habits in children so that they can 'gain control over the intemperate side of their natures and grow into free and flourishing human beings' (Sommers 2002: 27). Islamic philosophers such as Miskawayh, al-Raghib al-Isfahani (d. 1060) and al-Ghazali (d. 1111) developed these moral habits and directed the virtues towards achieving happiness in this world *and* the hereafter. The Enlightenment philosopher Rousseau challenged Aristotle's theory and promoted a value-free education for the child in his *Emile* (Sommers 2002: 27; Graves 1912: 77–121). Thus, moral education came to be denigrated as indoctrination and was cast aside in the second half of the twentieth century (Sommers 2002: 30). By the 1970s character education was virtually abandoned in practice, and the trend was for teachers not to instil virtue in any form. Sommers (2002: 31–34) disagrees with this approach and believes that children need clear moral standards to live by and should not be left to discover for themselves what is right and wrong. Like him, Gülen sided with the philosophical theory of virtue ethics, albeit in its Islamized form, and reacted against the Enlightenment idea of promoting rationalism and science at the expense of religion and morality.

Gülen Education in the South African Context

Introducing Star International High

While the South African educational system during apartheid rested on a monolithic Christian worldview, some private schools took on an explicitly secular, Islamic or Jewish character, while simultaneously following the national curriculum. In post-apartheid South Africa, the Christian character of the national curriculum was removed by the new democratic dispensation and schools now follow a secular curriculum that does not favour a particular religion. The new democracy allows for religious private schools, but they are required to follow the national curriculum. Obviously, they are free to add subjects to the approved curriculum such as Islamic or Christian theology. There are now more than a thousand private schools in South Africa, with an average teacher-to-learners ratio of 1–17. They are supported mainly by middle-class and affluent families.

Over the last 20 years there has been a mushrooming of Islamic private schools in the country. In the apartheid era many public schools became unstable due to school boycotts and political unrest, which increased support for Islamic private schools. But since the end of the apartheid era in 1994 an increasing number of parents have elected to send their children to Islamic private schools because of the perception that morality has broken down in township and public schools (Fataar 2005). Like other private schools, Islamic private schools in South Africa are mainly supported by affluent middle-class families.

In a recent study Fataar (2003) interviewed the parents, teachers and school managers of several Muslim schools and concluded that the main reason for parental support of these schools was the breakdown in morality in public schools. The interviewees voiced their concerns about the moral propriety of the learners at such schools. They spoke of the moral decay in society as a sign of the overall moral relativism of a secular democracy and as an apocalyptic sign of the nearing of Qiyamah (the day of reckoning). They perceived the government as 'amoral' and as 'aiding the work of the devil'. Public schools were described as breeding grounds for sin and vice, where learners were socialised into sexual permissiveness, drug abuse and gang violence (Fataar 2003: 2). While Fataar examined a Turkish private school, SAMA, which is an Islamic school belonging to the Gülen movement, and the present research confines its attention to Star International High, Fataar's research does give an indication of the reasons parents choose Islamic private schools over public schools.

Attached to Star International is a co-educational primary school that serves as a feeder for the males-only high school. Gülen high schools are generally boarding schools, which is one of the reasons for their academic success, because learners can be continuously supervised. A case in point is the Durban Gülen school, which is currently one of the top schools in the country. The Cape Town branch is not a boarding school, but generally it is the norm for Gülen schools to have boarding facilities – which is one of the reasons they do not accept girls. Gülen schools are a

new phenomenon in South Africa, providing an alternative to both the secular liberal and religious private schools. Although many of the students come from Muslim homes, these schools attract learners from various religious persuasions.

Star International High School was established in the suburb of Athlone, Cape Town in 1999 and was the first 'Turkish school' – as the Gülen schools are commonly referred to – in South Africa. It was followed by one in Durban (Star International) and Johannesburg (Horizon International School).

According to the brochure of the Cape Town primary school, the 'Turkish schools' take pride in maintaining a high academic standard, having highly qualified teachers, giving learners individual attention and maintaining close communication with parents. Special features mentioned in the brochure for this particular school are a computer room with Internet access; recreational opportunities; a fully equipped science laboratory; special teaching camps to assist learners, as well as trips and excursions; extra-mural and club activities; a disciplined but caring environment; an atmosphere of security and safety; and the most up-to-date educational policies and practices. From the mission statement one can note that the school has five objectives: achieving academic excellence, providing up-to-date infrastructure and state-of-the-art technology, using the best teaching methods, transmitting moral values, and preparing learners for citizenship.

The Gülen private school in Cape Town offers a small learners-to-teacher ratio. Smaller class sizes have the advantages of offering learners personalized education and developing stronger bonds among classmates. As a result, there tend to be fewer disciplinary problems. Often, if learners stay in one private school for their entire academic careers, teachers get to know them very well and become a source of stable authority in their lives. This will, of course, also depend on how long teachers stay at the school: if teacher turnover is too high it tends to affect their ability to fulfil this role.

One disadvantage of private schools is that there is increased inequality, because they are allowed to refuse some students according to their own pre-set standards. This is true of the Cape Town Gülen school, but to the extent that the school is elitist, it is academically elitist, and does not differentiate in terms of class. the global reality of private schools is that students who graduate from them tend to be admitted to the top universities.

The Cape Town Gülen private school focuses on both excellent academic and moral outcomes. It is explicitly committed to nurturing universal moral values that are shared by people of all races and religions. Its aim is to build character and help learners integrate into a pluralist democratic society such as South Africa.

Star International High School attracts learners from various socio-economic backgrounds and religions, but mainly middle-class Muslim and Christian coloured (mixed-race) learners, with a minority of black African students. The school's principal claims that parents send their children to Star International because it is a value-based school that is open to all learners, irrespective of race or religion (principal interview, May 2012).

Significantly, relatively little overt emphasis is placed on religion, with the focus instead being on providing a positive learning environment and good moral teaching

models. This is a challenge for the school, especially if learners come from a variety of different schools. But if they come from the Gülen primary school, progress is smoother to the high school level and these learners are more likely to contribute to creating a positive learning environment. Most learners (80 %) at the all-male high school now come from the co-educational primary school (principal interview, May 2012).

Turkish teachers are devout Muslims, but they do not bring religion into the classroom. English- and Afrikaans-language teachers are South African, because they are better equipped to teach these subjects compared to the Turkish teachers, who are mainly trained in science and technology.

Star International fosters social virtues such as respect, cooperation and tolerance. It prepares learners to integrate into a secular society without losing their religious identity. A Turkish teacher said: 'We want the Muslim learner to be a good Muslim, a Christian learner to be a good Christian and a Hindu learner to be a good Hindu' (teacher interview, May 2012). The school encourages learners to be faithful to their own religious identity and to find inspiration from their own religious tradition in order to cultivate moral values. Thus, Muslim learners can retain their distinct Islamic identity, but outward expressions of this identity such as the wearing of a fez or a beard are not encouraged. This is how the school maintains its secular character.

The Moral Ethos of the School

In a capitalist economy the school curriculum is designed to prepare students for a career that will make them money, but not prepare them to be religious or moral; wealth accumulation is pursued for its own sake, and not for the sake of charitable deeds and serving humanity. According to Gülen, however, education should not be guided by utilitarian aims, but should nurture character. It is not enough to achieve material success in the global market; non-material values such as clarity of thought and good character are also considered to be essential. Schools should not produce people who are greedy, but people who are generous. There is nothing wrong with a salary, but it should not be an end in itself. The main purpose of work is to provide a service and to benefit humanity.

Star International's vision is captured in the following statement from its website:

> One definition of wisdom is 'know yourself' and we seek to give our students the means to know who they are not only in an intellectual dimension but also in a spiritual, social and physical sense. The school also practices the latest available teaching methods, as well as a set of UNIVERSAL VALUES aimed at building the character of the learners. Through imparting these values, we help our learners to become respectable and distinguished members of society. We believe too that an individual must be able to live as a successful member of a community in order to achieve a balanced and happy life: our aim is to encourage each student to serve and to learn not just from the school community but from the wider world (Star International School n.d.).

Thus, it is the aim of the school to build character through the development of moral values such as 'self-respect, self-reliance, tolerance and compassion' (Star International

School n.d.). The objective is also to 'develop the personal, moral and spiritual values each student brings from his family and community as well as respect for the religious practices and beliefs of others' (Star International School n.d.).

In the Grade 8B class the following chart was pasted on the wall when we visited the school in June 2012:

March: respect: yourself, family, community, country
May: good hope, perseverance, compassion, love
July: thankfulness, gratitude, appreciation
August: unity, loyalty, solidarity, peace, friendship

Charts like these act as reminders to the learners about the values to be encouraged in a particular month.

According to the principal, parents send their children to Star International because of the moral values that it inculcates and because it provides an environment that is conducive to character building:

> We love our learners and have them under control. Because of small classes we can detect any potential problem and find a solution quickly. Parents send their children to the school because it is value based, which is important for all learners, Muslim or non-Muslim. Parents compare our school with larger schools where there are problems of drugs, gangsters, etc. So naturally they would prefer to send their children to our school (principal interview, June 2012).

The principal states that the school's small numbers make it easier to manage and discipline the learners. Another reason parents send their children to the school is because of the ethical values that are integrated into the ethos of the school. The school's managers have respect for all religions. On one occasion Christian parents and learners were invited to the Iftar dinner to share in the breaking of the fast with Muslim learners and parents. Christian parents and learners were asked to say a few words about their own religious traditions. This kind of occurrence can rarely be found in other Muslim educational institutions.

How are the various virtues imparted to learners? Every Monday morning in assembly a particular value is chosen and spoken about as the value of the week. Parents are also reminded about it so that they can reinforce it at home (teacher interview, June 2012). Another way is through the lessons in the classroom, particularly in social science and literature lessons. Also, real situations in the classroom such as conflict of some kind can be used as opportunities to remind the learners about the values of friendship, patience and forgiveness. It is most important for the teachers to embody the virtues themselves. It is of no use if teachers tell the boys not to smoke, if the teachers themselves smoke (teacher interview, June 2012).

Despite that fact that Star International is a secular school, Islamic religious values are encouraged at an informal level. Some Turkish teachers may urge Muslims learners to undertake voluntary fasting and Qur'anic reciting, and even to host Iftar dinners at their homes in the month of the Ramadan fast.

The character development of a learner does not depend primarily on formal character education, but sometimes more on the informal relations between teachers and learners. The school organizes periodic visits to learners' families. This improves

the parent–teacher relationship, and they discuss the student's academic growth. The school employs a special young tutor to monitor the academic progress of the learners, to see if they are doing their schoolwork and if they are working under favourable conditions. He is more like an elder brother to them. The Turkish tutor may encourage the Muslim learners to make *dhikr* (invoke God's Divine Names), perform *tahajjud* (vigil prayer) and read from the *Risale-i-Nur* (*Treatise of Light*).

According to Berkowitz (2002: 45–46), most character education initiatives centre around a set of words or concepts that represent the ethical agenda of the school. Moral education deals with specific issues such as sex education, health education, environment, conflict resolution or religious studies. Children should be sensitized to the implications of their values and choices. They should not only nurture virtues as abstractions, but should be able to apply them in real-life situations. This can only come about through critical discussion about moral virtues and not simply plastering virtue labels on the classroom walls or doors. The virtue of honesty, for example, should be balanced by consideration for others. If, for example, one's grandmother baked a cake for one's birthday, but one did not like the taste of it, should one then be honest and tell the truth, or withhold the truth in order not to hurt her feelings? To this end, when teaching about heroes such as Mother Teresa, Nelson Mandela or al-Ghazali, one should examine the complexity of their lives, so that learners do not see them merely as saintly figures who are difficult to emulate, but also as people who experienced struggles and moral dilemmas. A Gülen school principal said:

> Teaching moral values is part of our school policy. There are forty weeks in the school year, and every week a teacher is made responsible for introducing the new value on a Monday morning during the assembly. We send letters and SMSs to parents informing them of the value of the week. If the value is honesty, we inform the parents, 'please parents, can you help us to enforce honesty at home'. It's … basic (principal interview, May 2012).

Teachers also informally integrate ethical values into their subjects, and these help to develop the learners' self-discipline and positive self-image.

Four Moral Concepts Exemplified by the Teacher

Thus, moral values are not taught as a separate subject, but integrated into lessons and exemplified by the teachers. Central to the success of the Gülen school is the dedication, good example and industriousness of the teacher. Teachers are serious about the academic progress of their learners and make many sacrifices to assist with their cognitive development.

The first moral concept is that of frugality, which, with its related values of mystical poverty and simplicity, is embodied in the life of Fethullah Gülen (Gülen 2004), who is inspired by the teachings of Jalaludin Rumi and Bediuzzaman Said Nursi. Gülen teachers try to imitate their leader and practise frugality, albeit to a lesser extent than their mentor. Unlike Islamic schools, which tend to give more attention to the outer practices of Islam such as wearing Islamic attire and performing ritualistic prayers (Niehaus 2008: 20–21), the Gülen school does not project an

outward Islamic identity, yet teachers are not afraid to practise Islam and pray at prayer times in the privacy of their rooms or in a prayer room (principal interview, 2007). Turkish schoolteachers prefer to project the inner dimensions of Islam, including the value of frugality. This is reflected in their personal lives. Teachers do not live in expensive apartments, drive expensive cars or wear expensive clothes. This, according to the principal, would blemish the image of the school and undermine funders' trust. This does not mean that they live like paupers: they earn a decent salary, receive medical care, live in decent housing and obtain a pension upon retirement.

The second moral concept is that of *hijrah* (migration). A Turkish teacher is prepared to migrate whenever he/she is asked to move to another school in another city or country, where he/she may be required to teach a particular subject or play a management role. Turkish teachers do not remain at a school for more than five or six years. There is no fixed period, but they are not expected to remain in one school for too long. Generally this does not pose a problem, but if teachers stay for only one or two years and are then expected to migrate to another country, it could be problematic, particularly if this happens frequently in one particular school. This would make it difficult for the learners to bond with the teacher, and for the new teacher to adapt to the culture and language of the learners.

The rationale for migration is to prevent the teacher from becoming too attached to the school and the environment in which he/she lives. This would make it more difficult for him to move to another school should he/she be asked to do so. Furthermore, Gülen teaches detachment from the material world (*zuhd*) (Gülen 2004, vol. 1: 42–44), which will enable the teacher or the principal to adjust easily to difficult changes. One teacher, after several years in a comfortable flat in Pinelands, Cape Town, had to move to a country where there was no clean water, proper roads or electricity.

The third moral concept is that of *hizmet* (service). This term implies both religious and national service (Agai 2003: 59). *Hizmet* characterizes the whole attitude of the teacher. It is not merely a moral concept, but a spiritual attitude whereby service is seen as benefiting both this life and the one in the hereafter. It impels the teacher to make all kinds of sacrifices, such as migration, living frugally, teaching extra classes on a Saturday and accepting a lower wage. A woman teacher described *hizmet* as follows:

> I think hizmet occurs in both ways, through dialogue and example …. The most efficient way to affect people is by action, not words. What I try to do is to act in a way [that] will make people think about Islam in general, and *hizmet* in particular, and ask me questions. For example, I try to be a helpful, altruistic person and once they ask why I am doing that, I simply answer that my religion and the teachings of *hizmet* encourages [sic] me to do that …. It is [portrayed] both by talking and answering their questions and by my behaviour as well. *Hizmet* is about teaching through my actions and habits. … *Hizmet* is about setting an example of what Muslim women are like. For example, my exemplary behavior resulted in my colleagues requesting my participation in the evaluation of Turkish students' applications. This example shows that my colleagues consider me to be diligent, honest and ethical, and that my *hizmet* as a role model and my promotion of Gülen's values have been successful (Raush 2009: 184 ff.).

Although this teacher does not teach at Star International, her statement explains clearly that *hizmet* is a moral principle that governs the behaviour of all Turkish teachers or members of the Gülen movement. This teacher's idea of teaching through actions also relates to the concept of *tedbir* (prudence), which is the fourth moral principle.

Prudence should be applied in teaching, especially in promoting virtues (Balci 2003: 10–16; Gülen 1998: 17). Personal example will appeal to the mind and to the heart (Agai 2002: 37). Practice by example is more powerful than preaching and has a greater influence on the learner (Star International graduate interview, 30 August 2011). The teacher's practice of qualities such as respect, benevolence, justice and tolerance towards non-Muslim learners is bound to rub off onto Muslim learners, who are thus more likely to develop a respectful attitude towards learners of other religions. These social virtues prepare the learners to integrate into a pluralist, democratic society. Thus, the Muslim child will learn to maintain an Islamic identity in a secular environment and be taught values in a non-moralizing way. The teacher does not project his/her Islamic identity in the classroom, but does not conceal it outside the classroom. He/she not only teaches virtues such as respect, tolerance and forgiveness, but also tries to embody these values in his/her own behaviour, as we have seen (principal interview, 2007).

This kind of exposure helps the boys to reassess their own position at the school and to correct their bad behaviour. Thus, character education is not separate from a scientific education; the two aspects are related. The cultivation of a positive self-image and self-discipline contributes to the learner's work ethic and academic progress.

Conclusion

It is important that learners develop moral autonomy so that their moral discipline and values of honesty and integrity are expressions of their inner being, and not something imposed from without. For Gülen, the inculcation of moral values is vitally important if we want to nurture good human beings and useful citizens. The moral values taught at Gülen schools are universal and shared by all religions. These values are not to be taught as mere abstractions, but should have concrete implications and applications in the social context of learners' lives. External authority is important in terms of creating the atmosphere for cultivating good moral habits, but it is more important for learners to embrace these values themselves. The voice of moral authority should be internalized and moral acts should become external expressions of a learner's own inner being, and not merely a duty to be performed on the basis of rational will.

Character is not built only in the classroom, but also outside – on the sports ground, in the corridors, in the parking lot, in the way grades are allotted, in learners' part-time work in small businesses and in the way prefects are chosen. The school should know the implications of choosing learners as prefects. If it chooses

a prefect merely because of his high cognitive intelligence and good grades, this sends out a message that these are the examples that are admired. But if the school chooses a prefect not only because he has achieved high grades, but also because of his amiable personality and high emotional intelligence, then it is sending a message that it admires learners that have the right balance between head and heart.

In the foregoing we have situated Turkish schools within the South African context, focusing on Star International High, Cape Town. We have also demonstrated the impact of Gülen's educational thought on Star International High as an example of a school that provides a modern education with a moral orientation. Parents send their children to the school because of its excellent academic reputation and the attention it gives to moral values.

Gülen schools thus provide an alternative to independent and state schools in South Africa. As independent schools they compete with other independent schools, especially those that are less well established (since Gülen schools are themselves currently in this situation). Their distinctive feature is that they provide an excellent education combined with an emphasis on the development of moral values. Although they are secular schools, Turkish teachers are practising Muslims and good moral examples for learners – but not only for Muslim learners, since the values they inculcate are universal.

Further research could explore the meaning of character and how it develops at Gülen schools. It could also investigate in more detail the ways and means by which moral thinking can develop, and how schools can create opportunities to reason about, debate and reflect on such issues, and how learners can be exposed to perspectives that are different from their own.

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Chapter 24
A Teacher's Perspective on Teaching and Learning at a Muslim Faith-Based School in Cape Town

Omar Esau

Introduction

In this chapter I set out to identify and explore how the values and ethos of a faith-based Muslim school affect practices in learning, teaching and leadership. After teaching at a faith-based school for over two decades, sharing my experiences and thoughts about the distinctive philosophies and challenges have become important background knowledge in the contemporary era. I share my reflections on how this faith-based school contributes to the democratisation of society and contributes to nation building. This chapter provides a perspective from an educational leadership position using self-reflexivity and documentary evidence as research methodology. My conclusion supports the notion that a faith-based educational institution can contribute positively towards the realisation of a greater good to all and promotes a cohesiveness that is much needed in an ideal democratic society.

Teachers who are critically reflective focus their attention both inwardly at their own practice and outwardly at the social conditions … They are concerned with issues of equity and social justice that arise inside and outside the classroom (Larrivee 2008: 343). In the field of teacher education a wave of reflective practice washed over the profession following Schon's (1983, 1994) reminders about the importance of the link between reflection and practice. Brookfield (1995) reminds us that the literature on reflective practice is important for two reasons. First, it offers a variety of approaches to examining practice in order that we might discover and research some of the taken-for-granted assumptions that influence our approach to practice. Second, it provides opportunities for us to understand the stories of how teachers live through reflective practice, many of which we identify with personally.

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If learning through practice matters, then reflection on practice is critical. In reflecting on my experience and teaching career at Muhammadeyah Primary School, I hope to share and spread more light on the perceptions concerning faith-based schools. This chapter includes reflections on my teaching at the Muslim based primary school for over two decades from 1985 to 2008. These reflections, however, cannot be isolated from my lived experiences – my childhood, the teachings that I received and the teaching in which I was involved in the past. Also, as a contemporary teacher educator, my thinking about my teaching practice at the faith-based school might have shifted, but allow me to record my experience and tell my story.

Early Influences on My Ways of Thinking About Teaching and Learning

I was born in Claremont in Cape Town in 1964, the youngest of seven children. I was part of a closely-knit community until we were forced to sell our house, because of the National Party's Group Areas Act. The first apartheid Group Areas Act was passed in 1950 as part of the then government's plan to restrict the residential and trading rights of all "non-whites", including for the first time the "coloureds" in the Cape (Lipton 1986: p. 23). In their opposition to the South African regime's draconian laws, many activists sacrificed their lives. A traumatic experience in our family was the killing of my uncle, the late Imam Abdullah Haron, on 29 September 1969, while he was in detention. His death, one of many among activists, was the result of the apartheid government's actions to suppress the struggle for liberation. Repressive measures such as forced removals, detention without trial and the killing of political prisoners were all attempts by the state to marginalise and subjugate the oppressed majority of the population. Marginalisation as experienced in the wider South African society was also to be found in some South African schools, as I soon discovered during my schooling career. One can understand why Althusser (1972: 143) long ago called the school the most important ideological state apparatus.

During my primary school years (1970–1976), I attended a Christian-based school where members of Muslim, African Traditional Religion, Hindu and other religious denominations were exposed only to Biblical Studies, as all state schools were fundamentally adhering to Christian National Education (CNE). By singing hymns and celebrating only Christian holidays, the school was contributing towards the muting of the voices of other religions and beliefs. This does not mean that I did not enjoy the hymns and the beautiful Bible stories told in class. On the contrary, I was in fact exposed to other ways of thinking at an early age. This type of schooling practice was contributing to what Freire (1972: 10) termed the 'culture of silence'. Freire and Shor (1987, 123) say the phrase 'culture of silence' refers to the 'passive tolerance of domination'. Once a social group is curbed and prevented from expressing its dreams, desires and that which makes sense to them, it could then be assumed that it is caught up in a culture of silence. So, for example, as a primary school learner from the 1970s I experienced teaching and learning in its traditional form where rote learning, memorisation and corporal punishment were the norm.

My high school career (1977–1981) was marked by important political events and developments. It was during these years – that is, the late 1970s and early 1980s – that students in most parts of South Africa, with the exception of the 'white' schools, were boycotting and resisting apartheid education (Christie 1985: 55). The high school which I attended seemed to be no different, as it was also a 'non-white' school opposing the apartheid regime. Our school experienced a number of mass rallies, examination boycotts and 'stayaways' during this period. While these political events influenced the mindsets of our students and teachers, they did not change the teaching methods of some of our teachers in the classrooms. A 'talk and chalk' method of teaching, where the teachers merely lectured and we as students had to comply passively with their instructions, virtually seemed to be the only method of teaching. Memorisation of subject matter seemed to be endless.

In reflecting on my high school years I also recall how some teachers who belonged to certain political affiliations imposed their viewpoints on others. Some of them were of the opinion that religion was one of the factors that was hampering the liberation struggle for equality. Part of the reasoning of some of the teachers for not allowing freedom of belief was that religion was the opium of the people and it promoted and contributed towards maintaining apartheid. As a Muslim student I felt I was discriminated against as this school did not allow Muslim students to attend Friday (Jumu'ah) prayers. I recall the Muslim students protesting and staging a mass walk towards the nearby mosque in 1978 as an expression of their opposition to the school's policy on religion. I was, however, given a good political grounding at the high school and I learnt to understand why some people thought religion could make you docile and accept being oppressed by the state.

After I matriculated, I trained to become a teacher at the Hewat Teachers Training College (1982–1984). At Hewat we were taught in such a way that we would later become 'teacher technicians', who would treat learners homogeneously, regardless of their feelings and socio-economic backgrounds. Here I agree with Kallaway (1984: 372), who says that the technological mode of rationality is not necessarily wrong in itself; the problem is that its application to social and educational issues to the exclusion of all other modes of knowing means that it tends to act as a lens which focuses only on certain issues and avoids others. Most aspects of my teacher training were firmly rooted in Fundamental Pedagogics, an approach that may at times have tended to deny the political implications of ideology in education. According to many activists and academics, it was an instrument to justify the South African government's position on apartheid and education. After completing the teaching diploma course at Hewat Teachers Training College, I started teaching at the faith-based school that I describe and reflect on in this chapter.

Entering the Muslim Faith-Based School

When I started teaching in the 1980s, a host of new Islamic schools were established in South Africa, but the school where I was offered a post had been around since 1929. I agree with Niehaus (2011), who notes that in South Africa the emphasis of Muslim schools is on educating children according to the values, norms and traditions

of Islam as interpreted by the respective governing bodies, principals and teachers. This is achieved by, among other things, offering special Islamic instruction, praying together, introducing special dress codes and observing the Islamic calendar.

At the Muslim faith-based school where I began teaching, Islamic subjects played a central role in creating a religious ethos and shaping religious identity at the school. At this school Islamic studies and the studying of Arabic were included in all the grades of the school. Islamic studies included the basic knowledge of the practices and history of the faith. The Arabic lessons were mostly structured around reading. The aim was to strengthen the learners around reading the Quran. The school also held Thuhr (midday) prayers every day and prayers were usually held in Arabic in the mornings and afternoons. When I arrived at the school for the first time and heard the Fatiha (opening verse in the Quran) I was emotionally moved. It was as if my two worlds had come together. One world was attending secular school in the day and the second world attending 'slamse' school (Muslim school) in the afternoon or evening.

Coming to the school with my psychological baggage and my cultural capital and meeting up with learners with their baggage and their cultural capital made the common faith-based school a melting pot in its own right. As a teacher I was but one of the people interacting with the learners. There were also still their parents, peers, other teachers and more knowledgeable others who may have impacted on their learning. My teaching was therefore only one of many factors that influenced the speed and extent to which those learners could close the gap between their actual and potential levels of performance (O'Brien and Guiney 2001: 116). In other words, the mental activities of each of the learners and their individual meaning making of the worlds in which they live need to be understood along with their social and historical situatedness (Bell 2005: 43).

As a Muslim-based school, it was one of a few missionary schools that flourished both in attracting a number of learners and developing its physical building infrastructure during the apartheid era, when Christian National Education was prioritized. The initiative by the Cape Muslim community to provide its own schooling since 1913 has been documented by Ajam (1986, 1989). They were called Moslem Mission Schools, following the trend of Christian Mission Schools. By 1956 15 such schools had been established throughout the City of Cape Town (Ajam 1986, 1989). The schools provided jobs for Muslim educators who could not get posts at Christian based schools and for Muslim children whose parents were concerned about the dominant Christian ethos at both state and missionary schools.

Muhammadeyah Primary School

Since its inception in 1929, this Muslim faith-based school had only had five headmasters and it is under their timelines as headmasters that I want to give context to my discussion and reflections. All five headmasters were Muslims and they all came from the immediate and nearby community areas in Cape Town, thus highlighting the closely-knit nature of the Muslim community that existed within a secular state.

This primary school initially started out as a Muslim missionary school in 1929 with 11 learners (pre-school to Standard 3) and is now a public school under the jurisdiction of the Western Cape Education Department in line with the rules and regulations of the South African Schools Act (1996). The Act made provision for only two types of schools: public and independent schools. Unlike many other Muslim schools that took the independent schools option, Muhammadeyah Primary chose to become a public school. In this way it received more support from the government and also maintained its Islamic identity as it attracted mostly Muslim learners. The school justified its existence as a Muslim faith-based school by providing a good integrated Islamic programme. Parents preferred this public school as both religious and secular subjects were taught within one management.

The reasons for the establishment of this primary school are clearly outlined by one of the school's former principals, Rashaad Jedaar (1992: 1):

Muhammadeyah was born out of a need in the Muslim community at the Cape, and Wynberg in particular, for a school with an educational curriculum that would provide its children with the traditional "religious" education in addition to the tools to participate actively and creatively in the socio-economic life of the country. An education that would inculcate the values of Islam.

Hadjie Mohammad Saleh Berdien was the first principal of the Mohammadeyah Moslem School, in Batts Road, Wynberg, and the founder of the society known as the Moslem Education Trust, which still controls the school which he also founded (*The Sun*, June, 1934). The aim of the school and of the society is depicted in the Trust Deed (12 July 1929), i.e. to uplift, improve, develop, or educate spiritually, mentally, physically and extrinsically the youth of the country, and to guide them towards the goal of good and useful citizenship – 'good' here in the sense of obedience to God and 'useful' in the sense of service to humanity. Clearly the aim of the school was extracted from the Quranic injunction that 'the best of you are those who believe in God and serve and are a benefit to humanity'.

As a community activist, the school's first principal Mogamat Saleh Berdien was the chairman of the Wynberg branch of the Cape Malay Association from 1924 to 1934. His community interaction commitment in local Muslim affairs made him the ideal Muslim faith-based principal. Initially, he had to struggle to maintain departmental standards in his two-roomed school. He was faced from the outset with an educational dilemma. This is emphasised by Jedaar (1992: 4):

Since the inception of the school, the first principal was torn between two ideological pressures: departmental demand for cognitive skills and the community's Culturo-Religious needs. In virtually every school report he was reprimanded for his bias towards Arabic and reminded of his academic function as principal.

Amongst the first learners was his eldest son, Abduraquieb Berdien (1998), who had the following to say:

I attended this school in 1930 when I was 7 years old. At that time there were only 5 classrooms from Sub A to Std 3 and all classes were Afrikaans. I was also involved in a protest against Apartheid at Constantia station which is now Wittebome Station. In 1933 Mr Saleh Berdien discovered that about 70 boys were not circumcised and called on Mr. Amien Majiet (Blaakers) to do the circumcisions. After the circumcisions, he transported the boys home by horse and cart.

During my interview with Mr Abduraquieb Berdien it became obvious that the school was absolutely involved in the cultural and traditional activities of its immediate community. Besides opposing the apartheid regime openly, the school also showed its closeness with its parent community in maintaining religious traditions by facilitating circumcision for their boys who attended the school. When Mogamat Saleh Berdien left the school in 1943, his successor, Ishmael Solomon, inherited a school with strong culturo-religious traditions.

Under the leadership of the new principal, Ishmael Solomon (1943–1979), the school underwent tremendous growth both in student enrolment and the enhancement and development of the physical state of the building. He found himself performing a multiplicity of roles: teacher, caretaker, builder and social worker. As a young committed teacher he had the stamina and the motivation to undertake the task with such vigour that in his very first inspection report (July, 1946) the inspector commented thus: 'the new principal devotes himself whole-heartedly to the culture-religious interests of the school'.

According to Mrs Ayesha Hendricks, who attended the school from 1965 to 1972, Mr Solomon was a very strict but fair principal. He was strict when it came to teaching learners the basics about Islam such as the articles of faith (Shahadah) and rules concerning ablution (Abdas) and prayer (Salah). He encouraged the memorisation of short prayers (Duas). He used the cane as a form of corporal punishment on a regular basis and this type of behaviour was fully supported and approved by the school's community. According to Widaad Kenny (1998), her grandmother, who also attended Muhammadeyah, went to school bare feet and received free soup, cod liver oil as well as jam and bread. They had to write on a black slate board. In spite of these humble beginnings the school managed to grow in stature. By 1979 the enrolment had reached 600 and the school was upgraded to a P1 (a large primary) school. At the end of that year, and coinciding with the school's 50th anniversary, Mr Ishmael Solomon retired and handed over the principalship to his deputy, Mr Rashard Jedaar.

Mr Rashard Jedaar (1980–1994) took up his task as principal with much zeal and enthusiasm, and consolidated many of the ambitions of his predecessors. The school's roll increased to the 800 mark and more classrooms were built out of necessity. In his quest for efficiency, he became the first principal to employ a full-time secretary at the school. He introduced the school to the 'computer age'. He encouraged all his teachers to become computer literate and to further their studies in all facets of education. Many of the Islamic songs and quasidahs (Arabic stories) that the learners had to learn were captured and disseminated in the form of computer discs (CDs). It is also worth mentioning that it was under his guidance and supervision that the school undertook an educational tour (Umrah) to the holy cities of Mecca and Medina in Saudi Arabia in 1988. It is customary for the Muslim community to rally around and visit persons travelling to Mecca. Thus the Umrah was a good initiative that drew more learners to the school. It also strengthened and reinforced the bond between the school and the Muslim community in its surrounding areas.

It was during his period as principal that I was employed as a young educator from the beginning of 1985. When I started teaching, I had to fall in line with the

established practices at school as I suppose many a teacher before me did. Because of my inexperience I felt the need to imitate the experienced teachers. Initially, I received regular visits from my principal, who suggested that my class control was too weak as the learners were talking too much in class. The advice given was that instead of aimless noise, learners had to be exposed to recitation (Batcha) of the Holy Quran. This would not only enhance their spirituality, but also their good morals as human beings. This was followed up with regular class visits from my department head, whose duty (as I soon realised) was to check the books of the learners and their cleanliness. In a consistent way learners were encouraged to be neat and clean according to the cleanliness (Tohaarah) guidelines and rituals of the Quran and Sunnah (Hadith).

I soon realised that in order to become accepted as an 'insider' in the school I had to follow the path (Tariqa) of those experienced teachers who were there before me. It did not take me long to become the disciplinarian the school demanded me to be. It is an easy task to regiment learners. In being more authoritarian I became an efficient teacher and more accepted among my teaching colleagues. I seemed to dominate all discussions in class and the learners responded exactly the way I wanted them to. It would be appropriate to quote my inspector's report of 1989, 'Mr O Esau teaches with authority and has a good class control …' Although I felt good about the reports that I was getting from the inspector and the principal at that time, I somehow felt a bit uneasy about the way I was treating the learners in my classes. My understanding of being a teacher in Islam was at odds with my classroom practice. A teacher in Islam must consult (make Shura) and most of all make use of good action (Ta'dib). The concepts that frame Islamic Education is aptly clarified by Waghid (2011: 2–4)

> Islamic education can most appropriately be framed according to three interrelated concepts: tarbiyyah (rearing or nurturing), ta' lim (learning/instruction) and ta' dib (good action). … A maximalist account of learning, on the other hand, does not entirely reject rote learning per se, but argues that learning is more a matter of public deliberation (shura)

What inspired me at that time to become a more democratic teacher was amongst other things such as anti-apartheid political gatherings and boycotts, the BEd Honours course that I studied at the University of the Western Cape. According to Nicolson and van den Berg (1990: 3)

> … the institution (UWC) has developed to a point in its history where it is without doubt the university in this country that has most unequivocally committed its teaching, research and service activities to an anti-apartheid and to the post-apartheid ideal. … The discourse generated by these challenging conditions, the social proximity of practice to the University's theoretical activities, make of this institution as intellectually charged and vital an environment as anyone can wish to be working in.

Many of the modules that I completed during my BEd encouraged me to reflect on the realities of education and society. I started to understand more about the plight and hardships experienced by the economically disadvantaged and culturally deprived students. I started to understand more about the effects of apartheid on the large mass of people in our country. The readings of Freire, McLaren, Giroux, Gramsci, Apple, Althusser, and Bowles and Gintis exposed me to the role that

schools play in perpetuating or contesting the status quo in society. As a result of this greater awareness, I started to become more concerned about the wellbeing of my learners. I strongly felt that I needed to democratise my teaching – my own work place. In my attempt to transform my teaching I had to go on a journey of change. To assist me on my journey I enrolled for an Action Research Master's programme at the University of the Western Cape. This course instilled in me renewed vigour, enthusiasm and a more comprehensive perspective on schooling and education. It was during this period that South Africa had a change in government and during 1994 Nelson Mandela became the first ever democratically elected president of South Africa.

Being a principal and opposing the apartheid regime was not an easy task. However, the faith-based school thrived under the leadership of Mr Rashard Jedaar, an academic and community activist. He allowed the voices of the parents to be recognised by establishing a strong PTA (Parent Teachers Association). The PTA became the democratic voice of the school, although the MET (Muslim Education Trust) established way back by Mr Salih Berdien still existed. Bringing the two bodies together was complex, as the MET claimed they owned the school and were its custodians. The PTA felt that, as the parents and teachers paying school fees and organising the daily upkeep and activities of the school, they had the right to make decisions concerning who must teach or work at the school. As the secretary of the PTA for about 15 years, I became deeply involved in the activities and the development of new policies of the school. As South Africa was about to enter into a new post-apartheid era, Mr Rashard Jedaar retired in 1994 and handed the responsibilities of the school to the new principal, Mr Sedick Gamiet.

Mr Sedick Gamiet (1994–1996) was the head of the school for a short period until December 1996. During his short reign he established the Muhammadeyah Pre-school, which was initially housed at the Vigilance Centre in Bega Road, also in the Wynberg area. The Pre-school was to give the Grade R learners a sound foundation in, among other things, Arabic recitation and Islamic Studies. He also initiated the building of the Salaah (prayer) hall and improved the school grounds by demolishing the old toilets and replacing them with new ones. It was during his career as principal that we witnessed the South African education sector undergoing tremendous change.

On paper the apartheid era was drawing to a close and this led to large-scale retrenchments in government sectors. Muhammadeyah Primary was forced to decrease its staff because of the changes in teacher-pupil ratios as prescribed by the education policy. As the school was situated in Wynberg a 'coloured' area, the new government had to prioritise equity and also spend more on the previously disadvantaged 'black' areas such as Khayalitsha and Nyanga. This was somewhat confusing to some people as they were not aware that 'coloureds' were also on a very small scale more advantaged in the apartheid system. Having also struggled and also being deprived of the vote during the apartheid era, some of the Muslim parents and also teachers of Muhammadeyah felt disappointed in the new African National Congress government. They expected to be given a better deal after the demise of apartheid, but felt an injustice when they had to lose teachers at

Muhammadeyah Primary School because of the government's retrenchment initiatives. Deciding on who had to leave the school was not easy as teachers at the faith-based school felt a special commitment of belonging to the institution. This was indeed an unpleasant period at the school, especially as staff members had to rationalise and vote who must go or stay on at Muhammadeyah.

At the time it was clear that political imperatives superseded educational priorities. After so many years in which the majority of people in South Africa had been deprived of the right to equal formal access, and even more importantly to epistemological access, the new government felt very strongly compelled not to wait any longer to put in place a new education dispensation. The years after 1994 saw the implementation of Curriculum 2005, which promoted an outcomes–based approach to education. Curriculum 2005 has its roots and precedents in the struggles of social movements around education and the curriculum in the pre-apartheid period, but it is also a 'transformation' of those struggles born in a context of social compromise (Motala and Vally 2002: 180; see also Cross et al. 2002). Negotiations between the then apartheid government and civil society in the National Education and Training Forum in 1993 were followed by a process of curriculum 'cleansing' immediately after Bhengu took office in 1994.

Although the legacy of apartheid will remain with us for a long time, one can also see at a number of levels in our education system that the cracks of the new planned education initiative precipitance is starting to show its negative side. Jansen and Sayed (2001: 272) warned that 'the making of educational policy in South Africa is best described as a struggle for the achievement of a broad political symbolism to mark the shift from apartheid to post-apartheid society' rather than entailing a serious consideration of the new policies' effects on especially those who were marginalised before. Along the same lines, Morrow (2007: 2) argues that 'we increasingly reach for curriculum reform and shallow notions of accountability in our desperate attempt to accomplish the much-to-be-desired transformation of education which does not yet seem at hand'. Underlying both these concerns is the issue of lack of time to consult cutting-edge research and to spend time to think carefully through the pros and cons of new curriculum policies and their implementation. I think to avoid the conflict and the demands made by the government on principals during this period, Mr Gamiet rather opted for early retirement after being principal for only two years at this faith-based school.

The new principal who took up his post in January 1997 was Mr Ebrahim Ismail and he continues to head the school today. As a former pupil at Muhammadeyah (Sub A in 1959), he had been groomed and socialised within the school's immediate community.

In 1997, with an enrolment of 866 pupils, 26 classrooms and a staff of 28, Muhammadeyah was among the biggest state-aided Muslim schools in the Western Cape. This staff establishment was short lived as the school soon felt the pinch of the government's retrenchment and redeployment policy in education. Being essentially a Muslim Mission School, it has great support among the Muslim community in both its immediate environment as well as the surrounding suburbs. The school enjoys a long lineage of family ties going as far back as 1929, when it was established.

Many learners were transported by means of buses from surrounding areas to attend the school. As the school fees increased, some parents were forced to leave the school. Others who were economically stronger opted to take their children to the previously advantaged ('white') schools, where they claimed they could get a better education for their children.

In 1999, under the guidance of Mr Ebrahim Ismail, Muhammadeyah Primary undertook another educational journey to the Middle East. This Umrah (visit to Mecca and Medina) trip once again reinforced the community spirit within the school. Normally when Muslims visit Mecca and Medina a big 'send off' becomes customary. This brings the community together and it enhances social activity. This community spirit also made fundraising easier at the faith-based school than at other previously disadvantaged school. The year 2000 also saw Muhammadeyah acquiring its own computer lab. This room with all its latest technological computer equipment assisted in developing the much-needed computer literacy skills at the school. It also helped to enhance improve the Quranic and Arabic lessons of the learners at the faith-based school. This, among other things, became a major attraction for the Muslim learners in the surrounding areas.

Now, in 2012, although it is a public school, this faith-based school still maintains its Islamic ethos and still upholds its original aims and objectives from the time of its inception in 1929. The school, which was initially an Afrikaans-medium institution, has now been changed into an English-medium school. As a Muslim school, it offers a third language, Arabic, as well as Islamic Studies in its curriculum. Recently the Governing Body purchased the house adjacent to the school in its quest to acquire more land. Although the school has a Muslim base, it attracts learners from other cultural backgrounds as well. Given the support it gets from the community, there appears to be a need for community schools such as Muhammadeyah in South Africa.

Challenges Facing Muhammadeyah in a Post-apartheid Era

In a post-apartheid era the school faced the challenge of becoming more inclusive of the South African 'Rainbow Nation'. As part of the 'multicultural landscape' in our diverse society, the faith-based school has a role and responsibility in the pursuit of the goals of multicultural education. This role and responsibility apply both in respect of the school's constituent community and the secular society, as the school encourages its learners and families to value positively differing religious viewpoints and their cultural expressions; to the wider society, as the school demonstrates its commitment to cultural awareness and inclusion. In consequence, faith-based schools, such as Muhammadeyah can serve the greater public good over and above the good they can serve within their own faith-based communities.

I want to concur with Banks (2006: 208) that a clearly, thoughtfully developed cultural identification will result in a 'better citizen'. In considering cultural identity, the religious dimension is both relevant and inescapable since, on the one hand,

the religious frameworks of Islam locate the individual in relation to an understanding of the nature of God and since, on the other hand, religious understanding is expressed in cultural contexts through the behavioural and ethical expectations that have their origins in an understanding of faith. Consequently, faith–based schools are uniquely placed to provide for the thoughtful development and clarity of understanding in their communities for which Banks (2006) calls. Faith-based schools seek to develop a sense of identity in all their students, arising from their religious framework of understanding. Moreover, the religious/cultural identity that is supported by faith-based schools impacts on more than 'religious' families, since families that do not themselves share a personal faith commitment may also enrol their children in a faith-based school. Amongst the reasons for such enrolment may include a desire for children to be exposed to the moral education that the school offers, or to become familiar with the cultural traditions of the school, and to participate in the various rituals such as Ramadaan, Eid-ul-Fitr, Mouloud and Gadats, etc.

The faith-based school can play its part in developing a more nuanced understanding of citizenship in this way through its religious education programmes of personal development and citizenship education. With its understanding of faith, culture and behavioural imperatives, the faith-based school can, through its programmes, help its students and its wider society to understand culture-specific rights and responsibilities. Moreover, within these programmes the school can integrate and critique these rights and responsibilities within a broader framework applicable to all citizens as outlined through the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights (United Nations 1948) and the Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO 2002).

However, the challenge for the faith-based school is to evaluate its education against both underpinning universal human values and its faith tradition is worth taking up, since the stakes are high for all of us living in multi-ethnic and multi-religious societies. Banks (2006: 208) observes that 'unity without diversity results in hegemony and oppression; diversity without unity leads to Balkanization and the fracturing of the nation-state'.

As a teacher that had the privilege to teach for more than two decades at a Muslim faith-based school, I strongly believe that faith-based schools such as Muhammadeyah, despite the obvious challenge of becoming exclusive provides a good basis for its learners to become confident to engage and deliberate and most of all cultivate a concept of sharing and mutual respect for other people, more so in a post-apartheid era.

Conclusion

The chapter has attempted to reflect on a faith-based school from the dual perspectives of an insider: one as a teacher with the 'lived' experiences of being a Muslim in a secular society, and two, as a teacher-researcher and a reflective practitioner.

From sketching the challenges and opportunities experienced by the various headmasters, one can get a sense of what the faith-based school is faced with in contemporary society. Although my experience was in a Muslim faith-based school in a South African context, I submit that it holds value for other faith-based schools as well.

As a faith-based school, Muhammadeyah Primary School promotes and speaks to moral concerns about the nature of a just society in that its policy and practice show commitment to social inclusion, social justice, tolerance, mutual respect and equity. In strengthening its policies of sharing and caring, the faith-based school contributes to the greater good of all and promotes a cohesiveness that is much needed in our attempts to promote better teaching and learning in post-modern society.

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Chapter 25
Muslim Women and Cosmopolitanism: Reconciling the Fragments of Identity, Participation and Belonging

Nuraan Davids

Introduction

Understanding Muslim women necessitates an understanding of what it is that gives meaning and form to how Muslim women construct and live their identities. Understanding the meaning and form of identity construction amongst Muslim women dictates an analysis of the type of Islamic education which these women are exposed to. Underscoring this chapter is my contention that the intent to understand Muslim women's education and the rationales of their educational context and practice opens itself to a plurality of interpretations, which in itself would be a reflection of the pluralism of understanding of the practices of Islām. By examining three specifically identified images of identity construction amongst six Muslim women – Domesticity and Patriarchy; Identity, Belonging and *Hijāb* (head-scarf); and Public/Private Participation – I will explore how these women, through their respective relationships, and varied interpretations of Islam, offer a renewed understanding of what could be a contribution to cosmopolitan society. Leading from this, I will show how a cosmopolitan society ought to contribute to, and draw from these multiple identities. And lastly, by looking at the contributions from both Muslim women and cosmopolitanism, I will discuss the implications for Islamic education.

The Different Images of a Common Faith

Underscoring identity construction amongst Muslim women is my contention that different spaces of Islamic education provide different types of Islamic education, since what is taught and how this teaching occurs is defined and shaped by the types

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of people (both teachers and students) who occupy them. So Muslim women, for instance, might all learn that salāh (prayers), zakāh (almsgiving) or fasting during the month of Ramadān is obligatory on all Muslims, but how the salāh is performed, or how women ought to dress might differ depending on the particular school of thought employed at the educational institution, or how the role and responsibility of the women are understood within Islamic exegesis and tradition. Then, depending on the type of teaching – whether it facilitates engagement or talking back – the type of learning at various Islamic institutions might yield very different forms of Islamic understandings, even interpretations of what Islamic education itself encapsulates. So, while one student might be exposed to a dogmatic style of teaching, where talking back is neither encouraged nor expected, since what is being taught invites no debate or deliberation, the other student might understand Islamic education, and by implication, Islam, as a dialogical encounter of character and relationship building.

Drawing on the premise of multiple understandings and interpretations of Islam, and on a case study research, I will now explore the identity constructions of six different Muslim women – who I have named Mariam, Nadia, Thania, Shameema, Yumna, and Leila. By reconstructing their presentations and representations, I have identified three images: Domesticity and Patriarchy; Identity, Belonging and *Hijāb* (head-scarf); and Public/Private Participation. These three images are representative of particular identities of Muslim women, which in turn, are representative of particular versions of Islām. They present and represent different Islamic worldviews, which are understood in terms of identity construction and identity practice. The three images which I have identified are not separate, isolated entities. While constructed in terms of domesticity, individuality, belonging and participation, they exist and are interspersed across a continuum ranging from less to more compliant and normative constructions of Muslim identity. It is my contention that these three images, while offering a glimpse of Muslim women in South Africa (the context of the case study research), might also be representative of other Muslim women in the world.

Image 1: Domesticity and Patriarchy

In describing the role of Muslim women in Islam, Stowasser (1994: 7) states that, 'The woman fights a holy war for the sake of Islamic values where her conduct, domesticity, and dress are vital for the survival of the Islamic way of life. Religion, morality, and culture stand and fall with her'. This war, according to her, is fought through the Muslim woman's dress, her conduct and her domesticity. Highlighting the concept of domesticity and in her analysis of the role of Muslim women, Stowasser (1994: 7) asserts that, 'The scripture-based legality of women's seclusion in the house, and even within the house (subsumed under the concept of *hijāb*) then also signifies the legality of the Muslim woman's exclusion from any institutionalized participation in public affairs.' Critical to her argument is the way Muslim women interact with and within their private sphere, and how this

interaction speaks to their identity construction and how that identity connects and constructs notions of Muslim identity. Two of the women in the cases, Nadia and Thania, for instance, hold that Muslim women, who seek Islamic education, have nothing else to do, especially once they have fulfilled their responsibilities of raising their children. In this understanding domesticity and having leisure time make it easier for Muslim women to pursue their Islamic education. By contrast, Mariam believes that when Muslim women enter domesticity, they stop seeking Islamic education, and they do not use it in their daily lives, because they do not see the link between the education they have acquired and their own spirituality. What Mariam alludes to is a disconnection between knowledge of Islām and how this knowledge is enacted – leading to one of my central assertions in this chapter that what is known about Islām might not necessarily be lived, and what is lived might not necessarily be known.

As two examples of the disconnection between knowledge of Islām and the lived experiences of Islām, I want to look at the marital experiences of Shameema and Mariam – who both found themselves in polygamous marriages – as two instances of a type of domesticity which frame the role and function of the women in that relationship. Shameema remains in her marital home and in her marriage after her husband remarries his first wife, and later marries yet another, without informing her. She decides to stay in the hope that through her staying he will eventually be the husband she would like him to be. Although Shameema knows and acknowledges that his actions run contrary to her understanding of the teaching of Islām, she neither confronts her husband with her knowledge, nor does she confront herself in terms of remaining in the marriage. In a similar vein, Mariam proceeds into a marriage, knowing that she is not her husband's only wife – a status she is informed about days before the actual marriage. Yet she marries him, in the hope of experiencing marriage and that he would be the type of husband that she was hoping for.

In order to understand why Shameema stays, and why Mariam proceeds into a less than authentic relationship, one needs to appreciate the centrality of the actual concept, design and construction of marriage in Islām. In terms of an Islamic social framework, as well as network, marriage constitutes a critical facet of belief and action, and in turn, as the basis of society. Essentially, the mainstay of marriage is in its status as the foundational basis of family. Ramadan (2001: 37–38) explains that it is in marriage that the initial social nucleus and first normative structure must be built, and that all Muslim societies are compelled to do everything in order to ensure the preservation of marriage, and consequently, family. This view is also found in Stowasser's (1994: 7) positioning of Muslim women as the guardian of Islamic values, that they are the nurturers of the social aspects and society of Islām. The organisation of society, states Ramadan (2001: 39–40), is dependent on the level of consciousness of the individuals who make it up. He elaborates that every facet in Muslim worship prioritises the notion and sustainability of community, 'To practice one's religion is to participate in the social order and thus, there cannot be a religious conscience without social ethics and nothing, is more explicit in Islamic teaching.' Ramadan's views echo Al-Attas's (1977) contention that the ultimate objective of education in Islām is to produce a good man or woman, rather than a

good citizen, as a good man or woman will become a good citizen, who serves society and its values. This assertion is based on Al-Attas's argument that the self is only meaningful when it is of benefit to himself and to society, and that it is only through being of benefit to others that one will attain happiness in the hereafter. In understanding Shameema and Mariam, therefore, one needs to comprehend that their social roles and responsibilities as wives cannot be divorced from, or given less prominence than the individual need or desire. If this were the case it would run contrary to Al-Attas's depiction of a 'good person'. The unity of purpose of education in Islām, maintains Hashim (2004), resides in the argument that there is no contradiction between societal and individual aims. Of course, while there might not be a contradiction between societal and individual aims in Islam, there is however a clear contradiction between the conduct of Shameema and Mariam, as the custodians of the Islamic concept of family, and the conduct of their respective husbands. This brings me to the other side of the image of domesticity – patriarchy – because it might not be enough to only look at the centrality of marriage in Islam. Perhaps it is of greater importance to understand the foundational mores of what constitutes marriage in Islam, and who exactly shapes these mores.

Interviews with the women discussed in this chapter revealed that, except for attending *madrassah* (Muslim school) during their formative years, only a few of them have ever sought further education in Islam, and all of them have a limited understanding of Qur'anic exegesis – a limitation which is not uncommon among Muslim women more generally. To the average Muslim woman or man, says Wadud (2006: 19), Islām is whatever has been inherited, culturally and ethically: 'Since they are Muslim, they do Islam.' As Barlas (2002: 3) explains, without understanding the liberatory aspects of Qur'anic teachings, or unquestioningly accepting its patriarchal exegesis, Muslim women 'cannot contest the association, falsely constructed by misreading scripture, between sacred and sexual oppression.' Wadud (2006: 96) highlights a critical distinction, that historically while women participated in the memorisation of the Qur'an and in the transmission of *ahādith* (words and actions of the Prophet Muhammad PBUH), they did not participate in the establishment of Islam's paradigmatic foundations. And because they are not in a position to counter patriarchal interpretations of scripture, they accept these interpretations as sacred and inadvertently become what Shaikh (2003) describes as proponents of their patriarchal heritage.

Narrowly speaking, explains Barlas (2002: 12–13), 'Patriarchy is a historically specific mode of rule by fathers that, in its religious and traditional forms, assumes a real as well as symbolic continuum between the 'Father/fathers', that is, between a patriachalized view of God as Father/male, and a theory of father-right, extending to the husband's claim to rule over his wife and children.' It is the 'father-right' found in Thania's comment that men are expected to take care of women, and women are expected to take care of the home and the children. And it is the 'father-right' experienced by Nadia in her work environment when she explains that generally Muslim men do not treat her as their equal professionally. Interpretations of Islām as a religious patriarchy, expounds Barlas (2002), are as a consequence of

numerous conceptual confusions, of which the most prevalent is between reading the Qur'an as revelation and reading the Qur'an as a historical text. She continues that the gap between what is inferred from the Qur'an and what is actually read in the Qur'an begins to explain why a number of practices that are labelled 'Islamic' do not, in fact, originate from the Qur'an's teachings. It is not 'Islamic' for a Muslim man not to inform his wife of his decision to take another wife, as in Shameema's case. Her knowledge of this leads to her statement that her husband 'might not be the best example for her to take when it comes to Islam'. Hence, Barlas (2002: 14) maintains, 'we need to make another equally crucial distinction that patriarchal readings of Islam do not make: between Islam in theory and Islam in practice, thus also between Islam and already existing patriarchies on the one hand and Islam and Muslim history and practices on the other'.

Without doubt, Islām places tremendous priority on the preservation of the family as a building block for a just society. But, this does not mean prioritising it at the expense of the individual. And it certainly does not mean that women cannot step outside of their roles as family members (Ramadan 2001: 56). Muslim women, as the main casualties of patriarchal (mis)readings of religious texts, unintentionally endorse oppressive interpretations when they do not have the knowledge to question or act against it (Barlas 2002: 3–4). Ultimately, it would appear that the challenge for Muslim women lies in their willingness to take control of their own identity construction and enactment. For as long as Muslim women remain on the periphery of their own identity construction and designated social roles, some Muslim men will continue to assume to be the authoritative voices on Muslim women in Islam (Wadud 2010). Ironically, it is precisely the rights of women which the Qur'an and the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) address and seek to improve, most specifically focusing on the three areas of marriage, divorce and inheritance (Wadud 2010; Badran 2009) – areas that continue to be the main sites of oppression for some Muslim women. Hence, inasmuch as a lack of a coherent understanding of Qur'anic exegesis, can have far-reaching and possibly detrimental effects on some Muslim women, the Qur'an and the Sunnah offer far-reaching changes and improvements to the conditions of these very same women.

The Qur'an does not address women only in terms of their roles and functions. It addresses them as individuals, as part of a family, and as members of a community (Wadud 2002). And so the space of domesticity and private affairs and the space of social responsibility are not mutually exclusive. What I am arguing for is that when Muslim women reconcile their knowledge of Islām with their living enactments and experiences, cognisance should be given to the thought that the claim to a primary identity of Islām does not necessarily mean the construction of a monolithic Islamic identity, and that given the various levels at which the Qur'an addresses women, and given the emphasis which Islām places on the social aspect of individuals, it might be more important to consider an identity which is manifold. A manifold identity will give recognition to the diversity of my roles as a Muslim woman, which will facilitate my engagement with a cosmopolitan society, which, in turn, will give shape to my identity.

Image 2: Identity, Belonging and *Hijāb*

According to Cooke (2001: 130), 'Images we have of each other are part of the baggage we bring to dialogue. Sometimes we are at the mercy of our image; sometimes we hide behind it; sometimes we act as though neither of us had an image of the other. Sometimes, those ideal times, the image disappears and the contact is unmediated by the myth. Then we act as individuals between whom messages pass easily.' She asserts that it is the extent to which the image is present in dialogue that impacts on the way in which the identity is articulated. The less apparent and present the image, the more individuated the self, which is projected, will be. Cooke states that the more the image interposes between two people, however, the more community-defined the individual identity will be. A number of the women in the cases have had direct experiences or have observed the trespassing of the type of interjection described by Cooke, and it is an interjection which perhaps has never been as profound as it has been in a post 9/11 world.

Wadud (2006: 226) vividly details the interruption of her image moments after the rippling impact of 9/11: 'As I drove home, I did become frightened. I slipped my scarf off my head and wore it draped over my shoulders. I could not be sure what an angry driver might do to me in the state of heightened panic and loss of control. That was my first erasure – the loss of choice.' Shameema, a convert to Islam, encountered it when she walks down the street: 'I am called bad names in my community. People make fun of my *hijāb*. People accuse me of adopting other people's religion. There is a lot of ignorance about Islām in the township. It is very disturbing. They think all Muslims are terrorists. I am accused of leaving my African traditions and my ancestors.' The image had inserted itself into a community definition of fear and terrorism, leading to what Taylor (1994: 25) describes as the *mis*recognition of others. He expounds that misrecognition or non-recognition can impose harm, and can be a form of oppression since it distorts someone into a reduced state of being. Waghid (2011b: 31) describes this as disrespecting the life-world of others, and maintains that: 'The point about respecting the life-world of others is that it involves experiencing them as they present themselves and not fitting into some kind of preconceived picture of one's own imaginings – that is, what others should be like'. In agreement, Benhabib (2002: 8) asserts that struggles for recognition are in fact attempts to counteract the status of otherness, insofar as the latter is assumed to entail disrespect and inequality.

With certainty, the most contentious issue among the six women concerned the wearing of the *hijāb*. Understandings thereof ranged from it being obligatory, recommended, and not required. Mernissi (1995: 95), in her description of the *hijāb*, as a key concept in Muslim civilisation captures it as follows: 'Reducing or assimilating this concept to a scrap of cloth that men have imposed on women to veil them when they go into the street is truly to impoverish this term, not to say to drain it of its meaning…' To Ramadan (2001: 55–56) the reductionist interpretation of the *hijāb* hinders a coherent understanding of its meaning. He expounds that at a social level it is an expression of the spiritual and sacred dimension of being.

To him, 'It is about expressing, in our social life, that we are not body, that our worth is not in our forms and that our dignity lies in respect of our being and not in the visibility of our appeals and seductions.' He maintains that the *hijāb* is not a 'sign' of religious adherence. Consequently, on the one hand, there are Muslim women who believe it is a religious obligation, and on the other hand, says Shaikh (2003), there are those who argue that the *hijāb* 'detracts from patriarchal prioritization of women's physical and sexual attractiveness'.

Nadia holds the contradictory view that while it is about personal choice, wearing the *hijāb* is 'probably what should happen'. Her choice not to wear it is simply because she finds it too uncomfortable, but upon some reflection, she dismisses this as an excuse. She maintains, however, that she does not understand her Islamic identity to being limited to the wearing of a *hijāb*. Nadia's opinion is shared by a more critical Thania, who sees the donning of a *hijāb* as unimportant, since it has no bearing on who she is. To Thania, being good and at peace constitutes her Islamic identity, and this has little to do with outer displays of dress. She describes the expectation of wearing the *hijāb* as a patriarchal structure and influence, and not to Islām. Thania's ideological understanding of Islām and her Islamic identity is primarily premised on the notion of guidelines and recommendations, rather than instructions and commands. She places her capacity to reason and to choose firmly at the centre of her understanding of Islām. To her, the Qur'an guides and proposes, but it does not obligate. Consequently, she is ambivalent as to whether the Muslim woman's practice of Islamic identity and concepts are in fact a truthful representation of Islām. At best, she contends, it is one version of a truth. Both Mariam and Yumna, however, align the wearing of the *hijāb* with the deepening of spirituality. So the wearing of the *hijāb* becomes a symbolic signal of a spiritual perception and awareness of Islām, rather than the unconscious display of a peripheral expectation. While Mariam describes the decision by women to display their Islamic identity as an eventual destination, which is linked to finding their spirituality, Yumna describes the *hijāb* not as a form of oppression, but as a form of preservation, modesty and protection of vulnerability.

Leila is entangled in a more complex relationship with regard to the wearing of the *hijāb*, and subsequently, her identity. Her *hijāb*, in a sense, is her identity. To her it is a religious obligation. Like Shameema, Leila believes that it should be worn as a protection, but unlike Shameema, it should be worn as a protection against the outside, more specifically the gazes of unwarranted attention. It is what Murad (2009) describes as 'The double empowerment entailed by the veil, reinforcing the status of the female body as appurtenance to be constructed by an omnipotent male gaze, and concurrently insisting that the woman eludes the eye, suggests that the Islamicate veil is more of a membrane than a mask. It allows the wearer to remain as she is, and the male regard to appropriate her as it needs'. It is a garment Leila has worn since before she realised why she was expected to wear it. Yet she now finds herself consciously opting to no longer wear it, because, on the one hand, she does not own and realize the connection between the external and internal identity, and on the other hand, she struggles to wear it in her work environment where she is required to work with and serve alcohol.

The 'presence of an image', 'the erasure of choice', the 'disrespecting of the life-world of others' – label it what you will. Ultimately it has the potential to inflict harm to such an extent that Taylor's (1994: 25) 'misrecognition of others' can in fact become the misrecognition of the self. Leila's circumstances, which force her to abandon her *hijāb*, since it is incommensurate with the construction of her work environment, lead her to a state where she says: 'I don't feel like myself anymore'. Not only is Cooke's myth mediated, but the myth is in fact self-imposed. Leila buys into the myth and compromises the individuated self for the sake of her work environment. The observation made by Thania, in particular, that there is a stigma attached to Muslim women who veil, since they get assessed differently, presents an interesting scenario of the 'presence of an image', the 'misrecognition of others' and the self-imposed mediated myth, since her observation could be read as a projected comment on her particular relationship with her Islām. Her view that Muslim women are assessed differently could be read that she assesses herself differently. Her sexuality does not conform to normative strands of Islām, which initially forced her to turn away from Islām. Her conscious decision to look for alternative interpretations of the scripture created an avenue for her to reconcile her sexuality with her religion. But, that would also mean irresolution with what normative Islām presents and represents, which traditionally includes the wearing of the *hijāb*. The *hijāb* to Thania, therefore, could also be viewed as representative of the normative Islām in which she was assessed differently and experienced the stigma to which she refers.

Identity and the image of identity, it would seem, interface to such an extent, that the one can easily be (mis)construed as the other. How, then, can Muslim women as individuals manage what they wish to project, so that the image becomes commensurate with their identity? When a Muslim woman dons the *hijāb*, she is doing this as an agent of her identity, and that she is choosing in the words of Jeppie (2001: 82), to enunciate one of her identities within a particular context. But, when some Muslim women wear it, or discard it in response to others, then what emerges is a gap between the action of wearing of it, and the understanding of wearing it. To me, this gap speaks to the disconnection I raised in the previous section, which exists between the knowledge of Islām and the lived experiences of Islām. It is a gap which Ramadan (2001: 53) alludes to when he asserts that: 'To offer(ing) women the horizon of an inward message of Islam by beginning with the importance of the veil is tantamount to committing the same reductionism as that which consists of immediately applying a range of sanctions on the social plane without having undertaken the necessary reforms.' What he is asserting to is that the decision to wear the *hijāb* should firstly be a 'voluntary culmination' of an inward message, that it follows an internalisation of Islam, rather than preceding it or being a catalyst of understanding Islām (Ramadan 2001: 55–56). Secondly, he maintains that the 'voluntary culmination' has to emerge from access to a type of religious education for Muslim women, which allows them to 'contribute in abstracting the essence of the message of Islam from accidents of its rustic, traditional or Bedouin reading'. By abstracting an internalised message of Islām, Muslim women will ensure that their image becomes commensurate with their identity. In this way women, like Thania and Leila, will ensure that the type of image which they project is recognition of the self,

and that this self-recognition is in no way dependent on how they are assessed by others. It is through self-understanding that Muslim women can take responsibility for who they are and what they do, and more importantly, how they respond to others.

Image 3: Public/Private Participation

In the ensuing image and discussion I would like to draw a line from the first, through the second and culminate in the third image, which essentially draws upon the construction of identity, belonging, and the lived experiences of Muslim women across the continuum of public/private. In a sense what I am presenting is a continuum of images, encapsulating particular versions of Islām, within a continuum of public/private landscapes.

Benhabib (1992) explains that access to the public sphere has always been limited by issues of race, class, gender and religion, as well as money and power. But she also states that religion, as a value system, presents one vehicle through which the problems of individualism, egotism and alienation in modern societies can be recovered. She refers to this as the 'integrationist strain', which is in contrast to the 'participatory strain', which ascribes the dilemmas of modernity more to a loss of a sense of political agency and efficacy than to a loss of belonging and unity. Benhabib (1992: 77–78) elaborates that this loss of political agency is not as a result of the disconnection between the political and the personal, but rather as a result of two possibilities. One is the incongruity between the various spheres which reduces one's possibilities for agency in one sphere on the basis of one's position in another sphere. The second possibility is the fact that belonging in the various spheres effectively becomes exclusive due to the nature of the activities involved, while the mutual exclusivity of the spheres are fortified by the system.

All the women in the cases, by virtue of the fact that they are social beings, could recount how they had either experienced difficulties in exercising their Islamic identity in terms of accessing the public sphere, or felt at odds with their Muslim identity, invariably because of their restricted access. Shameema is taunted by her community, her *hijāb* is an object of ridicule, and she is accused of betraying her African traditions and ancestors. Thania believes that Muslim women experience difficulty in exercising their Islamic identity in terms of accessing the public sphere, because there is a stigma attached to the *hijāb*. Women who wear the *hijāb* (head-scarf), she explains, are assessed and treated differently. Nadia is able to draw a clear distinction between the professional regard she receives from Muslim and non-Muslim men in her working environment. She maintains that Muslim men, notably, do not regard her as their professional equal. While all of the women in the cases have experienced and continue to experience tension in their participation in the public sphere, I would like to focus on two of the case studies in particular, those of Leila and Thania. Their stories present two very different sets of lived experiences, but they are illustrative of how the public-private continuum shapes and impacts on identity construction, belonging and participation.

Leila's studies in the hospitality industry requires her to work with pork and alcohol, mix and serve alcohol in a bar, attend functions at nightclubs, and dress in a publicly defined manner of acceptability, which makes it difficult for her to wear her *hijāb* and dress modestly. It becomes clear that her decision to enter the hospitality industry is challenging on two levels. One is at the level of political agency – her religious beliefs dictate that it is forbidden for her to work with pork or alcohol. Two, her access to the public sphere of her working environment is limited by the physical appearance and statement of her *hijāb*. Both levels prevent her from accessing a space where she can exercise what Benhabib refers to as a 'coherent sense of self'. The outer displays of Islām, which have always been a part of her identity, are incommensurate with the world in which she needs to operate. Wearing a *hijāb* at a bar is a paradox – it presents Leila with a conflict of moralistic tones, which forces her to choose one over the other. She decides to abandon her *hijāb*, since after three years of being in the industry, she has realised that the public sphere of the hospitality industry cannot accommodate her identity; she has to accommodate it. Her de-situatedness is encapsulated in Benhabib's (1992: 79) comment that: 'Modern societies are not communities integrated around a single conception of the human good or even a shared understanding of the value of belonging to community itself.'

But there is an inherent conflict in Leila. And it is a conflict complicated both in terms of how the self has and is constructed, as well as the moral space it inhabits. Benhabib asserts that the situated self cannot be de-linked from the community in which it has been shaped and in which it lives. So when Leila is placed in a community where she cannot exercise her Muslim identity, she is left describing herself as being disconnected from Islām. Taylor (1989: 28), who maintains that there is an essential link between identity and a kind of orientation, explains that the moral space, which Leila has always occupied, has been disturbed by another space. He elaborates as follows: 'To know who you are is to be oriented in moral space, a space in which questions arise about what is good or bad, what is worth doing and what is not, what has meaning and importance for you and what is trivial and secondary'. There is, however, as Leila reveals, something else which has disturbed her moral space and which has resulted in her lack of political agency. It is revealed in the initial stages of our interview, when she says, 'I was brought up in a home of strong Islamic values, and I attended an Islamic high school, but I've lost it. It has been made worse by the hospitality industry.'

The challenges contained in the story of Thania present a very different conflict between the public and private identities. It also necessitates a different type of navigation towards belonging and participation across the public-private continuum. As a homosexual, Thania has had to un-learn what she describes as the dogma and traditions in which she was raised in order to accept who she is within a Muslim construction. According to Taylor (1989: 35), we can only be inducted into personhood by being initiated into a language, which is constructed by those who raise us. The language or dogma to which Thania refers is what Nasr (2010: 72) describes as the norm: 'Islam bases itself on the norm and not on departure from the norm without denying that some departures also exist, for example, in the case of homosexuality, which has always existed in certain sectors of Islamic society as it has existed in

other societies.' Because of this view of normative Islām, Thania temporarily turns away from Islām, essentially because she had been taught that there is no space for her sexuality in Islām. But the conflict persists in much the same way as that experienced by Leila because, to repeat Benhabib, the situated self cannot be disconnected from the community in which it has been shaped. Unlike the experience of Leila, it is her private, rather than her public space, which problematises her sense of self, belonging and participation. Thania does not experience Leila's displacement in her working environment. Rather, it becomes the surrogate sanctity of her private sphere, both in terms of physical space and in constructing an alternative to normative Islām.

While Leila abandons her *hijāb* in order to succumb to the particularities of the public space of modern society, Thania discards what she describes as an Islām which does not accept her in terms of her sexual identity. This leads her to look for another type of Islām, through alternative interpretations of the scripture, through which she is able to reconcile her sexuality with her Muslim identity. Thania presents an interesting reflection on the tension between what is considered as normative, and what is considered as alternative. Like identity construction, the two concepts of alternative and normative are continually in flux, since it is constantly being re-interpreted in terms of the lens through which it is being gauged. What I consider to be normative Islām could be the alternative Islām of someone else, and certainly the very notion of an alternative Islām might very well present such a degree of otherness to some Muslims, that it might not be considered to be Islām at all.

In the first image of Domesticity and Patriarchy I stated that the disconnection between knowledge of Islām and the lived experience of Islām allows for the construction of a space and interaction where what is known about Islām might not necessarily be lived, and what is lived might not necessarily be known. The second image of Identity, Belonging and *Hijāb*, concluded with Ramadan's (2001: 53) argument that the decision to wear the *hijāb* should be a 'voluntary culmination' of an inward message, which can only emerge from access to a type of religious education for Muslim women, which allows them to 'contribute in abstracting the essence of the message of Islam from accidents of its rustic, traditional or Bedouin reading'. So, on the one hand, according to Ramadan (2001), it is about the type of religious education to which Muslim women have access, which could begin to provide the missing information to the disconnection Leila feels with her Islamic identity. It also says something about Thania's conscious decision to discard the religious education, in which she was reared, in order to re-define herself through what she describes as 'alternative interpretations of scripture'. But on the other hand, women in Islām, as explained by Hassim (1991), are primarily defined in relation to their location within the private sphere, as wife and mother, while men are defined primarily in their public roles, as providers and protectors. And this, too, could provide an explanation for Leila's discord in her working environment as a public space – that the type of religious education which she has internalised has not equipped her for her role in a public space. Quite the opposite, the type of religious education received by Thania has not equipped her for her private identity and space as a Muslim homosexual woman.

The Public/Private Participation image resonates across the images of Domesticity and Patriarchy and Identity, Belonging and *Hijāb*. Domesticity designates spatial dimensions of private, while patriarchy speaks to that of public, as well of private. When these two continuums intersect, a gap might or might not occur, based on the type of religious education to which the Muslim woman has been exposed. The donning of the *hijāb* is in response to a public space – the Muslim woman wears it when she leaves the privacy of her home. It is worn as a symbol of consciousness and submission to God, and it is worn to shield her from the public gazes of public men, yet it draws as much attention as it is meant to deflect, which hampers her capacity to actively participate in a cosmopolitan society. So, what should cosmopolitanism offer in order to ensure that Muslim women are able to actively participate in a pluralistic society? And what type of Islamic education should Muslim women be exposed to, and participate in so that how they shape their identities are a contribution, rather than a hurdle to cosmopolitanism?

Cosmopolitanism: A Reconciliation of Identities

Depending on the types of Islamic education they are exposed to, the images of Muslim women vary across a continuum of identity, belonging and participation – ranging from less to more compliant and normative constructions of Muslim identity. What emerges is an array of images which, in my opinion, connects with notions of cosmopolitanism, as explicated by Nussbaum (1997), Benhabib (2002, 2006, 2011), and Merry and De Ruyter (2009). And in essence, the singularity of a Muslim identity is a misnomer. Inasmuch that one cannot talk about a singular identity for Muslim women, there is an inherent singular thread of commonality, regardless of geographic, linguistic, ethnic and cultural diversity, which signals belonging, and that is their shared faith (Cooke 2001: 130). It is my contention that the continuum of images, that I have presented and discussed are manifestations of the cosmopolitan nature of Muslim identity amongst women. It is also my view that the *hijāb*, as evocative of the most diverse responses amongst the women in the cases, is an unlikely symbol of the cosmopolitan character of Muslim identity. This means that, on the one hand, the diverse identities of Muslim women ought to find accommodation and expression in a cosmopolitan society, and on the other hand, a cosmopolitan society ought to contribute to, and be involved in the lived experiences of Muslim women.

The challenge for cosmopolitanism is to recognise and respond to the individualisation of self-understandings that constitute a pluralist society. That it is a composition of parts which make up a whole, but that the whole is only as representative and hospitable as its treatment of its parts. And that if the parts, as individuals or as cultural groupings, are not given equal recognition and understanding then what emerges is a less than authentic cosmopolitanism. As Merry and De Ruyter explain, cosmopolitanism recognises that cultural memberships offer individuals a sense of belonging and personal meaning, but its ultimate concern is the protection of the individual, and not his or her culture. They insist that as a philosophy,

cosmopolitanism involves a moral obligation towards all strangers, including cultural others, and not only to those with whom we share associative relations. Consequently, it is the argument of Merry and De Ruyter (2009: 50–51) that cosmopolitans value pluralism on two grounds. Firstly, cosmopolitans recognise that individuals live and flourish in different and varying ways. Secondly, the contexts in which individuals live provide the circumstances for the interaction of many ideas and customs, which ultimately impact on the individual's understandings of life.

According to Benhabib (1992: 81), a commensurable relationship between Muslim women and a cosmopolitan society is not limited to mere participation, since it does not solve the problems of modern identity and estrangement – 'For on the participationist model, the public sentiment which is encouraged is not reconciliation and harmony, but rather political agency and efficacy, namely the sense that we have a say in the economic, political and civic arrangement which define our lives together, and what one does makes a difference.' Instead, what is required, argues Benhabib (2002: 130) is political agency in the form of engagement – engagement that will equip us to learn to live with the otherness of others, even when we have reached the limits of our tolerance.

In reconciling with a manifold Muslim identity, the challenge for cosmopolitanism is to recognise and respond to the individualisation of self-understandings that constitute a pluralist society. That it is a composition of parts which make up a whole, but that the whole is only as representative and hospitable as the treatment of its parts. And that if the parts, as individuals or as cultural groupings, are not given equal recognition and understanding then what emerges is *mis*recognition of the individual. Perhaps a renewed cosmopolitanism will relinquish notions of separating the individual from her culture, and so rather than constructing a dichotomy of culture as opposed to the individual, what is needed is a continuum of individualisation, where the individual decides the extent of her cultural affiliation and how she wishes to express it. In so doing, a 'renewed' cosmopolitanism will acknowledge that the construction of identity is always incomplete, which, by implication, means that a culture, and all its associations, is always evolving. In recognising and accepting that each is an individual by virtue of his or her culture, this type of cosmopolitanism will create deeper moments of engagement and meaning, and greater levels of co-existence.

A 'renewed' cosmopolitanism, if it is to attain its boundary-less universal identity, then it needs to re-assess its own construction of labels, such as 'strangers' and 'others'. It needs to construct a language, which originates from recognition and acknowledgement, rather than from peculiarity, and it needs to respect the rights of others simply and only because of our shared morality. But, in order to respond to, and participate in a language of recognition and acknowledgement of the self and others, Muslim women need to take responsibility for their own. They need to discard notions of being dependent on the assessment of others, so that are more capacitated when entering into dialogical relationships with those Muslims who are not like them, and with all others who constitute a pluralist society – in other words, Benhabib's (2011: 15) 'cosmopolitanism without illusions', but also to engage with the other means to engage with the otherness of the other, so that the otherness

diminishes into someone new and to-be-known, rather than someone different and unknown. Now, if this is how cosmopolitanism ought to respond and contribute to Muslim women, and other multiple identities, then what type of Islamic education should Muslim women experience so that they can actively engage in a cosmopolitan society?

Cosmopolitanism: Implications for Islamic Education

History reveals that the women of the first Muslim community attended mosque and took part in religious events. More importantly, they are described not as docile followers, but as active interlocutors, and scholars, of matters of faith and daily rituals (Ahmed 1992: 72). In addition, the sexually segregated spaces that are assumed to be the defining feature of Islam, as found at most of the *masājid* (mosques) and *madrassahs* (Muslim schools) in South Africa, as well as in most of the Muslim world today, were not a feature of medieval Muslim society. Women are described as freely studying with men and other women – both in the *halaqas* (study circles) and the *madrassahs* (Muslim schools) (Afsaruddin 2005: 164). By all accounts the women of the first Muslim community, who lived at the time of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) and during the time when the Qur'an was revealed, owned and exercised a form of political agency that saw them as active participants in their community – both in the domains of public and private. It is a form of political agency that is not evident in the stories of the six women and which none of them believed that they actually owned.

If the challenge for cosmopolitanism is to recognise and respond to the individualisation of self-understandings that constitute a pluralist society, then the challenge for institutions of Islamic education is to shift from places of mere rhetoric to spaces of public deliberation – not only in terms of how teaching and learning occurs at the various Islamic educational institutions, but certainly within, and in response to a post 9/11 world, where Muslims and Muslim-based educational institutions have come under the spotlight of political agendas, and have generally been cast in a mould of suspicion and skepticism. Although questions of Islamic education have concerned scholars even before the horrific events of 9/11, it was only thereafter, says Pohl (2009: 19–20), that Muslim schools have become the subject of a progressively more impassioned debate, which has led to the term *'madrassah'* (Muslim school) entering the public vernacular, and often in a quite undifferentiated fashion, which describes the *'madrassah'* as a 'danger' or 'threat'. The motivation for these types of descriptors, explains Pohl (2009: 20), has most frequently arisen from the religious nature of the curriculum and instructional techniques, such as rote learning and memorisation, which are considered inadequate for preparing students for life in the modern world and for becoming productive members of their countries' workforces.

If institutions of Islamic education shift from places of mere rhetoric to spaces of public deliberation, two things will happen. The first is that it can begin to address the not to be dismissed criticisms against the practices of rote learning and memorisation,

which preclude practices of talking back, engagement or disagreement. I am not being dismissive of rote learning and memorisation, since it has undoubtedly played a critical role in the preservation of the authenticity of the Qur'an as a divinely revealed text. But I am questioning the value of rote learning and memorisation in the absence of understanding, participation, ownership, and therefore accountability. Gaps in knowledge about Islam, as depicted in the cases of the six women, are symptomatic of an Islamic education which in itself has not done justice to the message of the Qur'an, which calls for a participatory engagement based on *shura* (consultation) and *ikhtilāf* (disagreement). The second is that a space of public deliberation will lead to a space of managing diversity. And in order to sustain such a space, the teaching would have to be strongly focused on cultivating the individual in terms of his or her own manifold identity and in terms of respecting the difference in others – in other words, a space of *tarbiyah* (nurturing). Through *tarbiyah* (nurturing) the teacher will be best placed to evoke a learning which is reflective, and which creates an environment for understanding and consideration rather than superficial memorisation, which other than displaying the student's capacity to remember and recite, does little for deep learning. By entering into a relationship of *tarbiyah* (nurturing), the teacher, through engaging with the student, stands to gain as much as the student, as each individual student will bring his or her own insight into the learning process. In effect, what this renewed Islamic education calls for is a return to the notion of *halaqas* (study circles), as a space which encourages debate and disagreement *(ikhtilāf)*, and promotes a type of education for the dialogue and engagement of commonalities and differences.

One of the greatest challenges faced by Islām and Muslims today, and certainly what ought to be the first point of departure in considering a reformed Islamic education, is embedded in the critical analysis of the Qur'an as a sacred text. Muslims consider the Qur'an as the divine disclosure of God, which carry tremendous implications for the reading, interpretation and understanding thereof. As a text for and to women, the Qur'an addresses issues of dress code, inheritance, marriage, divorce, sexuality, purity, modesty, abuse, honour killings, polygyny, education, leadership, social expectations and interactions As a legal text, it outlawed infanticide, stressed the woman's right to a contract marriage, granted her rights to inherit, control over her dower and property, and the protection of the widow and orphans – which of course, speaks to gender equality. As a religious text, containing more passages pertaining to the role and treatment of women than any other subject matter, the Qur'an, in fact, demands a reading and understanding by Muslim women, of Muslim women, and for Muslim women. But, most of the paradigmatic foundations of Islām have been constructed in a patriarchal mould, which have deliberately led to interpretations of Muslim women as being 'less than' and somehow dispensable. A feminist reading would insist that Islām, and the Qur'an as its guide, is essentially a religion of liberation of women, which has deliberately been overlooked and distorted by patriarchal, and perhaps chauvinistic, exegesis. Within a re-imagined Islamic education, however, it would not be about a patriarchal-feminist dichotomy. While each individual might bring gender-specific experiences to the reading and understanding of the Qur'an, it should not translate into a gender-asymmetry interpretation.

If Islamic education is to have any pedagogical value, then it has to teach Muslims to be both extractors from and contributors to Islām. This would encompass a different type of Islamic education. It needs to be different to Thania's experience of Islamic education being a 'message of complacency.' It needs to be different so that, as Mariam singles out, Muslim women 'see a connection between education and spirituality.' It needs to be different so that, according to Yumna, 'Muslim women should educate themselves in instances of oppression'. Muslims need to interrogate all notions attached to Islām, and they need to mediate with the text itself. Attachment to faith cannot be devoid of meaning and recognition. According to Sahin (2006: 200), 'Although the sacred texts are immutable, their interpretation is always subject to change because understanding is influenced by the time and place in which believers live'. Most importantly, the interpretation and understanding of the Qur'an needs to be done from and within a gender inclusive perspective. As a Muslim woman living in a society far removed from the context and environment in which Islām first flourished, I have to be able to read and understand the Qur'an, as revealed more than 1,400 years ago.

The case study analyses revealed that the six Muslim live across a continuum of identities, experiences and narratives, which needs to be acknowledged by Islamic education by shifting from a basis of prescription to description? This shift will promulgate an Islamic education of compassion, rather than judgement, and of justice for all, rather than those who adhere to prescriptions. And an acknowledgement of this shift would explain why the Qur'an has given voices to a continuum of moderate, conservative and liberal to radical, fundamentalist and extremist Muslims. And this acknowledgement would imply an acceptance of difference, which would present an opportunity for Islām to start demonstrating its mercy, peace and justice, which is precisely what Islām seeks to achieve through education. In recognising the cosmopolitan nature of Muslim identity, Islamic education needs to re-visit its premise of exclusivity. By exclusivity I am specifically referring to normative Islam. It is precisely the conception of a normative, which speaks to a particular standard of understanding and conduct, which the narratives of the six Muslim women so clearly debunked. What emerged were six different constructions of identity and six different enactments of Islām. If the challenge for cosmopolitanism is to recognize and respond to the individualisation of self-understandings that constitute a pluralist society, then Islamic education needs to ask itself how it will accommodate the different constructions of identity and the different enactments, which might not necessarily fulfil the criteria of a normative construction. The challenge for normative Islām is how to respond to those voices, which do not fit the normative mould, which might be labelled as alternative instead, as has been represented by Thania. What will not be a plausible response is a simple condemnation of Thania, and others like her who do not conform to what normative Islām purports to value. Islām, through Islamic education needs to accommodate the alternative voices within its own community, inasmuch as it has to find a language of recognition and acknowledgement with all others, who constitute a pluralist society.

The conceptual and actionable link between Islamic education and cosmopolitanism lies in its treatment of others, and by what informs that treatment. My critic might question whether this is of long-term benefit to the Muslim community. My response

is that I am not arguing for an acceptance of all kinds of differences, which are in fact censured by the Islamic faith. What I am asserting is that differences of interpretation exist – as Thania and Leila exist – which cannot be wished away. To me, cosmopolitanism is lived and witnessed through the extension of friendship to those I do not know. It is about looking for what we have in common, and what we can build on, rather than allowing a pre-existing premise of otherness to distort my (mis)perception of you. And more importantly, it is about still respecting and extending courtesy, even, and especially when it is found that we in fact have nothing in common. When Islamic education truly reflects the message of the Qur'an, then it is in essence acknowledging the cosmopolitan nature inherent within the teachings of Islām.

It has to instil a foundation of teaching and learning that replaces modern day suspicion with trust and confidence. And, perhaps more importantly, Islamic education, in addressing and preparing its adherents to live in a cosmopolitan society, has to start acknowledging and deliberating the nuances prevalent in Muslims' attachment to Islām. To me, cosmopolitanism is lived and witnessed through the extension of friendship to those I do not know. It is about looking for what we have in common, and what we can build on, rather than allowing a pre-existing premise of otherness to distort my (mis)perception of you. And more importantly, it is about still respecting and extending courtesy even, and especially when it is found that we in fact have nothing in common. When Islamic education truly reflects the message of the Qur'an, then it is in essence acknowledging the cosmopolitan nature inherent in the teachings of Islām. It is about the construction of relationships in which teaching and learning, dialogue and co-existence are nurtured and encouraged, since it is only through our own respecting and caring of the rights of others that we can truly comprehend the value of having a right. As such, Islamic education needs to be especially cognisant of the continual emergence of newly constructed Muslim communities and identities. And it needs to be especially sensitive to the idea that these new and different communities are in search of new articulations of Islām – as are being found in the communities of all the women in the cases. Islamic education, in its teaching and learning at *madrassahs* (Muslim schools) and Muslim-based schools, cannot afford to be skeptical about these diverse communities. It is precisely the cosmopolitan composition of these communities which constitutes modern day Islām. It is precisely the cosmopolitan composition of these communities, which creates the context for democratic citizenship in action. And it is precisely the cosmopolitan composition of Muslims, which shapes and informs the pedagogical contribution of Islamic education.

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Chapter 26
Women, Identity and Religious Education: A Path to Autonomy, or Dependence?

Nuraan Davids

Introduction

One of the most common misunderstandings about religious education is that it is confused with education in a particular religion – meaning that the teaching of religion is confused with the teaching about religion. I will, therefore, commence this chapter by exploring a cogent understanding of what it means for women, in particular, to acquire education in the religions of Judaism, Christianity, Islam, Hinduism and Buddhism. Premised on an understanding of a common historical patriarchal culture, and by drawing parallels across these major religious traditions, I will continue with an examination of what women hope to achieve through having an education in their religion. One of the questions I intend to address here is whether education in religion assists women in their realization of an autonomous identity, or whether it impedes them in enacting their full humanity. Lastly, by taking into account that the three major religious traditions are bound by a common pursuit of justice, and by arguing as Nussbaum (1997) does, that one of the capacities of cultivating humanity is critically thinking about one's own culture and traditions, I will explore whether having education in religion, ultimately leads to an enhanced enactment of social justice.

Religion and Women

It is difficult to clearly articulate what is understood by religion without being trapped in a frustrated position of what is meant by words, such as belief, transcendent Being/being, or spirituality. It is equally difficult dissecting a conception of

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religion from a conception of culture or a way of life. And then there is the added difficulty, that to define religion means excluding anyone and anything that does not conform to that definition, which could lead one to the mistaken belief that belief in a transcendent being, or laying claim to a spirituality, can only be couched within an understanding of a religious nature. So, perhaps an easier approach is to look at religion in terms of its associated meanings, rather than a singular meaning. To me, these would include, and not necessarily exclude any of my omissions, notions of sacred or revealed texts, moral values, rituals, traditions, customs, imagery, symbols, spirituality, sacred histories, cultures, Divinity, origin of life, legislation, prophecy, gods, goddesses, high priests, narratives, scriptures, places and forms of worship – all of which might or might not exclude a conception of indigenous religions, which at its most fundamental understanding, pertains to a rooted connection between the people and their place of being. Smart maintains that while we should not define religion too narrowly, we should also recognize secular ideologies as part of the story of human worldviews, continuing that 'It is artificial to divide them too sharply from religions, partly because they sometimes function in society like religions, and partly because the distinctions between religious and secular beliefs and practices is a modern Western one and does not represent the way in which other cultures categorize human values' (1998: 10). For the purposes of this chapter, and certainly in my examination of the relationship between women and religion, my understanding of religion is a vague and abstract way of *being*. I will limit my exploration of women to the religious traditions of Judaism, Christianity, Islam, Hinduism, and Buddhism.

My explication of religion as a way of being is deeply embedded in an understanding of personal experience, as opposed to an external set of expectations. I find that by looking at religion as a personal way of being and experiencing, I am able to both locate and highlight the tension encountered by women in their relationships with traditional forms of religion – primarily shaped by its particular history. To King (1995a: 4), religion cannot be understood without its history and the multilayered pluralism through which it has found complex social and cultural expression – leading to her question of whether religion should be accepted as primarily a 'cumulative tradition', or whether religion has to be understood in terms of its contemporary expression. Indeed, it is perhaps the most critical question in terms of examining the subjective experiences of women in relation to their spirituality, and as manifested in a religion. King (1995b: 28–29) explains that women's search for a sense of identity, liberation and fulfillment has led to a critical re-examination of past forms of spirituality as well as an awareness of new possibilities for the spiritual quest and for spiritual transformation. Consequently, many women, she continues 'feel that they can no longer simply practice a spirituality handed down to them from the past, whether Christian, Jewish, or other, but that they must develop their own spirituality rooted in the awareness of their own power from within, in a newly felt sense of empowerment which helps them to work for personal, social and political changes, and for changes in the Church' (1995b: 29). Of course, one has to differentiate spirituality from religion in the way that a religious person might not necessarily be spiritual, and a spiritual person might not be religious. To Noddings

(1998), the difference between religion and spirituality is that while spirituality is an attitude that recognizes something we might call spirit, religion is a specific way of exercising that spirituality and usually requires an institutional affiliation.

There are three important reasons to understand religion, states Smart (1998: 10): firstly, they are a vital ingredient in the varied story of humankind's various experiments in living; secondly, in order to grasp the meanings and values of the plural cultures of today's world we need to know something of the world views which underlie them; and thirdly, in trying to form our own coherent and emotionally satisfying picture of reality, and it is always relevant to see the great ideas and practices of various important cultures and civilizations. Because religion has not only been the matrix of cultures and civilizations, and encompasses the deepest level of what it means to be human, says King (1995a: 4), but structures reality, including that of gender, attention must be given to how women experience religion, and most specifically to what King refers (1995a: 16) to as the place given to women in the world of religious imagination and that accorded to them in the actual world of religious life, which according to her, often stand in an inverse relationship to each other and remain poles apart.

The location of women within religion is at once ambiguous and distinct. Ambiguous because the position and status accorded to women by all of the major religious traditions is not necessarily what is experienced by women. And distinct because inasmuch as the construction of religious communities and its treatment of women have led to the overt marginalization of women, both religion and religious communities are seen by women, in particular, as providing the space and means for a re-imagined female identity and experience – one that is detached from its historical, and often patriarchally assembled, locale. For women, in terms of engaging with religion, says King (1995a: 20), it is 'no longer enough to ask *what* we know about religion, but equal attention must be paid to *how* we come to know what we know'. As simplistic as this might sound, it does, in fact, signal, on the one hand, a profound re-awakening of how women experience and construct religion, and on the other, a voicing of a long-imposed suppression of women as autonomous beings. And so, what women understand by how they know what they know about religion, as a way of being, cannot be separated from other matters, that shape them privately and publicly.

Religious education, states Schreiner (2005: 86) can take the form of education *into* religion, education *about* religion, and education *from* religion. Education *into* religion immerses the individual in one specific religion; education *about* religion refers to religious knowledge and religious studies, so the individual learns to know about a particular faith; and education *from* religion assists the individual in developing his or her own views by providing him or her with the opportunity to consider different perspectives to various religious issues. So, what does it mean for women, when they acquire education in religion, and which form of religious education does it take? While I initially address this question in terms of education *into* religion – by examining women's education in relation to specific religious traditions – my argument, ultimately, is for a positioning of women who have educated themselves into their specific religions, but whose education would equip them to both access

education *about* religion, so that they might know the other, and whose education would teach them how to engage *from* the perspective of the religious other. Speaking about religious education, therefore, says Schreiner (2005: 86), means speaking about education, and in the absence of a clear understanding of education, which has to do with values and norms, it might be difficult to have a clear vision of religious education.

Why, then, are women seeking religious education? One reason, explains Parekh (2005: 3), is the increasing prevalence of culturally diverse societies, where people are subscribing to, and living by different, though overlapping systems of meaning and significance. He continues that cultural diversity in modern society has numerous sources – globalization, immigration, citizens returning from the diaspora, people fleeing from persecution, searching for labour, conflict and war, and because, 'Some of these communities were long denied collective self-expression in the name of nation building or a hegemonic ideology, and are now keen to exercise their newly won freedoms. Modern men and women, being profoundly shaped by liberal individualism, take pride in forming their own views and making their own choices' (2005: 3). Smart (1998: 62–63) identifies conversions among indigenous populations as the most striking influence in the proliferation of religions. He explains, for example, that since the 1960s, Westerners, disillusioned with traditional Christianity and Judaism, have often been attracted to the contemplative groups prevalent in Buddhism and Hinduism, which are seen as refreshing and novel. Other reasons are that religion, according to Schreiner (2005: 13), exists in more differentiated and individualized forms, and, like identity, has become a task of self-determination; that understanding the self and one's culture is related to the human condition (Greene 2009); or that religious education means educating for religious and spiritual literacy, and that a believer ought to know what she knows, and why she has accepted it (Noddings 1998).

For women, specifically, the search for religious knowledge has encompassed a dual process of freeing themselves from the shackles of historical silences regarding their concerns and experiences, and finding an ideological link between their spiritual and theological contexts, and their experiences as women (Wadud 2000: 19). It involves, says King (1995a: 16), participation in religious and social protest movements, while also developing strategies to cope with their own situation of oppression. While for some women, according to Young and Sharma (2003: 4), it was the realization that without literacy and education, they were indeed intellectually inferior; for others, states Barazangi (2000: 40), religious knowledge means authority, and religious authority is power. Accessing and acquiring religious education, explains Holm (Holm and Bowker 1994: viii–xiv), has made women aware of two critical elements regarding their roles in their respective religions: firstly, that in several religious traditions the position of women was higher in an earlier period in their history than it later became, and secondly, that there are many cultural factors which are independent of specific religious teachings but which have been absorbed into religions. According to Haddad and Esposito (2002: vii), most of the major world religions claim to be adamantly opposed to the subjection of one human being by another, yet each of them has pushed women into an inferior and

marginal position, excluding them from full participation in the social, cultural, and religious life of the community. King (1995a: 20) clarifies that women's profoundly new experience of critical personal and social transformation, and critical awareness of their own positioning in society has made them question the existing structure of knowledge and their place in it.

Women and Religious Education

My exploration of women and religious education is influenced by two strongly held beliefs. Inasmuch as a particular interpretation of religion has led to the systematic subjugation and oppression of women, I do not believe that the innate nature of religion – understood, as a way of being – is unfair or repressive. Clearly, as already mentioned, it manifests itself in ways that can be described as marginalizing, hurtful, oppressive and damaging, but this cannot be confused or distorted as the nature of religion. What ought to be gained from these manifestations is the need for clarity about the purpose and content of religion, so that distinct understandings can be established about what religion is *not*. Secondly, as I will now discuss, the journey that religious education offers to women, offers a spiritual journey towards self-discovery and agency, which, ultimately, cannot be divorced from issues of gender and the positioning on women in society. According to Wadud (2000: 29), the marked shift from an emphasis on transcendence to a spiritual exploration includes everything that pertains to human-experience-in-the-world and focuses in particular on finding a spiritual centre and more authentic ways of being. For women, she continues, this is closely connected to a 'creative re-imagining and renaming of the sacred, and a sense of the interdependence and sacredness of all life-forms as well as the importance of our special human relationship to the whole earth and the cosmos, and our ethical responsibilities deriving from this important bond'.

Judaism

Judaism, as one of the three monotheistic Abrahamic religions, is based on the covenant between God and the ancient Hebrews and their descendants, the Jews. Fundamentally, the covenant is incomplete and still in the process of being perfected by the role of the Jewish community, in partnership with God. According to Scovill (1994), Judaism teaches that God's guiding presence is evidenced in God's provision of the commandments as revealed in the Torah and developed further in the Talmud and post-Talmudic rabbinical teaching – and serves as the foundation of all contemporary forms of Jewish religious life. Scovill explains that while the majority of Jewish law applies equally to both men and women, the remaining differences in applicability, such as laws regarding inheritance, divorce, and legal

proceedings, is linked to women's subordinate status. The basic rabbinical conviction that females are human entities created by God with physical characteristics, innate capacities, and social functions inherently dissimilar from those of males, explains Baskin (2009) is based on the Talmudic statement that 'women are a separate people' (b. *Shabbat* 62a). Furthermore, he expounds, the ways that women are perceived to be essentially different – in terms of their sexual attractiveness to men and the biological functions of their bodies, especially those pertaining to fertility – are not only ineradicable and problematic for men, but caused rabbinic thinking to make every effort, through detailed legislation, to confine women and their activities to the private realms of family and its particular concerns.

As gender separation became increasingly enforced in Talmudic times, expounds Berner (2002: 37), women's voices were silenced, as they were relegated to more remote areas of the synagogue, making it easy for the male shapers of Jewish liturgy to disregard women's voices altogether. According to Baskin (2009), women were simultaneously prevented from access to authority, leadership, the intellectual and spiritual sustenance available to men, as well as participation in collective worship, communal study of religious texts, and the execution of judgments according to Jewish law. However, says Baskin, not being able to legislate for themselves or others did not mean that rabbinic Judaism did not grant women spiritual status – like men, women are responsible for obeying all of Judaism's commandments, observing the Sabbath, all of the festivals and holidays of the Jewish calendar, and praying. Although women are exempt from participation in communal prayers that must be recited at specific times, they were not free from the obligation to pray, which is incumbent on each individual (*b. Berakhot* 20a–b). Essentially, as long as women fulfilled their domestic roles, in particular in support of their male relatives fulfilling their religious obligations, they were revered and honoured (Baskin 2009).

Esposito (2002: 4) explains that Jewish women in the 1970s were inspired by the secular feminist movement, and pressed for inclusion as equals in Jewish institutions and ritual life, insisting on such issues as rabbinical ordination and access to leadership positions in synagogues and national Jewish organizations. Furthermore, in maintaining that Jewish acculturation to the mainstream mores of the public sphere was not incompatible with adherence to traditional Jewish practice, women sought to alter the status and function of women in Jewish religious law, known as *halakha*, by striving to reconcile feminist claims with Jewish law (Baskin 2009; Esposito 2002). According to Baskin (2009), Reform Judaism, in particular, which offered nineteenth-century Jews a modernized and acculturated form of Jewish belief and practice, proclaimed that women were entitled to the same religious rights and subject to the same religious duties as men in both home and synagogue. Through seeking religious education, states Esposito (2002: 11), Jewish women are seeking to empower themselves, to reconstruct symbols, doctrines, laws, and institutions of their religious traditions, replacing patriarchal hegemony with a more inclusive and egalitarian religious vision. By gaining religious education and in engaging with the primary texts of Judaism, Jewish women are bringing their own sense of being and spirituality to their enactment and experience of Jewish tradition. Inherent in the pursuit and acquisition of religious knowledge is, says Berner (2002: 38), a

carving out of a place within tradition which both acknowledges and accommodates a uniquely female experience of the Divine – 'Different ritual forms and formats must be created and woven into Jewish tradition so that voice may be given to varying modes of spiritual expression. Religious tradition must be open to acknowledging and affirming the very different ways in which men and women approach spirituality, theology, and prayer'.

Christianity

Christianity is based on the teachings of Jesus of Nazareth. Christians believe Jesus, is the Christ, promised by God in the prophecies of the Hebrew Bible. Christians are taught that through the birth, life, death and the resurrection of Jesus, they have been freed from their sinful state and are the recipients of God's saving grace (Scovill 1994). According to Smart (1989: 12), in the Christian tradition, the story of Jesus's life and the ritual of the communion service led to attempts to provide an analysis of the nature of the Divine Being which would preserve both the idea of the Incarnation (Jesus as God) and the belief in one God – resulting in the doctrine of the Trinity, which sees God as three persons in one substance. The initial egalitarianism evidenced in the lifetime of Jesus – women were among the disciples of Jesus, fulfilled roles of deacons and apostles, and were considered as full members of the religious community – was gradually replaced with patriarchal institutional structures and teachings. Such changes in structure, says Scovill, were accompanied by a theology which identified the patriarchal social order with the divine created order and therefore insisted that the proper relationship between men and women was one of the subjugation of women – a theology, that many Christians would insist is in direct contradiction to the proclamations and writings of Christ.

Besides the burden of a perceived inferiority, women were also rebuked for their sexuality. More than in any other major faith, according to Haddad and Esposito (2002), Christianity has found it difficult to integrate sexuality with the sacred – leaving celibacy as the top vocation for the greater part of Christian history. In Christianity, as in other religions, asserts King (1995: 33–34), women's spirituality has, to a large extent, been constricted, often being linked to recommendations of self-negation and sacrificial suffering for the sake of others. Scovill (1994) explains that the dominant form and role of men in the family, was the divinely created and mandated order for human society. To this end, Ruether (1985) contends that while Scripture and church life function as the customary means through which most Christians connect with that the revelatory experience, both Scripture and church life can also block that experience. When patriarchal social thought and practice, asserts Ruether, is legitimated by reference to scriptural and traditional sources, the Bible or the church must be reworked. In attempting to reclaim their original worthiness, Christian women are turning to the life of Jesus, his teachings and his actions to support their assertion that a view of the equality amongst men and women is found in the earliest traditions of Christianity itself. Ruether (1985)

describes this reclaiming as a re-assertion of the prophetic tradition in order to challenge the status quo. Christian women, in seeking religious education, are, according to King (1995: 34), combining their faith with feminism and in order to develop a more woman-defined sexuality which speaks to their needs and nourishes integrity and wholeness – 'They do this by creatively joining together different elements from the rich resources of the Christian tradition and from within themselves, and by entering into dialogue with other women around the world'. In so doing, says Ruether (1985), women are constructing a theology that shifts away from patriarchy to an egalitarian vision for both women and men in both the church and the world.

Islam

As the youngest of the three monotheistic faiths, Islam emerged after the Prophet Muhammad received a series of revelations, constituting the Qur'an, and invoking all people to commit themselves to Allah, the one and only God. Descending from the line of Abraham, Moses and Jesus, Muslims consider Muhammad as the seal of prophethood and the last messenger of God. The Qur'an, considered to be the authoritative revelation of and from God, together with the traditions (Sunnah) and sayings (*ahādith*) of the Prophet Muhammad not only form the foundation of Isām, but according to Ahmed (1992: 47), both shaped the official history of Islām, and established the normative practices of Islamic society. Islām is based on five pillars – namely, believing in the oneness of God (tawhīd), praying five times a day, giving alms to the poor, fasting during the month of Ramadān, and if able to, performing pilgrimage to Mecca at least once during the Muslim's lifetime. The revelation of the Qur'an offered a marked improvement for the Arabian women, specifically addressing of marriage, divorce and inheritance – ironically the same issues that continue to be the main sites of oppression for some Muslim women today (Wadud 2010; Badran 2009). History reveals that the religious practices of Muslim women and men were identical – with both receiving and participating in religious education, and participating in daily prayers at the mosque. The essence of equality between men and women is clearly encapsulated in *Surah Al-Ahzab* (33: 35) in the Qur'an, where God explains that both men and women were created for immortality and spiritual deliverance, both are obliged to follow God's laws, and both will be held accountable and judged accordingly (Nasr 2010: 63). Furthermore, Scovill (1994) relates that the relationship between men and women in society, envisioned by the Qur'an is neither hierarchical nor adversarial, but one of equality and mutuality.

Following the Prophet's death, explains Scovill (1994), women's status in both religious institutions and the broader Islamic culture declined dramatically – that, with Islam's spread to other regions, attributed to the consolidation of religious power into male control, which was more rigidly patriarchal than the Arabian Peninsula where Islam originated. Wadud (2006: 96) explains that with the exception of *ahādith* transmission and memorization of the Qur'an, women did not

participate in the formation of Islam's paradigmatic foundations – 'Put another way, not only did men, men's experiences of the world – including their experiences with women – and men's ideas and imagination determine how Islam is defined for themselves, they also defined Islam for women. Men have proposed what it means to be Muslim on the presumption that the male experience is normative, essential, and universal to all humankind'. For Muslim women, the absence of a coherent understanding of Qur'anic exegesis has had far-reaching and possibly detrimental effects – one of which is their continuing marginalization, as well as their unintentional endorsement oppressive interpretations because they do not have the knowledge to question or act against them.

By pursuing knowledge about Islam and by engaging with primary texts of Islam, Muslim women are gaining new insight into their roles within Islam – roles which extend beyond the private confines of daughters, wives and mothers. When Muslim women, says Barazangi (2000: 22), participate in the interpretation of Islamic teachings of the Qur'an, *ahadith*, and maintain the pedagogical dynamics of Islam they gain full access to the Islamic belief system. To Barazangi, 'Islam and education are linked in a shared process because, on the one hand, Islam as a worldview may not be realized without its pedagogy (the arts of teaching and learning) and, on the other hand, education has no meaning if it does not penetrate the individual's worldview and invoke change in perception of human relations. Through this change in perception education is expected to bring equality among humans, particularly between the sexes' (2000: 30). The conception of Islam as a dynamic process, explains Wadud (2000: 11), means that the Qur'an must be continually interpreted because dynamic manifestation of Qur'anic guidance is not only a form of interpretation, but also the only way to actually attain the lived state of Islam. As Muslim women gain religious knowledge about Islam, and begin to voice their concerns, they are demonstrating an ideological link their experiences as Muslim women and their theological history.

Hinduism

The word Hindu, explains Narayanan (1999: 26), is complex and legally covers many communities that may not even accept the name, and may have been used for the non-Muslims residents of India and occurs in legal and political contexts where there is distinction to be drawn between 'Mussalman' and 'Hindu'. According to Scovill (1994), Hinduism emerged in India around 1500 b.c.e. when Aryan invaders of India intermixed with Vedic religion with the practices and beliefs of the indigenous peoples. While not having a single founder, states Narayanan (1999: 26), it remains, says Scovill, an eclectic and tolerant tradition that draws from a wide range of sacred literature and practices. Common to the various forms of Hinduism, continues Scovill, is the belief in one divine principle, commonly called Brahman, as well as the cycle of birth and rebirth experienced by material reality. Hindu gods and goddesses, clarifies, Polisi (2003), personify manifestations of Hindu religious

concepts and nature. Polisi notes that while the combination of male and female energies within one goddess or god is quite common in Hindu religion and deemed essential to achieve balance within the gods and within mortals, referred to as *Ardhanareeshwarar*, significantly, Hindu goddesses, rather than gods, are most often used to represent abstract fundamental principles, such as power, strength, education, and wealth, as well as important natural phenomena, such as the mountains, the dawn, the earth, and the rivers. Narayanan (1999: 12) expounds that while the majority of Hindus living in India do not worry about religious doctrines, fixed times of prayer, or a historical unfolding of events, they learn about their religion through stories, music, and dance, going to temples and participating in rituals, festivals, and pilgrimages.

History reveals that wives and husbands were directed by the Vedas to perform religious rites, ceremonies, and sacrifices together, as evidenced by the Sanskrit name given to the spiritual role of wives, *Sahadharmini*, or 'spiritual helpmate' (Polisi 2003). According to Scovill (1994), while women were involved in the beginnings of the ascetic tradition, the prohibitions against their entering the ascetic life, which required previous study in the Vedic texts, increased as women's actual access to education declined. In common with other religious traditions, women's status was highest in earliest periods. Scovill continues that Hinduism's endorsement of the patriarchal family, which required women to be controlled by their fathers, their husbands during marriage, and their sons in the event of widowhood, was codifed in the laws of Manu during the first century b.c.e. Basharat (2009: 244) comments, that according to the Holy Scripture, *Vedas*, a Hindu woman was preordained to be ruled by the male and was subjected to all kinds of atrocities – such as *Sati*, the expectation of a wife to throw herself on her husband's funeral pyre at his ceremonial cremation – for these were the standards of being an ideal Hindu woman. But, as Scovill points out, the subjugation of women is in fact a direct denial of a fundamental belief shared by all contemporary forms of Hinduism, namely, the oneness and unity of all reality.

Religious education for Hindu women has seen their empowerment and creation of opportunities through an enactment of Hindu traditions. To Narayanan (1999: 36), 'The opportunities that some women created for themselves in the Hindu tradition also straddled domains which are not traditionally considered to be *religion* in Western cultures. For example, acting, music, and dance are considered to be some of the optional ways to salvation within Hinduism'. It is only in the twentieth century that dancing – previously performed only by men and courtesans – have been performed publicly by some women as well. Narayanan clarifies that the inclusion of the fields of music and dance is more than creating the opportunity for the entry of women into the realm of arts – it acknowledges the efforts of women who made it possible for others to *publicly* express their devotion and spiritual longing in ways that were not available to them earlier. Furthermore, says Basharat (2009: 247), women are finding new avenues of religious devotional expression in other places, for example, women are now *bhakti* poets, composers, singers, choreographers, and dancers – all roles traditionally denied to all but the most exceptional women in history.

Buddhism

Buddhism was founded by Siddhartha Guatama, called the Buddha (the 'Enlightened One') in India in the fifth century b.c.e. Like Hinduism, says Scovill (1994), Buddhism affirms the cycle of rebirth but insists that it is through enlightenment – a fundamental change in one's conscious perception of the world – that one attains liberation from this cycle. According to Gross (1994: 2), Buddhism, a non-theistic religion, teaches its adherents the cause of and the cure for human suffering – locating both within human attitudes towards life. As such, she says, Buddhism is not concerned about the existence of a supreme being, because a supreme being, as defined by Buddhists, would be unable to relieve human suffering. The cause of misery, Gross explains, is located in negative habitual patterns common to all unenlightened beings; human beings suffer because while still unenlightened, they strive for unattainable goals – which is known as Buddhism's first and second noble truths. The good news, and the third truth – the truth of the cessation of suffering – according to Buddhism, explains Gross (1994: 2–3) is that human beings do not have to remain in such useless and desire-ridden states of being, but that they can lay down the burden and experience the calm of enlightenment. The tranquility of enlightenment can be attained by following the eightfold noble path, commonly summarized as consisting of three main disciplines: wisdom, morality, and meditation. The core teachings of this 2,500 year-old tradition, continues Gross (1994: 1), are gender-free and gender-neutral, perhaps to a greater extent than is the case than any other major religious tradition.

Throughout its history, states Scovill (1994), Buddhism has rejected any distinctions between men and women regarding how they attain enlightenment. Like Hinduism, affirming women's full and equal humanity in Buddhism, she continues, hinges on whether women are capable of attaining liberation from the cycle of rebirths. The Buddha, explains Scovill, not only agreed that women could attain enlightenment, he also rejected different paths for men and women. She explains that while in its teachings Buddhism has often advocated women's inherent equality, early in its history the women's monastic orders were institutionally subordinated to the men's orders – established by the Buddha himself – leading to the devaluation of the women's orders, and their eventual decline, causing the greatest impact on women. Generally, women were considered to be a financial burden on the family, and hence their births were considered as a sign of misfortune on the family. According to Gross (1994: 1), contemporary Buddhist teachers attribute the subjugation of women to 'cultural factors', maintaining that the disempowerment of women does not accord well with basic Buddhist teachings. Some famous *Mahāyāna* scriptures, for example, reinforce the view, already articulated in early Indian Buddhism, that female rebirth is an unfortunate condition. But Gross explains that in the West, in which rebirth is not assumed, this view is easily misunderstood, since it is important to realize that while women's lives in patriarchal societies are filled with suffering, as agreed upon by both Buddhists and feminists, the feminist would rather eliminate patriarchy, rather than rebirth.

It is, however, the onset of the third major phase of Buddhist intellectual-spiritual development, called the Tantric or Vajrayāna Buddhism, continues Gross (1994: 12), involving elaborate and esoteric meditation practices that are believed to speed up enormously the progress of a *bodhisattva* towards complete perfect enlightenment, which significantly changed theoretical concepts about femininity women – 'These changes correlated with changes in views about sexuality and emotions. Rather than being dangerous territory that was best avoided, sexuality and the emotions are regarded as an extremely provocative working basis for enlightenment, *provided that they are experienced with mindfulness and detachment rather than absent-minded lust*'.

The afore-mentioned discussions reveal the various religious contexts encountered by women in the major religious traditions. It also, briefly, shows how women, through religious education, are attempting to reconcile their identities as women with the sacredness of their religious identities – a sacredness, which in most of the major religions, was attributed to women at their particular historical inceptions. Inasmuch as there are differences in the ways that women engage with their respective religions, and certainly in the ways that their respective religions engage with them, cognizance has to be given to the divergent nuances prevalent in religion, its practices and its manifestations. While it would be fair to state, for example, that all the major religious traditions are communally based and are communal in nature, it would be equally fair to state, that depending on their values, histories, and forms of worship, religions are inextricably linked to the social contexts in which they are located. So, inasmuch as Jewish women may have some commonality with Muslim women, and inasmuch as Buddhist women may differ from Christian women, women within the same religious traditions are not necessarily the same, and their specific relationships with their specific religions may be different. What I have, therefore, discussed so far, is how women are educated *into* religion – in other words, how they gain knowledge and understanding about their specific religious tradition. But because religious traditions are different – by virtue of the histories, their sacred texts, or their symbolism – one cannot pose the same set of questions to all religions. Jewish women, for example, cannot be asked about rebirth, in the same way that Christian women cannot be asked about gods and goddesses. So, while education into religion is critical to a self-understanding of women's various faiths, education *about* religion – knowledge about any faith, and education *from* religion – considering different perspectives to various issues – is as important when one explores whether having education in religion ultimately leads to an enhanced enactment of social justice for women, and for all humanity.

Religious Education as an Enhanced Enactment of Social Justice

> 'The person who knows only one religion does not know any religion'
> (Friedrich Max Müller, Introduction to the science of religion 1873)

If for women, the ultimate aim of religious education is to replace patriarchal hegemony with a religious vision and ethos that is more inclusive and egalitarian,

then there are two essential factors that need due consideration. Firstly, if women, as O'Connor (1995: 47–49) maintains, are re-reading, re-conceiving and re-constructing religious traditions, so as to gain self-recognition, then this involves a process of re-visiting both the sources and suppressed visions of the various religious traditions – women cannot have a sense of where they are going if they do not know where they have come from, and what has shaped their conception of self (Taylor 1989) Secondly, one of the challenges, according to Haddad and Esposito (2002: ix), that women must face as they become more empowered is not to fall into the old chauvinisms regarding other faiths, traditionally seen as rivals, pretenders, heretics, or infidels. Haddad and Esposito believe that women need to use their suffering to empathize with the oppression of others, and instead of simply becoming the equals of men, women have the opportunity to bring something new and positive to the religious scene and transform faith for the better. I need to emphasize that my position here is not to reduce the claims for equality. What I am arguing for is that the restoration of the egalitarian treatment of women in the religious traditions should not be the ultimate objective of women in their acquisition of religious education. Women have the opportunity to change the traditions and practices of religion – of a way of being – so that social justice becomes the responsibility women and men, and not women only. Any change of perception – thanks to the link between religion and education – should serve to enhance all humanity, and not just one gender or another. Consequently, a re-positioning of women on par with men in terms of religious doctrine would require the involvement and participation of both women and men. Women's realization of self autonomy and self agency cannot be restricted to the experiences of women alone. Their process of consciousness-raising as individuals within certain religious traditions has to be contextualized in their relational interactions with men, and it has to be understood within a wider social and political context, so that, ultimately, what is cultivated is humanity.

By taking into account that the major religious traditions are bound by a common pursuit of justice, I will now draw on Nussbaum's (1997) argument that one cultivates humanity by developing three capacities – the first is the capacity for critical self-examination and critical thinking about one's own culture and traditions; The second capacity is to see oneself as a human being who is bound to all humans with ties of concern, and the third is the capacity for narrative imagination – the ability to empathize with others and to put oneself in another's place. By developing these capacities, asserts Nussbaum, one prepares and becomes suited for world citizenship. According to Parekh (1997), regardless of the character of religion, and however unworldly its orientation might be, because of its moral core it cannot be kept out of political life. Politics and religion, he continues, have a common concern of how we should live, how we should treat others, and how we should deliberate as a community.

So, in addressing whether religious education ultimately leads to an enhanced enactment of social justice, one has to look at the different forms of religious education, as defined by Schreiner (2005). Education *into* religion, therefore, cannot be limited to simply gaining knowledge and understanding of particular religious traditions. Education *into* religion has to broaden and deepen its teachings so that what is taught and learnt is the capacity to critically think and examine about one's own religion and its teachings. Religious education cannot be restricted to learning about

one's own religion only – other religions exist, and will therefore be encountered. If the core teaching of the major religious traditions is one of justice, then that justice is manifested in the individual's treatment of others. Education *into* religion, therefore, needs to extend into an education *about* religion, so that the individual learns about her own religion in relation to the religious traditions of others, and with a clear understanding that all individuals are linked to other individuals by virtue of their common concerns – Nussbaum's second capacity. To nurture the ability to empathize with others and to engage from the perspective of others, as Nussbaum's argues, education *into* religion and education *about* religion have to culminate in an education *from* religion.

What, then, is understood by social justice? To Miller (1999), a conception of social justice is comprised of the three elements of need, desert, and equality. To Miller, need implies that an individual is lacking basic necessities, and as such, her capacity to function is being impeded; desert refers to being rewarded based on performance, the better the performance, the greater the rewards; and equality refers to the social ideal that all citizens are afforded the same rights and are treated equally. Women, in their experiences of marginalization and oppression, could legitimately argue that their needs as humans are not being met, and that because of their imposed silences, lack the capacity to function effectively within their religious traditions and within society. While I am not arguing that the right to be human is actually tied to notions of social justice, I am arguing, however, that how individuals are treated by others can either enhance or harm the individual. Taylor (1994: 25) explains that the individual's identity 'is partly shaped by recognition or its absence, often by the *mis*recognition of others, and so a person or group of people can suffer real damage, real distortion, if the people or society around them mirror back to them a confining or demeaning or contemptible picture of themselves'. Religious education, therefore, can ultimately lead to an enhanced enactment of social justice – but only if the different forms of religious education are re-conceptualised in terms of its objectives of effecting social change and social justice. In using Islamic education as an example, Barazangi (2000: 30) explains that education does not become Islamic when it is taught by Muslims, nor for Muslims, nor when its content is the subject of Islam as a 'religion.' Rather, she continues, education becomes Islamic only when it fulfills the premise of producing an autonomous individual who intellectually and spiritually makes the choice to be a trustee – and so enact the message of justice of her faith in her relations with others. Inasmuch as the three forms of religious education need to be approached as a totality, and not as three disjointed entities, Nussbaum (1997) does not see her three proposed capacities as separate competences. Instead, she ties them together and argue that the three capacities – critical self-examination about one's own culture; seeing oneself as bound to all humans with ties of concern; and narrative imagination, which allows the individual to empathize with others – function holistically.

It is perhaps Nussbaum's capacity for narrative imagination that resonates most deeply with the position of women in religion and within their acquisition of religious education. To Nussbaum, narrative imagination is critical for seeing and understanding oneself as a human among other humans – so that what is gained is a

conception of world citizenship. As shown in the previous section, the role, position and status accorded to women in the world of religious imagination has not been reconcilable with their real and actual experiences of religious life. Haddad and Esposito (2002: vii) describe the religious oppression of women as one of the great flaws of monotheism. Only through women imagining what their roles and positions ought to be within their religious traditions have they been able to raise their own consciousness in terms of reclaiming what is originally contained with the sacred religious – that inasmuch as women and men have the same capacity to believe and worship, they have the same right to just and fair treatment. If specific interpretations of religious texts and doctrines have often been responsible for keeping women from enacting their full humanity, then, by using narrative imagination women will have the capacity to recognize not only that they are human among other humans, specifically men, but they also have the capacity to cultivate a humanity that contributes to an enhanced enactment of social justice. The notion of a narrative imagination coheres with narrative understanding of identity, which, as Kearney (2002) explains, aligns to the narrative quality of our life experiences, and is a form of discourse that allows us to communicate with others about who we are and how we have become who we are.

The contribution of women, through religious education, to an enhanced enactment of social justice is not found in whether she knows only her religion; it is found, as Müller (1873) asserts, in her knowing about other religions, too. Social justice, therefore, explains Miller (1999) is not simply about self-interests; it is a virtue that pertains both to what the individual is owed, and to what the individual owes others. Miller maintains that this does not mean that everyone has to agree on how this social justice is implemented or maintained, but it does mean that everyone is in agreement that everyone is entitled to equal treatment. Finally, religion in, about, and from education can in fact contribute towards enhancing women's autonomy and a sense of social justice. Women's autonomy is not only connected to their own self-discovery, their own way of being, or their own full human potential. It is both stimulated and present in a re-imagining of the sacredness of all life-forms and ways of being – within relationships of all life forms, and which includes the experiences and ways of being of others who do not adhere to any specific religion, or who do not ascribe any meaningful connection to a higher being. Both the enhancement of women's autonomy and a sense of social justice is not tied to a specific religion, nor is it tied to a specific religious education. It is, however, embedded in, and shaped by a way of being, that invites and respects other ways of being.

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Part III
Current Practices
and Future Possibilities

Section Editors: Sue McNamara and Judith D. Chapman

Chapter 27
The Shaping of Ireland's Faith-Based School System and the Contemporary Challenge to It

John Coolahan

Introduction

The fact that 96 % of primary schools in Ireland are faith-based, under denominational patronage and control, is unique among developed countries. The reasons for this are deeply rooted in political history and in the belief systems of the population. The emergence of this system involved an interesting interplay between political, social and religious forces in a country which was restless under imperial control. The inherited faith-based system has come under increasing pressure in contemporary Ireland, as a more diverse, multi-cultural, multi-religious, and increasingly secular society seeks a greater diversity and pluralism in the provision of schooling. Currently, the government is spear-heading moves to achieve this greater diversity. Ireland, presents a case study of how a very strongly rooted tradition of faith-based schools adjusts to changes in national policy and assists the progression of a more diverse system.

Origin and Shaping of the System

A state-supported national primary education system emerged in Ireland as early as 1831. In early nineteenth century Ireland, against a background of intense denominational animosity and political division, the education of the young became a significant political issue. The traditional hegemony of the Established Church (Anglican) was being challenged by a demand for the equal acceptance of the rights of all citizens to a state-sponsored education, in accordance with their religious affiliations. A landmark effort to establish this position was the *Fourteenth Report*

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of the Commissioners of the Board of Education, 1812, which sought to devise a schooling system that would include all children to receive the benefits of education, 'as one undivided body, under one and the same system, and in the same establishments.' It set out the fundamental principle which should underpin such a scheme – 'that no attempt shall be made to influence or disturb the peculiar religious tenets of any sector or description of Christians.' (Hyland and Milne 1987). This daring stance, against a prevailing climate of proselytism, was adopted by Lord Stanley in 1831 for the national school system.

Announcing a state-sponsored primary school system, Stanley stated that a main aim of the system was to unite the children of different denominations, with the schools being open for combined literary and moral instruction for four or five days a week, while separate denominations' religious instruction could take place at times outside of these days. The new Commissioners of National Education were to assist local initiative in the provision of schooling, and applications from mixed denominational local groups were to be especially favoured. Predictably, however, the churches opposed a mixed denominational system, and long and bitter struggles took place to re-shape it to being a denominational one. While the system remained *de jure* a mixed system, it became de facto a denominational one. As Akenson notes, 'By approximately mid-century, the national school system had become a denominational system' (Akenson 1970). Pressures to make it more overtly denominational continued throughout the nineteenth century. In a pastoral letter, issued in 1900, the Catholic hierarchy formally acknowledged the success in remodelling the national school system from the original plan, stating:

> The system of National Education … has itself undergone a radical change, and in a great part of Ireland is now, in fact, whatever it is in name, as denominational almost as we could desire. In most of its schools there is no mixed education whatsoever (Pastoral Letter (1900) *Irish Teachers Journal*).

The vast majority of the schools came under the control of patrons of a particular denomination. However, the Commissioners retained formal demarcation lines between literary and moral instruction, on the one hand, and religious instruction on the other. When religious instruction was being given it was essential that the time be publicly notified and that a large notice with the words 'Religious Instruction' be publicly displayed. At all other times, the other side of the notice which read 'Secular Instruction' should be on display. Furthermore, during secular instruction sessions, no religious emblems or images should be on public display. From the 1830s the principle of the conscience clause was in operation, whereby 'No child shall receive, or be present at, any religious instruction of which his parents or guardians disapprove.' Furthermore, the Rules stated 'the time for giving religious instruction shall be so fixed that no child shall be thereby, in effect, excluded, directly or indirectly, from the other advantages which the school affords' (*Rules and Programme for National Schools*, 1917 ed.). However, the rules did not specify how exempted pupils were to be actually cared for during the period of religious instruction.

The Policy Following Political Independence (Post 1922)

Following the 1918 General Election and the War of Independence, the partition settlement of 1922 led to education on the island of Ireland being under the control of two different legislatures. In October 1921, the Catholic Clerical Managers Association issued the following statement:

> In view of the pending changes in Irish education, we wish to assert the great fundamental principle that the only satisfactory system of education for Catholics is one where children are taught in Catholic schools by Catholic teachers under Catholic control (*Times Ed. Supplement*, 29 October 1921).

Other denominations also wanted their schools to be fully reflective of their ethos.

In 1925, the Minister for Education, Eoin MacNeill, convened a conference to examine the programme and aspects of primary education, which was chaired by Fr. Lambert McKenna S.J. With regard to religious education the Conference Report stated:

> Of all the parts of a school curriculum Religious Instruction is by far the most important … we assume, therefore, that Religious Instruction is a fundamental part of the school course … a religious spirit should inform and vivify the whole work of the school. The teacher – while careful, in presence of children of different religious beliefs, not to touch on matters of controversy – should constantly inculcate, in connection with secular subjects, the practice of charity … and other moral virtues (*National Programme Conference* 1926).

These sentiments were included in the opening paragraph of the new edition of the *Rules and Regulations* relating to Religious Instruction. While the rule concerning the display of the Religious Instruction notice was dropped, the clauses concerning the conscience clause, and not losing out educationally through opting out of Religious Instruction were retained (*Rules and Programme for National School* 1946 ed.). Regarding the administration of primary schools a striking feature of the political changeover was the lack of change, and the continuity of the inherited tradition of primary schooling.

The centenary of Catholic Emancipation was celebrated with fervour in 1929, the year which also saw the publication of Pope Pius XI's encyclical, *On the Christian Education of Youth*. This set out an exclusivist view regarding Catholic schooling:

> It is necessary that all the teaching and the whole organisation of the school, as well as the teachers, the syllabus, and the textbooks in every branch be regulated by one Christian spirit, under the direction and maternal supervision of the church… (*Divini Ilius Migistri*, 1929).

The encyclical also clearly set out the subsidiary nature of the state's role in education vis-à-vis the family and the church, providing an influential framework of reference in the 1930s.

The Irish Constitution, enacted in 1937, has been a fundamental bedrock of legal rights in Ireland. Article 42 on Education and Article 44 on Religion in the Constitution give clear expression to the rights of the family, religious denominations and the State regarding education. In Article 42.1 the State 'acknowledges that

the primary and natural educator of the child is the Family and guarantees to respect the inalienable right and duty of parents to provide, according to their means, the religious and moral, intellectual, physical and social education of their children.' Article 42.4 states:

> The State shall provide for free primary education and shall endeavour to supplement and give reasonable aid to private and corporate educational initiatives … with due regard, however, for the rights of parents, especially in the matter of religious and moral formation.

Article 44.2.4. reads:

> Legislation providing State aid for schools shall not discriminate between schools under the management of different religious denominations, nor be such as to affect prejudicially the right of any child to attend a school receiving public money without attending religious instruction at that school (*Irish Constitution*, 1937).

Among key emphases of these articles were the subsidiary role of the State providing 'for' education, and giving aid to other agencies. Under Article 42.2 it had the right to establish schools but, up to 2008 it had not provided primary schools. The rights of parents for the education of their children is very emphasised, and in 42.3 the State undertakes not to oblige parents to send their children to any school in violation of their conscience. Article 44.2.5 stresses that 'every religious denomination shall have the right to manage its own affairs, own, acquire and administer property, movable and immovable, and maintain institutions for religious or charitable purposes.' State aid for schools, it was stressed, would not discriminate between schools under the management of different denominations. Furthermore, the conscience clause was upheld whereby the State respected the right of any child to attend such a school without attending religious instruction there. The Constitutional Articles have provided the framework within which rights with regard to primary education in Ireland, since 1937, have largely depended.

Developments in a Changing Society (1960s and 1970s)

No significant policy changes affecting Irish primary education took place thereafter until the 1960s. The sixties was a period of significant political, economic, social, cultural and demographic change. The State assumed a more pro-active stance in the reform of education whose deficiencies were clearly exposed by the *Investment in Education Report*, conducted in conjunction with the OECD and published in 1966. The catch phrase became 'investment in education' as a means to improve the economic and social well-being of an increasing population. The outcome of the Vatican II Council of the early 1960s was to have significant influence on educational as well as other social and religious thinking. Education got an increasingly high profile in the media, including the new national television station.

In the edition of the *Rules for National Schools* issued in 1965, the Preface states, 'The State provides for free primary education for children in national schools and

gives explicit recognition to the denominational character of these schools' (*Rules for National Schools*, 1965 ed.). This was the first time in the 134 years of the national school system that the schools were formally recognised as denominational.

The phrase from the 1926 Report that teachers should 'be careful in the presence of children of different religious beliefs not to touch on matters of controversy' was dropped.

In 1966, the Department of Education began a major overhaul of the primary school programme. The new Primary School Curriculum was published in 1971 and it represented a significant change in conception, in range of courses, in the organisation of subjects and in pedagogical approach. A key change was viewing the curriculum as an integrated programme. The introduction to the Curriculum stated:

> That the separation of religion and secular instruction into differentiated subject compartments serves only to throw the whole educational function out of focus (*Primary Schools Curriculum*, 1971).

This represented a formal sundering of the long established principle of national schooling emphasising the distinction between secular and religious instruction. It went on to state the integration of the curriculum may be seen 'in the religious and civic spirit which animates all its parts' (ibid).

In the section on Religion it quoted the revised rule 68 from the 1965 edition, which was a more emphatic expression of the sentiments expressed in the 1926 report, beginning as follows:

> Of all the parts of a school curriculum Religious Instruction is by far the most important, as its subject matter, God's honour and service, includes the proper use of all man's faculties, and affords the most powerful inducements to their proper use. Religious instruction is, therefore, a fundamental part of the school course and a religious spirit should inform and vivify the whole work of the school (ibid, p. 23).

The kind of denominational thinking involved may be detected in a public statement by an Assistant Secretary of the Department of Education with regard to the new primary school curriculum, when he stated:

> The purpose of education in a given society should reflect the philosophy of that society. Ours is a Christian society. We should have no apology to offer for an educational policy which consistently seeks to inculcate Christian values and principles (O'Floinn 1969).

Such views incorporated no space in state-sponsored school provision for non-Christian citizens.

The changes in the 1965 edition of the *Rules*, coupled with the stated philosophy underpinning the revised curriculum, were occurring at a time when Irish society was changing, becoming less homogenous and more questioning of authorities. No provision was made for the rights of children whose parents did not wish them to attend exclusively denominational schools. The conscience clause in the *Rules* which allowed children to opt-out of religious instruction to which their parents objected, still remained, but no guidance was given as to how it could be operated practically in the school day. With the new emphasis on the integration of religion with the secular subjects, and with the religious spirit animating all the curriculum parts, it would be extremely difficult, if not impossible, for such children not to be exposed to religious values to which their parents might object.

In 1975, the first significant change in the management of national schools took place since the establishment of the system in 1831. The State took the initiative of establishing management boards, with a financial incentive for schools to do so. For the first time, parents and teachers were involved directly, albeit in a minority position, with the patron's nominees in the management of schools. To give support to parents' representatives, a Council for Elected Parents' Representatives was established.

A significant 'bottom-up' movement by parents for the establishment of multi-denominational schools also began in the early 1970s. The first such school was established by a group of parents in Dalkey, Co. Dublin, and it opened in 1978. This was followed by the Bray School Project in 1981 and the North Dublin School project in 1984. This was not a straight-forward or easy process and the parent groups encountered various forms of opposition. As one of the pioneers recorded, 'Some administrators at both local and central levels seemed to have difficulty in accepting that a multi-denominational school could be a vital part of the national school system,' (Áine Hyland 1993). However, difficulties were surmounted and parents formed a co-ordinating group – Educate Together, in 1984, which also acted as a support group for other groups of parents throughout the country who were interested in multi-denominational education.

The parents' voice in schooling became much more co-ordinated through the establishment of the National Parents' Council in 1985. The Parents' Council was given consultative and negotiating rights with the Department of Education. Since its establishment it has taken a full partnership role in educational policy and issues, and has given a more democratic character to educational debate and administration.

The Recent Past

The nineties was a period during which Irish education underwent a great deal of appraisal, consultation and review which resulted in many reforms and an unprecedented raft of educational legislation. A key agency of the change process was the National Education Convention, convened in 1993. The Convention examined problems of providing multi-denominational and secular education in response to changing patterns of religious belief and practice in Irish society. In its presentation to the Convention, the Department of Education acknowledged the emergence of a more pluralist society and the demand of different groups of parents for other than denominational schools. The Convention Secretariat put the issue as follows:

> The main issue here is that, in many cases, parents not only do not want their children to attend religious instruction classes, but they also object to their children being educated within schools whose dominant ethos is not of their faith/beliefs (Coolahan (Ed.) *Report of Convention*, 1994).

As a way forward, the Secretariat stated:

> The dilemma and challenge posed for policy makers and school authorities require not only dialogue at the school level but the development of "good practice" guidelines by a suitably

qualified and representative working group convened by the Department. Such a working party might also explore legal and, perhaps, constitutional issues that may be involved.

The Government's White Paper – *Charting our Education Future* (1995) accepted this recommendation stating, 'Such a working party will be convened in the near future' (*White Paper*, 1995, p. 24). Regrettably, this did not happen, and the matter was not attended to by Government. The State did accept and apply another significant recommendation of the Convention that, for the future, primary school buildings would be publicly owned, as far as possible, and leased out to school patrons.

While the State did not take up the Convention's suggestion about exploring the constitutional and legal issues involved in the current pattern of schooling provision, the issue did come under the scrutiny of the Constitution Review Group (1996). It stated:

> Noting the impact of the rule changes of 1965, the formal recognition by the State of the denominational character of the primary school system and the impact of the integrated curriculum of 1971, the Review Group pointed to the difficulties created for Article 44.2.4 regarding the right of each child to attend a state-sponsored school without receiving religious instructions in that school.
>
> In summary, therefore, the present reality of the denominational character of the school system does not accord with Article 42.2.4. The situation is clearly unsatisfactory. Either Article 44.2.4 should be changed or the school system must change to accommodate the requirements of Article 44.2.4 (*Constitution Review Group Report*, 1996).

Following the National Education Convention the Minister for Education, Niamh Breathnach, instituted discussions by the education partners on the composition and deeds of trust of boards of management in primary schools. It was to take two years of negotiation before agreement was reached, in November 1996. As regards composition, it resulted, as the Convention had suggested, with equal representation of patron's nominees, teachers, parents, and the community. The deeds of trust, termed Deeds of Variation, which emerged were a variation on the old lease or deed of trust. The latter did not refer to the ethos or philosophy of the school patron, but merely required that the building be used for national school purposes for a period of 99 years. The new Deeds of Variation, on the other hand, set out the ethos of the school patron or trustee and gave legal effect to it. In the case of the Roman Catholic Deed of Variation, for instance, the boards of management were required to:

- Firstly, manage the school in accordance with the doctrines, practices and traditions of the Roman Catholic Church
- Secondly, shall make and keep themselves familiar with the ethos of the Roman Catholic Church and the Roman Catholic faith insofar as the same relates to education and schools and
- Thirdly, still manage and cause the school to be managed in a manner which will uphold and foster such ethos (Áine Hyland 2010).

In a similar vein, the ethos of other patron bodies was to be protected and supported. Thus, the state facilitated the strengthening of the responsibility of boards of management to sustain the ethos of the existing patron bodies in the schools, but it did not take action to protect the rights of citizens who did not belong to a group which owned or managed the schools.

Ireland's first comprehensive Education Act for the school system was enacted in 1998. In Section 8 of the Act, the Minister for Education is required to maintain a register of school patrons and to enter patrons' names on the register. The Act bestows considerable powers on the school patron. Under Section 14(4), the patron has the right to appoint members of the schools' boards of management subject to agreed protocols. Under Section 16(1) of the Act, and subject to the consent of the Minister, the patron may

(a) For good and valid reasons stated in writing to a member of a board of management remove that member from the office, or
(b) If satisfied that the functions of a board are not being effectively discharged, dissolve that board.

Section 15 specified the functions of the boards of management and their responsibilities to the patron. In the conduct of their work, boards were urged to –

> Have regard to the principles and requirements of a democratic society and have respect and promote respect for the diversity of values, beliefs, traditions, languages and ways of life of the society (Education Act, 1998).

The 1971 curriculum was revised in 1999 and it pointed to,

> … the responsibility of the school to provide a religious education that is consistent with its ethos and at the same time to be flexible in making alternative organisational arrangements for those who do not wish to avail of the particular religious education it offers. It is equally important that the beliefs and sensibilities of every child are respected (*Revised Curriculum*, 1999).

This put the responsibility on the school to make alternative organisational arrangements for those who did not wish to participate in its religious instruction programme, but the curricular document refrained from making any suggestions regarding good practice in this area.

During the late 1990s some religious spokespersons expressed views favouring greater diversity of school patronage. For instance, the theologian, Rev Dr. Dermot Lane remarked:

> The Catholic Church, therefore, should welcome the development of other alternative forms of educational choice such as Gaelscoileanna, multi-denominational education and non-denominational education … Such diversity of form and choice in education can only be good for Catholic education as it will act as a stimulus to develop what is distinctive about its own identity and ethos. The absence of diversity in education in the past has now always served the best interests of Catholic education (Lane 1997).

Some International Perspectives on Schooling Provision in Ireland

From the last decade of the twentieth century and through the first seven years of this century, Irish society experienced an unprecedented period of economic growth and prosperity, which earned it the sobriquet of The Celtic Tiger. Ireland became a

very attractive destination for immigrants from East European, African, and some underdeveloped countries in search of employment. Many members of the Irish diaspora living abroad were also attracted home. In line with trends in other European countries, Ireland experienced two countervailing features with regard to religious belief. Linked to secularisation trends in European society, Ireland has seen a decline in the population indicating a formal religious affiliation, and a marked decline in regular religious practice. The latter is most pronounced in urban areas. Furthermore, in recent years, a number of reports highlighted extensive forms of abuse of people in institutions run by religious organisations, and the unsatisfactory manner in which complaints and investigations were handled by church authorities. These developments have affected the public status of the churches, have alienated many believers and have led to a diminishing role of the institutional churches in people's everyday lives. On the other hand, the arrival of large numbers of immigrants, many with strong religious affiliations, has led to a much greater diversity in religious beliefs, including non-Christian beliefs, among the population.

In fast-changing developed societies it is recognised that the influence of media and social networks is proving highly influential in shaping public attitudes. There is a greater emphasis on individual and group rights, with less regard for paternalism or the edicts of authority figures. Family life has been undergoing great change with high levels of marital breakdown, people co-habiting as partners rather than as married couples, and larger numbers of children being born to single parents.

Such developments are being experienced in many countries. In line with the increasing internationalism in the trends of educational policy-making, provision and assessment, the role of school and its engagement with education and religion, with human rights, and with changing family relationships has increasingly become a matter of international concern and reflection. Through agencies such as the UN, the EU, and the Council of Europe, countries have signed up to conventions and protocols which include the aim to promote education with a strong focus on human rights. Ireland is a party to many of these international conventions.

Among such conventions and instruments which have specific import for religion and education are the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR); the International Convention on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR); the UN Convention on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD); UN International Convention on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR); UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC); Council of Europe, Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities. These various conventions contain articles relating to citizens' rights under many headings.

Periodically, the international agencies carry out reviews on how well different countries are fulfilling their obligations under such conventions.

A number of these reviews have been critical of the lack of diversity in schooling in Ireland. For instance, a recommendation of the CERD Review of March 2011 stated:

> The Committee reiterates its previous concluding observations and recommends that the State party accelerates its efforts to establish alternative non-denominational or multi-denominational schools and to amend the existing legislation that inhibits students from enrolling in a school because of their faith or belief (UNCERD 2011).

Thus, apart from consideration of the issue within Ireland itself, there has been international pressure in recent years that greater diversity of school patronage be provided in Ireland.

The Evolving Situation in Ireland

In 2006, the Minister for Education, Mary Hanafin, initiated moves towards evolving a new form of school patronage. Following discussions with educational partners, this concept evolved into what became known as – Community National Schools (CNS). The first CNS began to operate in 2008, and there are now five such schools in existence. They are regarded as pilot schools and reflect a number of novel features. At present, the Minister for Education and Skills is the temporary patron, but it is planned, following legislation, to transfer the patronage to the relevant Vocational Education Committee, where such schools are located. The Community National Schools are developing, on an action research basis, a multi-belief programme to cater for all faiths and none within the normal school day. A programme research officer is being assisted by a widely based support group. The part of the programme in which the children are taught/learn together is referred to as the Core Programme. In addition, for 3–4 weeks each year children are differentiated into various belief groups, in accordance with the wishes of parents. During these faith specific modules, the beliefs and practices appropriate to the relevant faith are nurtured.

The experiment seeks to provide a combined religious/ethical programme for all the children, while making available some specific faith formation teaching, during the school day, in keeping with the faith belief systems of different categories of parents. The pilot scheme breaks new ground in Irish school patronage models, and it remains to be seen how successful it will be and how potentially influential it may be in an evolving scenario.

The Department of Education and Science also took the initiative of convening a National Conference on 27 June, 2008 entitled "The Governance Challenge for Future Primary School Needs." Conference speakers focused on many aspects of education in an increasingly multicultural society. The Minister for Education laid special stress on the pilot community national schools, and on their potential as a new form of patronage. The concept was discussed by many speakers. Most Rev. Dr. Martin, Archbishop of Dublin welcomed them, and also stated:

> The Catholic school will only be able to carry out its specific role if there are viable alternatives for parents who wish to send their children to schools inspired by other philosophies. The demand is there. The delay in provision of such alternative models has made true choice difficult for such parents and, indeed, for many teachers.

He went on to make a very significant statement about a potential way forward:

> I believe that ways can be found to expand the role of other patronage models, where such demands exists, through a form of structured divestment by the Catholic patron, which recognises the rights and interests of all parties. It would flow, as I see it, from a gradual

movement of children and teachers towards differing schools in an area, each of which would evolve towards the ethos of a particular patron (Most Rev. Dr. Martin 2008).

In the context of a country which already had a very high proportion of schools per head of population the idea of a possible divestment of patronage from one patron to another opened up possibilities for national policy.

The Catholic Bishops' Conference had also been considering aspects of the future of primary schools in a changing Ireland. In 2007 the Bishops published, 'Catholic Primary Schools: A Policy for Provision in the Future' and, in 2008, 'Vision 08: A Vision for Catholic Education in Ireland.' The 2007 document welcomed the exercise of the right of parents of other faith traditions and none to schooling according to their beliefs. It identified two types of circumstances where action could be taken, in new centres of population, and in more established areas. With regard to the former, the document stated:

> In new centres of population it is incumbent upon the State to plan for the provision of school sites and to ensure, in consultation with the various patron bodies, that there is a plurality of school provision reflecting the wishes of the parents in the area.

It went on to state:

> In some areas where historically there were large numbers of parents who wanted a Catholic School, circumstances may have changed and an existing school may be no longer viable as a Catholic school … In certain circumstances it may be considered desirable to enter into new patronage arrangements … (Bishops Conference 2007).

In 2008, negotiations were initiated between Catholic Church representatives and the Department of Education and Science in relation to issues involved in a divesting of school patronage process. Arising from the discussions the Department undertook to prepare a list of areas where, on the basis of the configuration of schools and demographic data, a *prime facie* case existed for appraisal. In August 2010, the Department produced an initial list of 43 town areas and 4 Dublin suburbs.

In February 2011 a Commission on School Accommodation reported suggesting various changes on school patronage, urging 'a greater diversity of patronage through maximising the use of existing infrastructure' (Commission on School Accommodation 2011). The Irish Human Rights Commission (IHRC) published a report in May 2011, in which it stated:

- The overarching recommendation of the IHRC is that the State should ensure that there is a diversity of provision of school type within educational catchment areas throughout the State which reflects the diversity of religious and non-religious convictions now represented in the State (IHRC 2011).

The Process of Restructuring a Faith-Based System

In March 2011, the Minister for Education and Skills, Mr. Ruairi Quinn, on behalf of the Government, took the initiative of setting up a Forum for Patronage and Pluralism in the Primary Sector. All stakeholders were invited to contribute to the debate and to

possible solutions. The Forum was conducted by an independent Advisory Group of three persons, who were to report to the Minister on the outcomes.

The Minister set out the terms of reference for the Forum as follows:

1. How it can be ensured that the education system can provide a sufficiently diverse number and range of primary schools catering for all religious and none;
2. The practicalities of how transfer/divesting of patronage should operate for individual primary schools in communities where it is appropriate and necessary;
3. How such transfer/divesting can be advanced to ensure that demands for diversity of patronage (including from an Irish language perspective) can be identified and met on a widespread basis nationally (Coolahan et al. 2012).

The Advisory Group organised its work into three phases – a consultation/inquiry phase; and interpretative/analytic phase; a drafting of report phase. In the first phase it sought written submissions from all key stakeholders and interested parties. The submission of key stakeholders were examined and questioned by the Advisory Group with their representatives in plenary session, broadcast live. The Group also held discussions with current and past pupils of diverse backgrounds.

The second phase involved detailed examinations of all submissions and a vast array of relevant documentation. In this context, the Group held discussion sessions with a range of personnel with relevant research and administrative experience of the issues involved. They also analysed comparable experience and circumstances in a number of European countries. Legal advice was also sought on some matters.

The Advisory Group presented an Interim Report of its reflections in plenary session of the Forum on 17 November 2011, and invited oral and written responses. It then prepared its Final Report for submission to the Minister on 1 February 2012.

While the terms of reference of the Forum did not require the Advisory Group to draw up a new design for primary schooling in Ireland, it did require it to make recommendations as to how the existing system might be best adapted to achieve a better balancing of rights, with greater inclusivity and diversity. In its Report the Group focussed on three categories of school patronage issues. One was reflected on current developments, another was on the divesting of schools from existing denominational (Catholic) patronage to other forms of patronage. The third was on how "stand alone" faith-based schools serving small communities, could be more inclusive, when no other school could be available in the area for people of diverse faiths or no faiths.

With regard to category one, the Advisory Group endorsed the Minister for Education's plans for the provision of new schools, in areas of increasing population. These proposals were announced while the Forum was in process. A new range of criteria were devised for all prospective patrons in relation to such new school provision. A new Register of Patrons was devised. An independent new School Establishment Group was set up to ensure due process regarding decisions on patronage. This process has been working effectively and a variety of patron bodies has been approved. The Advisory Group also supported the pilot Community National Schools. These are schools where children of all faiths follow a common religious education programme, while specific denomination instruction is provided over a period of a few weeks. An interim evaluation of this pilot scheme showed it had

promise. In these schools, the patron is intended to be the local vocational education committee, which hitherto only had responsibility for a category of post-primary school. The Advisory Group also secured clarification from the Department of Education and Skills that should a sufficient body of parents seek a non-denominational school and who otherwise fulfilled the general criteria for patronage, the State would support such schools. To date, there have been no non-denominational, or fully secular primary schools in Ireland.

Category two schools relate to areas where there is a sufficiency of schools for the stable population needs which exist but where parental demand for an alternative form of school patronage has been identified. In this context, the transfer of schools from existing patrons to the state for re-distribution to a different form of patronage is the focus of attention. Forty-three catchment areas were identified by the Department of Education, where there was a *prime facie* case to explore the divesting process. The Forum Report recommended that as a first stage the Department should undertake a direct consultation with the parents of pre-school children, and parents of pupils in the schools as to their preferences, from an explanatory list of possible patrons. Detailed guidance was given by the Advisory Group as to how these preferences could be processed in an effective and efficient manner.

Catholic Church authorities, in recent years indicated a goodwill towards such a process. For instance, in a position paper in 2011, the Catholic Schools Partnership stated:

> With regard to areas of stable population where there are unlikely to be any new schools over coming years some existing schools may no longer be viable as Catholic schools. In such situations, the Catholic Patron, in dialogue with the local community, might make any buildings which are surplus to requirements available so that the Department of Education and Skills could plan for greater diversity of school provision in that area … If sufficient demand for a school under different patronage can be demonstrated then all of the stakeholders should work in partnership towards that goal (Catholic Schools Partnership 2011).

The second stage of the process would be the provision of the outcome of the parental consultations to the bishop of the relevant diocese. He is to engage in consultation with local interests, following which, options for divestment would be communicated to the Department of Education and Skills. The Department would evaluate the options received and the Minister would adjudicate as to the most appropriate new patron for the divested school. The New Schools Establishment Group would ensure that due process was carried out.

In November 2012, five pilot consultations with parents were conducted and are in the process of being evaluated. In each area a sufficient minority of parents registered their preference for a more diverse form of school management, and local discussions have been taking place on the appropriate patronage divestment. In January 2013, the inquiries on parental preferences were conducted in 38 other catchment areas.

The outcome of the process remains to be seen, and it is likely that discussions at local level on the divesting of patronage will not be without difficulty. Nevertheless, the expectation is that progress on this phase will be secured and lead to similar inquiries and patronage adjustments in similar locations elsewhere in the country. The process of divestment of patronage is regarded as best conducted in an incremental way, with the building of confidence and trust between the various stakeholders.

A greater challenge to the traditional faith-based schools is involved in the third category of school 'the stand alone school'. This occurs where there is just one school to serve a small population and a choice of school under another patron is not an option. The Advisory Group to the Forum recommended that the stand alone denominational school needed to adapt its procedures so that it became more sensitive to, and embracive of the needs of pupils of differing religious or secular belief systems. In circumstances where there could be no choice of school it was recommended that the Department of Education and Skills should prepare a protocol to assist such schools in protecting the rights of all children enrolled. The Advisory Group set out a detailed framework for such a protocol to give clarity to schools on their responsibility to protect such rights with regard to denominational religious education and religious practice. It also urged the provision of exemplars of good practice to guide school managements. The elements of the protocol would require significant adjustments on the day-to-day life of the traditional Catholic school, so that its inclusivity would be clearly apparent, while features of its denominational character would still remain, including denominational religious formation.

Predictably, the proposals for this category of school proved to be the most controversial. What the government has decided to do is to engage in a period of public consultation on this feature of the Report on the Forum. Following this, it has committed itself to issuing a White Paper in 2013 setting out governmental decisions on the matter.

Thus, it may be concluded that Ireland, with 96 % of its primary schools as faith-based denominationally controlled schools has initiated a set of strategies to adapt the inherited system so that it can more satisfactorily reflect the needs of a multi-ethnic, multi-religious society. It seeks to do this through multi-lateral dialogue, and consultation, involving new responsibilities for all stakeholders. While some citizens would prefer a more radical change process, existing constitutional guarantees, legal entitlements and deeply-rooted tradition makes this a very unattractive political direction to take. It remains to be seen how successful the current process will be, and to what extent it will result in a changed landscape regarding primary school provision and character. If the adaptation process is not successful and is not facilitated, it seems likely that more radical demands for change will gain traction in the future, with a stronger demand for schools to be publicly owned and administered. Ireland, is thus, an interesting, active case study as to how a faith-based system is being challenged to adjust to a more pluralistic population.

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Chapter 28
Religious Education in a Time of Globalization and Pluralism: The Example of the United States

Walter Feinberg

Introduction

Historically in The United States the control of primary and secondary schools has been under local governing bodies, and the federal government had very little to say about the way schools are run. This arrangement can be traced to the revolution against England and the belief that the Federal government must be constrained to protect individual liberty. While it is still the case that the role of the federal government is limited, it is a great deal less so than it was, say 40 years ago. While the hiring and firing of teachers, the selection of the curriculum and such are still largely under local control, the national government has more recently intruded in a number of ways to constrain or influence local decisions. The most direct involves the way in which racial issues are decided, but the most far reaching is the attempt by the federal government to set uniform standards across the different states and local governments. The argument for doing so has been largely economic and the perceived, although highly questionable, connection between educational achievement and individual mobility and between educational achievement and national economic competitiveness.

The Role of Religion in Education

The role of religion in public education in the United States can be traced back to motivation of the Pilgrims to protect against tyranny, and to follow their own conscience as dictated by religion. Ironically their settlement of Massachusetts was

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followed by a series of repressive measures directed against competing religious beliefs. When the Bill of Rights was added to the federal constitution in 1791 the First Amendment dealt with religions freedoms among others. The first two clauses read: 'Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.' Over the years this has meant less and less religious influence in the public, or government run, schools. For example when I was a grade school student in a public school in Massachusetts we would begin each day with one of our classmates reciting a psalm—often the 23rd psalm followed by the Lord's prayer—King James edition and then a salute to the flag. While individual states differed in the extent to which religion was incorporated into public schools, there was no clear federal prohibition on religious exercise. For the most part these exercises were Christian orientated, even in non-Christian communities, and largely Protestant inflected.

However, occasionally in areas with a large Catholic student body accommodations might be made. When my wife began teaching in a public school in heavily Irish Catholic section of Boston in the 1960s there were pictures of the Virgin Mary hanging in different classrooms in her public school. While this was technically illegal it was tolerated in predominantly Catholic Boston. Today most of the traces of religion have vanished. There is still a two-week vacation at Christmas time, but it is now called Winter break not Christmas vacation, just as the vacation around Easter is not called the Easer vacation any longer, but rather the Spring break. Public school teachers are no longer allowed to promote prayer in school although students are not forbidden from initiating prayer on their own without school sponsorship, and there are important legal restrictions to displaying religiously charged symbols or texts. For example, a number of court cases have been fought over the displaying of the Ten Commandments in the public schools, and with few exceptions it has been found illegal to do so.

Even though the public schools are viewed as religiously neutral zones—a phrase that I will unpack shortly—there exists along side of the public school system a robust, and perfectly legal religious school system, that educates approximately 10 % of the country's children and where prayer is not only perfectly legal, but where it is encouraged. By far the Catholic system is largest of these. Catholic schools are controlled by the local Bishop or, in some cases, by a religious order such as the Jesuits, the Dominicans, etc. While the Catholic system has had to close some schools recently, largely as a result of inadequate funds, other religious schools especially fundamentalist Protestant as well as religious home schools are growing. There is also some growth in Jewish and Moslem private schools. Some of this growth is a reaction to the reduced status of religion in the public schools, some is in response to other factors, such as demographic shifts, some is a response to parental concerns for greater discipline than they believe is provided by public schools.

In addition to the growth in the number of religious schools there have been other responses to the reduced presence of religious devotion in the public schools. For example, there is a growing interest in the teaching of academic courses in religion, especially in the public high school. These include courses in Bible history, the influence of the Bible, Bible literature and World Religions. These are perfectly

legal as long as they do not promote a particular religion, including non-religion, or entail religious worship as part of the study. One additional response to the reduced influence of religion in the traditional public schools involves a recent educational innovation that the Supreme Court has endorsed and that some localities have initiated. This allows public funds to be given to parents, through vouchers, who then are free to choose to spend them on tuition in a public, non-sectarian private, or a religious school. Since the funds are given to the parents, and not directly to schools, the court reasoned, in a highly contentious decision, that this is not a violation of the constitution. Nevertheless the ultimate decision about whether to employ vouchers in this way is left up to the local communities and the individual states and many do not allow vouchers to be used for a religious education. Indeed a number of state constitutions have an explicit ban on the use of state and local taxes to support religious schools. These accommodations not withstanding public education in the United States today is a largely secular institution where individual schools are government supported and controlled by local and state authorities—elected or appointed—and where official religious expression is constrained by law.

History

In the United States the Supreme Court, a body of nine judges, each appointed by the president for life, determines whether a contested law is consistent with the Constitution. As I mentioned at the beginning of this essay, when the Bill of Rights was added to the constitution, the First Amendment guaranteed religions freedoms. However these clauses were not applied to education until the middle of the twentieth century when there were a series of landmark Supreme Court cases that curtailed the expression of religion in the public schools, leading up to a decision in the early 1960s to eliminate school sponsored prayer and religious observances from public education (Abington school district vs Schemp 1963). The decision is controversial with some people still believing, against much evidence to the contrary, that it is inconsistent with the "intent" of the Founding Fathers who, they argue, wanted to establish a religiously based, Christian, meaning Protestant, country. This is inconsistent with the more established view that the founders were most concerned with avoiding tyranny, which was defined in part as forcing one person to pay taxes to support the religious beliefs of another. Over time this somewhat negative goal—to avoid tyranny—was supplemented by many educational reformers by the goal of promoting civic harmony among people with many different beliefs, values and backgrounds. Yet many factors, philosophical, and religious inhibit its achievement.

While many people hold the courts responsible for the change towards secularism, in truth the court action came very slowly and was a response to larger historical and demographic factors. Pierce v. The Society of Sisters (1925), the first court case involving religion and education, was not decided on the basis of the First Amendment regarding the freedom of religion, nor was it about limiting religion in

the public schools. Rather it was a case that declared religious schools legal and was decided on the grounds of due process holding that children are not the property of the state. Thus religious education, a practice that had long preceded the court case, was enshrined as a right that neither federal nor state governments could violate. In this case, however, the court did not take up the question whether the state had any obligation to materially support a parent's private educational choice. That came later in a number of different cases that unpacked just what support meant in the context of the First Amendment (Santa Fe Independent School district v Doe 2000). Hence the up-shot of the ruling was that parents had a right to send their children to private or religious schools, but individual states were not obliged, nor were they overtly forbidden, to provide the material means to support that right, although none in fact did. Moreover, as mentioned earlier, a number of state constitutions did forbid such support. However, the general assumption was that to provide such means would be an unconstitutional furthering of religion. This assumption was derived from the fear, mentioned above, of the founding fathers and, especially Jefferson, of tyranny. Hence by providing a free non-sectarian, presumably religiously 'neutral', public educational system, and by allowing a tuition based religious education it was felt that both religion clauses could be served. Parents would be free to bring up their children in the religion of their own choosing and the state would avoid the establishment of any one religion over another, or of one system of belief or of non-belief over another. However things are rarely that simple and the question of whether the public schools were truly neutral was long in question. Catholic educators in the 1800s and 1900s questioned what they saw as the Protestant orientation of the public schools, since among other markers many public schools began the day with a readings from the King James Bible, as did the one I attended.

The 1940s, and the war against Hitler was an important turning point. Many became aware of the privileges given to some ethnic, racial and religious groups and not to others. A Supreme Court case during the Second World War was the beginning of the change in the schools. The case involved the objection of Jehovah's Witnesses to the compulsory saluting of the American flag. A group of Jehovah's Witness parents claimed that saluting the American flag violated their religious beliefs, and the Supreme Court in an act of courage ruled in their favor, allowing that forced patriotism, even in time of war violated freedom of religion. 'If there is any fixed star in our constitutional constellation,' the court wrote, 'it is that no official, high or petty, can prescribe what shall be orthodox in politics, nationalism, religion, or other matters of opinion or force citizens to confess by word or act their faith therein (West Virginia State Board of Education v. Barnette 1943).' The decision thus upheld the right of conscience over the coercive power of the state to shape character and commitment. It upheld the right of individual non-conformity within the school and the right of a child to follow the dictates of her religiously formed conscience. A few years after the flag case the court rejected the practice by a public school of inviting religious leaders, ministers, rabbis and priests to teach classes in moral education within the public schools, on the grounds that it promoted religion over non religion and marginalized students who reject religion or who did not accept a belief in God (McCollum v. Board of Education 1948).

These decisions were very complicated and very often resulted in a split decision by the nine-member Supreme Court, with the majority ruling the day. The fact that these were often close shows both a tension between the two religion clauses—sometimes free expression seems to come close to the state establishment of religion, as for example when a student is allowed to use the school microphone to deliver a prayer or when a uniformed high school football team decides to say a prayer before the game and in front of the crowd (Santa Fe Independent School district v Doe 2000). In both cases the courts found these practices unconstitutional because of the context in which they were practiced. On the other hand after school religious clubs were ruled permissible, as long as the school allows other clubs as well, and as long as all clubs are voluntary. Hence while students cannot pray in uniform before a crowd, Christian students can form clubs in school, and a club for Christian athletes that meet after school is not uncommon (Westside School District vs Mergens 1990). Thus students are free to express their religious beliefs, but public schools cannot serve to sponsor them. To many these decisions are confusing and seem to rest on the make-up of the court at any given time and on the religious preferences of the justices. However, the general trend, at least up to the case legalizing vouchers—has been to reduce the official presence of religion in public schools.

Now so far I have been presenting the official picture. However it is important to take into account that the United States is composed of 50 different states and that within each of these states there are scores of separate school districts. Much of what happens in local schools is controlled by a large degree by the policies of the local school districts, unlike many other systems of education in other countries. Hence there are many different practices with regard to religion, and many different arrangements—some of which occur under the radar of state and federal law, and some of which are just too complicated for clear-cut legal action. For example, the court has made a big distinction between religious worship or promotion, and the academic study of religion. The first is forbidden the second is allowable. Hence a growing number of schools have instituted classes in the Bible or in comparative religion. While the Bible classes are supposed to be neutral with regard to the merits of religion over non-religion or of one religious denomination over another, the line between explaining and promoting can be quite thin, and some well-meaning teachers unconsciously promote their own beliefs. One minor example is the study of the Hebrew Bible, which will be called not the Hebrew Bible or the Tanak, as most Jews would prefer, but the Old Testament, immediately, but unconsciously supporting a Christian perspective. A more subtle example are those teachers who promote the belief that Christianity is the flower and Judaism is the root, a view that is often expressed by well-meaning teachers, but that implicitly endorses the idea that Judaism is a more primitive religious form. Other examples are teachers who encourage debate, but constrain it in ways that support belief over non belief. For example, one of the teachers in our study would encourage debate about the causes of the Red Sea parting—miracle, earthquake, wind—reinforcing the view that the Exodus is an historically accurate account of the experience of the Israelites. Because these are not likely to be contested legally, as, for example, the teaching Creationism in a biology class would be, teachers have considerable room to maneuver, and much depends on the character of the local community and the self awareness of the teacher.

The Role of the Catholic Church

One might have expected that the American Catholic Church might have been strongly in favor of including religion in the public schools, but the issue is much more complicated. Historically the Catholic Church was largely opposed to the inclusion of religion in the public schools, and this opposition was one of the inspirations for the establishment of the alternative Catholic parochial school system. The leadership objected to what they saw as a veneer of neutrality covering up an essentially Protestant educational system. Whether true neutrality—however that might have been interpreted—would have been acceptable is unclear. However, what was certainly not acceptable was a system that began with the reading of the King James's version of the Bible, presented the Bible as unmediated, and that advanced what it saw as a doctrine of destructive individualism. Hence leaders of the Church felt that under the guise of neutrality students were being indoctrinated into a Protestant world-view. And, for a long time many Catholic leaders, still under the influence of Pius IX, rejected democracy, modernism, and certain forms of nationalism, three of the pillars of the public schools. In response many American Protestants feared that Catholic loyalty to Rome would trump loyalty to Washington. During the 1800s violent protests erupted in New York over the issue of compulsory public education and resulted in the parallel Catholic parochial system. Indeed, prior to the Civil War, many anti-slavery abolitionists argued that both Catholicism and slavery were parallel systems of subjugation, this even though the Vatican, if not most American Catholics, allowed that black and white were part of the same family of man. In the nineteenth and part of the twentieth century, parochial schools appealed to their respective immigrant communities by connecting them to a set of services and familiar practices. Yet these schools also reinforced religious isolation. Their Catechism told students that the Jews were Christ killers, Mohammed was a murderer and a thief, and Protestants who did not recant and convert to Catholicism were eternally damned.

Today there is much less tension between advocates of public education and supporters of Catholic schools, than there was in the past. There are three factors that can account for this. First and most obvious is Vatican II and the ecumenical dialogue that it opened up. In addition the decline in the number of priests and nuns required that more lay teachers were needed to teach in Catholic schools and they brought with them different interests and experiences, and were more like the teachers that taught in the public schools. Hence Catholic and public schools began to look more alike in many respects. In some cases Catholic schools, even though more expensive, became schools of choice for those non-Catholic parents who wanted a more traditional and disciplined experience for their children, who believe that religion is critical for character development or who simply live in an area where the public school had a poor reputation. Second and as a result of the Civil Rights movement, feminism, gay and lesbian liberation, etc. there has been a greater acceptance by the public at large of diversity, and for the most part this includes religious diversity. The exception here is Islam where the erection of an Islamic

school in a neighborhood can still cause controversy. Third, Catholics are now wealthier than they once were, and in the United States wealth often brings with it respectability. One can see this in the fact that the now irrelevant historical debate over why Catholics had lower IQ scores than Protestants and Jews: the preferred answer was because they condemn their best and brightest to celibacy. It may be now that the IQ scores are the same, but in fact no one really cares, and this form of scientific racism is now applied only to African Americans.

An additional factor that I think has made a difference is the developing sense that there is considerable variation among Catholics, and the anti-Catholic claim of an earlier time that all Catholics march to the drum beat of the Vatican, and that their loyalty to the United States was insecure, seems absurdly inconsistent with the reality of Catholics in the country today, and probably always was. True, the Diocese schools tend to be more traditional in doctrine, but schools that are run by religious orders vary considerably in terms of the interpretation of moral doctrine. Some teachers are sympathetic to libertarian theology and to liberal social issues. In any event Catholic schools today, educate more than two and a half million students U.S. school children. A significant percentage of these are minority 25 % with blacks and Hispanics the largest non-white group. Over 13 % of the students in these schools are not Catholic, and the Diocese in Chicago is the tenth largest school system, public or private, in the United States. It has not hurt the cause of Catholic education that some research has found that minority students who attend Catholic schools from inner city or impoverished homes perform better academically than do students from the same neighborhood public schools (Bryk et al. 1993). However, this research is contentious and is inconclusive. One advantage that Catholic as well as most private schools have, is the advantage that comes through self-selection.

This advantage has not been lost on many educational reformers who are now advocating the system of parental choice, for example the voucher that I mentioned earlier. Under this system, instead of students automatically being assigned to the neighborhood school, the state would provide students with an educational voucher and parents then would choose the school they think best for their child. This proposal is less controversial when the options are limited to the non-sectarian public schools. However, because of the religion clause of the First Amendment the proposal is still controversial when the options are extended to religious schools. Advocates of this idea argue that it is consistent with the First Amendment because the state is supporting individual choice and not targeting where this choice will be exercised. Those who oppose it reject this argument and also believe that it presents a threat to the non-sectarian character of public education. As I mentioned earlier, in a recent case before the Supreme Court a voucher plan in Cleveland was approved, which did allow the vouchers to be spent in religious, here mostly Catholic, schools. Whether to do so on a broad scale, however, remains a state or local decision, and at this point it is unclear what if any role state supported religious schools will have in the educational mix. And, as noted above, some individual state constitutions ban such support. While the Federal Supreme Court has priority over state Supreme Courts, it has not ruled on these on any of the state statutes banning support to religious schools. There is also some concern among religious groups that should they begin to accept state funding,

they would also likely need to bow to greater state accountability and control. For example, if the states began to financially support religious schools, these schools might have to conform to state non discrimination hiring practices rather than to give preference to practitioners of their own religion. There is also concern about social cohesion and whether support for religiously homogenous schools will erode the commitment to the public school ideals of diversity and equal opportunity.

Lessons for Pluralism

Obviously the United States is not, nor should it be the model for other liberal democracies, but one of the features of globalization is an increase in religious pluralism and for this reason the experience of the United States can be instructive. Let me begin here with an example. When I first set out to study religious education, I had two graduate students as assistants. One, Richard, was a devout Catholic; the other, Edward, was a fundamentalist Christian. They were both very fine graduate students, known to be hard working and exceptionally knowledgeable about religion. One day as we were going over some interviews they got into a rather deep discussion about their own beliefs. The discussion was friendly and I know that they respected one another, and so I interrupted them and I turned first to Richard and said, 'You seem to like Edward a lot; am I right?' He said yes. Then I said 'And you think he is a fine person, and would not intentionally harm anyone?' He said of course. And I followed with 'But you think he believes in the wrong religion?' 'Yes', he said. 'And therefore you believe that he will burn in the fires of hell?' 'Absolutely!' And then I turned to Edward and asked the same series of questions and he too agreed. He indicated that he liked Richard, they worked well together, Richard was a fine person and would not intentionally harm any one, and he would help out wherever he could. But, Edward opined that sadly Richard believed in the wrong religion and yes, tragically, Richard would burn in the fires of hell.

This experience suggested to me, as I wrote in my book, *For Goodness Sake*, that religious education is likely to entail some chauvinism and that chauvinism is the price liberalism must pay to pluralism. The new Catholic Catechism has largely exorcised the most offensive passages about Moslems, Jews and Protestants, but it took many decades to do so, and of courses it still privileges Church doctrine and moral teaching. Nevertheless, some of the courses in comparative religious taught in some Catholic schools could be models even for non-sectarian public schools. Here other religious are treated with both respect and accuracy. Moslems may teach their children that Christianity is a polytheistic religion or that Jesus was just a prophet, not a Deity and that Mohammed had a more prophetic complete message. And Jews will of course continue to teach that they are God's chosen people, whatever that might mean. As I report in the book, some Lutherans teach their children that Catholics believe that you can bribe your way into heaven and some Catholics may teach that Lutherans believe you can get a free ticket into heaven without doing anything to deserve it.

As I said religious chauvinism is the price liberalism must pay for pluralism. Given this price liberal democracies may develop different ways to accommodate religious schools. Some, like the United States and France may choose to allow but not support separate religious schools. Others like the Netherlands may choose to support all religious schools that meet certain academic standards. Still others may have other arrangements. All countries in the West, and many throughout the world, are responding to the same forces—increasing diversity, including religious diversity, and thickening cultural contacts. Countries where one religion has been a major factor in maintaining social cohesion (e.g. Ireland), may face a special challenge—how to accommodate people from different traditions and beliefs while maintaining reasonable levels of social cohesion and mutual commitment. Is it acceptable to continue to privilege one religion, or must all forms of religious education operate under the same ground rules with the same level of support or non-support? Of course this is not a question that an outsider can be reasonably expected to answer. However a few general considerations might be worth mentioning. Liberal democracies must allow religious schools as a condition of freedom of conscience. However, as a matter of principle, they may support such schools, but are not morally obliged to do so. This will depend in part on the history of the country and on its vision for the future.

Nevertheless, there are two conditions for supporting religious schools in a liberal democratic society, should it choose to do so. The first is that the schools must not subvert the subjective conditions necessary for reproducing liberal democratic citizens. The second is that they therefore must provide the educational requirements for children to grow into reflective, autonomous citizens with the capacity to evaluate forms of life they have been socialized to accept uncritically. Hence at age appropriate times children should be encouraged to gain intellectual and emotional distance over the form of life with which they are most familiar, and to understand that there are many reasonable other forms of life. One approach would be to require a course in world religions at the high schools level where each religion is treated on its own terms and not as a foil for some other tradition. Religious schools that block other reasonable viewpoints from being considered are schools where the religious mission supersedes the democratic one. There are those who would object to their existence on the grounds that they are indoctrinating students and failing to develop their autonomy. Yet the ideal of pluralism should force us to reexamine this position and to be very cautious in prohibiting parents from educating children into their own religious beliefs, even if they do so in an exclusive way. Yet while pluralism might hesitate to disallow such schools, people who do not share this religion, or who do not share it as the one and only truth, may have trouble supporting them.

In conclusion: liberal pluralistic democracies are not automatically self-perpetuating. They require certain dispositions. Political liberalism is the political form of autonomy. It requires a society that both respects individual choice and that provides people with the skills to choose a different path. Children are not expected to reconstruct the preferences of their parents, although they may *choose* to do so. Pluralism requires a respect for different modes of association, whether occupational, political or religious. And both require citizens who are equipped not only to follow the rules, but to evaluate them and, where necessary, to change them.

An interest in liberal pluralism entails an interest in development of reflective, critical citizens. This does not just happen. It is a result of both the quality of an informal environment and as a result of deliberate, planned instruction. Religious education can play a role in this reconstruction, but for some educational traditions this will require a transformation in the way in which religious claims, both one's own and those of others, are addressed.

As I said at the beginning of this essay, there is a tendency for every county that sees itself as a liberal democracy to take for granted its own form of education and to view it as the quintessential democratic education. Yet over time each educational system must respond to changes that it cannot control, and a historical perspective can provide many of the tools needed to respond to new conditions. By its very nature democracy is an open system that can accommodate many beliefs, even those where democracy is not the highest priority. There are constraints, however, that all forms of democratic education need to respect. One constraint is intolerance for intolerance, or for education forms that promotes anti democratic ideas or intolerance towards others. Intolerance of intolerance is not the same as acceptance. A Lutheran can reject Catholicism, a Catholic can reject Lutheranism, and an atheist can place a pox on both their houses, believing iconoclastically that they are all going to roast in the fires of hell if it exists, while basking in the glory of a religion free heaven. But while each can teach the "errors" of the ways of the other, the democratic state must provide students with the knowledge and skills they need to reflect on their own belief formation, and to alter them where experience and knowledge demands. I believe, although this is certainly open to question, that at some point the personal relations that an integrated religious education provides, can further this process. Hence Edward can still believe that Richard will burn in the fires of hell, and Richard can still believe the same of Edward, but all the while both still recognizing that in this life they each have a right to hold onto their beliefs as they will.

What is important for the level of social cohesion that democracy requires is not the specific religious beliefs that Richard and Edward hold, although these can become important when they feed public policy debate. Rather, what is important is for Richard to understand that even though he, Richard, knows that Edward will truly rot in hell, that he also understands that Edward has the right to live the life he has chosen and to hold the beliefs that he holds. And, what is important for Edward to understand is that even though that he, Edward, knows that Richard will truly rot in hell, that he also understands that Richard has the right to live the life he has chosen and to hold the beliefs that he holds. And equally important in fabricating cohesion in a religiously pluralistic, democratic society what each knows of and accepts of right of the right of the other to live the life he has chosen and to believe the beliefs that he believes, that each also understands that the other knows and accepts these rights for themselves. Richard knows it of Edward and Edward knows it of Richard. This reflexivity, my knowledge of your knowledge and your knowledge of mine, is the glue that will serve to cohere religiously pluralistic democracies. To the extent that religious schools gain ground and students are more often schooled with those who are religiously like themselves, then social cohesion

among different religious groups may become a larger concern than it is at the present. At this moment though the vast majority of students will be found in government financed and controlled schools and race and social class rather than religion have greater potential to strain the social fabric in the United States (Feinberg and Layton 2014).

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Chapter 29
Classroom Practice in a Faith-Based School: A Tale of Two Levels

Paul Black

Introduction: Contrasts or Contradictions?

To explain my enigmatic sub-title for this chapter, I present two sources which led me to write it. The first is the following quotation from Thomas Groome's book on *Education for Life*:

> The content, process and environment of Catholic education should reflect to its students that they are made in the image and likeness of God. They have a right to a curriculum that convinces them of their inherent goodness, that convinces them of their dignity and self-worth, that treats them with respect, that helps to develop their every good gift and talent. (Thomas Groome 2005, p. 348)

The second is a comparison between recorded dialogue from a classroom (from chapter 4 in Black et al. 2003). The teacher started a lesson to introduce work on electric circuits by holding up an ammeter and asked 'Anyone know what we call these and where you might find one?' There followed a to-and-fro exchange which showed that the students did not know the name – so the teacher pointed to the dial of the instrument and said 'This word here helps'. It did not, for although the word was recognized, the jump from 'amps' to 'ammeter' had to be made for them by the teacher. He then asked of one student 'What's it called Jamie?' and Jamie's reply was 'A clock sir'. For this response Jamie was reprimanded for not listening, even although to him the only device with a needle moving round a numbered dial which he had ever met before was a clock. The dialogue involved in this episode was a sequence of teacher-student-teacher-student exchanges, whilst the questions, calling as they did for specific words, were of the type often described as 'Guess what I'm thinking of' questions.

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In this episode, the students would have felt that they did not know what they were expected to know, and their experience could not be said to meet Groome's requirement

'. . convinces them of their dignity and self-worth.'

However, my reaction to reading the Groome piece is to ask – what does this mean in practice? I have asked a similar question in reading many other writings about the unique qualities of faith-based school, which speak, for example, of the ethos of the school, but always in general terms. At the same time, my research and development work with teachers in schools of all types, has led me to see how the links, between the central Christian concepts of redemption and spirituality, and the quality of the day-today interactions between teachers and pupils, might be, and ought to be, spelt out. This chapter is my attempt to describe what some of these links might look like.

Assessment for Learning – Principles and Practices

My presentation here is partly based on a personal journey. This journey was impelled in part by an interest about the effects on students' assessed achievements, of the various types of assessment feedback that teachers use. This interest led me to work with colleagues, which started by a review of the relevant research literature. The outcome was an article (Black and Wiliam 1998a), and a short booklet (Black and Wiliam 1998b) both of which have been very extensively cited in the past 12 years. The second step was a research and development project with teachers in six schools, a project which combined full day general meetings every five or six weeks, with the teachers adapting their classroom work to see whether and how the ideas arising from the research studies could be transformed into their practical working knowledge. This eventually led to two further publications addressed to teachers: a short booklet (Black et al 2002) and a book (Black et al. 2003): the latter has been very popular with teachers. The research findings were also explored by the same group in several publications (Black and Wiliam 2003; Wiliam et al. 2004; Harrison 2005; Lee and Wiliam 2005). In what follows, I highlight several aspects of the outcomes of this work, outcomes which have arisen from the interplay between research ideas and the practical experiences of the project's innovative and reflective teachers. It will be important for the reader to keep in mind, as each of the activities of the students is described, Groome's requirements, notably,

'convinces them of their dignity and self-worth' and 'treats them with respect'.

Feedback and Dialogue

The phrase 'assessment for learning' indicates a focus on those interaction between teachers and learners in which the teachers' main aim has been to elicit the ideas which students can express, and then to respond to their explanations in ways that can help the students to build upon or re-construct those ideas. These formative

interactions can take place within times that vary between a few seconds to several weeks, but the specific purpose lying behind the tasks or questions with which the teacher challenges the students is the development of their knowledge and understanding. This implies that they have to engage in an interactive dialogue.

An example of what is involved is provided by the following account of a lesson involving the same teacher, with the same students, who provided the example used above in my Introduction. At the start of this lesson, the teacher presented a class with two samples of the same type of pot-plant, told them that they had been growing in different places in the classroom, and asked them if they could explain why they were different: one looked attractively healthy, the other was sad and spindly. He then asked them to chat with one another and left them alone for a few minutes before calling for ideas. One pair made a suggestion, he re-stated that suggestion and asked for other ideas: the discussion carried on in this way for several minutes, as different ideas were expressed by students and then 'bounced back' by the teacher: comments were both repetitions of the last contribution and challenges to the students about the contrasts between their suggestions. Above all, he was giving students opportunity to frame and express their own ideas and building on their contributions to develop the theme of the lesson. One example of his responses is the following exchange;

Teacher: 'What do you think Jamie?'
Jamie: 'We thought that . . . . . .' (pausing with uncertainty)
Teacher: 'You thought . . ?'
Jamie: 'That the big'un had eaten up more light'
Teacher: 'I think I know what Monica and Jamie are getting at but can anyone put the ideas together? Window-light-plants?' (p. 38, Black et al. 2003)

The same Jamie who was reprimanded in my earlier example was now being encouraged to contribute.

These episodes occurred five months apart. The teacher involved had played a lively and positive part in the work of our development project, an involvement which had started about nine months before the first episode. He was humble in the best sense, i.e. he accepted feedback from the researcher who observed and recorded the first episode, and worked to effect a change, with significant success. The feedback had made clear to him that his practice did not match his values. It is often reported that teachers do not have a realistic view of their own classroom work: indeed they cannot be both the engaged agent and the objective observer.

The importance of the quality of classroom dialogue is emphasised by Alexander (2006) as follows:

> Children, we now know, need to talk, and to experience a rich diet of spoken language, in order to think and to learn. Reading, writing and number may be acknowledged curriculum 'basics', but talk is arguably the true foundation of learning. (p. 9)

In a more detailed exploration of this issue, Alexander states:

> Talk vitally mediates the cognitive and cultural spaces between adult and child, among children themselves, between teacher and learner, between society and the individual, between what the child knows and understands and what he or she has yet to know and understand. (Alexander 2008, p. 92)

This emphasis is lent additional weight by Wood (1998) in the following quotation:

> Vygotsky, as we have already seen, argues that such external and social activities are gradually internalized by the child as he comes to regulate his own internal activity. Such encounters are the source of experiences which eventually create the 'inner dialogues' that form the process of mental self-regulation. Viewed in this way, learning is taking place on at least two levels: the child is learning about the task, developing 'local expertise'; and he is also learning how to structure his own learning and reasoning (p. 98)

Many teachers have found that it is very difficult to develop interactive *oral dialogue* in their classrooms. The potential of the question or task was a first requirement: a good example at primary level is (Harrison and Howard 2009):

> Which is the "odd-one-out" – bird, cat, fish, elephant? Why? (p. 10)

The fact that this question has no single 'right answer' is related to its potential for opening up a discussion with and between students about how to classify living creatures. However, this formative potential can only be realised by involving the students, as one science teacher (Black and Harrison 2001) explained:

> When a question is asked or a problem posed who is thinking of the answer? Is anybody thinking about the problem apart from the teacher? How many pupils are actively engaged in thinking about the problem? Is it just a few well-motivated pupils or worse is it just the one the teacher picks out to answer the question? The pupil whose initial reaction is like that of a startled rabbit 'Who me sir'? (p. 56)

A frequent comment from teachers was 'It's pretty scary' reflecting the fear of losing control as they encouraged more involvement of their students. Alexander (2006) describes the evidence, from many studies in different countries, of the overwhelming predominance of limited forms of dialogue, e.g. 'recitation' (see for example Applebee et al. 2003; Smith et al. 2004). The task of facilitating dialogue is a delicate one in that, given effective preparation, the teacher must carefully 'steer' the discussion, avoiding that close control which will inhibit participation, trying to respect, draw relevance from and make use of any student contribution even when it might seem unintelligent or bizarre, yet keeping the dialogue 'on track' in relation to the broader aim of the lesson. The challenge for a faith school is that if many of its lessons are characterized by a 'recitation' and a "guess what I am thinking of" style, are they not undermining the ethos of a faith community which they claim to be their distinctive characteristic?

Study of the fine-grain detail of such dialogue can be revealing, particularly if results can be shared with the teacher(s) involved. The two examples discussed above, which were taken from Chapter 4 of Black et al. 2003, are a small example of what might be learnt. To follow through such analysis in depth can involve models of the thinking of a students which can explain the link between what they hear when questioned and whether and how they formulate a response. A detailed account of this issue is given in Black and Wiliam (2009). In particular, that paper emphasises the contingent nature of the task of steering a dialogue, and draws on the literature on self-regulated learning to explore Wood's point, as quoted above, that the student will be 'learning how to structure his own learning and reasoning'.

A different aspect of difficulty here is that in the close interaction needed to engage students in learning dialogue, the teachers' framing of a classroom task must aim to draw on the diversity of cultural resources and expectations that students will bring, or can be encouraged to bring, to the classroom. This aspect is particularly important where cultural norms are such that students will not participate in oral dialogue (see Carless 2011, a book which studies this problem in a Confucian culture).

Written Work – No Marks or Grades

The *feedback* which teachers give *on written work* is another form of dialogue which can promote formative interaction and self-regulation, albeit within a different mode and a longer time scale. Dialogue in writing can become particularly productive when teachers compose feedback comments individually tailored to suggest to each student how his/her work could be improved, and expect the student to do further work in response to the feedback. However, as with the case of oral dialogue, studies of actual practice show that such advantages are not always explored. Kluger and De Nisi (1996) analysed 131 research studies of feedback and found that the average effect size of feedback intervention was +0.4, but that these effect sizes ranged from −0.6 to +1.4. Negative effects arise where learners are given the result but no help, whilst the most effective feedback gives specific comments on errors plus suggestions for strategies to improve. The main point involved here was clearly expressed by a teacher as follows:

> The important feature of this technique of course is the quality of the comment. A bland, non-helpful comment such as "Good work Jaspaul, this is much neater and seems to show that you have tried hard" will not show any significant change in attainment because it says nothing about the individual's learning. There is no target and the student, although aware that the teacher is happy with them, could not be blamed for thinking that neatness is everything and that by keeping all of their work neat from now on, they will attain high grades. Students are not good at knowing how much they are learning, often because we as teachers do not tell them in an appropriate way. (pp. 44–45 in Black et al. 2003)

The way of telling students that is not appropriate is to give them marks or grades, for this is a judgment which thereby treats the written work as a terminal test and fails to explore the opportunity to put the learner's time involved, in producing it, to further advantage. It is quite common to give both marks and comments, but the evidence about this practice is that the student's look at and discuss one another's marks and ignore the comments. Whilst many, both individual teachers and school policies, regard as unthinkable the prospect of recording no marks on a student's work, there are schools where the absence of marks is the policy.

There is more involved here than the optimum use of the work involved in setting, producing, and assessing written work. Where students focus attention on their own and one another's marks, these become a mark of success or failure in a competitive community. The research findings of Butler (1988) and of Dweck (2000) show that

the choice between feedback given as marks, and feedback given only as comments, can make a profound difference to the way in which students view themselves as learners: confidence and independence in learning is best developed by the second choice, i.e. by feedback which gives advice for improvement, and avoids judgment. Learners must believe that success is due to internal factors that they can change, and not due to factors outside their control, such as ability or being liked by the teacher. Teachers who believe in the value of competition seem to be unaware of such evidence, and to neglect the fact that every competition stigmatizes losers as well as rewarding winners.

Peer- and Self-Assessment

An alternative to having the teacher compose feedback on written work is for students to evaluate one another's work by *peer-assessment*. This has several advantages, in that all students can be involved, all can start to talk the language of the subject, and each can see his/her own work through the eyes of peers, which can help develop objective self-assessment (Black et al. 2003, Chap. 4). However, such advantages do not follow automatically. The review of studies of group work by Johnson et al. (2000) showed that group work only secures significant learning advantages if the groups are genuinely collaborative and that these advantages are seen when collaborative group work is compared with individual study. However, such advantages do not accrue if the group interactions are competitive. Similar findings were reported in the study by Blatchford et al. (2006); one feature of their initial evaluation was that in many groups, some of the students regarded the discussion as a contest to prove who was right. Mercer et al. (2004) reported the positive outcomes of an intervention study designed to train student groups in effective collaboration. A particular feature of Mercer's work was that one student in each group had to ensure that every suggestion, assertion or contradiction was justified by arguments that included reasons: in consequence, after the training, such reasoning words as 'think', 'because', 'would' and 'should' were used three times more frequently than before.

A factor common to these examples, and to the work described above on oral dialogue, is that they involve the development, for and with students, of the habit of participation in a reasoning discourse. One difference between the two examples of class discussions described above was that in the first no student used the terms 'think' or 'because' and no student contribution amounted to more than a three-word phrase, whereas in the second these same two words were used frequently by the students, and every student contribution was in the form of a complete sentence. Many young students may have no experience of participation – in their home, or in the street, or in the playground – in reasoned discourse. The school may well be the only place in which they can experience such discourse, and come to participate in it.

But What About Tests?

Up to this point, my discussion has made no mention of summative assessment. Indeed, it would seem that such assessment is a judgment, is bound to give feedback, with its inevitable marks of grades, which labels students as more or less capable, and enhances a competitive ethos.

A quite different perspective is possible. A test at the end of any learning episode, could be designed not only to summarise, perhaps in the form of individual student marks, before moving on, but also to serve as an opportunity for a review in which test results could also be interpreted in the light of the strengths and weaknesses of the learning achieved. The Black et al. study (2003) showed how teachers had used this opportunity. In their work of preparing for such a test students could be helped to engage in their own reflective review of the work they had done in order to enable them to plan their revision effectively. It was also found useful for students to attempt in groups to set questions of the type that they judged would be fair tests of their learning, and also to mark answers in groups as a form of peer assessment. The main point of such work was to encourage them, through their peer- and self-assessments, to apply criteria to help them understand how their work might be improved, and to help deepen their understanding of the criteria by relating them to their own specific examples. In general, these formative uses involved using the opportunity of review to consolidate students' overview of their learning and where necessary to go back over topics for which the test had revealed there were unresolved difficulties. One teacher described this process as follows:

> After each end of term test, the class is grouped now to learn from each other. [The researcher] has interviewed them on this experience and they are very positive about the effects. Some of their comments show that they are starting to value the learning process more highly and they appreciate the fact that misunderstandings are given time to be resolved, either in groups or by me. They feel that the pressure to succeed in tests is being replaced by the need to understand the work that has been covered and the test is just an assessment along the way of what needs more work and what seems to be fine. (Black et al. 2003 Chapter 4 pp. 56–7)

Both teachers and students might see many tests as a useful part of their learning, and not as a terminal judgment of their achievement. It followed, of course, that to make such formative uses possible, a test should take place a short time before the end of the time planned for a topic, reserving that time for the results to be used to consolidate the learning.

The Pressures of High-Stakes Testing

The outcomes reported above do not of course show how to overcome the problems that arise from the accountability pressures which go with the use of externally set summative tests. A notable and well documented effect is that teachers feel that they

must 'teach to the test', adopting in their approach to learning the same shallow practices that are, too often, rewarded in invalid tests. Discussion of this issue goes beyond the remit of this chapter: a few summary points will have to suffice.

External testing is bound to operate within limitations of cost, time, and testing context, and these limitations mean that their results are of limited validity. Thus students' achievements in such activities as practical laboratory investigations, demonstrating originality in tackling a novel problem, searching library and other sources to fashion an essay on a new topic, working together in groups, and so on, are not assessed. Yet in adult life these are far more likely to be important than the ability to produce a piece of writing, from memory, working alone, and bearing the stress of justifying, within a few hours, the outcome of several years of learning. Internal assessments conducted within and by schools can in principle perform the summative function far more effectively, but teachers need to develop the assessment skills: ways to achieve this have been described elsewhere (Black et al. 2011, 2013). This is not enough to secure public confidence in schools' own summative assessments – state systems need to develop the frameworks to establish comparability between the judgments of different teachers both within and between schools. That such problems can be solved has been shown in some state systems in Australia, as outlined briefly in the paper by Stanley et al. 2009, and other states are trying to improve the status and quality of teachers' own assessments – see for example the studies in Canada by Simon and Forgette-Giroux (2000), in Scotland (Hayward et al. 2012) and in New Zealand by Hipkins and Robertson (2011).

Where the state testing systems do not actively encourage the development and public use of teachers' own assessments, teachers under pressure may well argue that they may not be comfortable with the narrow teaching that is required, but that they owe it to their pupils, and to themselves to obtain the best possible test results. However, one main point of the Black and Wiliam (1998a) review was that there was strong evidence that the several formative assessment practices that they reviewed all produced significantly enhanced learning gains in the normal school tests, a finding that was subsequently replicated, albeit on a small scale, in the development study with six schools (see Wiliam et al. 2004).

A particular feature of this issue is described in the book by Boaler (1997): she made a study comparing mathematics teaching between two schools: one taught in a formal way, the other had students working almost all of their time, and over several years, on investigations, in small groups working on carefully selected open-ended problems. In the last 6 months before their main school-leaving examinations at age 16, the latter school ended their distinctive style of group working and engaged the students in reviewing what they had learnt, in the style of the national tests. This group did significantly better in those tests than those who had been taught more formally over several years. Moreover, those whose achievements had been formed by the group work on open-ended problems showed more positive attitudes to mathematics and, when students from both schools were asked to recall recent occasions in the last few weeks in which they had used mathematics in everyday contexts outside the school, the latter group could think of several examples, whilst the formally taught group could not think of any. Thus, it is at least not

obvious that extensive attention to teaching to the tests will be the best way to enhance students' performance in those tests.

A further obstacle is that teachers may object to having to devote time to the provision of evidence to justify their individual summative assessments, to engage in discussions with one another's judgments in order to ensure comparability of criteria and standards. In at least two countries, teacher unions have objected to this extra work-load, some adopting the view that the teachers' role is to be on the side of the students in confronting the external enemy of the test agency. This could well be objected to as an abrogation of responsibility. It may be ill-judged for another reason.

Teachers' engaged in this 'extra work-load' have found that it makes a positive contribution to their work. The following quotations illustrate this finding: they are taken from separate evaluation reports on innovations, the first in Australia, the second in New Zealand:

> I just think the – it's the sharing with each other and that's professional, it's good professional development. . . . It was a really good process. I think the conversation bit of the process was the most valuable part . . . (Connolly et al. 2011, p. 14)
>
> Similarly, teachers who examined student data together and worked out as a group what its implications were for deciding how best to help those under-achieving, difficult-to-move students, had higher achieving students than those schools where such a collective examination, diagnosis and problem-solving cycle did not operate. (Parr and Timperley 2008, p. 69)

A development project in England by Black et al. (2011) reported similar benefits.

Reflections and Conclusions

One underlying feature of the above is the role of teachers and schools in the development of each student, the focus of the evidence here being a broad one rather than one that attends only to the aspects of belief and prayer. A second less apparent one is the growth of the teacher in and through her or his professional and spiritual life. I shall discuss each of these in turn.

Growth of the Student

The account in the previous section could be read as relevant merely to the learning development of the student. Such a limitation would seriously under-estimate and under-value the work of the school. Life in the school is one of the main gateways through which the young enter the life of society. As one author expresses this:

> Once children move from the intimacies of family life into the impersonality and organization associated with life in classrooms, they cannot help becoming subject to the prevailing ideology, to socialization in its varying forms. The norms are communicated by the hidden curriculum – because unacknowledged, often more powerful than what is explicitly taught – are in conflict with the values publicly affirmed. (Greene 1983)

A first aspect of this hidden curriculum is the attitude of the school towards the aim of achieving success. The pressures on teachers lead some to emphasise competitiveness, and to the practice of setting or tracking by measure of 'ability' in the belief that such separation enhances achievement: the evidence is that such separation does not achieve that purpose, and can indeed be harmful (see Baines 2013). One motivation for this practice is that there is a personal characteristic called 'intelligence' which is inherited and cannot be changed. Again, the evidence is that this is ill-founded and a poor guide to action (Adey 2013).

That such practices fail to achieve their purpose is one important issue: a much larger issue is that they can be positively harmful. The pre-emptive labeling involved in making it apparent to every student, often in a public way, that some are more capable than others can clearly make it harder to claim that schools are respecting the unique dignity of each student. That the damage may be more serious than many realize is brought out in the conclusions of Dweck (2006), who reflects on the findings of her research as follows:

> I've seen so many people with one consuming goal of proving themselves – in the classroom, in their careers, and in their relationships. Every situation calls for a confirmation of their intelligence, personality or character. Every situation is evaluated: Will I succeed or fail? Will I look smart or dumb? Will I be accepted or rejected? Will I feel like a winner or a loser? (p. 6)

In the fine-grained details of the work that she has done on the effects of different type of feedback on young students, it has been established that feedback which labels students, by giving a mark or grade to every piece of work, or by dividing students into the top class and the bottom class, can help create in them the attitude or, as she calls it, 'mind set', that she describes, with harmful effects on both those who come to see themselves as 'high-achievers' as well to those lower down in such classifications. Avoiding such feedback and emphasizing instead what each individual can and should do to improve his or her achievement has a more positive effect. What is at issue is not whether intelligence, personality and character should be valued, but whether or not teachers and their students share the belief that these are not fixed but that they can grow:

> In this mindset, the hand you're dealt with is just the starting point for development. This growth mindset is based on the belief that your basic qualities are things you can cultivate through your own efforts. Although people may differ in every which way in their initial talents and aptitudes, interests or temperaments every one can change and grow through application and experience. (p. 7)

Explaining the perspective of people with this second mindset, she states:

> . . . . they believe that a person's true potential is unknown (and unknowable); that it's impossible to foresee what can be accomplished with years of passion, toil and training. (p. 7)

A second feature of the assessment approach which I wish to emphasise is the importance of investing effort in developing students' experience and involvement in group discussion which is designed to help them both in habits of confidence and mutual respect in collaboration, and in development, through peer-assessment, to

self-assessment. One teacher reflected, on his experience of this approach, as follows:

> The kids are not skilled in what I am trying to get them to do. I think the process is more effective long term. If you invest time in it, it will pay off big dividends, this process of getting the students to be more independent in the way that they learn and taking the responsibility themselves (Black et al. 2003, p. 52)

A different experience is reported from a study of similar work in Queensland:

> . . . . I think to a certain extent that we've empowered students in the learning process because there's not secret teacher's business anymore in terms of what the expectations are, that students are becoming very au fait with the criterion and being able to apply them in their own work. (Wyatt-Smith and Bridges 2008, p. 61)

My argument is that these considerations put flesh on the bones of Groome's emphasis, in the extract I quoted at the beginning of this article, that students *"have a right to a curriculum that convinces them of their inherent goodness"*.

Growth of the Teacher

The argument in the previous paragraph was taken further in Groome's (2005) writing as follows:

> Educators can take over functions that learners should be doing –learning how to learn, making up their own minds, reaching personal decisions. Such imbalance ill serves learners and can be destructive to educators. There is a fine line between empowering learners as their own people and overpowering them– making them too dependent or indebted to teacher or parent. Walking this tightrope is an aspect of the educator's spiritual discipline of a balanced life. (p. 348)

Here Groome extends the discussion by talking of the educator's responsibility for his or her own growth. The link, between the growth of students and that of their teachers, has been emphasised, in Paul's letters, on the theme of imitation or emulation. Just as Paul himself seeks to imitate Christ's teaching in his own, so he asks others to 'be imitators of me as I am of Christ' (1 Cor 11.1) and Lydon (2012) points out that this concept of imitation was central to the approach to teaching in the early church. This emphasis is taken further by Groome (2011) as follows:

> . our [the teacher's] approach should be inspired by his [Jesus']teaching style . . his welcome . .respect for learners, the way he actively engaged with them . . and invited them to discipleship.

Another dimension of this central role of the teacher is pointed out by the Benedictine headmaster of a Catholic school, Dominic Milroy (1992):

> (Parents) know that, for the child, the encounter with the teacher is the first major step into outside society, the beginning of a long journey towards adulthood in which the role of the teacher is going to be decisive. (p. 57)

Here the author is emphasising that the teacher is more than a 'substitute parent'. However, Milroy was also writing in the context of the introduction of a national curriculum and national assessment in the UK, showing concern that the independent and personal responsibility of the teacher should not be undermined:

> Teachers are, therefore, not in the first instance agents either of the National Curriculum Council (or whatever follows it) or of the State. . . . . . The role of the teachers is to attract them progressively into the many realms of the culture to which they belong. This culture consists partly of a heritage, which links them to the past, and partly of a range of skills and opportunities, which links them to the future. (p. 59)

Conclusions

To illustrate the concern which is addressed in this chapter, consider here one particular example – a recent book entitled *A Companion to Catholic Education* (Franchi and McKinney 2011). All but one of the 13 chapters of this book are theological and pastoral issues. The exception is a chapter entitled *A Rationale for Catholic Schools* (McKinney 2011), where the author argues that the faith and purpose of the school must be realised in all of its teaching. This is supported by pointing out that this is a particular challenge because the curricular subjects cannot be treated as mere adjuncts to faith: teachers have to forge a synthesis between their faith and the culture of each school subject. Moreover, in its role as a civic institution, the school is expected to prepare its students for their future careers, and indeed it is their duty to their students to do so; the challenge is to pursue this goal in such a way that it strengthens, rather than undermines, the school as a Christian community. This is an excellent and clear chapter. However, the argument stops at this general level: there is no discussion of the ways in which, at the level of the detail of the interactions between teachers and students and between students themselves, these guiding principles are translated into action. That feature of this example could be echoed in numerous other writings about the mission and ethos of the faith school: one can applaud what they do say – the concern is about what they fail to say.

The claim I am making is that although work on the innovations discussed in my section on Assessment for Learning has been aimed at all schools, faith-based schools should recognise that it has particular significance for them, in that their central mission should be implemented in the day-to-day detail of all their teaching. The principles and practices are as relevant to helping students to be engaged with learning about (say) physics and French as with learning about prayer and faith. They are tools to help teachers to enrich their capacity to respect and enhance the unique dignity of every student, and thereby to help those students to become autonomous and responsible learners, capable both of managing their own learning and of engaging in fruitful collaboration with others. These qualities do not of themselves ensure that the school achieves its mission – to ensure that students will pursue the task of making their faith the central guide in their lives. However, if the school fails to emphasise, or even undermines, them, that task is thereby made more difficult.

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Chapter 30
Faith-Based Schools in Japan: Paradoxes and Pointers

Stuart D.B. Picken

Introduction

Japan is a modern secular society that presents an immediate paradox. It is also home to many religious traditions. The present Emperor Heisei, when he was Crown Prince, at the first major post war conference on Japanese religions described Japan as a 'laboratory of living religions.' The country has an amazing array of religions (over 2,000 are registered with the government) none of which could be said to be dominant in any ultimate senses, although some are more influential than others, but each of which makes some contribution to society. The rites of passage from birth to marriage, along with the festivals of the agricultural year, are most frequently celebrated by the rituals of Shinto, and usually at a family connected shrine (*jinja*). The majority of funerals are conducted by Buddhist priests from one of the multitude of denominations, some of which date to the Nara Period of the seventh century. Members of the New Religions may call on their leaders for spiritual guidance but there is no concept of social engineering behind this.[1]

Along side these are the various strains of 'alien rice' known better as Christianity, in both major forms, Roman Catholic and Reformed along with small expressions of Orthodox and other traditions. Nearly all of these have some interest and involvement in education at one or more levels.[2]

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[1] See for example Kamstra (1967); Kitagawa (1965, 1966); Matsunaga (1969); Morrell (1975); Picken (1981); Elliot (1935).

[2] See for example: Yamasaki (2010); Picken (1982); Duke (2009); Earhart (1975); Hase (1982); Passin (1965).

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Another new religion from Korea, known in Japanese as the *toitsu kyokai*, is the Unification Church of South Korea. Some immigrants in the postwar period have brought Islam with them, although they constitute a tiny minority.

The overall picture is complex and requires a great deal of supplementary explanation in order to make sense. Perhaps as a first step, it would be helpful to survey the national religious landscape, noting religious groupings and how they came into being. A parallel survey of the development of education in Japan will provide illuminating background to more specific examination of those groups that have either possessed or still maintain an interest in education.

This in turn will make it easier to identify the educational activities of these groups, how they developed, where their focus lies, and what kinds of institutions they have created. Thereafter, the question of faith schools can be asked and the issue discussed permitting us to understand how Japan's unique culture dissolves rather than resolves the problems that bedevil some western societies.

Japan's Religious Scenario

This may be conveniently examined by looking at blocks of tradition within which there is an identifiable pattern of historical development. Without a clear picture of this, dangerous generalizations are possible that could lead to errors in judgment.

Shinto[3]

The term consists of two Chinese characters: *kami*,[4] divine being that evokes a sense of reverence, and *dao*, meaning way. It is the way of the sacral in the universe that humanity should follow. For the purposes of this discussion, the most useful way to see Shinto is as a form of the basic human impulse to natural religion expressed in a religion of nature. It has been dismissed as primitive, and unsophisticated, and as a leftover from an earlier stage of religious evolution. Nothing could be further from the truth. Its development remains a basic part of Japanese history and its presence is visible in numerous areas of cultural life.

Firstly, the ancient rites of the Imperial Household depend upon the same cycle of the agricultural year celebrated at most shrines, but they include others that are unique to the Imperial tradition itself. According to Japanese mythology, the Imperial Family is uniquely related to solar deity Amaterasu Omikami, the *kami* of

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[3] For further reference see: Anzu Motohiko (1954); Asoya Masahiko. (1985); Aston (1905); Ballou (1945); or Beardsley (1960); Breen & Teeuwen (2000); Ponsonby-Fane (1942); Ross (1965); Picken 1994; Chikao (1971); Masayoshi (1959); Herbert (1967); Nelson (1996).

[4] See Yamamoto Yukitata (1985); Breen & Teeuwen (2000); Ono (1962).

the sun. All significant family events are reported to Amaterasu at the Grand Shrines of Ise where she is enshrined. New government cabinets are inaugurated there, and once a year the Sumo Association pays respect (*sampai*) there because Sumo is the Imperial sport, and since the Meiji period (1868–1912) all tournaments have been dedicated to the Emperor Meiji who is enshrined at the Meiji Shrine in Tokyo.

While this was taught in pre-war education, it was deemed politically undesirable by the Allied Occupation after 1945. However, the system survives. The funeral rites of Emperor Hirohito (Showa r. 1926–1989) and the accession ceremonies of Emperor Akihito (Heisei) followed the traditional form.

The bulk of the remaining 100,000 shrines still draw their significance from rice and food production. These fall broadly into three types. There are mountain shrines, and there are farming village shrines. There are also shrines beside the sea that protect fishermen and sea-faring traders. All enshrine protective *kami* who are territorially responsible for fields and communities. These are celebrated at the major festivals of the year, in spring at the time of planting, in summer for the protection of the crops, and in autumn when the harvest is gathered in and celebrated. New Year is one of the major events, when over 90 million people pay their first visits of the year (*hatsu mode*) to shrines and some well-known temples.

Historically, there are *kami* who were favored by warlords at different times. For example, the medieval shogun, Yoritomo (1147–1199), the Minamoto clan Shogun revered Hachiman. The Tsurugaoka Hachiman-gu was the protective shrine of his government in Kamakura. Hachiman became associated with military prowess, and spread all over the country, although still having some agricultural role in local communities. There are thought to be over 40,000 nationwide.

Beside those shrines with a political dimension there are also shrines that were favored by the rising merchant classes in the post Sengoku (civil war) period that ended with the establishment of the Tokugawa military government in the early sixteenth century.[5] Most popular was Inari, whose shrines are distinctive through their numerous red gates (*torii*). The oldest is the Fushimi Inari Shrine in Kyoto from which the cult spread to the east of Japan around the rising economic center of Edo (now Tokyo). The Sumiyoshi shrines, of which there are many, are linked with Empress Jingu (c. 169–269), the legendary figure who set out from Osaka to invade Korea.

80,000 shrines are registered with the Jinja Honcho (Voluntary Association of Shinto Shrines), formerly a government office, which still grants ranks to priests after licensing them and oversees the ranks and titles of individual shrines. The remainder function independently.

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[5] Bellah (1957); Mass (1974); Ooms (1986).

Buddhism[6]

In contrast to Shinto that grew from the agricultural life of the people, Buddhism came to Japan from China, and the Japanese embraced it with enthusiasm. The Chinese imperial government of the day was actively engaged in using Buddhism as a means of drawing together the nations of Asia under a Chinese hegemony, based on a *pax Buddhica*. The introduction of Buddhism became a gradual process for Japan, going through four broad stages as the new learning was introduced from China.

It began with the introduction of what came to be known as the Nara period (710–794). There were six sects in all, the first of which was probably the Jo-Jitsu-shu, dating to 623C.E. The suffix *shu* means 'denomination'. It never existed as a separate tradition, but its principal texts, like the others of Nara schools remain important documents of study in Buddhist universities and colleges. Other sects that followed it were the Kusha-shu that was never a major school in China, and when transmitted to Japan was closely related to the Hosso-shu. While there is also a dispute about its independent existence, the importance of their text is beyond doubt. The Hosso-shu itself is the only one of the ancient schools that continues to exist as a sect with 42 temples. It claims around 600 priest and 50,000 regular subscribers. The Horyu-ji in Nara (originally a Sanron-shu temple) was taken over and remains Hosso-shu.

The final two sects were early Mahayana Schools of the Nara Period. There was the Kegon-shu which developed as a result of the shift of early civilization from being centered in Yamato to the formal capital in Nara from 710. The patronage of Emperor Shomu (724–749C.E.) lead to the integration of Buddhism into the emerging culture of Nara civilization marked by the building of the Todai-ji in Nara to house the great Buddha (*Nara-no-Daibutsu*). The last sect, Ritsu-shu provided the rules and regulations that became the basis for the emergence of state Buddhism in Japan. The Indian origins of the school have little to do with doctrine, and more with standardization of rules and procedures within the priestly order.

The Heian Period (794–1185) saw two more sects come to Japan that were developments in China of Tibetan Buddhism. The semi-esoteric school was the Tendai-Shu, introduced by Saicho (767–822) later honored as Dengyo Daishi. He inspired the development of Buddhism once the capital had been moved to Kyoto. Emperor Kwammu gave him permission to go to China in 804, where he learned the Tendai teaching on Mt. Tien Tai. He made the Enryaku-ji which he had founded in 788 the headquarters of his new school. It has remained so ever since.

The totally esoteric sect, Shingon-shu was based on the Indian tantric tradition that made its way to Tibet where it combined with the Tibetan way of thinking to produce Lamaism, the unique politicized Buddhism containing elements and aspects not found in other Buddhist traditions. The transmission of this sect to Japan was the work of Kukai (774–835), posthumously remembered as Kobo Daishi

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[6] de Viser (1928–1935); Elliot (1935); Kamstra (1967); Kitagawa (1965); Matsunaga (1969); Picken (1981); Reischauer (1917); Saunders (1964); Takakusu (1947); Ui Hakuju (1959).

(Propagator of the Law). From early days, he showed an interest in Chinese thought and culture, and in 789, went to Nara to study the Chinese Classics. While respecting the ethics of Confucius, the mystic-philosophical ideas of Taoism attracted him more, and after his firm conversion to Buddhism, he tried to integrate the various traditions of thought into one broad cosmo-theistic understanding of the universe. The first work that expounds this is his *Indications to the Teachings of the Three Religions* (dated 791). Sangyo Shiki, the author of *the Indications* received permission to go to China, arriving there in 804. By 807 he had been made eighth patriarch to transmit the tradition to Japan. From 805 to 815 he gradually increased his position of privilege with the Emperor and became superintendent of the Todai-ji in Nara. However, disdaining politics, and with a grant from the Emperor, he returned to Mt. Koya, and established the Shingon-shu central temple, the Kongobu-ji. Among his many achievements are included improvements to the infrastructure of the nation, and the Japanese script, *hiragana*.[7]

Two Pure Land Sects appeared during the Kamakura Period (1185–1333). They were the Jodo-shu and the Jodo-Shin-shu linked with the cult of Amida Buddha. The worship of Amida was practiced in Tendai. Genshin (942–1017) and later Honen (1133–1212) wrote an essay called the *Senjakushu,* which argued the need for a simple Buddhist faith for ordinary people. He emphasized the Pure Land, the original vow of Amida, and the idea of relying on the other power, *tariki*, of Amida, and the *Nembutsu* (Invocation of Amida) in the formula *Namu Amida Butsu*. This became the basis of the Jodo-shu in Japan. The work of Shinran (1173–1262) was to combine this with a simplified form of *Shin-shu*, or true school, to form the modern popular movement known as Jodo-Shin-shu, the most widely followed tradition of Japan. Shinran, in trying to simplify the ideas of Honen, claimed that only faith was necessary to "save" people, and therefore complex rituals, clergy and such, could be abandoned. He permitted priests to marry and did so himself. He stressed simply the Compassion of Amida and the need of faith. 'If even a good man can be reborn in the Pure Land, how much more a wicked one?' The characteristic role of this school in Japanese society is best seen in the funeral service. It has also travelled with Japanese emigrants to the United States, especially Hawaii and California, and to Brazil.

Also during the Kamakura Period, a nationalistic form of Buddhism appeared under the leadership of a priest called Nichiren (1222–1282), the Nichiren-shu, based on the Lotus Sutra of the Tendai School. The establishment of a military government at Kamakura led to an eschatological mood in Japanese society. The waning influence of Tendai and Shingon, plus the rather worldly mood of Amida pietism, left room for a strong, puritan type of Buddhism to emerge with a sense of historical destiny that related to Japanese hopes for the age. Ordained at 15 years of age, he first began to make attacks on the Amida tradition in a work entitled *Establishment of Righteousness as the Safeguard of the Nation* (*Rissho-Ankoku-Ron*). In spite of the popularity of Amida and the military government's patronage of Zen (see below), he attacked these groups fiercely and claimed that the Lotus

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[7] See Bock (1985); Boot (1982); Fung Yu-Lan (1966); Nivison & Wright (1959); Smith (1959); Toda (1959).

Sutra was the only way to save the nation. He was arrested in 1272, tried and sentenced to death, but miraculously escaped. He was banished to Sado Island, but returned to Kamakura in 1274, refusing again to compromise. Unlike not only Japanese Buddhism generally, but also most Buddhist priests, the Nichiren tradition thrived on conflict and confrontation with other Schools, and within itself, various divisions emerged. One branch was made illegal (along with Christianity) by the Tokugawa Shogunate, which feared the aggressive independence of any religion that did not comply with government requirements. Many of the New Religions emerged from the Nichiren-Shu. The three most influential are *Reiyukai* (Society of Spirit Friends), *Soka Gakkai* (Value Creating Society) and *Rishho Koseikai*, the latter of which is relatively liberal in contrast to the conservatism of the first two.

Finally, there is the tradition of Zen-shu, probably best known in the west, but very much a minority in Japan. It was however, patronized by the warrior classes. It created various genre of art and rituals, such as black and while Zen art as well as the Tea Ceremony. It was originally a quasi-sacramental esthetic ritual designed to empty the mind before battle. Three branches survive to the present: *Rinzai, Soto* and *Obaku* whose key points of difference relate to how enlightenment (*satori*) might be achieved.

In the 1960s and 1970s, Zen attracted much attention, mainly through the popularizing work of Suzuki Daisetsu (1870–1966) in Japan and Alan Watts (1915–1973) in the west, and became something of a self-help cult of enlightenment. It became excessively identified with the essence of Japanese culture in popular western writings in a way that totally belied its reality, and obscured the study of the other major traditions of Japanese religion and philosophy.

The religious landscape of Japan to the end of the fifteenth century remained undisturbed by western ideas until the brief appearance of Christianity in the sixteenth century in the form of Jesuit missionaries led by Francis Xavier (1506–1552). The city of Nagasaki grew up on the foundations of a Jesuit community, remaining Japan's only point of access to the west from the early 1600s to the Meiji Restoration in 1868. The romantic tales of the *kakuri kirishitan* (the hidden Christians) and their survival over the centuries were verified when some came out of hiding in Nagasaki after the government ban on Christianity had been lifted. Others, still distrusting the government, remained hidden.

The year 1868 marked the beginning of the Protestant century, as it has been called, when various American and other western churches established a presence in Japan. From them grew a variety of educational institutions ranging from universities to elementary schools formed along denominational lines, most of which survive to the present.

The complex and pervasive influence of the history of Buddhism in Japan might suggest that it has had a dominant role. This idea has misled many observers. It may have had early on, however, Imperial palace politics forced Buddhism to the fringe through the cutting of state support in the eighth century after which temples drew their income mostly from funerals. This happened in response to an attempt by a Buddhist priest called Dokyo (700–772) to usurp the Chrysanthemum Throne. The message was clear from then on: Religious movements could

function freely, but could under no circumstances be permitted to destabilize the state. The Tokugawa government deportation of Catholic missionaries in the early sixteenth century re-affirmed the principle.

Synopsis of the History of Education in Japan[8]

The first recorded introduction of formal education in Japan was initiated by Prince Shotoku (Shotoku Taishi, 574–622). Historical consciousness has elevated him to the status of being the father-figure of Japanese civilization through his patronage of culture and the arts acquired by the introduction of Buddhism from China. This was linked to the Confucian vision of society that had found accommodation with Buddhism in China after a long process of cultural integration. During his time as regent (593–622) he set up Japan's first bureaucratic form of government, using the Buddhist/Confucian amalgam to promote national harmony. He sent student scholars to China during the Sui Dynasty (589–618) as a result of which growing Japanese awareness of the importance of education was strengthened. The Taiho Code of 701 made provision for a rudimentary system of state education, consisting of a great school (*daigaku*), the modern term for university, along with several local provincial schools. These were primarily centres of moral education for the training of future bureaucrats along the lines of the Chinese model. The decline of China's T'ang Dynasty (618–907) resulted in Japan disengaging from China, although retaining harmony as the moral basis of society. By the tenth century, a distinct Japanese writing system had been developed resulting in the production of the world's first novel, *The Tale of Genji* written by Murasaki Shikibu, an aristocratic lady, during the early eleventh century. Around this time, temples began organizing schools to support the rising warrior class. These became the foundation of a national education system of the future. By the end of the Tokugawa period (1616–1868), *terakoya* (under the temple roof) as the temple schools came to be known, were widespread in Japan numbering an estimated 14,000 taught by 17,000 teachers. Until that time around 45 % of the *terakoya* were managed by either Shinto or Buddhist priests. By 1868, over 40 % of the schools were controlled by commoners, suggesting the steady emergence of a secular educational structure.

In addition to the *terakoya* there were 21 government schools for sons of the elite who were being trained for government and military service. In each of the 250 feudal domains (*han*), there was a provincial academy. Alongside these, were private academies known as *shijuku* some of which were led by highly distinguished scholars who represented major trends of thought during the Tokugawa period. While these continued independently of each other, some of the central government schools began to focus on specific areas of education including the study of western ideas. There was the school of Japanese Literature (1793), the school of Oriental Medicine

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[8] See Bunce (1973); Latourette (1957); Passin (1965); Saito (2011); Yamasaki (2010); History of Japanese education (Vol 1, 2, 3).

(1795), the school of Eastern Literature (1856), the school of Western Literature (1856), the school of Western Military Science (1856), the Naval Academy (1857), and the school of Western Medicine (1858). Most of these survived beyond the Meiji Restoration of 1868 and became universities or colleges within the new system.

At any rate, by the time western learning and western institutions had found their way into Japan, the nation had a 1,400 year-old perception of the goals of education being to promote the cultural and harmonious wellbeing of Japanese society. I would suggest that this is a version of the Confucian vision that has remained virtually unchanged.

By 1873, the government reported that 1,3432,220 children were receiving some form of education when the population of Japan was estimated to be 34,985,000. The dramatic rise in the numbers attending *terakoya* was because girls were also being admitted. Basic literacy levels were also comparably high. The samurai class was 100 % literate. City merchants by comparison were only 80 % literate while rural merchants were 50 % literate. Artisans in cities had a 60 % rate compared to their rural counterparts 40 %. Village headmen were generally 100 % literate, declining in some areas to 30 %. Peasant literacy was around 20 % where it existed. Far from having been a primitive civilization prior to the introduction of western ideas and practices, Japan had the basis of a modern educational system in place when it began its process of modernization. While definitions of literacy may vary, it should be clear that Japan was not seriously lagging behind the developing western nations.

As a comparative marker, the 1872 Education (Scotland) Act of Parliament made compulsory elementary education for all children aged between 5 and 13. The existing parish and burgh schools were taken over by the state and managed by locally elected School Boards. The new system was coordinated nationally by the Scottish Education Department with the curriculum emphasizing the teaching of reading, writing, and arithmetic (the three 'Rs'). The churches made a crucial contribution to the new system by handing over all the parish schools without charge to the School Boards. Since the Scottish Reformation in 1560, the vision of a church and a school in every parish that had been driven by John Knox (c. 1514–1570) provided a model for national development based of education. Scotland could be considered developed in this regard. It also had four universities, but little by way of what would be called secondary school for students aged 13–16 years. Japan, by comparison had a wide range of institutions that were easily adapted as elements of a modern system, some of which had centuries of history behind them.

Incorporated Religious Bodies (*shukyo hojin*) and Their Educational Activities

Having looked at the religious culture of Japan and at the development of education from early times, we can now look at the part played by religious institutions in education. In modern Japanese society, these are known as *Shukyo Hojin*, incorporated religious bodies, legally registered with the Ministry of Education Culture and

Science to award degrees and diplomas that can be accepted nationwide. What emerges is the picture of a variety of institutions concerned more with protecting their status within the government system than they are with propagating their particular doctrines.

Shinto

Shinto shrines are administered by the Jinja Honcho (Voluntary Association of Shinto Shrines) which has the responsibility for supervising the training and licensing of priests. Two universities are associated with the education of priests, Kokugakuin University in Tokyo, which is a regular university, but with a substantial program in Shinto Studies, and Kogakkan University in Ise, which is a specialist Shinto institution. While these universities can be regarded as faith-based, their role relates to a national institution. The best model of understanding would be that of the theological faculties of Europe whose purpose was to educate clergy, especially in the post-Reformation period.

As will be seen below, among religious schools in Japan, Christian schools exist in by far the largest numbers, with Buddhist schools a distant second. In contrast, only a handful of Shinto schools exist. The only other more general Shinto institutions of higher education are Kokugakuin Junior University and Kokugakuin-Tochigi Junior University. Almost all of the country's Shinto secondary schools, Kōgakkan High and Middle Schools, Kokugakuin High School, Kokugakuin University Kugayama High and Middle Schools, and Kokugakuin University Tochigi High School, are affiliated with the above-mentioned universities. The only secondary schools that are not are Osaka's Naniwa High and Middle Schools.

Once a year, the students at these Shinto secondary schools travel to the Grand Shrines at Ise (*Ise Jingū*) to perform purification rites (*misogi*) and participate in a class on Shinto from a textbook created independently by their homeroom teachers. At one time, the textbooks used were written by the professors at the universities, but these were considered too difficult for the students to understand and probably more than a little political.

Currently, information about the state of religious schools in Japan, including detailed statistical data on their religious teachings, and religious events, is available in the volume Shūkyō Kyōiku Shiryōhen (Sourcebook on Religious Education in Japan) edited by Kokugakuin's Institute for Japanese Culture and Classics.

Buddhism

Unlike Shinto, Buddhism has always had a prominent academic face in Japan. It entered Japan through the medium of Chinese scholarship, an important part of which was reading sutras in Chinese translation. Numerous schools from the Nara

(710–784) and Heian (784–1185) periods gradually evolved into institutions that became universities after the Meiji Restoration of 1868, the beginning of Japan's modernization process when the 300-year old Tokugawa family feudal system collapsed.

Long before the age of the universities, as noted above, Buddhist Temples offered very basic elementary education in what were known as *terakoya*. Basic literacy was taught as a public service. After the establishment of the national system in1870, the temples opened Kindergarten and pre-schooling programs partly to augment income, but also to keep alive their commitment to education in general. These are known as *hoikuen* as distinct from *yo-chen* that are usually run by municipal authorities.

Among the major universities is the Otani University, linked with the powerful Otani family and hence the Jodo-Shinshu denomination. Other Buddhist affiliated universities are: Dokyo University, Komazawa University, Bukkyo University, Hanazono University, The International College for Postgraduate Buddhist Studies, Koyasan University, Kyoto Bunkyo University, Minobusan University, Musashino University, Osaka Ohtani University, Rissho University, Ryukoku University, Shitennoji University, Shuchiin University, Soka University, Taisho University, and Tsurumi University.

The University of Kyoto School of Zen, associated with the name of Nishida Kitaro (1870–1945) in recent years, has recently undergone critical re-evaluation. The Kyoto School has fascinated western scholars, but its political undertones as a center of nationalism based on Zen as the culture of militarism, has been ignored. Its identity as a Buddhist school of Zen has also been questioned given the fact that it had no denominational affiliation and no links with any temples.

The Nichiren group of denominations, which include some new religions are generally active in education. Soka Gakkai (Society for Value Creation Society) created Soka University. Rissho Kosekai has a famous high school. While there are active Buddhist priest and scholars in these institutions, there is, however, little sense of proselytizing goals within them. The denominations themselves engage in mission while the institutions remain virtually passive in this respect.

Christian Institutions

While there are a considerable number of Buddhist universities and colleges, the number of Christian colleges far exceeds them both in number and in standing, which may be surprising given the much fewer Christian adherents in the general population. These began to appear after the beginning of the Meiji Period when missionaries were permitted to enter the country. After the expulsion of Jesuit missionaries at the beginning of the seventeenth century there was no formal contact with western religious institutions until the appearance of Protestant clergy and religious services initially accompanying the British and American diplomatic missions and thereafter trade and commerce representatives.

Protestant

The Protestant groups from the beginning were the most active, initiating what has come to be called the "Protestant Century." Early on came Meiji University, Aoyama Gakuin, Rikkyo (St. Paul's) Tokyo Women's College, Tsuda College. These universities, along with their affiliated high schools, form a large network. There are now a total of over 50 Protestant high schools. Besides Tokyo, there are Christian universities in Osaka, Okinawa, Ibaraki, and numerous other cities. Along with these are the theological colleges that service the Protestant churches. Tokyo Union Theologicial College works with the United Church of Christ in Japan, but is also an accredited university as is Tokyo Lutheran University. In the postwar period, the International Christian University in Tokyo and its affiliated high school were established as a symbol of reconciliation between North American and Japanese Christians after the end of World War II.

Roman Catholic

Sophia University in Tokyo represents a four-century Jesuit commitment to Japan. Nanzan University in Nagoya is the other major Catholic institution. There are several other universities and colleges with an associated network of Catholic high schools.

General Observations

The Christian network is the largest, the best organized, and the most respected of all religious institutions. In spite of their wide range of schools and colleges, few of them could be described as proselytizing institutions. The International Christian University, where all faculty members are at least nominally Christian, has only one required course 'Introduction to Christianity' while many others have none. The purpose of education in Japan, as noted above, is understood as being focused on developing an educated, responsible citizenry. Provided an educational institution does not transgress this often unspoken assumption, institutions are free to pursue their own agendas within reason.

The entire system is monitored by the Ministry of Education, Culture, and Science (*Monkasho*) that acts on behalf of the government and the National Diet in licensing institutions that apply for recognition.[9] Formal government approval is necessary for an institution to be recognized. Companies are unlikely to employ graduates of unauthorized schools, and anyone seeking employment is equally unlikely to have attended an unlicensed institution. During the 1980s, a number of

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[9] As an example see Ministry of Education (1963).

US universities and colleges established campuses in Japan, sometimes in partnership with local institutions. These did not find favor because they could not be licensed according to the criteria set by the Ministry of Education. Most of them subsequently closed.

The Philosophical and Cultural Impact of the Idea of Tolerance (*kanyo*)[10]

It is perhaps time to look at the continuing influence of the traditional ideals of co-operation and harmony. A key term of modern Japanese social ethics, *kanyo*, is usually translated as 'tolerance,' and is a defining moral virtue within Japanese culture. It goes beyond the principle of 'live and let live' or even the philosophy of 'mutual co-existence.' It frequently induces or even inspires cooperation between what would ostensibly appear to be rival groups.

Alongside this ideal is an implicit belief that human nature is not fundamentally flawed, the antithesis of the concept of Original Sin found in most branches of the Christian tradition. This also comes from Japan's Confucian heritage. While Confucius gave guidance for the preservation of the social order, he referred little to the definition of human nature. Consequently, two views emerged among those who came after him. Mencius (371–289 BCE) took up the problem of defining human nature. He identified three theories each of which arose from his basic tenet that human nature is basically good. This is known in Japanese as *sei-zen-setsu*. He identified first two simple theories, namely that human nature may be either good or it may be bad. His third option was that in some people, human nature is good, while in others it is bad. However, he leaned towards the view that if people followed their true natures, they would probably be good. He premised this on the existence of a moral sense that generates feelings of sympathy and benevolence, a position not dissimilar to Adam Smith's theory of moral sentiments. A popular Japanese proverb sums it up: *Honin ni oite wa, akunin wa inai* (In their heart of hearts, no one is really evil). The state thus becomes a moral institution whose leader should be a moral king. While the opposite view of Hsun-Tzu (398–328) existed, namely that there is a dark side of human nature (*sei-aku-zetsu*) requiring careful social control 'The nature of man is evil. His good is acquired by training.' In a sense, Japanese cultural theories favored the former, but made use of the later to ensure that social ideals were not undermined.

To demonstrate the enduring cultural power that these views retained, fast-forward to Article One of the memorandum for Elementary School Teachers, issued in June 1881.

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[10] For further information see Earhart (1970, 1974); Fujisawa Chikao (1958); Loy (1988); McMullin (1989); Morioka (1975); Murakami (1980); Nakamura Hajime (1973); Offner & Van Straelen (1963); Pearson (1975); Rarick (1994); Reischauer (1946); Sansom (1951).

> In order to guide people, make them good, give them wide knowledge, and to do this wisely, teachers must particularly stress moral education to their pupils.
>
> Loyalty to the Imperial house, love of country, filial piety towards parents, respect for superiors, faith in friends, charity towards inferiors and respect for oneself constitute the Great Path of human morality. The teacher must himself become a model of these virtues in his daily life, and must endeavor to stimulate his pupils along the path of virtue.

At this time, the practice of screening school textbooks commenced. It still remains within the remits of the Ministry of Education.

The Japanese Attitude to Religion in General[11]

It is often pointed out that Japanese will attend a Christian Christmas Service, or visit a temple or shrine for *hatsu mode* the first act of reverence for new year. Sometimes the total statistics of attendees exceed that of the population.

Does this imply an indifference to religion on the part of the Japanese people or simply a lack of interest in denominational issues? Families select schools and colleges because of their reputation, irrespective of the religious affiliation. They do not expect religious concerns or teaching to obtrude on the education program in a way that would weaken its impact. Students attend schools and colleges to receive an education, not to be 'given religion.' Christian institutions have a good reputation because of the quality of their education, not their religious stance. In this sense, there are in reality no western-style faith-based schools in Japan.

It would be incorrect to insist that no 'evangelical' goals exist within the religious institutions. These however, are often the dream of individuals or are kept clearly subordinate to the super-ordinate goals implied in and required of quality education.

Concluding Remarks on the "Faith-Based Schools" Question in Japan

As was suggested at the beginning, Japanese cultural traits dissolve the problem rather than resolve it. Many reasons are given for the deep-rooted value of cooperation. One that is frequently cited is the limited land space available in which a large number of people must find ways to co-exist. Another phenomenon that has been

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[11] See Anesaki (1930); Hammer (1962); Kelly (1999); Lewis (1993); Fisher (1908); Fukui Fuminasa (1995); Grapard; Hayashi Razan; Hori Ichiro (1958); Isao Hori (1964); Kobayashi Masayoshi (1995); McFarland; MaedaShigeki (1995); Maruyama Hiroshi (1995); Muraoka Tsunetsugu (1964); Ozaki Masaharu (1995); Pearson (1975); Smith (1974); Stevens (1988) Swanson (1981) Yamada Toshiaki (1995).

influential is the principle that underlies the style Japanese rice farming. One man cannot feed a family, but two men can feed several families if they work together for further background and understanding of the history and development of faith based education in Japan see: Anesaki (1915); Bock (1985).

The many strands of Japanese culture that have developed and interacted over the centuries have combined to produce a value system that enshrines the virtues of harmony, tolerance, and cooperation. This is but one aspect of what makes Japanese culture unique but which certainly explains why the faith school issue is not divisive. It has also been argued that while the Japanese are spiritual, they are not sensitive to doctrines. Therein perhaps lies a basic contrast to religions of the west that are engrossed in doctrine, practice, and in the articulation of what they believe in legal and theological terms. The Japanese do have a sense of the sacred, but appear to see no reason to reduce their awareness of the transcendent to mere words. Japanese culture is highly empirical. It is felt rather than intellectualized. It is perhaps this lack of interest in dogma combined with belief in both the intrinsic and instrumental value of education that has freed education from being shaped by different and conflicting agendas.

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History of Japanese Education, Volume 3 (2008) (PDF)

"New Materials for the Study of Literacy in History: Report of the Indiana Conference on Literacy in Japanese History"

The book consists of the proceedings of a 2006 international conference on literacy in Japan, consists of essays by seven of Japan's most notable scholars of educational history who focus on issues related to the history of literacy. Themes included are: the Development of Buddhism and Literacy in Japan (Ohto Yasuhiro), the Ability to Sign by Farmers of the from the Fourteenth to the Early Seventeenth Century (Umemura Kayo), the Calculation of Literacy Rates (Kimura Masanobu), how Children Learned to Read and Write in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Japan (Ohta Motoko), and a report on Surveys of Literacy Rates in Meiji Japan (Yuka aswa Tomohiro).

Chapter 31
Curriculum, Leadership and Religion in Singapore Schools: How a Secular Government Engineers Social Harmony and the 'State Interest'

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Introduction

Singapore is a multi-ethnic, multi-faith, stable and relatively harmonious society with a burgeoning and successful economy. It has risen in a little more than 45 years from being a Third World colonial society to a First World independent state with a per capita income higher than the UK. It is renowned for its strong government, dominance of one political Party (the People's Action Party, PAP), liberal attitude towards capitalism and entrepreneurship, outstanding student success in international tests, and its curtailment of civil liberties. These characteristics make it a somewhat unique context for the interplay of schools, curricula, leadership, religion and politics. Although the government is generally tolerant of its citizens pursuing their own faith in society at large, it is intolerant of any form of extremism or fundamentalism. In being secular, the government's objective above all else is preservation of social harmony among the various ethnic and religious groups. As this chapter indicates, a secular government and its prioritising of social harmony explains the extent to which the place of religion in the curriculum has been seriously diminished and the emphasis given instead to other aspects of social, moral and citizenship education, and twenty-first century skills education. Although many schools have origins in, and associations with, specific faiths (for example, Christian and missionary schools), the only faith schools in Singapore are the few madrasahs (Islamic schools), and they are carefully and cautiously monitored. Consequently,

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the secularization of schools raises controversial issues for some, especially those with deep religious commitment and religious educational aspirations.

This chapter has four aims. The first is to provide a background to Singapore as a small city state, an overview of its school system and governance, and to raise issues and tensions surrounding the place of religion in Singapore society and its school system. The second aim is to elaborate on the place of religion across the landscape of Singapore school curricula, teaching, learning and leadership. The third is to provide a short case study of the place of religion in the curriculum of a madrasah, one of six Islamic schools in Singapore, and the leadership implications of managing the madrasahs in an otherwise secular state. The final part draws out salient issues focusing on how a pro-active state steers education policy and its implementation, including aspects pertaining to religion, to achieve its multiple objectives. The chapter is structured to mirror these aims. Our thesis is that the government chooses to curb and control the presence of religion in the curriculum, preferring instead to harness emotional commitment to the pursuit of economic progress and meritocratic ideals, and 'Asian' values, which are given expression through the social studies curriculum, especially National Education (NE), citizenship, civics and moral education (Han 2009). Partial exceptions are made in the case of some religious schools, notably the madrasahs, but even their curricula are under continuous negotiation and circumscription by the state dictated official curriculum and by key examinations at the end of primary and secondary education.

Background

As a small, highly urbanized city state whose population has tripled from 1.8 million in 1965 to 5.1 million with a population density of 7,022 per km^2 in 2011 (Department of Statistics Singapore 2011), Singapore's per capita GDP of S\$53,143 (or US\$36,537) is one of the highest in Asia. Based on the latest official estimates, Chinese, Malays and Indians make up 74 %, 13 % and 9 % of the Singapore resident population respectively. The remainder are classified as 'Others' including 'Eurasians' (i.e. from European and Asian descent). In 2009, the 'non-resident' population of Singapore was estimated to be about 25 % of the total population, indicating a reliance on immigrant labour to meet the demands of a rapidly diversifying service- and manufacturing-oriented economy. Singapore is thus both ethnically and religiously diverse, with the majority of the population being Buddhists (42.5 %), followed by Muslims (14.9 %), Christians (14.6 %), Taoists (8.5 %), Hindus (4 %), and other religions (3.2 %), and those professing no religion (14.8 %) (Tan 2010). There is some correspondence between ethnicity and religion: among the ethnic groups, for example, Malays are the most homogeneous: 99.6 % of Malays are Muslim; Chinese who are religious are mostly Buddhist or Christian, while Indians who are religious are mostly Hindus or Sikhs.

Although the overall school system is small, compact and centralized, the government is diversifying school type in order to cater to the multiple skills and

knowledge needs of a twenty-first century economy (Dimmock 2011). Given its short history of independence, and its multi-ethnicity, it is a system with a relatively short history, and an ethnically diverse school population. Of the 360 schools in total – 185 are primary schools (grades 1–6), 175 secondary schools (grade 7–10), of which 20 are junior colleges, centralized institutes and specialized schools that offer academic pre-university curriculum (grades 11–12). All these publicly funded schools employ English language as the medium of instruction and cater to almost all Singaporean students of school-going age. Prior to 1978, besides English medium schools, there were vernacular schools where lessons were taught primarily in Chinese, Malay and Tamil. All the publicly funded schools are organized into 28 school clusters, each with 12–14 schools. Each cluster is headed by a Cluster Superintendent who is accountable to the Ministry of Education (MOE) and who supervises and advises a cadre of school principals.

Tight-coupling and alignment between all stakeholders is enhanced by Singapore having relatively few, but large schools to run, pro rata its population (Dimmock and Tan 2013). The typical size of each primary 1 cohort is about 40,000 and the enrolment of a typical Singapore school is approximately 1,500 and 1,300 for primary and secondary schools, respectively. By most international comparisons, these are uniformly large averages, with relatively small ranges from the mean (Dimmock and Tan 2013). The policy of relatively fewer but larger schools is explained by first, Singapore being a highly urbanised and concentrated society; second, by government policy to provide a common early educative socialization experience for all young children in state primary schools, and thirdly, by its insistence on cost-efficiency and effectiveness. Primary schools are typically larger than secondary. All schools are well resourced and modern, reflecting the absence of a historical legacy from a distant past, the recent fast growth in income per capita, and the high premium placed on education by government and society. Paradoxically, however, the proportion of GDP spent on education is relatively low by OECD levels – 2.8 % compared with an average in developed western nations of 5.5 %, suggesting the system secures economies of scale, allowing it to spend education dollars efficiently but effectively across fewer but larger schools (MOE 2010; OECD 2010).

The Singaporean educational system remains highly centralized and regulated following three decades of reorganization, rationalization, consolidation and reformation (Gopinathan 1985; Hogan and Gopinathan 2008). Over the last 5 years, however, there has been a shift towards favouring decentralization of administrative and pedagogical authority to individual schools (Dimmock and Tan 2013; Tan and Dimmock 2014). Virtually all Singaporean students study in one of the publicly funded schools, and virtually all the school leaders and teachers in these schools (except a small number of Independent Schools and Specialized Schools) are recruited, paid and managed (in terms of appointment and promotion) by the MOE. Smallness and central bureaucratic control ensures tight coupling and coherence of education policy and leadership, both of which contribute greatly to the implementation, sustainability, and scalability of policy reforms across the 360 schools – factors that undeniably contribute to Singapore's 'high- performing' system (Dimmock and Tan 2013).

State and School Context to Religion

Singapore had been a British colony for some 140 years, when in 1959 it became self-governing, but still within the British Empire. After briefly becoming part of the federation of Malaysia in 1963, 2 years later it broke away to become an independent republic. Inheriting a multi-ethnic, multi-faith population in 1965, and a Third World economy, the two major aims of the new PAP government led by Lee Kuan Yew were firstly, to achieve social harmony through building a sense of nationhood and inspiring a sense of patriotism among the three major ethnic groups; and secondly, to lay the foundations for economic growth and prosperity (Tan 2010). Both aims were not only seen as interdependent, but were also regarded as essential in sustaining and strengthening the PAP's hold on government. Education was seen as a virtuous and powerful vehicle through which the twin goals of social harmony and economic growth could be secured.

Indeed, social harmony and economic growth – have always been regarded as sacrosanct and incontrovertible by the government. Thus the effect of religion on school (and society) is judged by the impact on social harmony, nationhood and economic prosperity. Herewith lies the core of our argument: while on the surface Singapore purveys the image of a religiously liberal and tolerant society – as witnessed by the co-existence of many of the world's foremost religions – it is a liberalism strongly bounded by state interest; people can practice religion as long as the political interest takes precedence, and as long as there is no threat to the state. This rationale also perpetuates the PAP government as the ruling Party. Political interest trumps religion. Given the MOE's tight control over schooling, the curriculum and leadership, it is not surprising that the same principles permeate education policy in regard to religion.

State Educational Reforms and Religion: Tensions and Challenges

Singapore's reputation as a stable, homogeneous and successful multi-ethnic, multi-faith society is sustained and achieved through its pro-active and ubiquitous government penetrating many aspects of social and individual life. Unsurprisingly, this generates a myriad of tensions (Han 2007, 2009); in regard to education policy and school curricula, these are:

– the state's prime goal to secure a strong sense of citizenship and nationhood elevates the collective social interest over the interests of groups and individuals to practice or study religion in school
– the state's pre-disposition to adopt and implement a national secular curriculum in meeting the needs of a twenty-first century knowledge-based economy overrides the benefits of schools adopting a religious-based curriculum

– the state's concern to base the curriculum on a modern scientific view of knowledge overrides more traditional, religious-based epistemology
– the state's instrumentalist and corporatist approach to leadership for delivering schooling to meet the goals of social harmony and human resource needs overrides a faith-based perspective on the nature and meaning of knowledge and leadership (eg. an Islamic perspective of leadership, see Shah 2006).

While some of the above tensions apply to other education systems, it is the Singapore government's response to them that is unique, as exemplified below.

According to McEneaney and Meyer (2000), in promoting a modern education curriculum, the state tends to focus on universalized models of knowledge at the expense of a transcending tradition. Hence classical languages, traditional literary canons, classical and local history, religion and poetry are all associated with indigenous culture, and tend to be marginalized. State reforms are normally met with varying degrees of resistance from religious and educational stakeholders with vested interests. In Singapore, such resistance is associated with the madrasahs and Islamists in particular (Tan 2010). A major government reform agenda was launched in 1997, with the 'Thinking Schools, Learning Nation' initiative (Goh 1997), since which a series of further reforms have followed, all aligned to practices fostering twenty-first century curricula, learning, pedagogy, assessment and leadership. Among them are – the development of creative and critical thinking skills, a more constructivist epistemology, more student-centred methods of learning, outcomes-oriented teaching, continuous teacher professional development in schools as professional learning communities, formative assessment and nationalistic commitment of the young. These are universalized twenty-first century practices that tend to run counter to traditional values and practices associated with conservative religious beliefs about the nature of knowledge and learning, and the roles of teacher and student.

Likewise, while modern conceptions of leadership are firmly predicated on 'moral and ethical' imperatives (Fullan 2003), the Singapore MOE have enshrined core leadership values in its corporate strategy (see Tan and Dimmock 2014), with an expectation that all school leaders will internalize and apply these values in their daily decision making. For Islamic leadership, however, the ultimate source of these values is not the body corporate, but faith and religious philosophy (Shah 2004). Tensions may thus arise from the differences in origin from which leaders draw their values, if not in the values per se.

Evidence of the Singapore government's caution and even distrust of religious studies in school is indicated by events in the 1980s. It is worth relating the course of events in the 1980s as they illustrate even today, the government's stance towards religion in the curriculum. Prior to 1982, various secular moral education programmes were taught in primary and secondary schools. In addition, religious instruction classes such as Bible Knowledge and Islamic Religious Knowledge had been permitted in various government aided church-run schools and privately run Islamic religious schools. However, these classes could only be conducted as extracurricular activities (Tan 1997). Then in 1984, reflecting a concern for the deterioration in moral values fed by the 'westernization' of Singapore, the government

decided to introduce Religious Knowledge and Confucian Ethics as compulsory subjects into the curriculum to reinforce the teaching of moral values. Six options were made available in the mainstream curriculum – Bible Knowledge, Islamic Religious Knowledge, Buddhist Studies, Confucian Ethics, Hindu Studies, and Sikh Studies (Tan 1997). However, only 5 years later, Religious Knowledge was abandoned as a compulsory school subject; it reverted instead to being an extra-curricular option. It was perceived to have heightened religious fervour. Given the 'fragile' nature of religious harmony in Singapore, there was concern that religion and religious precepts could be given an inappropriate application in politics, leading to potential unrest that could in turn adversely affect social harmony and national security (Hill and Lian 1995; Tan 1997). It was replaced by a common Civics and Moral Education course for all secondary students from 1992 onwards (Tan 1997).

Although the above events took place some 30 years ago, they provide invaluable and still relevant insights into the relationship between government policy, the school curriculum and the place of religion in Singapore schools. They illustrate our argument that the place and presence of religion in the Singapore school curriculum is of intense political sensitivity. The fact that the government replaced religion in the official curriculum with Civics and Moral Education, more recently emphasizing citizenship and National Education, provides clear evidence that it is, above all, a primordial concern for secular moral values aligned to serving the state goals of social harmony, good citizenry and a suitably trained labour force for the knowledge-based economy that triumphs over recognising possible 'rights' that ethnic and religious groups may feel they possess to study their religion as part of the official school curriculum. This conclusion is particularly apposite given the multi-ethnicity and multi-faith demographics of Singapore, where the multiplicity of religions, far from being seen as a unifying presence in the school curriculum, let alone society as whole, is seen as potentially divisive. The government thus champions social behaviour in schools and other organisations that emphasises religious harmony and equality.

In secular schools today, including government-aided schools, religion is only 'mildly' practiced, if at all. For instance, school leaders in government-aided mission schools are restricted to leading the school student population in short daily prayers. They are not expected to make excessive references to Bible teachings in their engagement with the student population. Where Bible studies (called 'Religious Instruction' in mission schools) is included in the school curriculum, it is of short duration (e.g., one period per week), and student attendance – while mandatory for Christians in mission schools, is invitational for non-Christians. Furthermore, the mission schools have the responsibility of meaningfully engaging the students who choose to opt out of these lessons during the Bible studies. In lieu of religious teachings, the MOE mandates the implementation of character and citizenship education (CCE) – comprising formal and informal curricula such as social studies, history, character education, co-curricular activities, and twenty-first century socio-emotional competencies and skills – that emphasize racial and religious harmony, widening of the common space amongst different cultural groups, and social cohesion and harmony (MOE 2012). This CCE is intended to provide students with the requisite moral ballast to contribute to Singapore's socioeconomic well-being and viability.

Undeniably, the concept of 'good citizens' in Singapore is linked to the principle of harmony, characterised by collectivism and a strong interventionist government (Tan 2008a). The value of religious harmony is actively promoted by the Singapore government and supported by religious leaders. To date, continuous rhetorical espousal of the principle of religious harmony has secured peace and tolerance among the various religious communities. But, as Tan (2008b) insightfully points out, with religious revivalism and continual terrorist threats from some Islamist groups, it has become increasingly difficult for religious believers in Singapore to balance their national and religious identities, loyalties and duties. The on-going challenge for the Singapore government is to promote a conception of 'good citizens' that takes into consideration the multiplicity and complexity of religion and citizenship. The tensions, in other words, refuse to disappear.

Since the place of religion in government schools is marginalised, it is necessary to focus on the six Malay-Muslim madrasahs as the sole examples of faith schools in Singapore. Accordingly, the next section provides a general context to the madrasahs.

Overview of the Historical Development of the Madrasahs

Amongst the plethora of school types characterizing the educational landscape, madrasahs are the only category of educational institutions in Singapore founded with the primary mission to deliver a religious education, and nurture religious leaders and scholars. Madrasahs in Singapore have stayed loyal to this mission since they were first founded at the start of the last century, and they still receive support from the wider Muslim community today (Tan 2007, 2008b). In contrast, other school types are predominantly secular in educational doctrine and priority, including schools founded by Chinese clan associations and Christian missionaries, and schools established by either the British colonial or post-independence Singapore government. In particular, although the mission schools integrate Christian teachings in their curriculum, the secular slant of teaching and learning far eclipses the religious element. In this regard, faith schools are synonymous with madrasahs in the Singapore educational system, and this brief review of their historical development will provide a clearer picture of their institutional journey and highlight impetus and challenges confronting them.

Madrasahs have a long history of providing religious education to the Muslim community of Singapore (Mokhtar 2010; Tan 2010). The first madrasah, As-Sibyan, was established in 1905, and its curriculum focused on the memorization of the Qu'ran, the key Islamic religious text. In contrast, the first 'modern' madrasah, Al-Iqbal, was established in 1908 and expanded its curriculum to include secular subjects like geography, history, mathematics, and English language, and employed more debates and reasoning as pedagogic devices in lieu of traditional rote learning and memorization. However, it only lasted for a year before closing down, as its modern curricular offerings were not well received by the Muslim community at that time.

Most other madrasahs opened around the 1940s, and peaked at a total of 26 in 1966. Primary 1 enrolment in madrasahs increased from 135 in 1986 to 464 pupils in 2000. Demand for madrasah education peaked in the 1990s when total student enrolment more than doubled (from 1,612 students in 1990 to 4,000 students in 1999), with half of all applicants having to be rejected due to capacity constraints (The Straits Times 1999a). Recently, about 350 other Malay primary 1 students leave national schools to join madrasahs annually (Tan and Abbas 2009). Today, there are only six full-time madrasahs left, with about 220 religious teachers serving about 4,400 students, constituting 4 % of all Malay students. The combined annual intake for the six madrasahs is about 400 students.

Each madrasah is run by a management committee whose members are appointed by the MOE in consultation with MUIS (The Islamic Religious Council of Singapore). MUIS was established in 1968 as a statutory board charged with the responsibility of advising the President of Singapore on all Islamic matters. Its main functions include the construction and management of mosques, and the administration of madrasahs and Islamic education. In particular, the administrative purview of madrasahs was transferred from MOE to MUIS only in 1996 with the implementation of the Administration of Muslim Law Act. However, madrasahs are still subject to the provisions of the Education Act, as they are formally registered with the MOE as private schools.

There is some degree of standardization amongst these remaining madrasahs, however, and some powerful constraints on them to meet certain regulations that effectively bring them into line with their government school counterparts. Secondary four madrasah students have to sit for a religious knowledge component certificate examination introduced in the late 1990s. By far the greatest standardization influence, however, emanates from the Compulsory Education Act of 2003, whereby all children must attend six years of primary education in government schools in order to build their foundations for post-primary and higher education. Although exemptions are given to parents intending to send their children to 'designated institutions', including madrasahs, the children are required to sit for the Primary School Leaving Examination (PSLE) at Primary 6. Furthermore, madrasahs admitting children exempted from compulsory education are required to meet a certain minimum benchmark at the PSLE in order to continue to be in the list of 'designated institutions'. The benchmark is not lower than the average PSLE aggregate score of mainstream Malay pupils in the six-lowest performing secular schools in the same year. The intention was to ensure that children attending full-time madrasahs will achieve a minimum level of academic attainment. Although students in madrasahs are exempted from the Act, madrasahs inevitably feel pressurized to improve their students' mastery of English language, mathematics and science. In fact, some of their students even sit for the key national examination, Primary School Leaving Examination (PSLE), alongside other students from national secular schools at primary 6.

To support the teaching of secular subjects in madrasahs, the Islamic Religious Council of Singapore formed the Madrasah Strategic Unit in 2003 to facilitate the professional upgrading of madrasah teachers. Teachers hired are screened for more

relevant qualifications and pedagogic training. In-service teachers attend courses to enhance their teaching skills and English proficiency. Selected teachers have the opportunity to take the Diploma of Education program offered by Edith Cowan University in Australia. The MUIS also collaborates with the National Institute of Education to offer madrasah teachers a one-year diploma program on teaching English language, mathematics, and science so as to improve teachers' readiness in preparing students for the PSLE.

Ramifications of Madrasahs

The distinctive *raison detre* of madrasahs, as is the case with faith schools in other socio-cultural contexts, introduces complexity and challenge to both the Muslim and wider community in Singapore. Unsurprisingly, there are attendant ramifications for the socio-economic wellbeing of the Muslim community, social compact for Singapore, and overall alignment of educational imperatives for the nation-state.

Compromising Socioeconomic Wellbeing

The traditional focus of madrasahs on religious teaching and nurturing of future religious leaders precludes madrasah students from being sufficiently grounded in secular subjects (e.g., English Language, mathematics, science) and being equipped with twenty-first century skills (e.g., critical and creative thinking, information communication technology, working in teams) (Aljunied and Hussin 2005; Chua 2003; Tan and Abbas 2009). This has contributed to the dismal academic performance of students enrolled in madrasahs vis-à-vis other Malay students studying in national secular schools. Statistics show that only 35 % of madrasah students progressed to take the GCE 'O' Levels, as compared to 60 % of Malay students from national schools in the period from 1996 to 1998 (The Straits Times 1998). Only 9 % of madrasah students advanced to polytechnic diplomas or GCE 'A' Levels at junior colleges, compared to 29 % of Malay students from national schools (The Straits Times 1999b). Concomitantly, madrasahs are confronted with high student attrition rates too – 71 % in 1996, 60 % in 1997, and 65 % in 1998 (Chee 2006).

A large number of madrasahs were initially resistant to the reform. For instance, five out of the six madrasahs rejected the MUIS proposal to use English Language as the medium of instruction for religious subjects, preferring to use only the Arabic Language. Instead, they agreed to teach secular subjects using the English Language, and only to use the religious curriculum prepared by MUIS as their supplementary materials (The Straits Times 2002, 2006). Their decision not to use the MUIS religious curriculum was also supported by the wider Malay-Muslim community, including presumably the more progressive elements, such as those belonging to the Association of Muslim Professionals (Tan 2007, 2008b; The Straits Times 2002).

According to the Compulsory Education Act of 2003, all children must complete six years of mandatory primary education in national schools and sit for the PSLE in the four compulsory subjects (English Language, Mother Tongue Language, Mathematics and Science) at the end of their primary school education. However, all six madrasahs contested the government's introduction of the Act and approached MUIS for mediation with the government (Noor Aisha and Lai 2006). In response, MUIS suggested that in securing exemption from the Act, the madrasahs should either place more emphasis on academic subjects, or be converted to government-aided schools under the direct purview of the MOE. The madrasahs categorically rejected both proposals. To resolve the quandary, the government held closed-door meetings with madrasah leaders and Islamic teachers (Tan 2010). The solution agreed was to set minimum PSLE benchmarks for madrasah students from 2008 onwards, failing which the government would not allow madrasahs to continue operating the following year. Students from the defunct madrasahs would then be posted to other madrasahs that met the PSLE benchmarks, or be transferred to secular schools. The government also limited the total primary 1 intake of Singapore citizens in the six madrasahs to 400 annually beginning from 2003.

The madrasahs' resistance to educational reform may also be attributed to their relative control over assessment set for their students (McEneaney and Meyer 2000). Madrasahs also appear to be emboldened by their access to higher educational and employment opportunities in religious fields, both locally and abroad (e.g., Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia) (Tan 2010). Nonetheless, without a minimum level of competence in mainstream academic subjects and skills, students have limited employment and career options in the modern knowledge-based economy (Aljunied and Hussin 2005; Chua 2003). Furthermore, most of the students from madrasahs do not progress to further religious studies in Islamic institutions or become religious scholars or leaders as intended (Tan 2010). Clearly, this overall state of affairs – poor academic outcomes, low take-up of religious careers – culminates in a large pool of Muslim children who may not be able to find meaningful jobs in the knowledge economy. This somewhat dire spectre has ramifications for the socioeconomic well-being of madrasah students.

Threats to the Singapore 'Social Compact'

More importantly, the disadvantageous circumstances of madrasah students cast a shadow over the enshrined principle of meritocracy as a passport for social mobility in Singapore society. Clearly, with less-than-adequate academic standards, madrasah students cannot hope to readily rise above their socioeconomic station in life, thereby entrenching the unenviable status of the Malay-Muslim community as a relatively under-performing segment of society.

Furthermore, the exclusivity of a madrasah education does not contribute to the national goal of maximizing the 'common space' amongst the different cultural groups in Singapore. The idea of common space was first mooted by former

Prime Minister Goh Chok Tong in the context of racial harmony and social cohesion in Singapore (Tan 2004). It underscores the value of finding and continuously enlarging common ground where citizens from the different cultural groups in Singapore can set aside their cultural differences and participate in joint activities in harmony.

With such threats to social mobility and cohesion, critics have raised questions about the continued relevance of the existing social compact that the Singapore government and people of Singapore have built over the past five decades of nation-building (Bhaskaran et al. 2013). This social compact underscores Singaporeans' trust in their government leaders to provide educational opportunities, create employment, look after their wellbeing, and maintain social harmony.

Misalignment with Educational Imperatives

The adherence to traditional teaching methods and the use of Arabic Language in teaching religious subjects in madrasahs are also incongruent with the overall trajectory of the Singapore education system. As the first part of this chapter argued, changes to education have supported all three phases of Singapore's economic development since 1965 (Gopinathan 2007). In particular, MOE initiatives have spearheaded nationwide initiatives like 'Thinking School, Learning Nation' and 'Teach Less, Learn More' to remind school leaders and teachers that students must not only acquire academic subject knowledge, but also 'soft skills' that are needed in the knowledge-based economy. Educators are also exhorted to design the learning experience to cater to students' individual learning needs, and eschew traditional didactic pedagogy (Ng 2008).

Notwithstanding the overall educational trajectory in Singapore, the majority of the madrasahs have been slow to respond to suggestions that they reform their curriculum and pedagogy. In fact, existing pedagogies employed by madrasahs in teaching the Qu'ran favor rote-learning over understanding (Chee 2006). There is little emphasis in support of the imperative for madrasahs to innovate and change. Indeed, the Minister in charge of Muslim Affairs urged Muslims to integrate the best from the modern world with their traditional cultural beliefs, embrace science and technology, and nurture a new generation of religious teachers who are also conversant with economics, science, and technology (Tan and Abbas 2009). MUIS has also provided support to madrasahs to this end, by for instance, introducing the Curriculum Development Project aimed at creating a comprehensive, systematic, and integrated education system for madrasahs that would deliver a religious curriculum designed from a cross-curricular perspective and be taught in English (Tan and Abbas 2009). The project involved the writing of curriculum syllabi, textbooks, and teachers' guides for students in primary 1 to pre-university. It remains to be seen how and the extent to which this new curriculum will be implemented in the madrasahs.

A key factor that may impinge on the adoption rate of innovative pedagogies and curriculum by madrasahs resides with its leadership. Madrasah leaders are expected to teach with knowledge and understanding, guide students by using Islamic wisdom and values modeling the prophets, and care for students with parent-like responsibility and commitment (Shah 2006). These leadership responsibilities are undergirded by the Islamic philosophy that learning is a duty imposed by God, with the aim of developing individuals to follow the path of righteousness and become useful members of society. Madrasah leaders and teachers are accorded the highest authority and status in the Islamic social system. Comparisons with the leadership principles espoused for leaders of national schools in the 'Philosophy for Educational Leadership' (PEL) (MOE 2008) reveal that the element of change leadership and management in the PEL document is conspicuously missing in madrasah leadership expectations and responsibilities. The chasm in leadership priorities between madrasahs and national schools may only widen in the foreseeable future, as the MOE relentlessly continues to upgrade the Singapore education system in order to match the best in the world. However, the following brief account of a madrasah describes the tensions and how attempts are made to overcome them.

Case Example of a 'Modern' Singapore Madrasah: Bridging Academic and Islamic Education

Notwithstanding the challenges faced by the madrasahs in Singapore in terms of sustainability, it is interesting to note that one madrasah has been attempting to cope with the changes and challenges described above in a relatively successful manner. In adopting a progressive approach to its curriculum reform initiatives, it has tried to meet the aspirations of both the Malay-Muslim community and the state. The case madrasah also illustrates ways in which the government engineers compliance to achieve social harmony and the national economic interest. The key findings reported below were based on a funded qualitative case study involving interviews and focused group interviews with key stakeholders of the madrasah – six teachers of graduating classes, 20 graduating classes, ten parents of graduating students, an external curriculum consultant, internal curriculum development officer, and the chairman (or principal) (Tan and Hairon 2011).

The Madrasah

Founded in 1947, the madrasah started by offering Basic Qur'an and Islamic knowledge with an enrolment of about 50 students. It came under the administration of MUIS in 1990 and began offering academic subjects such as English, Mathematics and Science at the primary and secondary levels in the 1990s. From an enrolment of about 400 students in the early 1990s, the number went up to about 900 students in

the late 1990s. A popular madrasah with the Muslim community, student applications exceed the number of places. For example, in 2006, more than 100 students applied and 70 were admitted to the primary 1 level. It currently takes in students from ages 7 to 17 (primary 1 to secondary 5). Although the madrasah is a co-educational school, there are more girls (three-quarter) than boys (one-quarter), similar to other co-educational madrasahs in Singapore. The madrasah is registered under the MOE as a private school and its Management Committee members are appointed by the MOE on a two-year term. Describing the school as a 'modern madrasah', the chairman states its curriculum 'takes cognisance [of] the current unique context of the Muslims in Singapore as well as the challenges posed by twenty-first century, modern and globalised city-state' (as cited in Tan 2009, p. 75).

Key Curricular Changes

Since 2002, the madrasah, which has a strong and close partnership with MUIS, has introduced some key curricular changes. First, the medium of instruction for all religious subjects except Arabic from Primary 1–6 students, is English. This marks a significant departure from past practices where the medium of instruction, except for English and Malay lessons, was Arabic. The rationale is to give the primary students a firm foundation in English since it is one of the core academic subjects that all primary 6 students have to take in the PSLE. Secondly, the madrasah adopts the MOE syllabi for the key academic subjects, namely English, Mathematics and Science. It has also increased the curriculum time for academic subjects from about 50 % to about 60 %. Preparation has been made to focus on improving the students' academic performance, such as banding students based on their academic abilities, remedial lessons, and workshops on Mathematics and Science for students and interested parents. Teachers are given opportunities for professional development through courses and workshops to better equip them to teach the academic subjects. Student-centered pedagogies are also infused into the curriculum across the subjects where activities such as playing games, singing and solving puzzles are common. Information and Communication Technology (ICT) is embraced to encourage students to exercise initiative and shape their own learning.

Key Findings

Overall, key community members of the madrasah were found to hold a mixture of both positive and negative perceptions of the recent education reforms in their madrasah. With regard to the positive aspect, the chairman (or school principal) expressed satisfaction at being able to change the mindset or cultural values of people in the organisation. He also expressed satisfaction at being able to fulfil the divine calling of 'being the best nation' (Kuntum khaira Ummah). He believed that

the changes taking place at the madrasah could be a model for other madrasahs in Singapore, the region, and the rest of the world. Teachers, for their part, supported the review and accountability processes in place to ensure academic achievement. For example, when teachers were required to analyse their respective students' formative and summative academic results, they were indirectly constrained to review the effectiveness of their teaching strategies so as to provide justification for students' academic performance. They also felt that the philosophical support for the changes in the madrasah had been clearly articulated. The emphasis on student achievement had impacted not only the effectiveness of their teaching and on the review and accountability processes, but also in terms of greater resources and opportunities for professional development. Resources were also provided to support the programmes necessary to achieve both academic and Islamic education expectations. The programmes essentially sought to bring about excellent outcomes in both academic and Islamic education.

With regard to the negative aspect of the recent madrasah education reforms, teachers' perceived the changes as being too fast, too much and lacking stability, with the potential to lead to teacher burnout. Besides confronting teachers with changed pedagogical practices, the reforms also involved them in administrative work to support the changes. This had created a work overload for teachers, with a negative impact on their time for reflection. The latter, however, was considered imperative in making improvements in classroom teaching and learning. The heavy workload also undermined the practice of Usrah (family) where teachers come together to discuss work and its underlying philosophies. With regard to the professional development of staff members, the messages were mixed. Although greater resources and opportunities were provided to teachers, some professional development platforms were viewed as having little relevance to their work. For example, some teachers had enrolled on a course or workshop that they believed added little value to their teaching effectiveness.

Interviews with key community members of the madrasah also revealed the extensive and intensive curricular changes for Primary 6 students. This was due to the fact that 2008 was the first time in which madrasah students' academic performance in PSLE was monitored by the MOE. As mentioned earlier, madrasahs that failed to meet the PSLE benchmark stipulated by MOE have to be closed. In general, more time had been allocated to student preparation for the 2008 PSLE. It had focused on increasing instructional time for the key subjects of English, Mathematics and Science, and included conducting lessons on Saturdays, and increasing the students' familiarity with the PSLE exam papers through mock exams and tests. For 1 month prior the PSLE, students had been required to stay back after school from 3 pm to 5 pm every day for extra classes. The teaching of non-academic subjects was also stopped in order to give more time to the teaching of these key academic subjects.

Outside vendors were also called in to improve the quality of teaching and learning in the key academic subjects. In addition, the madrasah also received help from non-profit organisations and partners to support teachers in better preparing the students for the PSLE. The madrasah had also put in place a system of assessing the students' academic strengths and weaknesses along with monitoring them prior

to the PSLE. Parents of children identified as not preparing well for the PSLE were counseled by relevant school staff members. The overall objective was to improve students' learning and academic outcomes in key subjects, regardless of ability level. Besides greater efforts to prepare students for the PSLE, the school's management also considered it important to provide conducive organisational structures to support this preparation. Among the measure taken were:- off-loading Primary 6 teachers' work; the termination of ineffective practices; getting the support of parents; and teacher professional development aimed primarily at securing academic results.

From the perspective of the Primary 6 students, the preparation for the PSLE had been very intensive and pressurising. The students were given a whole range of activities such as worksheets, extra classes, homework, lessons during holidays, workshops for science and maths, motivational talks, camps and outings, lectures on changing attitudes, additional help for selected students from teachers from national schools, and de-stressing activities to help students cope with the pressure of PLSE preparation. Students also perceived that the teachers had high expectations of them. Teachers were seen as becoming stricter and placing great emphasis on academic achievements, pushing them to achieve their best in academic performance. Learning demands in the classroom also increased. Based on the interview data from Primary 6 students, their reasons for wanting to do well in the PSLE were: determining life success, determining the future survival and existence of the madrasah, scrutiny by the government, wanting to compare themselves with students from the national schools, and maintaining the honour of the madrasah, Islamic education and the Malay Muslim community as a whole.

In general, teachers, parents and students of the madrasah developed a greater sense of urgency in securing good academic achievements in the PSLE. However, this was not without problems. First, some teachers felt that the priority given to the PSLE had made the non-academic subjects, such as the *Tarbiyah*, comprising of religious subjects such as the history and teachings of Islam, less important. Second, some teachers perceived that students were confused by different teaching styles used by teachers and different service providers. Third, it was perceived that the slower students in the madrasah did not believe they were able to do well in, or even pass the PSLE. Fourth, some teachers considered teaching mixed abilities as a great challenge. Fifth, the threat to sustainability was real in view of securing continuous additional funding to match the increased demands.

Finally, the interviews with key community members of the madrasah revealed their main aspirations for madrasah education. These were better articulated by the madrasah management, and especially the chairman, although the teachers, parents and students also shared these aspirations. Their practices essentially were the embodiment of these aspirations. First, they aspired to integrate religious and secular knowledge in pursuit of the 'ideal' man (*insan al-kamil*), who is well-versed in both religious and normal sciences. Second, they aspired to being able to apply both religious and secular knowledge in context, thereby making a contribution to society.

The above findings highlight the critical role of school leadership in providing the vision, direction and strategies for achieving the 'progressive' curricular reforms needed for madrasah students to attain the minimum benchmark of the PSLE results,

without undermining the Islamic aspirations of students, parents, teachers and the wider Malay-Muslim community. In response to the Compulsory Education Act, the school leaders, comprising the Chairman and senior management team, undertook a comprehensive and deep curriculum change endeavour involving pedagogy, time-tabling, teacher professional development, home-school partnership, partnership with external vendors and culture building. The future task for its leaders is to make way for further refinements in response to the challenges of sustainability that have been identified. The findings also point to a measure of government success in steering a madrasah towards achieving harmony with the state's framework of priorities.

Conclusions: The Key Role of Government and Leadership in Religious Education

The above analysis of faith and religion in Singapore schools shows unequivocally the controlling arm of a strong government. In regard to mainstream state schools, the government has seen fit to minimise the place of religion in the curriculum by subordinating it to the greater goals of first, social harmony, and second, the procurement of a workforce with the requisite skills for a twenty-first century knowledge-based economy. Hence, social and moral education, and citizenship (National Education) have mostly displaced religious studies in the curriculum. Past experience of including religious studies proved to the government how inflammatory it can be to maintaining Singapore's fragile ethnic and religious accord. In regard to the large majority of government schools making up the 360 total, the MOE's control and influence over the curriculum and leadership is exercised somewhat differently from its management of the six madrasahs catering to the Malay-Muslim community, as indicated below.

The government employs a range of devices to steer the aspirations of its Malay-Muslim community. Statutory direct control and influence is wielded by the Government through the Compulsory Education Act, 2003, and further regulations which demand that madrasah students attain at least a 'minimum requirement', indicated by a PSLE benchmark, for their schools to remain open. Equally important is the Government's establishment of the MUIS (the Islamic Religious Council) as the highest bureaucracy in charge of Muslim matters in Singapore. As a statutory body advising the President of Singapore on all matters relating to Islam in the country, it is responsible for setting the Islamic agenda, shaping religious life and forging the Singaporean Muslim identity (Tan and Hairon 2011). Its main functions include the construction and administration of mosque development and management, and the administration of Islamic religious schools and Islamic education. Strategically, it is an extended arm of the government acting as a conduit through which national priorities can be brought to bear in the Muslim community.

The following are illustrative of MUIS's crucial role in Islamic education. It firstly steers the madrasahs in complying with the requirements of the Compulsory Education Act and in meeting the minimum PSLE requirements, without which

they are not allowed to take in Primary 1 students. For example, a madrasah which did not meet this requirement in 2008 and 2010 (twice in a 3-year block) is not able to take in Primary 1 students in the period 2012–2014; however, it has latterly regained its admission status for 2015. It also continues providing the PSLE Grant (about $300 per student) to help madrasahs prepare their students to meet the PSLE benchmark. Secondly, MUIS also partners with its 'affiliated' madrasahs to revise the curriculum to meet the state's requirement for minimum standards to prepare madrasah students for social and economic sustainability, and to meet the educational aspirations of the Malay-Muslim community. Thirdly, it has introduced the Joint-Madrasah System (JMS), creating a partnership of three madrasahs (Tan and Hairon 2011). The 'affiliated' madrasah becomes the primary school to two feeder secondary schools. While one feeder secondary school focuses on preparing students for a purely academic track – thereby allowing students to proceed to secular institutions such as junior colleges, polytechnics and universities, the other prepares students for both the religious and academic tracks.

While good school leadership is valued throughout the Singapore school system, nowhere is it more necessary and challenged than in the madrasahs. Indeed, it is increasingly apparent that the future survival of the madrasahs is dependent on their leaders' skills in mediating the twin goals of preparing their students for the twenty-first century workforce while having a strong foundation in Islamic values and principles. Leaders' abilities to strategise and navigate a course to satisfy both will be highly prized. Moreover, communication skills will be exercised by the need to inspire students, parents and teachers in the madrasahs to reach a shared vision of these twin objectives. Leaders will also play a strong role in revising the curriculum to meet these twin goals – emphasising the need for competence in learning-centred and curriculum leadership. A key part of such leadership will need to be devoted to building the capacity of teachers for pedagogic and curricular renewal, and the development of middle-level leaders to monitor curricular development. Finally, there is the need to build strong networks with outside partners in order to increase resources to meet the increasing curricular demands – hence, competency in network leadership.

Predictably, in parallel with other states with Muslim minorities, the relationship between the Singapore government and the Muslim minority will continue to need sensitive navigation. Tensions will most likely continue. More than most, the Singapore government through its authoritarian policy making is uncompromising on its perception of the 'national interest'. Yet it is mindful that the Compulsory Education Act along with the minimum benchmark may cause resentment in the Malay-Muslim community. It is also aware that it cannot be seen to be too harsh in its dealings with the educational aspirations of the Malay-Muslim community. Equally, madrasahs may feel that the demands placed on them may be too demanding, especially when teachers and students try to juggle between secular and religious epistemologies and ontologies. Meeting both secular and religious demands inevitably places a heavy burden on resources. It is clear that while for most of the (secular) Singapore school system, the place of religion has been somewhat overshadowed by interests of the state, as long as the madrasahs provide schooling, the place of faith in the school curriculum and attendant leadership challenges will continue to exercise the minds and practices of both policy makers and leaders.

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Chapter 32
Critical Fidelity and Catholic School Leadership

John Sullivan

Introduction

Faith school leaders in any particular Catholic school have to mediate between the faith tradition they represent and the local and national educational context in which their school is set; they are also expected to mediate between this faith tradition and contemporary cultures. These cultures will have different configurations, depending on such factors as their history and geography, their economic and political situation, their ethnic mix and the degree of religious diversity that is present within them. Furthermore, different philosophies of life and value-systems that jostle for position and diverse legislative arrangements that frame what is permitted and what is forbidden in educational provision will lead to different areas of tension and opportunity becoming salient for Catholic school leaders. Although the causes of concern that prompt this chapter have arisen in the UK context, having been expressed with particular force by Principals in personal exchanges with the author in many one-to-one discussions as part of long-term programmes of support for both new and experienced Catholic school leaders, as well as during in-service days and professional conferences in recent years, conversations with Principals in several other countries, including the USA, Australia and Ireland lead me to believe that they might have relevance more broadly.

It is a reasonable expectation that Catholic school leaders will be committed insiders to the faith tradition, equipped to convey its teachings, model its values and promote its ethos, displaying close familiarity with and the capacity to build effective partnerships between the relevant agencies of the faith community. While it is a fair expectation that they will deploy their best efforts to ensure that the faith tradition really does illuminate, guide and govern priorities and practices within the

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school, it can no longer be taken for granted (nor should it be) that such commitment will be unquestioning or passively accepted precisely as handed down by church authorities. Many faith school leaders experience a degree of discomfort in their role as representatives of a religious tradition, discomfort stemming from features of church life and teaching which they perceive as extraneous to, distortions of, or perhaps even as obstacles to what is at the heart of their vocation and what they believe is of the essence of the Gospel. They find themselves called upon to think *with* the church; but they also find that they must sometimes think *for* the church; doing the second (in their view as an expression of their fidelity) can sometimes lead to tension with ecclesial authority. Catholic school leaders need to be (at least minimally) theologically literate if they are to promote the mission. In particular, and increasingly, they need to be sensitive to the exigencies and dynamics of reception of the church's teaching (how this teaching is being received, interpreted and lived out by the people of God in diverse circumstances and ways) and inculturation (how the Gospel is being, or can be, related to contemporary culture, practices and ways of thinking).

In this chapter I identify an area of challenge facing Catholic school leaders that is rarely faced explicitly in the literature; this is the tension that can arise – and that is increasingly likely to arise – between, on the one hand, embodying faithful representation of the institutional church from which the school receives its religious mission and, on the other hand, promoting critical thinking as a key feature of being an educated person. Catholic schools, along with others, quite appropriately, derive some of their values from – and find some of their priorities set by – various bodies outside the church. Although the specific examples of areas of tension indicated in this chapter would differ from those facing leaders in other faith schools (for example, those leading evangelical Christian or Islamic schools), I would expect there to be some degree of similarity between the general issues being explored across the faith school sector, in particular, the tension of combining fidelity to a religious tradition with the promotion of critical thinking as a key feature or desideratum of education. The chapter is in three parts. First, I consider the theological dimension of Catholic school leadership, indicating how theology should influence this work. Second, examples are given of issues over which tensions are likely to arise for these leaders in their relationship with (some) church authorities. Here fidelity and critical thinking can appear to clash. It might even be claimed that the more theologically educated that school leaders are, the more likely it is that they might question church teaching – or at least offer a slightly different interpretation than that of the hierarchy on neuralgic matters. Third, I bring out some of the parameters of what is involved and some of the considerations that must be kept in mind by Catholic school leaders as they address these tensions, in aid of living out in themselves and in facilitating in others critical fidelity to the Gospel in their work with students, teachers, parents and the wider community.

Theology for Fidelity in School Leadership

Leaders of faith schools may have been promoted to such positions because of their track record as excellent teachers, the reputation they have developed as model professionals, their demonstration in earlier posts (particularly as Deputy Principal) that they possess sound skills as managers and because it is known that they are personally deeply committed members of the church, actively living out their faith in communion with the church. The relative weight given to these attributes in the process of selection will depend on the recent history of the school and the legacy left by the outgoing Principal, the composition and expectations of the appointing body, and the number and quality of candidates available for consideration. The capacity to articulate and to promote the Catholic mission of the school will have been probed and confirmed during the selection process, a process that is conducted by appointing bodies with varying degrees of penetration, subtlety and effectiveness. For some, the transition to leadership is a natural step, one for which their past experience and study and their personal maturity and character equips them well. For many, however, the particular demands of Catholic school leadership bring home to them, in ways that they found hard to anticipate or even to imagine before taking on this office, the need for firm theological foundations to inform their actions, as guide for their priorities, and as ballast to steady them in the midst of experiencing the pressures of turmoil, ambiguity, and conflicting expectations.

Without a sound theological foundation, one that is deeply internalised yet easily accessible and with the capacity to illuminate the whole range of daily decisions called for in school leadership, for example, in relation to student behaviour, community relations, professional development, or management of resources, Catholic school leaders will be unable to articulate the mission, implement it in all dimensions of the life and work of the school and communicate it attractively and effectively to others, both within and beyond the school. If the leader lacks theological literacy and confidence in deploying it in all dealings with students, colleagues, parents and members of the community, the bearing of the Gospel on the tasks of education will be lost sight of, or these may be distorted by other priorities and forces that compete for attention and allegiance. Similarly, without the spiritual formation and development that should accompany theological literacy, the way school leaders exercise their role may suffer various defects: among these one might detect a lack of appropriate motivation, or imagination and intuition being insufficiently guided by religious principles, or the danger of burn-out brought on by an excess of relying on one's own efforts rather than on God's grace, or a privileging of personal ambition (often conflated unhealthily with the need to protect the institution's reputation) that can become blind to the needs and perceptions of others.

No community is without disagreements and challenges (internally and externally generated). Indeed, such disagreements can be signs of life and can provide opportunities to re-express goals, values and decisions more convincingly. In protecting the school as a site for promoting learning, leaders need to be alert for developments

within and beyond the school that might undermine its central principles, obstruct its major priorities, or weaken the quality of relationships that should be sustained. This is true for all school leaders. Catholic school leaders, as with other leaders of faith schools, have the additional task of upholding the religious mission, modelling discipleship in their own personal style of teaching and leadership, creating the conditions for effective teaching of the faith tradition, strengthening connections with the faith community (not only locally but with the universal church), promoting a cogent vision of how faith enriches the educational endeavour, and discerning and disarming threats or pressures from the surrounding culture and from other educational agents and bodies (these might include local, regional or national government, funding bodies, school inspectors or in some cases, inappropriate expectations of parents or the local community). All of these tasks will benefit from the theological dimension in the leader's 'repertoire' receiving proper attention and support.

It has been claimed that 'A religious tradition flourishes only to the extent that it is capable of making its central commitments available for public examination both within and beyond its boundaries. That is the condition for the public communication of those commitments, and also for their very survival' (Matthews 2001, 213). One of the tasks of a faith school leader is to ensure that these central commitments continue to be made available and that they are deployed in service of communicating and renewing the tradition. To this end an understanding of such theological themes as how God is at work in creation, being aware of what difference it can make to see the world in a sacramental perspective, accepting Jesus Christ as Saviour, being open to the role of the Holy Spirit, a familiarity with the nature of the Church and the whole range (and integration) of her teaching, being conscious of the relationship between nature and grace, trusting in the privileged witness of the holy scriptures to divine revelation to God's people, appreciating the spiritual nature and destiny of the human person – all these have a part to play in framing, orienting, guiding, informing, reinforcing and revitalising education as a sacred endeavour (for more extended treatment of key theological components underpinning Catholic education, see Sullivan 2001, 2006, 2008, 2011a, b).

In *Explorers, Guides and Meaning-Makers* Jim D'Orsa and Thérèse D'Orsa (2010) make an excellent case that Catholic educational leaders should engage in workplace theology as one of their principal tasks. They argue that theological literacy should be an important element in the repertoire of Catholic educational leaders because there is a need for reinterpretation, not just repetition of the tradition, if it is to be communicated adequately, imaginatively, creatively, appropriately and effectively. Their case is that, without adequate adult formation in faith, together with appropriate theological literacy, the Catholic school mission is crippled, proper example cannot be given to faith in action, decisions are likely to be dominated by secular considerations and the faith will be communicated in ways that are impoverished. Furthermore, they have in mind not only theological preparation before teachers and school leaders take up their posts; they point out that theological reflection 'on the job' must be ongoing. Not all 'answers' to dilemmas and problems can be supplied in advance. New circumstances and new questions will arise.

However, the authors do not expect that Catholic educational leaders will be theological experts. Rather they emphasise the need for what they call 'grassroots theology' (D'Orsa and D'Orsa 2010, 191). This will be local, related to particular contexts, episodic, unsystematic, prompted by issues arising in the course of normal work. Such issues will often be complex, not easily resolvable by recourse to already-laid-down guidance or authoritative ecclesial statements. Catholic educators need to bring culture, experience and religious tradition into conversation. In the frontier situation that pertains in many schools – where teachers, students and their families are often at the very edge of the church – there are no fully developed maps. Thus Catholic teachers and their leaders must be not only map-readers, faithfully representing the tradition; they must also be map-makers, building on the tradition but tracing out new paths.

There are many elements within the Catholic tradition – biblical, theological, philosophical, spiritual, sacramental, moral, and ecclesial – that can usefully be brought to bear on the human and humanising endeavour of Catholic education. These can be deployed in an appeal to reason, memory, imagination, conscience and the aesthetic sense. They bring home to members of the school community different aspects of the human condition and the Person and Power from whom they can find its remedy, fulfilment, and salvation. Familiarity with the faith tradition can illuminate their situation, enabling them to see reality more fully. Its figures, leaders, teachers, mystics, saints and practices can influence the development of self-knowledge, de-stabilizing any comfortable or complacent accommodation to the world as it is. Some of these elements can help school members to make sense of what is happening and to be discerning about the dynamics at work in classrooms, schools, and colleges. Some of them can offer encouragement of effort and provide consolation in the face of apparent failure. Although there will inevitably be difficulties along the way, the task is, after taking prudent note of these difficulties, to find ways to unpack, explain, re-present, witness to, and celebrate the gifts inherent in the faith tradition. The role of school leaders is to release the healing power, illumination, and attractiveness of these gifts so that others can come to appreciate them for themselves as they see them being lived out.

The kind of theology that is fit for schools has to be one that is critical, creative, and compassionate; one that is invitational, inclusive, and affirming; one that is imaginative as well as faithful, indeed imaginative as part of its being faithful. Members of a school community might ask of such a theology, as a test for its possible relevance and use: Will it help us to appreciate how all things relate to God? Will it help us to build identity? Will it help us to promote belonging? Will it help us to hear and embrace our vocation? Will it help us in the task of integration – personal, curriculum, and social integration? Will it guide all our educational endeavours? Will it help us to use that education to love one another more effectively and wisely and in such a way that it places at the centre the lives of the children and ensures they learn what is necessary about their own culture so they can live with dignity in it?

Areas of Tension

Church school leaders work at the interface between 'earthly' or secular realities and ecclesial expectations; often these closely overlap, so that to dwell in one is no barrier to fulfilling the other, but sometimes the relationship is not so harmonious. They are simultaneously in authority and under authority. They must monitor the use of authority by others within the jurisdiction of their school and they must also exercise great care in how they deploy their own authority. In the face of the wrongful use of authority they walk a tightrope over a chasm, having the sometimes painful task of sustaining communion while addressing injustice. This applies to the way they deal with shortcoming and misdemeanours by both the students and the staff. This task is made all the more complex when the source of apparent injustice or the example of behaviour that contradicts the school's espoused values is the very church which provides the source, mission and values matrix for the school.

I am thinking here of the archbishop who astonished his flock by arranging for a multi-million pound mansion to be built because his existing residence was too modest for a leading prelate (reported in Notebook, *The Tablet*, 6th August 2011, 18). Or there is the case of the newly appointed bishop who visited a Catholic secondary school and found himself in conversation with a group of teenagers who asked him about the church's stance on married and women priests. The day after the visit the bishop sent a letter to the school complaining about the inappropriateness of the questions being put to him as a bishop and stressing the need for the school to ensure that he was never again put in a situation of having to deal with such questions (personal account given to the author by a governor at the school). The bishop was fortunate in the forbearance shown by the school when it received his letter of complaint; in some cases he might have met a response that brought home to him uncomfortably that his own response to the teenagers displayed an unCatholic and anti-educational mind-set, one that seriously undermined his role as guardian of the Catholicity of the school.

For another challenging situation, what happens when an unhealthy spirituality is being fostered among pupils by a visiting priest? In the past, lay people would have not been equipped to raise any issue about such a development, nor would they have had the confidence or the authority to do so. Increasingly, however, in the light of continuing revelations of abuses by clergy and religious, it falls to lay people (for so long considered part of the *ecclesia discens*, the learning church) to monitor (and if necessary report on) the behaviour of those exercising pastoral care roles, and this includes members of what has been thought of as the *ecclesia docens*, the teaching church. As a school vice-principal, I have heard damning comments from the pulpit at Sunday Mass that treat far too readily the critical questions asked by young people about church teaching and practice as signs of weak faith and a lack of humility and deference on their part, as indicators of poor teaching by staff, as evidence of parents who have abdicated their responsibility to give strong examples of a lived faith. While all these factors might play a part, blaming others for their shortcomings is likely to reduce the credibility of the complainant; there remains the need to take the

questions seriously, to respect the gap discerned by young people between ideals and reality, and to stand willingly, if vulnerably, in the heat of their interrogation.

On his visit to Germany in September 2011, Pope Benedict XVI challenged Catholics to be fervent in their faith, obedient to the hierarchy and generous in service to others (reported in *The Tablet*, 1st October 2011, 31). While many Catholics readily accept the need for the first and third of these three priorities, many have become increasingly reluctant to accept the second, especially if they feel that the deep listening that is central to authentic obedience is not modelled by those in ecclesial authority. A reporter specializing in events in Rome and especially in the Vatican makes an interesting comment about the trajectory of the present papacy.

> The kind of Church that Pope Benedict is trying to grow … is unafraid to stand in clear and prophetic contrast to what he calls the relativistic and secularist mentality of the world. It is also a Church seeking to recover much of the discarded ecclesiastical ethos, mentality and sure-footedness of an earlier age, rather than one actively discerning the new and creative ways in which the Holy Spirit may be leading the ecclesial body to develop (Mickens 2011, 31).

An even more critical comment is not untypical of many being heard within the Church:

> I am saddened that the positions and attitudes being adopted by the current governance structure (within the Church) appear increasingly disconnected from the 'good news' message of Christ's teachings as set forth in the gospels. … There now seems to be very little in the way of Christ's love and compassion emanating from the corridors of Vatican power. The fixation on absolute obedience to an authority which is neither transparent nor accountable, and has great difficulty distinguishing man-made laws from eternal truths, appears neither holy nor wise (Crowe 2010, 18).

Concerns about features of religion that surface frequently across history and today are that, unless tempered by other sources of authority and values, it can be dogmatic, authoritarian, hypocritical, inhuman, dangerous, intimidating, unjust, cruel and self-serving. In recent years Catholic Church members have seen the disciplining of such theologians as Tissa Balasuriya, Peter Phan, Elizabeth Johnson, Hans Küng, Charles Curran, Leonardo Boff and Matthew Fox. For an earlier generation, Yves Congar, Henri de Lubac, Karl Rahner, John Courtney Murray, Jean Danielou, Marie-Dominique Chenu and Teilhard de Chardin faced censorship, removal from office, marginalization or were silenced (see Collins 2001; Nugent 2011). Most of these theologians endured long periods of suppression before enjoying eventual vindication. Whether the issue is the place of other faiths in God's dispensation, the pastoral care of gay and lesbians, evolution, ecumenism, religious liberty, nuclear war, the role of the papacy, developments in sexual ethics, or the use within theology of various forms of philosophy, it appears that the inquisitorial atmosphere that overshadowed Catholicism in the aftermath of the modernist crisis (in the early years of the twentieth century) lingers on, even if less certainly and more fitfully.

The London-based weekly Catholic newspaper *The Tablet* has reported on a series of developments that cumulatively indicate that criticism of church authority has once again moved into a salient position within the Catholic Church. Calls in Ireland for 'holy disobedience'(19th November 2011, 33), discontent in many

English-speaking countries about the new translation of the Mass (reported constantly, in numerous issues during 2010 and 2011), disquiet among priests in Australia and disenchantment with both the hierarchy there and in Rome (12th February 2011, 10), the 'appeal to disobedience' by 250 priests in Austria (9th July 2011, 27), and criticism of church leadership by bishop Dowling in South Africa (17th July 2010) all seem to be part of an emerging pattern that coincides with renewed efforts to establish a stronger sense of Catholic identity, restoration of traditional Catholic practices and emphasizing difference from the world. While alternative interpretations of such developments can be offered, and done so in good faith, and while the very notion of dissent is thought by some Catholics to be incompatible with fidelity, here I limit my attention to the prospect of tensions that are already being expressed by a growing number of Catholic educational leaders, even if these remain in a minority, stressing the need to acknowledge rather than to hide these tensions (see McDonough 2012). A new age of dissent is illustrated by an article from Italy that refers to bishops there wanting a different kind of relationship with the Vatican (21st March 2009, 4–5). There are rumblings in Germany and pressure for a change in Church policy on communion for remarried divorcees (1st October 2011, 6–7). In Spain, accusations of heresy have been levelled against the author of a best-selling life of Jesus, raising questions about the appropriateness of censorship (26th March 2011, 4–5), while in Ireland a priest who wrote an article about the church and gay people has been silenced (6th November 2011, 35). On the eve of the fiftieth anniversary of the beginning of Vatican II an international website calls for a critical assessment of the exercise of authority in the Catholic Church (www.churchauthority.org; accessed 2nd October 2012).

In a response to a letter from Cardinal Napier about the need for obedience in the church, one person replied: 'Unquestioning obedience to authority is neither a sign of faith in, nor respect for, that authority. Failure to ask relevant questions is no sign of trust but a sign of a malfunctioning conscience' (Davis 2011, 19). The process of asking and wrestling with critical questions is central to learning, both secular and religious. While there should be a deep harmony between evangelization, sharing the gospel, and the critical thinking and questioning that are integral to education (Sullivan 2010b), insofar as many Catholics judge that their questions are ignored or treated as signs of weak faith or as displaying a lack of due deference to those in authority, such a situation is unlikely to lead to healthy relationships between laity and the hierarchy, nor will it facilitate deep learning. As Gerald Schlabach (2010, 188) comments, 'a defensive posture is far more likely to choke the faith than to spread it.' In fact, as the editor of *Commonweal* points out, dissent rarely arises as 'an exercise in pure speculation, or the self-aggrandizing acts of disobedience, rebellion, or disloyalty commonly portrayed.' Instead it arises from 'painful disjunctures between pastoral experience and existing teaching' (Margaret O'Brien Steinfels, quoted in Schlabach, 162). Furthermore, if many are looking for a 'more decentralized, egalitarian, participatory, and experiential ecclesiology,' as Daniel Speed Thompson (2003, 6) claims, the church faces the challenging question: 'How does the church preserve an authentic unity within plurality, without lapsing either into a suffocating uniformity or a dissipating pluralism?' (Thompson, 7). On a much smaller scale, the school has the task of managing a similar balancing act.

I have argued, in part one of this chapter, first, that Catholic school leaders should model fidelity to the faith tradition, and second that there is a theological dimension to their work, one that helps to ensure that educational professionalism really does mediate faithful discipleship. In part two of the chapter I have indicated first, that a key feature of the authentic fidelity exhibited by Catholic school leaders is that it should be critical in its nature, ready to question current interpretations of the tradition, with regard to the coherence, reliability and adequacy of that tradition in the face of contemporary conditions, culture and needs, and conscious of gaps between ideals and practice, both within the school and within the wider church. Only a critical appreciation of the faith tradition will enable a creative appropriation of it – in any pastoral context – and that includes the school. I have also suggested, second, that, given the increasing salience of questioning and criticism within the Church, such critical fidelity is likely to present challenges for some church leaders, especially where there is a mismatch between the respective expectations of school and ecclesial leaders as to how to engage in serious dialogue and reciprocal critical questioning.

I find helpful here two important (and connected) insights from the philosopher of education, Jane Roland Martin. The first of these is that she points out that 'a culture's stock includes liabilities as well as assets' (Martin 2011, 115). Surely this applies to all cultures and to every living tradition: in the midst of the very real goods that they convey one will find aspects of the culture or tradition that, when put under scrutiny, can be found to be distortions, excesses, abuses, or under-developed. Institutional leaders charged with mediating a tradition need to be faithful to, yet also critically discerning about, this tradition, able to separate out its assets from its liabilities, promoting the former and removing (insofar as this lies in their power) the latter. Linked to this intermingling of assets and liabilities in a culture's stock and the need to distinguish between them, Martin recognizes (and this is the second point I take from her) that what is passed on can be received either as a living legacy or as a dead relic (Martin 2011, 128). The educational intention here is to ensure that the goods or assets of a tradition are effectively linked to the growing capacities of learners in such a way that they are received as a living legacy, thus being creatively appropriated. Miseducation occurs either when what is conveyed includes too many of the liabilities at the expense of the assets (it is probably impossible to avoid all contamination by the liabilities – this is part of the human condition of being subject to sin) or when the assets conveyed are experienced only as dead relics, no longer positively transformative of the lives and capacities of learners.

Embracing the Tensions for Critical Fidelity

All communities, and the institutions which embody the mission of such communities, need to establish boundaries that prevent their *raison d'être* from being eroded, undermined or put in jeopardy. Inevitably this will mean ruling out, as unacceptable, certain kinds of behaviour. However, if the community is to foster learning, there

must be space within it for younger and older members to test the limits. In the negotiation of the process whereby the limits are articulated, justified, tested, and modified (either by stretching or tightening them), they will be better understood and this increases the chances of members of the community having a real stake in its functioning and able to exercise responsibility on its behalf. Church school leaders have a duty to ensure that there is confident proclamation of and effective witness given to the mission that should underpin their work; but there should also be space for questioning, both of the validity of the mission and of the degree to which it is currently functioning in the life of the school. Faithful representation of the ecclesial tradition, in such a way that the tradition illuminates and guides all aspects of the work of the school, is a prerequisite; the capacity to carry this off effectively, to sustain it over the long term, needs constant attention. However, it is entirely compatible with this duty of faithful representation for school leaders to ensure that dissenting voices are not crushed or silenced without being heard, and to find ways to honour the experience and insights that inform the expression of doubts and difficulties.

It is essential to acknowledge that conflict within any community is inevitable and cannot be avoided. What matters is how such conflict is managed. Any tradition that is living, engaging with its surroundings realistically and that draws upon the richness and diversity of the experience of its members, wisely learning from that experience, will find its central commitments and values – their interpretation, application and prioritization – tested in argument. 'A living tradition is an historically extended, socially embodied argument, and an argument precisely in part about the goods which constitute that tradition' (MacIntyre 1985, 222). Argument is a sign of vigour and vitality in a tradition; closing it down is likely to stifle the sources of its continuing health, fertility and credibility. As one educator pointed out, 'A strong shared life easily slips into being as an ideology. Visions turn into rules. Life in a strong framework of meaning easily degenerates into deadening correctness.' (Nichols 1997, 45). While all institutions need rules, if they are to function effectively, and while human flourishing often depends on the effective functioning of institutions, it is incumbent on Catholic school leaders to be alert to the danger that institutional interests can dominate individuals in ways that are damaging (see Sullivan 2013). The damage done is not only to the individuals involved, but also to the tradition because, as it has rightly been acknowledged, 'it is only through the maximization of autonomy that the full gifts of the Spirit – given to every member – can be made available for the building and strengthening of the Church' (de la Bédoyère 2002, 145). Furthermore, 'It is only those who hear themselves included who can truly participate' (Fraser 2002, 212).

Such ideas about participation and ownership (see Sullivan 2005), and the processes of both valuing and learning from the experience and insight of all members of a community, do not sit easily in the context of the Catholic Church, where obedience and listening have usually been considered in a unilateral manner (those 'below' listening to and obeying those 'above'), instead of the kind of mutual obedience and listening prescribed in the *Rule of St Benedict*, where the youngest member of the monastic community must be heard as a potential source of wisdom. Yet it is increasingly being recognized that, if the Church is to become a more effective

learning community (see Sullivan 2010a, 16–19, 100–121), it will have to create the conditions in which more open dialogue can take place, more voices can be heard and many more perspectives can be taken into account. As Jesuit theologian David Stagaman reminds us: 'the healthily authoritative community is one where dissent flourishes' and 'the best authority figures make us feel like insiders to the decision-making process' (Stagaman 1999, xvi; 47). There is a balance to be maintained between the rights of authority and the place of dissent, although at any particular moment the equilibrium is likely to be in flux and unstable. 'Without dissent, obligation dissolves into mere convention, and rules of authority into laws which guide us down a path to a place where the living dead dwell.' Yet, 'Without the authoritative, all our interests and desires, objectives and purposes would be of the moment' (Stagaman, 63; 55), one of the benefits of authority being that it can free us from being limited to the demands of the moment.

In a recent article, Graham McDonough makes the striking claim that 'Possibly the greatest organised public venue for the expression of internal criticism [he means with regard to the Church] is the Catholic school' (McDonough 2009, 188). He is referring here to the position of students. 'Unlike their teachers [students] do not face potential reprimand, job loss, or peer ostracism if they air disagreement with the prevailing Catholic teaching' (although in some contexts they do run the risk of their parents being 'reprimanded' and finally being asked to remove their children from the school). Hearing such disagreements with Church teaching with patience and prudence and being able to respond constructively, humbly and from a position of secure (yet never complacent) faith is a delicate task, one for which teachers need encouragement and for which they rely on a degree of protection from ecclesial restriction and monitoring by their school leaders. McDonough points out that one must expect that the kinds of critical thinking and student-centred pedagogy promoted elsewhere in the curriculum will inevitably (and it must be conceded, appropriately) be directed towards church teaching, rather than being subordinated 'to the communication and defence of Church teaching and the institutional *status quo* on controversial issues' (McDonough, 189). What is to be avoided is a situation where 'students who disagree are left without any explicit, realistic academic, social or ecclesial means of criticizing the Church without feeling as though they are being forced to abandon it' (McDonough, 189). Instead they should be introduced to what philosopher of education Feinberg calls 'interpretive possibilities' within the faith tradition that could be developed (Feinberg 2006, 47). As he says, 'For students to understand that their own tradition is not closed, and that within it is contained both tensions and resources for engaging novelty, is to allow for the possibility of intellectual growth that continues to respect the authority of the tradition' (Feinberg, 152).

One example of an issue over which there continues to be painful disagreement within the Church and where there might be a constructive role that can be played by Catholic schools is that of gender, specifically the degree to which the experience and gifts of women can be drawn upon and deployed within the Church. Although many key roles are exercised by women at the ecclesial micro-level and despite the fact that most parishes depend very heavily on a wide range of significant

contributions from women, for example, with regard to children's liturgy, catechesis, looking after church property, and the part they play in social, spiritual and service activities, they seem much less evident wherever key decisions are made about church policy at the macro-level. Most obviously, they are not allowed to serve as priests, a decision which in turn ensures they do not become bishops or rise to being even more senior church leaders. Many Catholics are not persuaded by the arguments against women priests and, rightly or wrongly, this is taken by some as a test case for illustrating a serious imbalance or distortion within the church, one where the insights and experience both of other churches and that of the secular world seem intuitively more in harmony with the sense of many people as to what is right and fitting and also more in harmony with the approach of Jesus to women, as shown in the Gospels.

In the light of this view, one that it must be admitted remains highly contentious in church circles, theologically literate and critically faithful Catholic school leaders might take the following line as they try to provide an authentic education. The Catholic Church has failed to take seriously the implications of the Incarnation with regard to women. This is unjust and fails to embody the Gospel. The failure to take adequately into account the experience and insights of women is a major stumbling block for the church's credibility and reduces massively the kinds of wisdom that might be developed and shared in the church and with the world. As a result the church is crippled, distorted, imbalanced and out of kilter with reality, with people and with the Gospel. If communities of faith attended more carefully to women's experience, and if they ensured that such attention fed into ecclesial life in less distorted and more effective ways, this would significantly increase their appreciation of creation and God's ways of communicating with humanity. The church has much to learn from the world about equal opportunities and inclusiveness. Paying proper attention to matters of sex, gender and women's experience would make for a much healthier basis for relationships between the sexes, and it would also help reduce the debilitating power of such diseases as clericalism and of homophobia. Catholic educators have a role to play in bringing out the above features. In the life and work of the school serious attention is given to promoting equal opportunities, at every level, among students and staff. Thus every effort will be put into hearing, welcoming, learning from and honouring the experience, gifts, insights and wisdom of girls and boys, men and women, promoting mutual respect between them and taking practical steps to ensure that the implicit curriculum of the school matches its explicit aims in this respect. This will have implications for pupil admissions and organization, for group work, curriculum content, pedagogy, the assessment and evaluation of students' work, the pattern of rewards for and celebrations of achievement by students, as well as having implications for staff selection, deployment, appraisal and promotion, for how the school markets itself externally, and for the modes and patterns of internal communication.

Critical fidelity in school leaders gives them the capacity to engage constructively with pluralism, not just in society, but also within the Church. It gives them a sound personal foundation that means they have something to offer to the students and teachers in their care and it enables them to ensure that what they offer can

be deployed nimbly, aptly, creatively and in a spirit of invitation rather than by imposition. A capacity for constructive engagement with pluralism can be impaired if a school's 'script' is too tightly written or too rigorously enforced. Teachers in Catholic schools should be encouraged to present themselves as models of fidelity to the Gospel and also as models of independent and critical thinking, willing and able to engage with difference, and equipped to show how love and truth can be held together as primary concerns. As places of inculturation, that is, as places where the Gospel is related to the culture and questions of contemporary children and young people, Catholic schools need to be communities where it is possible to engage in critical, creative, imaginative (all within limits) re-expressions and re-interpretations of tradition.

Can the institutional church learn from Catholic school leaders about how to communicate faith? It is acknowledged that Catholic school leaders have much to learn from the Church about that faith. But that learning is not all one-way. On some of the management courses I have taught, one of the issues I deal with is how a Deputy Headteacher needs to learn how to manage a Headteacher, as well as the more usual topic of how the Head should manage her Deputy. So too in church schools, I suggest, one of the issues that will have to be addressed in the future will be how the Catholic school leader needs to learn how to manage clergy and bishops, as well as (in their own management courses, if they have them) how the bishops might learn appropriate ways to manage their school leaders.

If Catholic school leaders are to engage the real self of learners (students and staff), they need to be vigilant that they do not encourage pretence, hypocrisy, nor impose an official position that floats above and outside of personal realities and perceptions. They need to be alert to the various ways in which the mission can be undermined through the distorting influences of power (reward, position, promotion, and the allocation of resources). It is only too easy to justify decisions that protect the institution over the individual (because the institution claims to serve a higher good). If leaders encourage game-playing, surface compliance and fail to address doubts, fears, concerns, questions and criticism, they invite people to take their concerns into the shadow side of the community and away from its official, formal life. This may temporarily make for an easier life for leaders as they mediate the mission internally and externally and it may seem to facilitate a smoother running of the organization, but it is likely to reduce considerably the credibility of the school's mission and to render it much less attractive in the long run.

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Chapter 33
So Who Has the Values? Challenges for Faith-Based Schools in an Era of Values Pedagogy

Terence Lovat and Neville Clement

Introduction

The chapter speaks to the emergence of values pedagogy, understood as a holistic approach to education that focuses on the values that should underpin the environment and drive the practice of education. In this sense, values becomes so all-encompassing and determinative of the educational process that it comes to constitute a comprehensive pedagogy, a way of going about the entire business of education. The past decade has seen a significant increase in emphasis on values pedagogy, in this defined sense, variously titled values education, character education and moral education, across the world, including heavily in governmental and broadly non faith-based educational contexts. The potential of such pedagogy to influence educational outcomes, ranging from socio-emotional to academic outcomes, has been demonstrated in ways that supersede most historical evidence. Granted that most of the earlier evidence about the effects of values pedagogy has come from faith-based contexts, the chapter will explore the challenges for faith-based schools in an era that sees much of its traditional distinctive pedagogy being implemented and arguably perfected more widely outside such contexts.

Values Monopoly of Faith-Based Schools

In earlier days, differences between faith-based and general (public/government) schooling were held to be largely around the presence of explicit religious and moral (values) education. In turn, these differences were deemed to constitute the main reason for evidence of greater wellbeing and success, including academic

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achievement, in faith-based schooling (Bryk et al. 1993; Hawkes 2005; Hill et al. 1990; Jeynes and Beuttler 2012). As a result, much early evidence about the positive effects of values pedagogy was to be found in faith-based school settings. Investigation into the relative academic performance of students attending faith-based schools in the US of over a decade or more by Jeynes (2002a, b, 2003, 2005, 2012) has consistently identified an academic advantage for students attending faith-based schools. For instance, investigation into the performance of grade 12 students pointed to five contributing traits as being characteristic of such schools, even after controlling for the effects of socio-economic status (SES): 'These traits included a better school atmosphere, a higher level of racial harmony, more homework, less school violence, and more school discipline' (Jeynes 2002b, p. 29).

Students from low SES backgrounds who attended faith-based schools were more likely to have higher academic achievement than their counterparts in non-religious schools (Jeynes 2002a). Additionally, the taking of more advanced courses and diligence were characteristics associated with faith-based schools, especially Catholic Schools (Jeynes 2003). Furthermore, a recent meta-analysis by Jeynes (2012) of 90 quantitative studies covering the period 1960–2011 (mostly from the US) compared the effects on student outcomes of public, charter and faith-based schools. After controlling for SES, selectivity and other measures, Jeynes found that faith-based schools accounted for an effect size of approximately 20 % of a standard deviation on academic achievement, and 35 % of a standard deviation on behavioural measures. Furthermore, Jeynes (2002a, b, 2003) attributed this academic advantage in faith-based school students over their regular school equivalents to a number of values-related factors concerned with school atmosphere, student care, degree of non-violence and social inclusiveness.

Various other investigations into the impact of faith-based schooling on student academic achievement have unearthed the influence of values in the practicalities of teaching and learning. Prominent among these studies are those by Bryk et al. (1993) and Hill et al. (1990), both of which noted the success of Catholic schools in regard to disadvantaged youth. Bryk et al. noted teacher modelling, commitment to and interest in their students as characteristic, and so notions of trust and shared values as central underlying values that were drawn upon in order to explain the better performance of these schools. Other studies have also observed these kinds of embedded values in Catholic schools and noted their positive effect (e.g. Grace 1998; Groome 1998; Powney et al. 1995). So convinced of these kinds of benefits of the Catholic system was Bryk (1996, cf. Jeynes 2012) that he would go on to use the system as the primary model for a reform agenda for all Chicago schools.

Moreover, Hill et al. (1990) noted that a feature that explained the success of Catholic schools and special purpose schools was their freedom and capacity to structure their schools in order to achieve their mission for the students. The embedded nature of positive values as underlying an effective teaching and learning environment was also observed by Hawkes' (2005) study in the UK of a Church of England primary school with above average performance in English, maths and science. Again, themes that emerged from the study as significant included the teachers caring for and valuing students, modelling values, imposing clear boundaries for

behaviour and creating a positive classroom ambience for learning. The values which emanated from the Christian principles that underpinned the school were implicit in the school's ethos and found expression in the following way:

> … through school policies, positive relationships, and prayer. … The evidence suggests that the school's values have acted as the foundation for the school's learning environment which is acknowledged by Ofsted and the Diocese to be of such good quality. (Hawkes 2005, p. 179)

As important as it is for values to be embedded or implicit within an educational system, Hunt's (2004) Australian study emphasizes the greater synergy that occurs when values are also taught explicitly as part of the curriculum and melded with the implicit values of the school and its supporting community so that there is consistency between the implicit and explicit: 'It is apparent from the data collected … that values are both taught and caught' (Hunt 2004, p. 140). Furthermore, Hunt observed that explicit teaching of values not only increased students' knowledge of values, but widened their appreciation of the application of values '… beyond themselves to family, community and world perspectives' (p. 140). In this approach, the express statement of school core values and positive parental influence and support for school values supported the students' incorporation of values. Together with other studies, Hunt's (2004) study pointed out the vital interplay between the implicit, as reflected in the modelling of values and school ambience, and explicit, as expressed through teaching and the curriculum. It seems it is the implementation of this type of values pedagogy that is likely to impact most positively upon the social, emotional, spiritual, cognitive and academic development of students.

It could be argued that, in the past at least, the synergistic interplay between the implicit and explicit, between modelling and teaching, has been more characteristic of the faith-based school, where the mission has been understood to include the cultivation of character and citizenship, than to be found typically in the public/government school. In the traditional divide between faith-based schools and public/government schools, it is this mission that has often been taken to be the central difference, with the mission of the latter schools often stated in explicitly and supposedly values-neutral ways (Muehlenberg 2004). Furthermore, because this different mission has often been associated with values education, at least in part, values education was therefore often cast as being germane to the faith-based school (as part of its mission, if not indoctrination) but as not having a place in the public/government setting. The evidence above, however, illustrates that values pedagogy, as defined, has potential to have educational influence quite beyond what might be considered to be the exclusive mission of the faith-based school. It presents rather as an especially important ingredient in melding the various factors that contribute to holistic development, as it promotes student autonomy, critical thinking and academic learning (Pike 2010).

In summary, studies of faith-based schooling have contributed key insights into the relationship between mainstream teaching goals and values pedagogy. In many ways, this relationship has been implicit in such schooling, as demonstrated by the studies cited above, in particular those of Hill et al. (1990) and Bryk et al. (1993). Such studies indicate that a consistent provision of a trusting and caring

environment, together with positive relationships between students and their teachers and a commitment to meeting the needs of individual students, impact significantly on student attainment and constitute an especially positive enhancement of the impact of teaching in reducing the debilitating effects of social disadvantage. Furthermore such studies of faith-based schooling demonstrate the importance of schools having the freedom and capacity to structure schooling for the benefit of student success by creating a synergy between their mainstream educational goals and the broader goals of human development. In short, care and trust emerge as essential features of an effective pedagogy (Rowe 2004). Hence, the foregoing survey of faith-based schooling demonstrates that positive values exhibited by schools and teachers contribute significantly to student achievement and that the values-laden environment of faith-based schools has been seen to offer greater potential for enhanced student effects.

At the same time, new research insights are challenging some of the assumptions held by faith-based schools in earlier times that part of their system's distinctiveness was to be found around the values agenda. Recent developments in pedagogical thought and practice have persistently identified care, trust and an overall values oriented ambience as being a central ingredient in effective teaching and student achievement (Newmann and Associates 1996; Forgasz 2002; Newell and Rimes 2002; Salman 2002; Tarlinton and O'Shea 2002; Hattie 2003, 2011; Rowe 2004; Lovat and Clement 2008b; Lovat et al. 2010a, b, 2011b). Evidence from the Australian Government's Values Education Good Schools Project ([VEGPSP] Department of Education, Science and Training [DEST] 2006; Department of Education, Employment and Workplace Relations [DEEWR] 2008) indicated the overwhelming benefit to schools, faith-based or otherwise, of reflecting on, re-evaluating and rethinking the implications of 'values education', as defined, for curricula, classroom management and school ethos in the interests of student wellbeing and progress. Hence, values education is being seen increasingly to have outgrown any earlier conceptions of being exclusively germane to, much less dependent on, the faith-based setting (Lovat and Clement 2008a, b). It is this vital connection between values education (what we increasingly refer to as 'values pedagogy') and the type of holistic human development that underpins all effective pedagogy that we regard as the new paradigm in pedagogical understanding generally. It is to this connection that we will turn now in order to lay the ground for the argument that the distinctiveness of faith-based schooling's values base is being challenged by new research and practice.

Forging the Connections Between Values and Holism in Learning

Beyond the targeted research above, as indicated, much broader research of recent times has underlined the importance of a values-rich approach to education if the fullest effects of learning are to be achieved, including those related to academic learning. The Carnegie Corporation's 1994 Task Force on Learning (Carnegie

Corporation 1996) represented a controversial turning-point in views about the power of teaching to intervene in what had been regarded as socially determined effects of student achievement paradigms. Carnegie asserted that effective learning requires a response that is as much about affect, social dynamics and morality as it is about mere cognition. In so doing, Carnegie determined that intellectual depth was the true goal and measure of effective learning. In turn, intellectual depth was defined in such a way as to imply that matters of communicative competence, empathic character and self-reflection were as significant to learning as were those technical skills normally associated with learning outcomes. Their significance lay in the fact that they represented an education engaged in holistic development, what Peters (1981) referred to as the 'value condition' that must be affiliated with the 'knowledge condition' for authentic education to proceed. Through Carnegie, the values orientation indispensable to any learning where student achievement is to be optimized was affirmed.

In an allied sense, Newmann's (Newmann and Associates 1996) work focussed on the 'pedagogical dynamics' required for effective learning. These dynamics ranged from the instrumental (e.g., sound technique, updated professional development) to the more overtly values-oriented. 'Catering for diversity' referred to the respectful relationship between teacher and student that ensures the student feeling accepted and valued. Similarly, 'school coherence' was about the mission of the school to be there first and foremost for the wellbeing of the student. This led in turn to the ultimate pedagogical dynamic of the 'trustful, supportive ambience', the *sine qua non* of effective learning.

Pedagogical research of the sort outlined above has been further confirmed by developments in a number of the sciences, including the neurosciences (Immordino-Yang and Damasio 2007) where the central focus is on the vital interrelationship between those neural systems that underpin reason, memory, emotion and social interaction. This research underscores the fact that cognition cannot be isolated as an independent function, but is enmeshed with neural processes relating to perception and affective states and responses within the social context. Furthermore, the emerging understanding of the interaction between genetic and environmental factors emphasizes the significance of the quality and type of the learning environment (Diamond 2007, 2009), and, in particular, draws attention to the importance of the quality of the affective ambience of the learning environment (Immordino-Yang 2011; Immordino-Yang and Faeth 2010; Rosiek and Beghetto 2009; Zembylas 2005, 2007).

Learning is increasingly understood as involving an incremental process in which the learner intuitively abstracts structure from both explicit and implicit elements of their experience (Goswami 2008; Meltzoff et al. 2009) and engages both implicit and explicit learning and memory systems (Squire and Kandel 2009; Squire and Stark 2008). This means that learning is inherent to what it is to be human and so occurs in response to all that a person experiences, whether in formal or informal learning or just the experiences of life in general. Cognition and memory cannot be treated as entities that can be isolated from the emotional and social dimensions that frame and set the demeanour of the learning experience (see Immordino-Yang 2011).

These insights effectively re-conceive cognition as involving affective and social impulses working together to impel action, including around the moral dimension of behaviour. For educators, the work of the neurosciences adds to the emerging weight of evidence from other fields of educational research that seems to confirm the need for new pedagogy that engages the whole person in all dimensions of human development, including moral development (see Clement 2010; Clement and Lovat 2012; Lovat et al. 2011b).

Research insights such as these illustrate the central importance of education's being conceived as holistic. Such holistic perspectives are beginning to appear in public/government education regimes in which previously more clearly instrumentalist approaches were taken. In Australia, where late twentieth century education was characterized by narrow attention to technical and skills-based competencies and outcomes (Finn 1991; Mayer 1992), a gathering of senior federal and state political and bureaucratic forces in education designed to set the objectives for twenty-first century education based on the most recent research findings available enunciated the following more holistic sentiments, effectively a corrective against the erstwhile narrowness of goals:

> Australia's future depends upon each citizen having the necessary knowledge, understanding, skills and values for a productive and rewarding life in an educated, just and open society. High quality schooling is essential to achieving this vision … Schooling provides a foundation for young Australians' intellectual, physical, social, moral, spiritual and aesthetic development. (MCEETYA 1999, p. 1)

Furthermore, the Melbourne Declaration on Educational Goals for Young Australians (MCEETYA 2008) underlined the appropriateness of such a perspective to twenty-first century schooling. In the Preamble to the Document, we read:

> Schools play a vital role in promoting the intellectual, physical, social, emotional, moral, spiritual and aesthetic development and wellbeing of young Australians. (p. 4)

Concerning the curriculum actions that should follow from such a perspective, the document states:

> The curriculum will enable students to develop knowledge in the disciplines of English, mathematics, science, languages, humanities and the arts; to understand the spiritual, moral and aesthetic dimensions of life; and open up new ways of thinking. (p. 13)

The Melbourne Declaration asserts that effective schooling of any kind and in any system requires an environment that encourages, supports and nurtures the holistic development of its students. In that respect, there is now an increasing store of evidence in the field of values pedagogy that the establishment of values-rich ambiences of learning, together with explicit discourse about values in ways that draw on students' deeper learning and reflectivity, has power to transform the patterns of student attitudes and behaviour, including in strengthening academic work (e.g., Noddings 2002; Arthur 2003, 2010; Rowe 2004; Campbell et al. 2004; Benninga et al. 2006; Carr 2006, 2007; Killen and Semetana 2006; Nucci and Narvaez 2008; Lovat and Toomey 2009, 2010; Lovat et al. 2009a, 2010a, b, c, 2011b; Lovat 2010a, b; Halstead and Xiao 2010; Lovett and Jordan 2010). Increasingly,

values pedagogy is being seen as an effective way to achieve a more holistic approach to learning, resulting, among other things, in enhanced academic diligence. The weight of evidence from international research indicates the futility of assuming that values pedagogy can be seen as the exclusive domain of any one schooling sector, faith-based or other, or that education in any sector can be values-neutral (see Lovat et al. 2011c). We will turn now to some of the more specific, largely empirical research that underpins such a claim.

Updated International Research in Values Pedagogy

Osterman's (2010) work underlines the nexus between cognition, affect and sociality, and the inherent relationship between learning ambience and academic diligence, in illustrating the enhanced learning capacity in environments where students feel they belong and so experience greater emotional wellbeing. Osterman also underlines the close connection between the teacher relationship and the kind of pedagogy provided by the teacher. It is not the teacher who merely provides a supportive ambience or the one who merely instructs well whose practice enhances academic diligence. It is the teacher whose pedagogy is, at one and the same time, characterized by the supportive relationship and best practice that brings students to new levels of academic strength. Meanwhile, Davidson, Khmelkov and Lickona (2010) have shown that 'moral character' and 'performance character' are essential partners in effective pedagogy. As it is, educational effectiveness has tended to focus on performance without sufficient attention being paid to the moral dimension; conversely, values education research has too often focused on the moral without sufficient attention to the issue of performance.

Similarly, Sokol, Hammond and Berkowitz (2010) explore the binary relationship between performance and morality as a disjunction in the way that moral and developmental psychologies have developed and been interpreted in the education profession. They identify the psychological constructs that together constitute moral agency, each with its own developmental trajectory of self-regulation, autonomy, perspective taking and moral reasoning, and empathy and moral competence. They offer insight into why it is that many of the so-called 'foundations' of teaching have failed to inform and prepare teachers for the holistic nature of their work. At the other end of the spectrum, Arthur (2010) and Arthur and Wilson (2010) were involved in a UK study funded by the Templeton Foundation, titled *Learning for Life*, that concluded, among other things, that a concentration on character by the teacher whose pedagogical practice models and exudes the virtues and values that underpin it has flow on effects that are able to transform the learning environment from one that naturally excludes those who lack dispositional readiness for learning to one that includes them. In contrast to the 'old foundations' of teaching, this UK work effectively offers a new set of foundations built around values pedagogy, including new foundations for teacher education (see Lovat et al. 2011c).

These research findings concur with what has been captured in the research and practice of the projects emanating from the Australian Values Education Program, a federally funded venture. This program began with a pilot study in 2003 (DEST 2003), and was followed by the development of a National Framework for Values Education in 2005 (DEST 2005). A range of attached research and practice projects was undertaken from 2005 to 2009, the most crucial of which were the two stages of the *Values Education Good Practice Schools Project* ([VEGPSP] DEST 2006; DEEWR 2008) and the *Project to Test and Measure the Impact of Values Education on Student Effects and School Ambience* (Lovat et al. 2009a, b).

Within the two stages of VEGPSP, 316 schools organized into 51 clusters across the country, involving approximately 100,000 students, 10,000 teachers and 50 University academics, engaged in a variety of approaches to values pedagogy, all based on the central premise of an inextricable interrelationship between values and best practice pedagogy. Findings from stage 1 (DEST 2006) illustrated that a sound values orientation, including being implicit in relationships and ambience and explicit in teaching, can be a powerful ally in the development of best practice pedagogy. Positive effects were demonstrated across a range of measures, including persistent reference to the improved environment of learning and greater student attention to the regular academic work of the classroom:

> Everyone in the classroom exchange, teachers and students alike, became more conscious of trying to be respectful, trying to do their best, and trying to give others a fair go. We also found that by creating an environment where these values were constantly shaping classroom activity, student learning was improving, teachers and students were happier, and school was calmer. (DEST 2006, p. 120)

Based on the evidence of the outcomes of Stage 1 of the VEGPSP, the Executive Summary of the report (DEST 2006) pointed to the potential of values pedagogy to profoundly affect the total educational environment of a school, which, in turn, resulted in, among other features, the strengthening of teacher-student relationships, classroom climate and ethos, student attitudes and behaviour, student knowledge and understanding and student achievement. Additionally, the Stage 2 Report (DEEWR 2008) identified strengthened and more sophisticated links between the implementation of values pedagogy and ensuing effects on student behaviour and performance. These links included a greater recognition of the centrality of the teacher's role, the explicitness of the pedagogy around values being seen to be determinative, and the emerging perception of the role of an experiential ('service learning') component as being a particularly powerful agency in promoting enhanced student behaviour and strengthened intellectual engagement.

In summary, VEGPSP results provided further evidence that a well-constructed, clear and intentional values pedagogy being integrated into the fabric of the school has the potential to bring transformational changes in its classrooms and overall learning environment, so influencing student and teacher behaviour, and leading to beneficial effects on students' motivation to learn and, in turn, their strengthened academic diligence:

> Starting from the premise that schooling educates for the whole child and must necessarily engage a student's heart, mind and actions, effective values education empowers student

decision making, fosters student action and assigns real student responsibility … In many of the Stage 2 projects students can be seen to move in stages from growing in knowledge and understanding … to an increasing clarity and commitment … and then concerted action in living those values in their personal and community lives. (DEEWR 2008, p. 11)

The *Project to Test and Measure the Impact of Values Education on Student Effects and School Ambience* (Lovat et al. 2009a, b) was designed to investigate, using quantitative and qualitative methods, the anecdotal and, in part at least, apparently measurable claims being made in the above project results, in order to see if such claims would stand up to formal empirical investigation. Further details of the methods employed and the results can be found in the report itself as well as in Lovat and colleagues (Lovat et al. 2010a, 2011a, b). Both qualitative and quantitative data gathered in the project served as confirmatory evidence of the testimonies regarding improvement in school ambience recounted in earlier reports on VEGPSP (DEST 2006; DEEWR 2008). Overall, we found that the *Testing and Measuring Project* (Lovat et al. 2009a, b) confirmed that a whole-school approach, characteristic of values pedagogy in Australia, is best served by a collaborative effort by all school staff, including ideally parents as part of the school community, in order to distil and actualize a shared vision for the school and so bring about positive changes in school culture and classroom ambience. Indications that such changes were experienced are indicated by perceptions by teachers of an 'improved environment' (Lovat et al. 2009b, p. 89). One researcher observed:

> Values Education has resulted in an increase in school cohesion. There is greater consistency across the staff in relationships with one another and with students. A clearer sense of purpose has been noted as staff work within a positive school culture … (Lovat et al. 2009b, p. 106)

Values pedagogy enhanced the wellbeing of both students and teachers. Apart from the improved student-teacher relationships noted above, such pedagogy affected both the classroom climate and student development, thus contributing to a better learning environment:

> Teachers found, in the implementation of their units, that the values focus produced more respectful, focused and harmonious classrooms. It developed students' social skills by increasing cooperation, empathic character, self-management and self-knowledge, which in turn led to more supportive and safer learning environments. (Lovat et al. 2009b, p. 81)

Importantly, concurrent with improvements in the ambience of the school, were indications of greater academic diligence on the part of students. Because students were more engaged and thus displayed greater cooperation, responsibility and attentiveness (Lovat et al. 2009a, p. 37, b, pp. 13, 45, 100), as well as classrooms being calmer and more peaceful, the quality of the teaching was enhanced, and, in turn, teachers raised their expectations of student performance (2009a, p. 13, b, p. 100). Students were perceived by teachers to be 'trying harder' (Lovat et al. 2009b, pp. 29, 78, 98, 99, 100), and being more responsible for their own learning as well as respecting the rights of others to learn and listen to one another (p. 10). Improvement in the school ambience was associated with the corresponding development of student self-management of their behaviour and the honing of social skills. Observations of improvement in student academic diligence accompanying personal and social

development of students are consistent with findings of educational research over several decades. For example, this research has demonstrated the efficacy of affective and social factors such as intrinsic motivation (Deci et al. 1991), social and behavioural skill levels (DiPrete and Jennings 2012) and self-control (Duckworth and Seligman 2005) upon academic engagement and achievement.

The reported observations strongly suggest that there is an observable and enduring interdependence between the various aspects of behaviour, a positive learning ambience, improved academic focus and motivation to learn. A diminution in any one of these elements is likely to lead to a diminution in the others. We summarized this synergy in the following manner:

> … there was substantial quantitative and qualitative evidence suggesting that there were observable and measurable improvements in students' academic diligence, including increased attentiveness, a greater capacity to work independently as well as more cooperatively, greater care and effort being invested in schoolwork and students assuming more responsibility for their own learning as well as classroom 'chores'. (Lovat et al. 2009a, p. 6)

Values Pedagogy as Best Practice Pedagogy

The cumulative weight of philosophical thought and research evidence cited above presents a serious challenge to previous thinking that adjudged values pedagogy as being more appropriate to one educational sector than another. What has emerged is an alignment of values pedagogy as being best practice pedagogy underpinned by a symbiosis of morality and education to which ancients like Aristotle attested. In juxtaposing diverse perspectives from philosophy, educational neuroscience and research into the areas of faith-based education and values pedagogy, a convergence of thought becomes apparent around the qualities of a learning environment that will foster and support student engagement in learning. Such a view recognizes the nature of an holistic approach where students are engaged cognitively, affectively and socially. An indispensable element in this holistic approach is an explicit values discourse in order to draw students into deeper reflectivity and learning, thereby encouraging and cultivating those aspects of motivation, engagement, self-efficacy and self-management of behaviour associated with the enhancement of students' commitment and perseverance to learn, otherwise known as 'academic diligence' (e.g., Campbell et al. 2004; Benninga et al. 2006; Nucci and Narvaez 2008; Lovat and Toomey 2009; Lovat et al. 2010c, 2011a).

Confirmatory evidence of the importance of this symbiosis is supplied by educational neuroscience which attests to the coincidence of the cognitive, affective and social components in contributing to the predisposition and motivation to learn. An ambience typified by respectful, caring and trusting relationships, and good and orderly behaviour are aspects of a learning environment permeated by peacefulness and calmness. This harmonizes with the notion that a supportive environment attending to the emotional and social needs of students is one which optimizes student motivation and learning (Deci et al. 1991), an aspect highlighted by Furco

(2008) specifically in regard to the impact of values pedagogy on academic achievement (Lovat et al. 2011a). Furthermore, the realization that education is imbued with values comes at a time when there are appeals to set aside traditional antipathies between school systems and for all educational sectors to structure their learning programs, processes and environments in the best interests of their students. In such a milieu, the different educational sectors would learn from each others' strengths (see Cooper et al. 2012; Jeynes and Beuttler 2012).

Conclusion

A persistent theme to be found in values pedagogical research worldwide is in the potential for enhanced learning on the part of students, brought about it seems largely through a combination of more settled learning environments, more positive teacher-student and student-student relationships, enhanced self-esteem and a greater sense of citizenship. Claims around enhanced learning, intellectual achievement or academic diligence are without doubt the boldest claims to be made about the effects of values pedagogy. They are claims that such pedagogy might actually nurture academic success in ways that seemingly more predictable and explicitly academically focussed pedagogies persistently fail to nurture, especially with those students less naturally or environmentally disposed to learning.

The purpose of this chapter has been to acknowledge that such insights have traditionally been associated more with faith-based or religious schooling where holism of learning has tended to be more an emphasis, partly, if not exclusively, through the explicitness of agendas around its values base and orientation. Hence, faith-based schooling was often seen to have an explicit values agenda, where public sector schooling was said to be 'values-free'. At the same time, the chapter is suggesting that the advent of more explicit values pedagogy in the public/government sector is blurring the boundaries between what have often been seen as traditional divisions between the sectors. As seen in the research cited within this chapter, the effects of values-rich environments of learning on holistic and academic success, once seen more clearly in the faith-based sector, are now being seen across sectors as a whole as they introduce more values-oriented approaches to learning. This is at one and the same time an endorsement of faith-based schooling's overall contribution to education but also a challenge to its erstwhile alleged uniqueness.

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Chapter 34
Use of Islamic, *Islamicized* and National Curriculum in a Muslim Faith School in England: Findings from an Ethnographic Study

Sadaf Rizvi

Introduction

Addressing the educational needs of Muslim children has long been a concern of educationists and policy makers in the UK. In particular, debates around the role of schools in enabling them to integrate in the wider society have been specially contested. In the UK, a number of policies and approaches have been used to address the ethnic, cultural and religious needs of Muslim pupils; however, these have raised concerns for such pupils' identity, achievement and integration. Some scholars argue that the failure of mainstream state schools in meeting the needs of Muslim pupils has posed problems for their integration in the society, while others see state schools as instruments for improving race relations. On the other hand, some critics envisage a strong role for Muslim faith schools in 'socializing' young Muslims and constructing their identity. In contrast, others see such schools as divisive and a threat to the harmony of an increasingly multi-ethnic and multicultural society.

Interestingly, limited research has been conducted to evaluate the role of Muslim faith schools in promoting or preventing social cohesion or addressing the educational, religious and cultural needs of Muslim pupils (Flint 2007; Francis 2004; Haw 1994; Rizvi 2008, 2010). This chapter presents findings from an ethnographic study of a Muslim school established to offer an education compatible with the faith and culture of Muslim pupils through the use of national, Islamic and '*Islamicized*' curriculum. The study was part of a larger study aimed to evaluate the role of Muslim schools and the voices of young Muslims regarding their schooling experiences. The chapter throws light on some emerging issues surrounding Muslim faith schools across western countries, which have received several waves of Muslim migrants and which are faced with similar challenges of integration of Muslim children.

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The first section starts with a discussion of the context within which Muslim faith schools have emerged in Britain and the controversies surrounding their existence. The chapter then discusses the methodology and findings from the ethnographic study of a Muslim school with a focus on its curriculum.

Emergence of Muslim Schools in Britain: An Overview

The history of Muslim migration to Britain can be traced back to medieval times. However, a mass influx of Muslims occurred in the 1950s and 1960s when Britain in the post-war years invited workers to come to the UK from South Asia and Africa Caribbean as part of a strategy of capital investment and expansion of production (Ansari 2004). Men from these countries arrived and were concentrated in industrial and textile areas as a temporary workforce. Later, the 1960s immigration laws resulted in the arrival of their families and to their becoming permanently settled in the UK. According to the 2001 UK census, there are 1.6 million Muslims in UK constituting 3 % of the UK population and forming the largest faith group in Britain after Christians (Open Society Institute 2005). These Muslims do not form a homogenous group but differ widely in their cultural, linguistic and socio-economic features (Peach 2006; Ansari 2004; Sarwar 2004; Lewis 1994). Among them, nearly 75 % come from the Indian subcontinent (Peach and Glebe 1995); others come from Kenya, Malaysia, Morocco, Egypt, Turkey, Libya and various Middle Eastern countries (Walford 2003).

Statistics for children suggest that there are about 500,000 school-age children of Muslim parents in England (ONS 2001). These children come from diverse ethnic backgrounds: 40 % originate from Pakistan, 20 % from Bangladesh, 15 % from India and other Asian countries, 10 % from Turkey or Turkish Cyprus, 4 % have a mixed origin and the rest come from the Middle East, East Asia, Africa or the Caribbean (Open Society Institute 2005). Currently, the majority (nearly 75 %) of Muslim children is in state-maintained schools under the governance of Local Education Authorities (LEA) (ibid). Among them a greater number attend Church of England and the Catholic Church schools, while less than 5 % study in Muslim faith schools (Makadam 2006).

When the children of Muslim migrants first came to Britain, they attended the mainstream state schools in the assumption that this would help them access opportunities for a better future (Ansari 2004). However, some parents gradually became concerned about educating children in a way that would preserve their religious and cultural identities while at the same time helping them to prepare for a better future. There were several explanations for this growing religious consciousness. First, living in a secular society, Muslims had become more conscious of the possible loss of their identity (Ashraf 1987; Modood 1997). Second, the powerful resurgence of Islamic movements in the late twentieth century changed the thinking of Muslims who formed minorities in the west (Halstead 1986). Third, as Muslims became more established in the UK they began to attach special importance

to their faith and became more observant in their practice (Mustafa 2001; Modood et al. 1997). Thus they began to desire an education in which faith-based principles could be incorporated (Hewer 2001). However, a more important explanation was the parents' dissatisfaction with the state school system. The research literature highlights various reasons for their reluctance to send their children to state schools:

(a) The parents felt that their children were underachieving. It is noteworthy that the achievement level of pupils from Pakistan and Bangladesh was below the national average (Anwar 1979; Ansari 2004). Compared with 42 % of white pupils who appeared for GCE O level examinations[1] in 1971–72, only 6 % pupils from Pakistan did so (Taylor and Hegarty 1985, p. 319). In 1992, a survey by the Policy Society Institute claimed that 'the school results of Muslim Asians were the worst in the country' (Ansari 2004, p. 334). However, there was considerable variation in the attainment levels of Muslim students from different ethnic backgrounds. For example, East African Asians were performing better than Bangladeshis (Hashmi 2003). The underperformance of Muslim children, however, cannot be entirely attributed to lack of support from the state schools but to a combination of highly complex factors pertaining to social class, race and gender. Anwar (1979) argues that the Pakistani pupils with low achievement scores were mainly the children of those parents who worked long hours and were unable to provide the needed support to their children. Further, many children came from rural backgrounds which posed challenges of adaptation for them. Lack of English knowledge was the biggest barrier that restricted their interaction in the school (Ashraf 1987).

(b) Literature suggests that Muslim pupils were perceived in stereotypical terms by both teachers and white pupils (Ansari 2004; Abbas 2004). Wright (1992) argues that they faced considerable level of discrimination from their peer groups and from a small minority of teachers. The parents were concerned that this resulted in alienating their children at school and affected their self-esteem and performance.

(c) In 1990s, the shift in state policies towards co-education resulted in a closure of single-sex state schools or a merger of girls' and boys' secondary schools. Islam promotes segregation between sexes after puberty, therefore, for some parents, the demand for a Muslim school was a consequence of the non-availability of single-sex secondary schools, particularly for their girls. Halstead (1992) noted that more than 80 % of Muslim parents desired single-sex schools for their daughters. In 1989, 98 % of the 7,000 Muslim parents in Keighley, Yorkshire, wanted single sex schools for their daughters (Ansari 2004). The parents believed that such schools provided children some protection from a culture that promoted pre-marital relationships.

(d) Parents believed that education in most state schools prepared children for a society free from religion. Further, they felt that the Religious Education

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[1] General Certificate of Education Ordinary Level was a compulsory, examination-based school leaving qualification in the United Kingdom. It was replaced by General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE) in 1988.

curriculum taught presented an ethnocentric view of Islam and used texts which entailed distortions or wrong interpretations of Islamic teachings (Ansari 2004; Ashraf 1986).

(e) State schools are required to teach sex education in a way that emphasizes individual choice and responsibility and recognizes that young people can have sexual relationships outside marriage. The lessons cover topics such as abortion and extra-marital relationships that Muslim parents found inappropriate to be taught to their children. While they had a right to withdraw their children from these lessons, they could not prevent their peers from telling them what may be a distorted version of what was originally taught.

(f) Parents were also concerned about the serving of non-*halal* food, common changing areas, mixed swimming and Physical Education lessons, music, dancing and some aspects of arts lessons that are not seen as permissible in Islam.

In order to address these concerns, Muslim faith schools began to emerge in 1980s with the aim of incorporating Islamic principles in teaching and simultaneously addressing the issue of Muslim children's underperformance. In 1989, the number of independent registered Muslim schools was 15 (Midgeley 1989; Parker-Jenkins 1991) growing to nearly 70 in 2001 (Hewer 2001). In 2005, the Open Society Institute (2005) claimed a further increase to over 100 independent Muslim schools while the Association of Muslim Schools claimed to have registered 128 Muslim schools in 2006 (Makadam 2006).

These schools demonstrate considerable diversity in size, status, teaching staff, educational philosophy, religious affiliation, quality and the groups served. The size of schools varies from as small as five to six pupils taught in a domestic one-room setting to expansive schools with more than 800 pupils. There are both primary and secondary Muslim schools, although the number of secondary single-sex schools is much higher than co-educational primary schools. Schools with an intake of both boys and girls maintain segregation by maintaining separate shifts or sections for boys and girls. There are mono-ethnic schools which cater to only one group of Muslims, such as Gujerati or Somalians in the North of England, and multi-ethnic schools with a more diverse intake of pupils such as those in London. Similarly there are schools with less and high emphasis on Islam. At one end of the continuum, there are *dar-ul-ulooms* (residential Islamic schools) that place a higher emphasis on the teaching of Islamic subjects and prepare children to become *aalim* or *aalima* while at the other end there are schools with a higher emphasis on the teaching of national curriculum subjects than Islamic subjects. A majority of Muslim schools are independent and run with donations, resources from mosques, funds from the local Muslim community and fees charged to students. However, the management of most schools strives hard to run the schools within these resources and aspire to the end that the schools become state-funded. By 2007, only seven schools were able to gain state funding and this was not straightforward due to the state's stringent criteria for approving the funding.

Criticisms of Muslim Schools

The idea of expanding the number of faith schools in the UK was resisted by many policy makers and educationists in the past (Dooley 1991), but this became a more contentious matter in 2001 when the White Paper *Schools Achieving Success* (DfES 2001) called for the expansion of faith-based education in England and Wales. A number of education experts and policy-makers expressed their concerns regarding the expansion of faith schools. The primary concern was about social integration. It was argued that faith schools increase division and conflict between diverse cultures and that an expansion of such schools would lead to a greater splintering of society along ethnic and sectarian lines (Crabtree 2003; Walford 2002, 2005). Lord Ouseley, the former Chairman of the Commission for Racial Equality, condemned segregation in schools as a cause of deteriorating race relations. Ouseley's (2001) report pointed to the dangers of segregation in schools and stressed the need for cross-cultural contact. Similarly organizations like the Office for Standards in Education (OFSTED) and the National Secular Society warned that independent faith schools were 'lacking' in the cultural development of pupils. Emphasis was laid on lessons learned from Northern Ireland where separate schools symbolized the religious and political differences between groups and exacerbated intolerance (Cumper 1990).

While these criticisms were directed towards faith schools in general, due to the perceptions of Muslims' involvement in terrorist events such as September 11th 2001, July 7th 2005 and riots between Asian and English youth in the northern cities of England (June 2001), expansion of Muslim schools was particularly criticized (Hewer 2001). 'The rise of Islamic schools is a potential threat to Britain's sense of national identity' claimed David Bell, the Chief Inspector of Schools in England (Halpin 2005). The critics argued that traditional Islamic education did not equip Muslim children for living in modern Britain as they grow up with little appreciation of their responsibilities and obligations to British society.

The second concern pertained to the autonomy of children. Muslim schools, like other faith schools, were criticized for limiting the personal autonomy of pupils (Jackson 2003; Short 2003). The critics argued that, although the idea of expansion of faith-based schools supports parental choice, it may result in children receiving a limited type of education preferred by parents but not necessarily in the children's own interests (BHA 2002). Moreover, religious commitments should enter into education only when all requirements for valid consent are fulfilled (Humanist Philosophers Group 2001). Since young people lack the necessary knowledge to make judgments about any religion, teachers' own assumptions about a faith, their biases towards or desirability of certain practices would limit the freedom of pupils to decide their basic beliefs for themselves. The critics further argued that the aim of education was not to instill particular beliefs but to equip pupils with the intellectual tools to acquire beliefs on the basis of evidence, reason and criticism (Pring 2000), and that the public arena, including schools, should be neutral on matters of faith (Mason 2005).

Third, most Muslim schools were also condemned for providing an inadequate quality of education on account of limited human and financial resources. Some schools had received unsatisfactory inspection reports and were criticized for poor buildings, failure to meet health and safety standards, inexperienced management and for employing unqualified teachers (HMIE 2003). Moreover, the curriculum and type of pedagogy in Muslim schools was often regarded as inappropriate in meeting the standards of Islamic education (Walford 2002). There were few fully trained Muslim teachers in England and this meant that Muslim schools recruited untrained teachers who often taught on a voluntary basis or on minimum wage rates. Non-Muslim teachers were hired for specific subjects who had little training in Islamic beliefs and values. As a result it was claimed that such teachers are unable to integrate Islam into each subject. Further, there were insufficient funds or expertise available to Muslim schools to develop teaching materials to teach all subjects within an Islamic context. Most of the schools were still new, and the difficulties of establishing and running new schools took up most of the time of those involved in managing them.

Fourth, the tendency of Muslim groups to consider girls' secondary schools more important than boys' was a particular issue. According to a report by the IQRA Trust (1991), the majority of Muslim parents supported single-sex schooling, particularly for their daughters after puberty. Hence, there are more girls' Muslim schools than boys' and among the total number of pupils going to Muslim schools, 69 % are females and 31 % are males (Makadam 2006, p. 20). This was because, in the absence of girls' schools, some parents preferred to send their daughters to their home countries or keep them un-schooled. Whereas in the absence of single sex boys' school, parents would send their sons to mixed schools, as culturally boys were regarded as bread winners of the family and therefore needed to be educated to find jobs. Some feminists saw this practice as a way of reproducing male dominance, widening gender gaps and leading to the subordination of Muslim women (Haw 1994, 1998).

The proponents of Muslim schools (Muslim parents, representatives of Muslim organizations and people involved in setting up Muslim schools) regarded the critics' comments as 'irresponsible' and 'derogatory' (Coughlan 2005) and an example of 'Islamophobia'. They challenged critics to come up with evidence for their arguments and rejected the claim that faith schools may lead to division in society. They claimed that Muslim schools are solely aimed at addressing the problems of institutional racism, low attainment, the unavailability of Islamic education, bullying, mixed gendered arrangements and low self-esteem among Muslim children. The proponents argued that the critics had ignored the multiplicity of settings outside the schools where children can interact with others while developing positive attitudes towards other cultures. They saw the emergence of Islamic schools a result of the alleged failure of multi-faith state schools in promoting cultural harmony (Dwyer 1993; Ahmed 2004) and addressing the needs of Muslim pupils even where measures were adopted to meet them. For example, separate Physical Education (PE) lessons were introduced for girls and boys; however, the instructors were still males for girls' lessons. Schools began to serve *halal* food, but the dinner

ladies were not sensitized to what *halal* actually meant. *Wudu* facilities were provided but in extremely unclean washrooms. This view is supported by Haw's (1998) study of a multi-ethnic school in the UK which suggested that the school's commitment to multiculturalism and equal opportunities still presented problems for staff and Muslim pupils.

While proponents admitted the criticism that many Muslim schools are under-resourced, they made references to the annual academic results from some established Muslim schools, where a majority of the pupils were consistently attaining scores above the national average (Coughlan 2005) and which were over-subscribed as both Muslim and non-Muslim pupils aspired to gain admission to them.

Moreover, the proponents claimed that, by preferring secondary girls' schools, they were not subordinating but preparing young *Muslimahs* to go to universities as, in the absence of secondary girls' schools, many parents choose to keep their daughters un-schooled to safeguard them from the 'culture of boy friends'. Mixed educational arrangements inhibit such families to educate their daughters (Halstead 1991). In such a scenario, the establishment of girls' schools is enabling young Muslim women to acquire education and pursue careers while satisfying their families. Hence, Muslims' preference for girls' schools is not tightening but releasing the controls on the young women.

Such controversies continued to exist and both critics and proponents of Muslim faith schools continued to strive for the common goal of achieving integration and harmony through education, but through entirely different routes. Critics saw the solution to such problems in the promotion of multi-faith schools to achieve a greater understanding between diverse cultures, while proponents supported the idea of Muslim faith schools. Interestingly, the two groups did not make use of any evidence-based research and their views remained largely anecdotal. This highlighted the need to investigate the educational practices at Muslim schools and to understand whether such schools are actually contributing to the social outcomes that some critics fear or to the outcomes lauded by others. This research, therefore, was geared towards understanding the teaching and learning processes at Muslim schools, and to explore what was distinctive about them to the point that some Muslim families preferred them for their children, despite the perceptions of lower standards of quality and threats to integration.

Methodology

The data for this study were collected through ethnographic field-work conducted in a Muslim faith school for a period of 14 months. Since the study explored teaching and learning 'processes' and 'perceptions' of school girls, qualitative methods were most suited for data collection and analysis, key among these involving participant observation, interviews, whole-school survey and document analysis. A total of 40 observations of classroom lessons (including both Islamic and non-Islamic subjects); Friday assemblies; lunch time; prayer breaks; extra-curricular activities; summer play schemes; celebration of Islamic festivals, fund-raising events, and

staff and parent meetings were conducted. The purpose of observations was to gain a deeper insight into the processes through which students were being socialized within a faith environment and prepared for their lives in Britain, as claimed by their proponents.

Informal group discussions and individual open-ended interviews (30–60 min duration) were conducted with girls, their parents, teachers, school governors and 16 key informants including community counselors, representatives from the Association of Muslim schools, school inspectors, heads and teachers of a sample of other Muslim schools and representatives of Muslim groups/organizations involved in the establishment of Muslim faith schools at a policy and implementation level. The discussions and interviews helped to gain an understanding of how the schoolgirls perceive their schooling experiences and interact, conceive and negotiate with the curriculum delivered at the school. Interviews with the school's management and staff and key informants explored the reasons for the emergence of the school, the teaching and learning environment and practices of a Muslim and mainstream schools, the potential impact of such environment and practices on students and so on.

A survey with a demographic and a qualitative section was conducted with 54 girls in the school in order to take the whole school as a unit of analysis and develop a profile of each student. In addition, home visits were made for a sample of girls (to represent ethnicity and year group) to gain a sense of their home environment and routines. Parents formed an important group of research participants. Their views regarding the choice of schools, experiences of their children's schooling, their future plans and experiences of living in Britain were explored through interviews and informal chats during school open days, parents' meetings, fund-raising events, religious talks and home visits.

Secondary sources of data such as school policy and curriculum documents including schemes of work for each class and subject, supplementary teaching materials, press clippings, media representations of the school, annual results, parents' handbook, staff manual and job descriptions, minutes of staff and governors meetings, students' homework tasks and projects were analyzed. The documentary analysis helped to enrich, validate and triangulate the findings emerging from the primary data.

Although the study relied heavily on data collected from one school, visits were made to a variety of other Muslim schools in England. A sample of seven schools to represent primary, secondary, private, state-funded, mono-ethnic, multi-ethnic, girls', boys', and schools with high and less emphasis on the teaching of Islam was visited. This provided an opportunity to meet and interview teachers, head teachers and children and observe some teaching sessions and curriculum. Attending a conference of Muslim faith schools in London also provided a chance to meet representatives from over 40 schools in Britain. Further information about these schools was collected through their websites and OFSTED reports. This helped to develop a typology of different types of Muslim schools existing in the country.

The data collected from the above sources were analysed using coding, categorizing and developing memoranda. Case studies of students and schools were

developed first as tools of analysis and then as products of analysis. A grounded theory approach was adopted to analyse the data which helped to substantiate and build upon the theories of religious socialization, identity and social cohesion.

Since this chapter primarily focuses on the curriculum used in the school, it makes use of the data mainly collected through observations and interviews conducted in the sample school.

Findings from the Ethnographic Study

The school where the ethnographic study was conducted was established in 2003 as an independent girls' secondary school to provide full time national curriculum and Islamic education to girls. It was registered with the Department of Education and Skills (DfES) and was initiated by a Trust comprising members from mosques, the local community and parents, and was supported by donations and fees. The need for the establishment of such a school was felt after the closure of the only girls' secondary school in the city. The school was open to both Muslim and non-Muslim girls, and teachers from both Muslim and non-Muslim backgrounds were employed, though many of them worked on a voluntary basis or were paid a minimal salary. The school ran in a purpose-built rented site owned by a church and charged a nominal fee to students to cover the expenses but faced serious financial problems to meet the costs. In this respect, the school represented many Muslim faith schools established under similar circumstances and facing similar challenges.

At the time of fieldwork, the school had an enrolment of 54 girls (11–14 years) studying in years 7, 8 and 9. Although admissions were open to non-Muslims, there were no applications received and thus there were no non-Muslim pupils enrolled. The girls demonstrated considerable diversity in their ethnicity and social background. Majority of them came from Pakistan (23) and Bangladesh (17), 5 of them were of mixed origin and the rest came from Somalia, Chechniya, Saudi Arabia, Algeria, Afghanistan and England. Thirty-eight had been born and brought up in England, the rest were born in their countries of origin but had come to live in Britain in their early childhood. The majority of the girls had attended state primary schools, only 5 went to private schools, 1 came from an Islamic school and only 1 was home schooled. The parents of most girls had been settled in the UK for longer than 20 years. In most cases, one parent was either born in the UK or had been living there since their childhood while the other parent had come to the UK after marriage. Diversity was found in the education levels and occupations of the families. Some girls came from very educated families where both parents had university degrees and were professionals, such as doctors or accountants, whereas some came from less educated families where the fathers were mostly engaged in driving taxis or doing restaurant work and the mothers did not work.

There were 16 teachers in the school (6 full-time, 10 part-time); among them 13 were Muslims and 3 were non-Muslims of English origin. The Muslim teachers came from diverse backgrounds but all of them were British nationals, either having

been born in Britain or living in Britain for a long time. The non-Muslim teachers were hired to teach non-Islamic subjects such as English, Physical Education and French, whereas Islamic subjects were taught by the Muslim teachers. Nearly half of the teachers had formal teaching qualifications while others did not; yet they seemed committed to develop their teaching skills under the supervision of a fully qualified and experienced head teacher. The next section discusses the curriculum used in the school.

The School Curriculum: National, Islamic and *Islamicized*

The concept of a curriculum is theorized differently by different scholars. However, there has been a general consensus that a curriculum may include everything planned or hidden, formal or informal, learned or taught by educators to help develop the learners, and includes the context within which process of curriculum transmission takes place (Smith 2000; Reid 1986). This study focused on exploring the formal, informal, planned and hidden aspects of the curriculum, as well as the context within which it was delivered in the school. An analysis of the overall curriculum identified three categories within which it could be classified i.e. National, Islamic and '*Islamicized*' curriculum.

The National Curriculum

The school complied with the government requirement of allocating 80 % time to the teaching of the National Curriculum. This included the teaching of English, Mathematics, science, Information and Communication Technology (ICT), Physical Health and Social Education (PHSE)/Citizenship, humanities, art and design, Physical Education (PE), Religious Education (RE) and a modern language (Urdu, Bengali or French). The National Curriculum was taught in line with the guidelines provided by the DfES and the teachers primarily used the resources available at the DfES website to teach the national curriculum subjects.

It would be relevant to discuss the teaching of RE and PHSE lessons as they explicitly required the teaching of world religions and citizenship values and were a matter of concern for both critics and proponents. The RE curriculum focused on the teaching of Christianity, Islam, Judaism and Hinduism. Speakers were invited from different faith communities to talk about their respective faiths. Educational visits were made to churches and synagogues and the teachers planned lessons so as to cover key beliefs and practices in each faith. The following is an extract of observations notes from a year 8 RE class:

> The teacher wrote the title of the lesson on board, 'Christianity: What Christians do?' Then she wrote the aim of the lesson, 'To learn some of the things that Christians do to practice their religion' She then wrote, 'Love God and love your neighbour as much as you love

yourself (Command of Jesus)'. She asked, 'What can Christians do to fulfill this command? A girl answered, 'invite their neighbours in Christmas and Easter time'. Another girl said, 'be friendly with them' The teacher said, 'Well done! By being friendly they follow Jesus's command'. A girl asked, 'how do they pray?' The teacher said, 'they go to the church to pray.' A girl said, 'I've seen a church in Pakistan'. The teacher said, 'We are going to see a church on the 19th. I know some of you have been to the church but the rest of you will go on 19th *InshaAllah*' A girl said, 'Was Mother Teresa a Christian? The teachers said, 'Yes, she was. She devoted her life for the cause of humanity. She is an example of helping others in Christianity. We are going to learn about monks and nuns this term. They make promises to devote their lives to their faith. They eat simple food, wear simple clothes and live a simple life. Nuns and monks never marry. They lead their lives according to the teachings of bible' A girl said, 'I've heard of a charity called 'Christian Aid'. The teacher explained, 'Christian Aid is just like Islamic Aid where people give their money for the needy, the homeless and the ill.' (Observation notes: Year 8 RE lesson)

RE classes were interactive where pupils asked questions and shared their knowledge of other faiths. Teachers emphasized the similarities across religions such as 'all faiths recognize the existence of God', 'Christianity, like Islam is a missionary faith'. Differences were also discussed, though with a clear emphasis on respecting them. Through the PHSE curriculum, the teachers claimed to raise awareness on topics such as one's rights and responsibilities as citizens, living with diversity and so on, and imparting values such as those of respect and tolerance for other cultures. The management maintained that the aim of such lessons was to develop well informed and tolerant young pupils who respect people of all faiths and cultures.

The delivery of National Curriculum subjects did not appear to be any different from that in other state schools in its aims, content and teaching style. The school was, however, different from the state schools in the delivery of Islamic and *Islamicized* curriculum discussed in the next paragraphs.

Islamic Curriculum

The Islamic curriculum included the teaching of Arabic, *tajweed* (Qur'anic recitation and memorization), Qur'anic studies (learning the meaning and interpretation of Qur'anic verses), Islamic history and Islamic studies. In addition, the school held *nasheed* (Islamic songs) and *ibadah* (the worship) sessions. These subjects were taught through 6–7 lessons conducted every week for each class and covered the remaining 20 % of the teaching time. The teachers made extensive use of Islamic text books to plan the lessons, adapted schemes of work used in other Muslim schools and drew upon their own knowledge of Islam. The school library was rich in resources for Islamic education donated to the school by different organizations. In addition to the classroom teaching, the Islamic curriculum was also delivered in tutorial times (after the morning and afternoon registration), during the assemblies, in the prayer room, and through the Islamic seminars conducted at the evenings or weekends.

Arabic was taught as a compulsory subject for all classes with the aim of helping students develop their comprehension, reading and writing skills. In *tajweed*, the students learned the recitation of Qur'an. The Qur'anic studies lessons involved the

teaching of the meanings and interpretations of Qur'anic verses and a wide range of topics, for example, the five pillars of Islam, Prophets' lives, *tableegh* (spreading Islam) and aspects of an 'Islamic way of life'. The *Ibadah* sessions began with the recitation of Qur'an, the teacher explained the meaning of the verses recited and discussed one or two *ahadith*. In the end they all make *dua*:

> O' Allah, count us among the true lovers of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). Rid us of bad habits and give us good traits. Forgive our sins, forgive our teachers, friends, parents, do mercy upon Muslims who are in the time of difficulty. Unite us. Increase our school in barakah. Make it a place where people become true Muslims. Everyone says, '*Ameen*.' (Observation notes: Ibadah lesson)

All classes had one session of *nasheed* every week which was deeply enjoyed by the girls. The teachers played a *nasheed* on a tape record and the girls sang along. *Nasheed* were sung in English and Arabic to convey Islamic messages such as:

> Take trips to the mosque even when it is dark
> Put away cigarettes and alcohol, go to study Islam
> I am seeking God's pleasure, God give me Islam
> Give Islam to people and make them know the hadith
> All my intentions are for Allah
> Let me serve Islam.

Religious scholars were invited to talk on a range of topics such as 'Islamic manners', 'the existence of God', 'Purity of heart and soul'. Inter-faith seminars were arranged both for the Muslims and non-Muslims on topics such as 'How the West can benefit from knowing Islam'. Such seminars were attended by members of the local community and covered by the media. An extract from one such seminars is as follows:

> The heart is like a lake and we want this lake to carry pure and clean water. There are two rivers that feed this lake i.e. tongue and actions. Guide your tongue and others senses too. What you see, what you eat, what you hear, all feeds into your heart. Stay away from the grey areas. Do what you can clearly see as right. Reflect on how you spend your time. Spend time in remembering Allah. Make sure your earnings are *halal*. There should not be a penny that comes to you out of dishonesty. Allah will protect your earnings. (Extract from an Islamic talk)

Assemblies organized once a week, usually after the Friday prayers, formed an interesting part of the ethos of the school. A *hadith* was read or a few verses from the Holy Qur'an were recited aloud together. Special *duas* (prayers) were made for the ill and poor people around the world. The tutorial time included a few minutes of 'quiet reading time' in which the girls read Islamic stories. An envelope was hung in each classroom for girls to post their Islamic questions. Those questions were answered in the tutorial time. Sometimes, pupils listened to audio tapes about an Islamic topic. Matters pertaining to discipline were also dealt with at this time (e.g. instances of pushing, shouting or swearing).

The teachers claimed that the Islamic subjects taught in the school were aimed at improving the Islamic knowledge and practice of the pupils and at inculcating values that the girls needed to learn as Muslims. The next section discusses the *Islamicized* curriculum, which forms a unique aspect of teaching and learning in the school.

Islamicized Curriculum

The *Islamicized* curriculum was embedded in the overall teaching at the school. It was apparent (a) in the ways in which teachers tried to blend Islamic education with some aspects of the National Curriculum, and (b) the 'Islamic ethos' of the school. The teachers *Islamicized* lessons to bring in an Islamic interpretation of the topics taught in the National Curriculum subjects. Attempts were made to demonstrate compatibility between Islamic and the National Curriculum. For example, while teaching 'reproduction' in a science lesson, the teacher discussed references to embryology in the Qur'an. She explained:

> There are verses in the Qur'an referring to human reproduction. The Qur'an says, 'He makes you in the wombs of your mothers in stages, one after another, in three veils of darkness' (Sura 39:6). The staging of human embryo described in the 20th century suggests that an embryo does exist within three layers, (1) The anterior abdominal wall, (2) the uterine wall, (3) the amniochorionic membrane. Then the Qur'an says, 'Then We placed him as a drop in a place of rest' (Sura 23:13). The drop has been interpreted as the sperm, but also zygote which divides to form a blastocyst which is implanted in the uterus (a place of rest). This interpretation is supported by another verse which states that 'a human being a created from a mixed drop' The zygote is formed by the union of a mixture of the sperm and the ovum. The Qur'an says, 'Then We made the drop into a leech-like structure' (sura 23:14). This is the description of the human embryo from days 7–24 when it clings to the uterus in the same way leech clings to the skin. It is remarkable how much the embryo of 23–24 days resembles like a leech. 'Then of that leech-like structure, We made a chewed lump.' (Sura 23:14). Towards the end of the fourth week, the embryo looks like a chewed lump of flesh. The chewed appearance results from the somites which resemble teeth mark. 'Then We made out of the chewed lump, bones, and clothed the bones in flesh'. (continuation of sura 23:14). This is in accordance to the embryological development. First the bones are formed and then the muscles develop around them from the somatic mesoderm. 'Then we developed out of it another creature'. This may refer to the human like embryo that is formed by the end of the eighth week, called foetus. (Observation notes – Science lesson)

Similar references are made to the Qur'an while teaching some topics in mathematics:

> The teacher was explaining about 'hexagon'. She said, 'it is just like the hive of the honey bee. The hives are hexagon in shape, layers after layers, one upon another. Man cannot make it. It is Allah who has made it'. (Observation notes-Mathematics lesson)

The teachers used the Qur'anic text and *ahadith* while merging the Islamic and the National Curriculum. Areas where Islamic and National Curriculum differed were dealt by explaining both perspectives in detail.

The Islamic ethos of the school, on the other hand, was built upon the observance of Islamic manners and behaviour, the acquisition of Islamic knowledge, and the acts of Islamic worship. In other words, the formal teaching of Islamic subjects and bringing in Islam in the national curriculum subjects, combined with informal ways of teaching Islamic values and an opportunity of practising Islamic obligations contributed towards building an Islamic ethos of the school. The school offered facilities for girls to fulfill their Islamic obligations such as *wudu*, *salah* and a special timetable during *Ramadan*.

The tape of Azan was played which could be heard in the whole school. The girls went to make *wudu* and then gathered in the hall where prayer mats were laid. They were all wearing hijab. They organized themselves neatly in rows and prayed. The headteacher called a girl to come in the front and make *dua*. The girl made *dua*, 'Allah, bless Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) and all other Prophets; Allah forgive our sins; help us make good relations with each other; prevent us from tests in life. After each *dua*, all the girls and the teachers said '*Ameen*.' (Observation notes, Friday Assembly)

Islamic messages were conveyed in daily interactions, visuals, role plays, Islamic tapes and songs. Qur'anic recitation with English translation was played in the foyer. Islamic guidelines for every day matters were pasted on the walls, such as, 'Don't throw the food away, we can give the left over to birds. You will be rewarded for such deeds in *aakhira*.' Each lesson started and finished with a *dua* or with the recitation of a Qur'anic chapter. This meant seeking God's pleasure and blessing in the act of learning. The Arabic phrases such as *assalam-u-alaikum, walaikum salam, alhamdulillah, mashaAllah, inshaAllah, Allah Hafiz* were frequently used during teaching and everyday conversations. Use of these phrases signified a constant remembrance of Allah. Extensive use of these phrases helped develop a speech community where everyone understood the meanings of certain codes and used them in appropriate contexts for communication, even when their first language differed from that of others.

Another important aspect of the curriculum was the use of classroom displays which seemed to complement the Islamic teaching in the school:

The walls of the classroom were decorated with different posters. On one wall there was a huge painting of Khana-e-Kaba (*Muslims' holy place in Saudi Arabia*). On the other wall there were five separate posters showing the five pillars of Islam i.e. faith, prayer, fasting, zakat (free giving/charity) and hajj (*pilgrimage*). The posters had brief explanation about these pillars or other Islamic teachings i.e. 'Allah's pleasure lies in the pleasure of parents.' 'He who offends his parents will not enter paradise.' (Observation notes: Year 9 class)

The poster for the *hadith* was changed every week and the girls were advised to follow the *hadith* in their everyday lives. The school was also decorated with Islamic calligraphy. These displays created a space full of Islamic messages and served as a constant reminder to pupils of their faith. Within this space, one could hear recitation of Qur'anic *sura, qirat kalima* and *nasheed*. Girls recited the *sura* or *nasheed* while walking from one room to another, in their break times and between lessons.

Pupils were expected to follow a set of guidelines, for example those pertaining to their presentation and behavior. They were expected to present themselves as 'good' Muslims, for example by speaking politely and smiling. The teachers used *ahadith* to inculcate the values of respect, sharing, obedience and tolerance and settle disputes between girls, such as, 'The Messenger of Allah said, one who is devoid of kindness is devoid of all good' (Sahih Muslim), and 'Fear Allah wherever you are and follow up a bad deed with a good one and it will wipe it out, and behave well towards people' (Al-Tarmidhi). The staff claimed to discipline students in Islamic ways:

All girls and staff were gathered in the hall. They were waiting for the guest speaker. There was too much noise in the hall. A teacher came in the front and said, Attention please! We want you to say *Subhan Allah* 33 times, *Alhamdulillah* 33 times and *Allaho-akbar* 33 times

in your heart. We'll be questioned by Allah for how we spend our time. In a few seconds, an extremely noisy hall turned into a quiet place where more than 50 teenage girls sat and recited the phrases. (Observation notes: School hall)

Girls were reminded of their Muslim identity while managing undesirable behaviour:

> Four girls in the class were sending each other missed calls on their mobiles. Another girl reported. When the head teacher inquired, the girls denied. The teacher collected their mobile phones and found that missed calls were given. She said, 'sending missed calls is not that big a fault than telling a lie. In Islam, lying is a big sin. You did something wrong and then you did a bigger sin which is not tolerable. This is not expected of a good *Muslimah* studying in a Muslim school'. The girls listened quietly, then they apologized. (Observation notes: Head teacher's office)

However, despite the application of Islamic strategies to shape pupils' behaviour, problems did persist amongst some girls. The strategies did not work uniformly for all students. The behaviour of some pupils improved as a result of Islamic counseling while for others it had short-term or no effect. Yet, the Islamic ethos of the school was appreciated by most girls and their parents. They reported the ethos as something that shaped their choice of the Muslim school over a state school. Most girls valued the learning of Islam and admired the school environment which did not differ widely from their home. They saw school as an institution fulfilling their desire of gaining Islamic education and practising Islam while enjoying a common identity as Muslims.

Analysis and Conclusion

The analysis of the three forms of curriculum used in the school suggests that the school did not have a radical agenda, nor did it prevent girls from integrating into the larger society or to train them with a particular 'sectarian' ideology. The environment of the school rather demonstrated a richness of activities which was not so frequently acknowledged by critics. The school clearly aimed to integrate children into British society, but did so while enabling them to retain an Islamic identity. Initiatives to engage with the ideas of social integration were evident in numerous ways, such as teaching the National Curriculum, open admission policies for non-Muslim children, hiring non-Muslim staff, teaching other major world religions, arranging interfaith dialogues and so on. This shows that the school conformed to certain standards that demonstrated a commitment towards the integration of pupils into British society.

A discussion on criticisms regarding female subordination or the quality of Muslim faith schools is beyond the scope of this chapter. However, an analysis of data obtained from girls recognized their agency in the process of their socialization. Most girls aimed to become career women and did not see any barriers to their achieving these goals. The school appeared to make attempted to enable them pursue their goals while retaining their religious identity.

The most significant challenge faced by Muslim faith-based school relates to lack of resources which poses issues for the quality of education offered by them. As observed in case of the school studied for this research, recruitment and retention of qualified staff, training of the existing teachers and meeting the cost for school premises was a challenge. There is limited or no support available to address these challenges, for example, obtaining state funding is not straightforward. In addition, running the schools in a climate where the existence and expansion of faith-based education is criticized itself is a significant challenge. However, the challenges pertaining to resources, quality and controversies about faith schools are of a different nature from those raised by critics that primarily relate to the integration of Muslim children in the mainstream society.

The nature and provision of education in the Muslim faith-based school did not seem different from mainstream state schools in the delivery of national curriculum. However, the school did differ from state schools in delivering the Islamic and *Islamicized* curriculum. In practice, teachers tried not to teach Islam as a discrete subject but link it with National Curriculum subjects. Nevertheless, the acquisition of Islamic knowledge, the focus on worship and shaping of behaviour in the light of Islamic guidelines were important aspects of socialization which are not found in the mainstream schools. Individual and corporate recitations, use of sacred words, calligraphy of Islamic *suras*, paintings and displays of *ahadith, nasheed,* Islamic greetings and so on suggests that the physical space of the school was used to create a social space that was deeply immersed in Islam.

The above phenomenon reveals that the distinctive philosophies and guiding principles that underpin teaching and learning in the school are aimed at enabling young Muslims to acquire education and pursue careers but while developing a strong sense of their religious identity. Teaching is focused at providing Islamic knowledge and supports the acquisition of Islamic values. Areas that conflict with the norms of Islam such as pre-marital relationships are dealt with by clearly teaching the boundaries through religious instruction. Undesirable behavior is managed by providing counseling in the light of examples from religious scriptures. Adherence to such conceptions of education, combined with an effort of developing educated British Muslims has led to the development of a unique pedagogical approach of *Islamicisation* which is used to achieve the objectives of faith education. This approach does not seem to conflict with the norms of mainstream education but presents an example of how coherence and alignment can be achieved between key national priorities in education and the identity, beliefs, and the commitments of faith-based schools. It clearly presents example of an educational practice that can be used to inform and shape innovate teaching strategies in faith-based and value driven approaches to education.

However, the philosophy, values and principles that underpin the teaching, learning and leadership in Muslim faith-based schools challenges those of the British societies by focusing on developing pupils as a 'community' of good Muslims. This is in contrast to a rather secular model of education followed in the mainstream schools that aim to develop pupils as rational 'individuals'. Halstead asserts that in Muslim faith schools, emphasis is laid on acquiring 'spiritual wisdom' rather than

achieving 'material well-being' through education (Halstead 1986, p. 20). Such underlying philosophy and principles differentiate the schools from the mainstream state schools which educate children without much religious emphasis.

Nevertheless there are similarities in ways in which different religious and faith traditions, as well as non-religious traditions guide practices in learning, teaching and leadership. For example, all traditions see education as a route to achieving integration and harmony. Similarly, the Religious Education and Citizenship Education curriculum in secondary schools adhere to some common principles which emphasize the respect of all faiths and cultures. It can be asserted, therefore, that it is the emphasis on simultaneously inculcating a strong religious identity that is the guiding principle of teaching and learning in Muslim faith schools.

There has been an increasing demand of Muslim faith-based schools in the UK, which is reflected in a steady increase in the number of such schools since 1990s. The reasons for this increase have been discussed in this chapter, however, one factor that can contribute to a further increase of such schools in the future is the premise that Muslims are turning to Islam as a more significant marker of their identity. Identity has been reported as one of the key issues facing Muslims particularly in societies which are predominantly secular (Abbas 2005; Ansari 2004; Anwar 1979; Modood 2005; Werbner 2002). Issues emerging due to clash between values, anxieties of cultural loss and socio-economic disadvantages have been well documented in literature. Research highlights that turning to Islam is seen as a significant way of dealing with these challenges. Vertovec and Rogers (1998) argue that Islam is used as a global symbol of resistance to western political and cultural imperialism, capitalism and racism. It is because of this symbolic power associated with global Islam that Muslims are turning to it as a source of strength. It is the reassembling of Islamic components together with the components arising out of migration and settlement experiences that has raised Islamic consciousness (Nielsen 1992, 2003). This increasing awareness of Islamic identity is not only evident in the UK but also other parts of the world (Ghazal Read and Bartkowski 2000; Predelli 2004).

In the light of the above arguments, it can be deduced that Muslim faith schools will continue to rise in the future as they seem to fulfil the need of strengthening the identity of the Muslim communities in most western countries. Many such schools, including the one reported in this study, have also been instrumental in engaging in inter-faith dialogues with diverse communities within the UK. Many such schools are used as platforms for cross cultural communication, particularly at the time of crisis such as 7 July incident in the UK, where the schools represent the voices of Muslim groups to the state and the wider public. The Local Authorities also interact with such schools for planning initiatives for community cohesion and enhancing understanding of diverse communities.

This chapter has identified the educational, historical, social and cultural contexts within which Muslim faith-based schools have emerged in the UK. The analysis reveals that the under achievement of Muslim students in mainstream schools and a need of instilling religious identity were the primary factors that triggered the establishment of Muslim faith-based schools in this setting. Teaching and learning

practices in such schools are perceived to address the issues of underachievement and loss of identity that Muslim pupils experienced as claimed by the proponents. The main challenges faced to the schools pertain to their quality and sustainability, which partly links to lack of expertise of the people involved in the management of schools and partly to the lack of support (both financial and ideological) from the state and the wider public.

This chapter has also highlighted the controversies faced to the Muslim faith schools in the UK, and the response of the Muslim groups to the debates around their existence. The controversies area largely directed towards the ideas of integration and social cohesion for which no evidence could be found in the ethnographic study presented in this chapter. However, limited research has been conducted to evaluate the nature and provision of education in Muslim faith-based schools given that a variety of such schools exist. The controversies facing Muslim faith-based schools need to take account of the delivery of curriculum and the teaching and learning processes through which Muslim pupils are socialized in the schools. More evidence is needed to support the claims made by the proponents and or to inform the controversies surrounding the existence of such schools.

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Chapter 35
A Mobile School – Bringing Education to Migrant Children in Goa, India

Marian de Souza

> *Christian missionaries were pioneers in education (in India) (Toppo 2007).*

Introduction

This chapter will focus on the mission, organization, curriculum and pedagogy of a particular school that is located within the larger framework of the Catholic school system in India. This school is named and recognized as a 'mobile school' and it is run by the Salesian Religious Congregation in Goa in collaboration with the Goa Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (GSSA). The Sarva Shiksha Abhiyanan is an initiative of the Government of India which was introduced in 2000–2001 and it has been operating in different States since then[1]. Its purpose is 'to provide for a variety of interventions for universal access and retention, bridging of gender and social category gaps in elementary education and improving the quality of learning' (Government of India, Ministry of Human Resource Development 2011). In particular, it focuses on providing useful and relevant elementary education for all children in the 6–14 age group. Particular attention is given to promoting access for marginalized children to bridge social, regional and gender gaps as well as to teacher training programs. It invites active participation of the community in the management of schools and, in Goa, it is the Salesians who manage the school.

The Salesian Religious Congregation was founded by an Italian priest, John (Don) Bosco (1815–1888), whose mission was to offer learning and education to boys who lived on the margins of society. In the years following Don Bosco's ordination into the priesthood in 1841, the industrialization of society had created

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[1] See http://mhrd.gov.in/. URL http://mhrd.gov.in/schemes for more information about this initiative.

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sweatshop factories with their hazardous machinery, child labor, and starvation wages.[2] It meant that the slums of Turin were characterized largely by poverty which, very often, led young people into a life of crime. This was accompanied by experiences of violence, anger and hatred, with the inevitable loss of regard for the value of human life and dignity. Don Bosco's mission was to minister to the urgent needs of boys whose lives were both materially and spiritually impoverished and he developed a 'preventive' education system which incorporated both vocational and technical training as well as spiritual nourishment. The essence of the 'preventive system' was Christian charity:

> Its double foundation is reason and religion: in other words, a sense of understanding between teacher and pupil, engendered by daily contact, friendly chats, and an interest that is felt; and secondly, a sense of religion fostered by the sacraments of confession and holy communion… The system is not new, though in Don Bosco's hands it achieved a freshness all its own… it does not condone the errors; instead, it uses them as steppingstones to the formation of a solid character, permeated by Christian principles of Christian character (Salesians of Don Bosco, Province of St Andrews, San Francisco, California).

The Salesians are one among a number of European Religious Congregations that began arriving in India in the latter half of the nineteenth century to set up Christian/Catholic schools. They first arrived in India at the request of the Bishop of Meliapor in 1906 where they took charge of a parish School. Today, there are nine Salesian Provinces in India and more than 200 Salesian works looked after by more than 2,200 Indian Salesians.[3]

The Salesian's initiative of the mobile school in Goa has been generated by the vision and mission of Don Bosco that has inspired the establishment and organization of their schools and projects across the globe:

> The secret to the outcome of Don Bosco, the educator, is his intense spirituality, or that inner energy which united in him, inseparably, the love of God and neighbour such that it set up a synthesis between evangelization and education… (this is) the concrete expression of (Salesian) pastoral charity, (which) constitutes a fundamental element of Salesian pastoral action; it is its source of gospel vitality, its principle of inspiration and identity, the criterion from which it takes its bearings (Salesians of Don Bosco, Australia-Pacific)[4]

Thus, the goal of the preventive education system of the mobile school is about reaching out to the marginalized and encouraging access to education in order to 'prevent' young people from becoming a statistic amongst the unemployed. Its two-pronged objective is to provide young people with literacy, numeracy and technical skills and, at the same time, to nurture in them values of human kindness, love, compassion and dignity.

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[2] See The life story of St John Bosco (biography of Don Bosco). Retrieved March 6th, 2013 http://www.donboscowest.org/saints/donbosco.

[3] See http://www.donboscoasia.info/salesians-history?showall=1.

[4] For a more extensive discussion see the homepage of the Salesians (Australia/Pacific): http://www.salesians.org.au/index.php/salesian-spirituality.

Context

Education has always been an important element in the mission of the Catholic Church. This was recognized in the Vatican II document: *Declaration on Christian Education, Gravissimum Educationis*:

> To fulfil the mandate she (the Church) has received from her divine founder of proclaiming the mystery of salvation to all men (sic) and of restoring all things in Christ, Holy Mother the Church must be concerned with the whole of man's (sic) life, even the secular part of it insofar as it has a bearing on his (sic) heavenly calling.(#4) Therefore she has a role in the progress and development of education (1965).

As well, the Church has recognized the Catholic school as one way through which this mission may be fulfilled. This was clearly stated by the Sacred Congregation for Catholic Education:[5]

> The Church establishes her own schools because she considers them as a privileged means of promoting the formation of the whole man (sic), since the school is a centre in which a specific concept of the world, of man (sic), and of history is developed and conveyed (*The Catholic School*, 1977, #8).

Accordingly, the 'Catholic school forms part of the saving mission of the Church, especially for education in the faith' (*The Catholic School,* 1977, #9). In India, this focus is highlighted by the following statement from the Catholic Bishops' Conference of India (CBCI):

> The Church has always recognized the importance of education in her mission. Pope John Paul II in *Redemptor Hominis* (#14) spoke of the human person as the fundamental way for the Church, the way traced out by Christ himself. Hence, everyone engaged in evangelization cannot but experience the challenge of education in all its facets. The work of the school is irreplaceable and the investment of human and material resources in the school becomes a prophetic choice for everyone involved in evangelization (Catholic Bishops Conference of India, Office for Education and Culture 2011)

With the arrival of the Europeans in India from the fifteenth century onwards, Christian missionaries, particularly from the Roman Catholic Church, were not far behind and Toppo (2007) notes that the first formal Christian educational enterprise anywhere outside Europe was the Santa Fe School in Goa, founded in 1540 by the Franciscans. Indeed, Toppo (2007) claims that during the British rule

> … after Macaulay's *Minutes* of 1835, which decided in favour of English education as against the oriental system, Christian educational work took a new turn. It led to a great intellectual revolution in India. The English language opened up a world of new knowledge and new ideas to the newly educated classes. The western ideas of liberty, equality, and fraternity began to attract the educated youth. The study of English literature and western political thought with its emphasis on the dignity of the individual gave a new sense of direction and purpose for the intelligentsia. (pp. 64–65)

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[5] The Sacred Congregation for Catholic Education is the Pontifical Congregation of the Roman Curia with whom lies the responsibility for Catholic education across the world.

Further, Toppo (2007) claims that a considerable number of Christian educational institutions were founded all over India and that Christian institutions played a dominant role in the education of young Indians through the twentieth century.

Most Catholic schools in India were originally run by European religious congregations and they established schools in many cities. However, today, most Catholic schools are staffed with Indian religious and lay people.[6] The increase of lay staff in Catholic schools has occurred in many parts of the western world and the significance of their role in Catholic education was recognized in the Vatican II document *Declaration on Christian Education, Gravissimum Educationis* (1965) as well as by the Sacred Congregation for Catholic Education with the document – *Lay Catholics in schools: Witnesses to Faith* (LCS). It stated that it is the lay teachers… who will substantially determine whether or not a school realizes its aims and accomplishes its objectives (1982, #1). In the case of the mobile school, The Director was a member of the Salesian Religious Congregation but most of the teaching staff were lay Catholics.

Today there are 166 dioceses in India[7] and each diocese is responsible for the Catholic schools within its jurisdiction. Recent statistics indicate that there are 9,064 lower and upper Catholic primary schools, 4,837 Catholic secondary and higher secondary schools (The Catholic Directory of India, 2005–2006, CBCI, New Delhi, p. 110).

Although specifically established to educate Catholic children, Indian Catholic schools have an admissions policy of non-discrimination so that students come from a variety of religious backgrounds. A survey conducted in October 2005 by the Commission for Education and Culture, an initiative of the Catholic Bishops' Conference of India (CBCI),[8] revealed the following breakdown of students attending Catholic schools: 23 % were Catholics, 5.3 % Christians of other denominations, 52.9 % Hindus, 8.4 % Muslims, and 10.4 % belonged to other categories (Catholic Bishops conference India 2005b, p. 60).

The current Catholic Education Policy, as articulated by the CBCI, reflects the essential mission of Catholic education in India today. It is informed by Church documents, particularly, those from the Congregation for Catholic Education. As well, it has been guided by various outcome statements from the General Assemblies of the Catholic Bishops' Conference of India (CBCI), specifically the Assembly in 2006 where the theme was: *Catholic Education and the Church's Concern for the Marginalized. Who are the marginalized*? The mandate following this Assembly was:

> To evolve an Education Policy that focuses on providing quality and relevant education to the marginalized, especially the children of our Dalit[9] and Tribal brothers and sisters.

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[6] 'Lay people' or the 'laity' refers to all Catholics other than priests and members of Religious Congregations.

[7] CBCI website: http://cbci.in/DiocesesofIndiaDisp.aspx.

[8] The survey covered about 70 % of Catholic institutions across India. It contacted 149 dioceses, 72 generalates, and 528 provinces and regions of religious congregations engaged in the educational apostolate. Of those contacted, 86.9 % responded to the survey. The survey covered only institutions run by Dioceses and Religious Congregations. It did not cover educational institutions run by the Laity either as individuals or as a Trust.

[9] The Dalits are the lowest caste in the Hindu caste system in India.

> The policy highlights our duty to give serious attention to and deepen the authentic spiritual formation of all our students and nurture the faith culture of Christian believers. It also broadens the narrow focus on personal academic development and emphasizes the holistic and fuller development that meets the challenge of modern culture and society, and its demand for higher levels of competence. (CBCI 2006)

In general, recognition was given to the fact that Catholic education needed to include 'value formation, non-formal education, literacy, skill development as well as conscientization and other forms of people's empowerment' and develop citizens who were 'literate, skilled and competent, socially aware and spiritually motivated, and fully involved in the building of a developed and just society' (http://cbcieducation.org/catholic-education-policy-introduction).

Ultimately, a significant outcome articulated by the CBCI Assembly in 2006 identified the right of all children, including those who were marginalized, to an education that provided them with empowerment and a quality of life. This particular feature of the Catholic Education Policy in India is one that is clearly addressed by the initiative of the mobile school.

Investigating the Effectiveness of the Mobile School in Reaching Marginalized Children

Certainly, the concept of using a mobile school to reach the marginalized children in Goa is an innovative one and it inspired the present case study which aimed to investigate:

- the educational philosophy that underpins the concept of bringing education to the marginalized;
- the strategies that reflect the philosophy and its application;
- to what extent the program may be perceived as successful and how this success may be determined.

The data collection for the investigation involved a study of relevant documents and individual interviews with both the Director and the Coordinator of the Project. As well, there were follow up communications with both these key people to clarify initial understandings and to seek answers to further questions.

The Mobile School – From Concept to Actuality

As mentioned earlier, the mobile school is an initiative of the Salesians in Goa in collaboration with Goa Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (GSSA). Its specific aim is to 'take education to the doorstep of marginalized, neglected children and out-of-school children' (as stated in the brochure: *Don Bosco Mobile School: Out of school children)*. The first mobile school was started in 2009.

Reflecting the 'preventive education' of Don Bosco, the concept of the mobile school was developed with the intention of preventing children from becoming trapped in situations where they were left vulnerable or where they could be exploited. Generally, these are children aged between 7 years to around 10 or 12 years who have had little formal schooling, either missing it altogether or dropping out after a few years. Many of them are 'migrant' children, indicating that they have come in from other Indian states and often living on the borders between states. In other words, the Mobile School is a good example of the SSA's aim to open new schools in those habitations which do not have schooling facilities (retrieved from the Government of India, Ministry of Human Resource Development website, March 15th, 2013, http://mhrd.gov.in/schemes. URL http://ssa.nic.in/

In order to make education accessible to these children, the school consisted, initially, of a bus that travelled to different destination points. The seats had been removed from the bus so that it could be used as a teaching space. However, concerns were raised about safety factors, which led to a change in the organizational process so that a bus was then used to pick the children up and convey them to a Special Training Centre (STC). These STCs were located in rented rooms, the buses or outdoors.

The teachers in the program, known as Volunteer Educators, are provided with special teacher training, offered on a part-time basis, to equip them to use innovative teaching methods that address the learning and development of all the children they teach, including those with special needs (Sequeira 2012, p. 14).

To enable children to achieve success in the program, it is structured so that it is practical, simple and formative. The subjects include Basic English and Maths, Environmental Studies, a second optional Language and General Knowledge. The daily program is organized in a three hour session for each group. These run twice a day from 9 am to 12.30 pm and from 2 pm to 5 pm, always moving to a different STC. The timing of the daily sessions is based on the availability of the students, many of whom are otherwise engaged in the business of polishing shoes, selling fish, newspapers and other such activities. A given syllabus is followed by the teachers and children are graded into two groups in the bus for effective learning. Monthly tests are conducted and there are two exams over the year. A certificate is issued at the end of year exam which is Government-recognized and gives the child access to any normal school (Retrieved March 15th, 2013 from http://www.goaoutreach.com/links/mobileschool.html).

Recreational activities are offered once a week on the Friday where there are extra-curricular activities and games such as story-telling, craft and drawing and Bible reading. These activities allow for interactions between students and teachers in fun settings. Religion classes are offered to Catholic children. However, the majority of the children are non-Catholic and they are offered lessons in moral and values education which draw on Gospel values. Twice a year, excursions are organized which include picnics, outings, sports and games. Annual sports days and other school functions are also part of the overall program:

> In case of any festival approaching, the day is celebrated as per the festival. For example lamps are made for Diwali, Crib making for Christmas, along with carol singing and Christmas parties etc. We also celebrate Don Bosco Feast, where movies are shown and

> Don Bosco's works are spoken to the children. We have the morning prayers said at assembly at the centres and also a prayer before meals recited by the kids. (correspondence from Ethel De Souza, Coordinator, Mobile school, 20th February, 2013)

In this way, the 'physical and spiritual needs are addressed simultaneously' (Fr Jose Sequeira, in interview, 2013) which reflects another core belief of the founder, Don Bosco.

Preventive Education

The philosophy that underpins the programs offered by the mobile school is Don Bosco's Preventive Education. Lydon (2009) claims that

> far from being a pejorative term, Bosco's use of the term (preventive) reflects its Latin derivation. The word 'praevenire' conveys the sense of 'to go beforehand', 'to support right from the start', 'to foresee' and 'to provide'. These notions, which could be summed up by the word proactive, are encapsulated in the word presence. (p. 47)

Lydon goes on to discuss the nature of the word 'presence' as being derived from '*amorevolezza*', an Italian word for which a loose translation would be 'loving kindness' (p. 47). It is this notion of loving kindness towards young people that provides the foundations for preventive education. Citing Mcpake, Lydon asserts that what Don Bosco had in mind was a 'love that is seen, that is felt, that is experienced' (p. 47).

The Role of the Teacher in Preventive Education

The concept of loving kindness, then, is at the core of Salesian education and it requires that both religious and lay people who work in the programs are able to commit themselves to this vision so that it inspires and is reflected in their practice. Certainly, it was something that guided the practice of both, the Director of the Mobile School project, Fr Jose Sequeira and the Coordinator, Ethel De Souza. Prior to taking up the Director's role with the Mobile School, Fr Jose completed further studies in education and social work and coordinated a youth centre in Panjim, Goa which involved over 1,000 young people in sporting and arts activities. Thus, his life's work signals the 'presence' that is at the heart of Salesian Preventive Education.

The Coordinator expressed similar sentiments:

> In terms of religion and the works I do, I would say, I am always unbiased to the children and the people I work with, as we do not *enforce any religion* (emphasis is the author's). Acceptance of our works and confidence in us is gained when we depict a neutral religious foundation. Working with the Salesians, in fact, does make me grow and increase my faith personally.
>
> Most of our works focus around the values of Reason, Religion, and Loving Kindness. It takes grave efforts and sacrifices to do the works that the Salesians Priests do, not only in Education, but the other works carried out like lighting of Villages Solar lamps, farming

Table 35.1 Student enrolments 2011–2012

Year	Number of children enrolled in the mobile school	Number of children returning to formal schooling
2009	110	59
2010	257	167
2011	318	200
2012	341	225
Total	1,026	651

Figures taken from Don Bosco Konkan Development Society Annual Report 2011–2012, p. 6

> projects in Sulcorna, working with Devdasi system in Karnataka and much more. It is only with patience, faith, prayers and blessings that things move forward. I often experience religion through working with masses, where values of acceptance, perseverance, compassion for all people are practised. A small change in lives makes a big difference in mine. It makes me realize the gifts bestowed on me (correspondence from Ethel De Souza, Mobile School Coordinator, February 20th, 2013).

This attitude, as shared by the Coordinator, clearly reflects the expectations for lay teachers in Catholic schools as articulated in *LCS* (1982):

> The call to personal holiness and to apostolic mission is common to all believers; but there are many cases in which the life of a lay person takes on specific characteristics which transform this life into a specific 'wonderful' vocation within the Church (#7).

To be sure, the success of any educational program is dependent on the teachers who teach it. For instance, Hattie (2003) reports, 'Within schools, teachers are by far the most profound influence. We need to ensure that this greatest influence is optimised to have powerful and sensationally positive effects on the learner (p. 3).

The factors which suggest that the mobile school has been successful in achieving its goals and bringing education to marginalized children may be found in the increase in the number of STCs. In 2012 there were seven STCs in different regions around Goa: Odxel, Ponda 1 and 2, Cortalim, Colvale, Zuari Nagar and Birla. As well, there has been a significant increase in the number of children who have been able to return to formal schooling since 2009 (see Table 35.1). The figures presented are a clear indication of the growing success of the mobile school project and much of this success may be attributed to the dedication and enthusiasm of the educators who have been involved in the organization and teaching of the program from its inception.

Discussion

The overriding objective of the program is to bridge the education gap for those children who are out of school to enable them to enrol or re-enrol in formal secondary schooling. Cognitive learning is focused on teaching children literacy and numeracy skills – that is, basic arithmetic, reading and writing. These are the skills that will make the young people employable. However, cognitive development alone is not enough if an education program seeks to develop the whole child. Attention

must be given to both the affective (for instance, see Le Conru and Collins 2004) and the spiritual dimension of learning (for instance, see de Souza 2006; Hyde 2008). Therefore, it was important to note that both affective and spiritual learning were incorporated into the Mobile School program.

Affective learning is implicit in the goal statement: to create an interest in learning and a value for studying (Don Bosco Mobile School Brochure). As a result of their research study into the role of the affect in learning, Le Conru and Collins (2004) concluded that if children are not to be excluded in a learning program there must be active participation. Active participation enables their voices to be heard, following which, they experience a sense of inclusion which enhances the learning process and their relationship with their teachers. These factors, in turn, promote self esteem and confidence.

Certainly, the Mobile School program offered children opportunities for active participation and their relationship with the teachers was always a focus since this is an essential element in preventive education. As Lydon (2009) noted, a recent perspective on Salesian education from Cardinal Pio Laghi[10] clearly highlights the importance of the teacher's attitude to the student:

> It is a daily attitude, which is neither simply human love nor only supernatural charity; it expresses a complex reality which implies, on the part of the educator, openness, appropriate behaviour… capacity for dialogue, readiness to confront sacrifice, and hard work in carrying out one's mission. (p. 48)

Further, Lydon suggests that Bosco's 'becoming little with the little ones' involved the animator, by definition, in divesting himself of the vestiges of authoritarianism which marked the traditional standpoint of the teacher of the day' (p. 49). In practical terms this means that teachers have to be prepared to move away from a controlling stance and meet students on their own terms where students and teachers are co-learners. It involves 'adults leaving the lofty heights of their 'power over' or even 'power on behalf of' positions in order to engage in a genuine sharing of the bread of life' (Lydon 2009, p. 49).

Finally, learning in the spiritual dimension (de Souza 2006; Hyde 2008) may be identified in the statement contained in the most recent Annual Report of the Konkan Development Society:

> The rootless and roofless are provided a gateway to realize their potential and give their best through activities that help build their confidence, self esteem and equip them with necessary skills in the areas of health, education and lifeskills. (Sequeira 2012, p. 4)

'Building confidence and self esteem' are important elements in nurturing a child's spirituality (for instance, see Adams et al. 2008; de Souza 2003, 2009, 2012; de Souza et al. 2004; Hughes 2007; Hyde 2008). With a positive sense of identity, children are able to experience a sense of belonging within their peer groups and communities.

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[10]Cardinal Laghi, a former Papal Nuncio to the USA, was speaking at the centenary celebrations of Don Bosco's work in the USA.

Spirituality, in this sense, is understood in terms of human relationality and connectedness to the human and non-human world, that is, to self, to Other in the community, Other in the physical and material world and to a Transcendent Other.[11] Thus, if a child has a sense of self and place within his/her community, these experiences should encourage the development of a corresponding sense of purpose which may be aligned with the sense of belonging. As well, there is a greater chance that within a communal framework, the child will discover ways to make meaning of his/her experiences. The confidence that accompanies a positive sense of identity enables the child to be outward looking and more receptive to new ideas and learning (Dent 2005; Moore and Wright 2008). Further, since an aspect of the Mobile School program also included periodic dental and health checks by qualified paediatricians which addressed children's basic health requirements (Sequeira 2012, p. 5), a possible outcome is that some basic physical needs of the children are being fulfilled. It is felt, then, that by addressing these basic needs, there is a greater potential that the child may have moved up the hierarchy of needs (Maslow 1970) so that emotional and spiritual growth may occur.

Since the Salesians are a religious congregation and the mobile school is part of the Catholic faith-based school system in India, there is a values based component to the program that stems from Gospel values. The curriculum utilized is one that has been prepared by a central Catholic authority, the Diocesan Catechetical Centre, Goa. Catechetical education or catechesis concerns:

> the whole efforts within the church to make disciples, to help people to believe that Jesus is the Son of God, so that believing that they might have life in his name, and to educate and instruct them in this life and thus build up the Body of Christ. The church has not ceased to devote her energy to this task. (John Paul II 1979, #1)

As a result, catechesis is usually an essential element in Catholic education. However, in the case of the Mobile School, both the Director and the Coordinator emphasized the fact that no particular faith tradition was given preference over another. Rather, there was an effort to adopt an approach that recognized the different religious backgrounds of the children. In other words, the education aimed to be aware of and responsive to religious diversity. This is an important factor and it must be considered in contemporary classrooms where students come from multicultural and multifaith backgrounds. As Tan asserts,

> religious diversity is a double-edged sword – it can offer enriching spiritual and multicultural perspectives but can also cause interreligious tensions and social disharmony. Education for interreligious engagement is often, therefore, a priority for governments of plural societies. (Tan 2010, p. 361)

Certainly, in a pluralistic global world today, the need for an education that promotes understanding and engagement between different religious groups has been identified (Engebretson et al. 2010). No longer is it sufficient for faith-based schools to restrict education about religion to their own Tradition. Gellel (2010)

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[11] See de Souza's article: Connectedness and Connectedness: The dark side of spirituality, 2012, for a more extensive discussion of this concept as it is being applied here.

recognizes that Denominational Religious Education, that is one with a confessional approach, and Interreligious Education, that is one that adopts a multifaith approach, are often seen as conflicting and irreconcilable but he argues that it is necessary to investigate how the two approaches may be combined because they both 'contribute to the holistic development of pupils, as a key to understanding culture, identity and society and as a means of promoting social cohesion' (p. 441). This is the case with many contemporary faith-based schools in different parts of the world which have recognized the importance of educating their students to be knowledgeable about different religious traditions (Engebretson et al. 2010).

Without doubt, if education programs aim to encourage young people to become active and valuable citizens of future societies, ones who are able to participate in and contribute to the economic, social and spiritual capital and wellbeing of their communities, both at the national and global levels, they must also be knowledgeable and have understanding of the different belief systems and world views that compose contemporary societies which are contextualized by a pluralistic global world. Indeed, the concept of religious citizenship has appeared in the discourse on religious and interreligious education in the past decade. Hudson (2001), for instance, suggests that religious citizenship should be 'pluralist and not secretly secularist or denominational; multifaith and not confessional; reflexive and not Babylonian' (p. 1). Hudson's proposal is generated by the notion of human rights which should provide individuals with rights, capacities and obligations no matter who they are, where they live or what their place in society may be.

Ultimately, in addressing the religious diversity that is evident amongst the students of the Mobile School, loving kindness, human dignity and human rights remain at the core of their education program. Further, it reflects the following aim articulated in the All India Catholic Education Policy 2007:

> In continuation of the long-standing tradition of our educational institutions, we give importance to the spiritual formation of our students of other faiths, who form the vast majority in our schools and colleges. We enable them to see religion as a constructive force in their life and in society. We help them to place the emphasis more on the spiritual aspects of religion than on externals and rituals. We assist them to develop a personal set of values and principles and become persons of character and integrity, internalising the social aspects of their religious traditions and thus leading them to experience personal well-being and to make a contribution to build a better India (CBCI Commission for Education and Culture)

To return to the catechetical curriculum which is used in the program, it is used to develop human values of love, kindness and self esteem as well as acceptance of and compassion for others without aligning these to any particular religion, this provides the 'neutral religious foundation' that the Coordinator, Ethel De Souza spoke of. In fact,

> this is the precise functioning of the Mobile school project in terms of a faith-based school system, where value education is provided to non Catholic students and religion is given to Catholic students. Through Value Education, religion is also brought out for the non Catholic students (Ethel De Souza, in e-mail correspondence, March 15th, 2013).

Specifically, the course booklets are developed sequentially so that Books 5–6 are aimed at 9–11 year olds and Books 7–10 are designed for 12–15 year olds. Each level consists of a Teacher's Guide, a Parent's Companion and a Student's Book.

The Teacher's Guides have the same format: Foreword followed by a page on 'How to use this Book'. This is followed by an Introduction, Notes for the Teacher, Understanding your Pupil and the Teacher's Role. Each chapter in the Teacher's Guide includes suggestions for the teaching and development of the theme along with the student activities. In some instances it includes notes for parents.

The Student's Book includes the Foreword and an Introduction to Students. This is followed by each chapter which is set out with a set text followed by activities where students can write their responses in the booklets. There are many illustrations to catch the eye of the student and there is an additional section: Faith dimension. This consists of a reflective text followed by a 'faith deepening' activity.

The Parent's Companion is a small booklet which contains chapters corresponding to the appropriate Student's Book. There are talking points and suggestions for sharing experiences around each topic. This suggests that parent involvement is considered an important part of the program.

Implicit in the title of each book are non-specific religious values that underpin the program:

Book 5 – *I am God's gift*
Book 6 – *We are gifts*
Book 7 – *Love and family*
Book 8 – *Growing up with others*
Book 9 – *Challenge to grow*
Book 10 – *Facing the future with hope*

The broad themes, topics and objectives address general issues and themes that are relevant for all children and it is possible for them to be taught in such a way that they may remain religiously neutral. For instance, in examining two student books, one from each age group, it is possible to see that the learning and values may be applied in an appropriate manner for a religiously diverse group of children. In Book 5, among the topics which are designed for 9–11 year olds are living with others; Rules and choices; God created me; Stages of life; Staying healthy; My feelings; Reaching out; and My future. These themes are certainly relevant for all children regardless of their belief systems or their social and cultural backgrounds.

The chapter topics in Book 8 aimed at 12–15 year olds are: To be a person; Different people, different styles; Environment; All kinds of relationships; We are wonderfully made; Surprise; Special Issues; and Friendship. Some of the objectives aim to develop deeper understanding of being human, to explore the concept of personality, to understand more about the influence of the environment on the development of the individual, to understand and learn from their mistakes and so on. Again, these themes may be taught in such a way as to reflect the neutral religious foundation that is at the core of the Mobile School Program and they provide useful learning materials to teach the values appropriate for religious citizenship in a religiously pluralistic world.

In general, then the Mobile School offers sound basic education for children who have missed schooling for one reason or another. The main aim to help students catch up on basic learning in language and mathematics so that they can return to the mainstream classroom appears to be achieving a successful outcome. Nevertheless, despite all the positive aspects, there is one issue that needs to be highlighted. This is the fact that the mission and purpose of a Catholic faith-based school is an education in the faith tradition. This does suggest that a certain tension exists between the mission and purpose of a Catholic school and the mission and purpose of a secular Government school that does not recognize or teach about or promote practice in any particular religion. In accommodating this tension, the Director and teachers in the Mobile School took care to explain how they taught the program so that it was inclusive. Thus, references to God are not restricted to a Christian understanding but, instead, communicate an understanding of an inclusive God, one for all people. This is, indeed, the intention but it is difficult to offer any conclusive evidence in this small study as to whether this was, in fact, accomplished. A much more extensive study would need to take place which included data collected from parents and students to determine this factor.

Conclusion

In this chapter different aspects of a Mobile School in Goa, India have been examined. The school is the result of a collaborative effort between the Government of India's Education Department and the Salesian Religious Congregation. Therefore, it may be categorized as a faith-based school system. The Salesians were founded in Italy by a priest, Don Bosco, in the nineteenth century who had a vision for education which he called preventive education. The historical and philosophical underpinnings of preventive education have been set out here, as well as its application to the Mobile School's education program.

Data were collected through individual interviews with key personnel in the project as well as through an analysis of appropriate documents. It was found that the idea of preventive education was foundational to the program and that the teachers appeared to reflect the characteristics required to teach in this system.

The statistics indicate that the Mobile School has been successful given the increasing number of enrolments each year and given that there has been a significant number of students returning to formal schooling after their year in the Mobile School. Thus, the collaborative initiative between the Government and the Religious Congregation has achieved its aims.

As well, the findings suggest that the preventive education system that originated in the nineteenth century in the slums of Turin, Italy, appears to be relevant and has applicability in a contemporary, plural world, particularly in reaching out to and addressing the cognitive, affective and spiritual learning of children and young people who are marginalized in one way or another.

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Chapter 36
Religious Education in Japanese 'Mission Schools': A Case Study of Sacred Heart Schools in Japan

Nozomi Miura rscj

Introduction

The number of 'Christians' has never been large in Japan (less than 1 % of the total population);[1] however, Christianity, in spite of its being a minority religious tradition, has been a uniquely influential element in the Japanese educational system, particularly in women's education. It may be surprising that '[b]y the early 1960s, the number of Christian schools exceeded the number of Buddhist- and Shinto-related institutions combined. While there were 652 Buddhist-related schools, and only 92 Shinto-related schools, there were 840 Christian-related educational institutions (the numbers for each religious tradition includes universities, junior colleges, high schools, junior high schools, elementary schools, and kindergartens.'[2] The situation of private schools today has not been basically altered since that time; 18 % of all private schools[3] are still Christian-related, and two-thirds of religion-related private schools are Christian-related.[4] Various data evince that Christian educational

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[1] The latest statistics show a total membership of 1,072,858 (Protestant [609,641], Catholic [440,301], and Orthodox [10,227] combined), representing 0.845 % of the total population. Thus, in Japan, missionary activities are not really successful in terms of converts and baptisms. *Kirisuto-Kyō Nenkan 2012* (*Christian Year Book*) (Tokyo: Kirisuto-Kyō Shinbun-sha, 2012): 70.

[2] Mark Mullins, 'Japanese Christianity,' in *Nanzan Guide to Japanese Religions*, edited by Paul L. Swanson and Clark Chilson (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006): 120.

[3] In 2007, the percentage of private higher educational institutes in Japan was 89.6 %, while the percentage of private universities reached 76.7 %. From the data 'Asia's Private and Public Higher Education Shares (2001–2008)' in *The Program for Research on Private Higher Education* (PROPHE), retrieved from http://www.albany.edu/dept/eaps/prophe.

[4] Hiroko Sasaki, 'Nihon ni okeru Kirisuto-Kyō-Kei Gakkō no Kyōiku (Education of Religion-related Schools in Japan), in *Shūkyō Kyōiku no Chihei* (*Horizon of Religious Education*), ed. by Kokusai Shūkyō Kenkyūjyo (Tokyo: Akita Shoten, 2007): 106.

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institutions, along with their value system, are well received in Japan. Most Catholic private schools have excelled in their achievements, as evidenced by competitiveness in the entrance exams, or by a high percentage of successful applicants for the major renowned universities; however, this 'reputation' is not the primary aim of Catholic schools.[5] Not only academic achievements but also the well-ordered and peaceful environment of the schools, well-trained teaching staffs, and high levels of parent-teacher collaboration are the main reasons why Catholic schools have gained a good reputation and have been preferred among innumerable private schools in Japan. Indeed, disciplined and faith-based education with emphasis on Christian love and charity is welcomed and respected by Japanese families even though they are not Christians (more than 95 % of students are not Christians in these institutions).

This article delineates an example of Catholic 'mission schools'[6] in Japan: the schools and the colleges of the Sacred Heart, focusing on the religious education in these educational institutions.

History of Christianity in Japan and the Establishment of 'Mission Schools'

As the official record states, the Jesuit missionary Francis Xavier (1506–1552) came to Japan in 1549 to spread Christianity. Starting with this first encounter, missionary activities were quite successful, converting a large number of people in the western part of Japan, and founding a few Christian communities that grew rapidly and included members of ruling class. In the sixteenth century, Japan saw its first 'Christian Era.' The Jesuit missionaries established seminario (the elementary school), collegio (the high school), and noviciado (novitiate). However, as the persecution of Christianity started during the Toyotomi Era (ca. 1590–1603 in the Azuchi-Momoyama period,), and as several banning edicts[7] were issued in the Tokugawa Era (the Edo period, 1603–1868), Christians became 'officially' extinct,

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[5]However, 'Catholic schools in Japan range from the enormously successful to the struggling' (Kozaki, 772). In recent years, mainly due to the decrease of the number of children, many Catholic schools gasp for survival, especially in local prefectures where the orientation for public schools is deeply and strongly ingrained.

[6]'Mission school' is a kind of technical term generally applied to the private Christian schools in Japan, including both Protestant and Catholic schools. Originally, this term was used to designate those private Protestant schools that were established by the support of the North American Mission Board after the Meiji restoration. While this is the definition of 'mission school' in a narrow sense, today the Japanese people usually employ this term to signify the Christian schools in general. Most Protestant schools now articulate that they are 'Christian schools' rather than 'mission schools,' however.

[7]Japanese martyrs ran to a considerable number, ranging from 5,000 to 30,000 that include Japanese Jesuits and missionaries.

although Christianity went underground and there remained 'crypto-Christians' in the far-western part of Japan.[8] About 150 years later, when Japan was in the confusing transition from the samurai feudal system to a new Meiji government,[9] again the Christian missionaries—mainly Protestants[10]—came to Japan and began to establish language schools and colleges. The last decade of the 1800s marked the burgeoning of Christian institutions of higher education in Japan,[11] while Catholic schools remained on the elementary and middle school levels.[12] In the late nineteenth century, it appeared that a second 'Christian Era' was beginning in Japan. However, the gradually stabilized Meiji government, aiming to subtly infuse its new ideology of the Imperial system and State Shintoism into the public mentality, advanced the legal procedures to separate 'education' and 'religion' (chiefly Buddhism and Christianity)[13] in a modern public educational system, especially, under the sway of the Imperial Rescript on Education (*Kyōiku Chokugo* 1890). Thus, the private 'Mission Schools' were put under the tight control of the government in the late Meiji period up to the 1940s as Japan headed into World War II.

The post-war Constitutions (1947), with its principle of religious freedom and separation of religion and state (Article 20 of Constitutions), introduced a totally new political and social framework—and a new educational system as well—in Japan under the strong guidance of the GHQ (General Headquarters, Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers). Although the separation of religion and education became a basic tenet of the Japanese educational system in public schools thereafter, in private schools—whether Buddhist-related, Shinto-related, or Christian-related mission schools—religious education is allowed and appreciated ('religious freedom' in Article 20), and this educational situation continues to the present time. Usually, religious education is categorized into three aspects: (1) education of religious knowledge (*chisiki kyōiku*), (2) education of religious sentiments (*jōsō kyōiku*), and (3) denominational education (*shûha kyōiku*). In public schools, the first type of religious education is permitted, and the second type of religious education is the target of constant debate. 'Moral education' (*Dōtoku*; literally means 'the way of virtue') introduced in public schools (elementary and junior high schools) in 1958

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[8] In the Nagasaki area, a group of hidden Christians (*kakure kirisitan*) secretly maintained their faith despite the persecution during the Edo period.

[9] The Meiji restoration was in 1868, and the freedom of religion was promulgated in 1873.

[10] Protestant missionaries arrived in Japan for the first time in the nineteenth century, and this was also when the Orthodox Church (the Russian Orthodox Church) came.

[11] Many Protestant private colleges were founded: the predecessors of Aoyama Gakuin University (1874), Rikkyo University (St. Paul University, 1874), Kobe College (1875), Doshisha University (1875), and Meiji Gakuin University (1886).

[12] For the early missionary activities in nineteenth century in Japan, see Jiro Kozaki's article on 'Catholic Schools in Japan: Context and Contemporary Challenges,' in *International Handbook of Catholic Education: Challenges for School Systems in the 21st Century*, eds. By Gerald Grace and Joseph O'Keefe, SJ. (Dordrecht, Netherlands: Springer, 2007): 771–772.

[13] The *Meiji* government declared that Shintoism was not a religion but government-centered rituals of worship; all Shinto priests officially became government employees.

and 'Ethics/Social Sciences' (*Rinri/Shakai*) in high schools in 1963 tried to address the education of religious knowledge in public schools. Meanwhile, in private schools, all three types of religious education are permitted. However, none of the mission schools aim to proselytize students today, but rather to impart the Gospel values and Christian humanism.[14]

The Society of the Sacred Heart—St. Madeleine Sophie Barat and Her Educational Mission

The Society of the Sacred Heart is an international religious congregation of women in the Catholic Church, founded in 1800 by Madeleine Sophie Barat (1779–1865)[15] in France. In 1801, she started the first school for girls in Amiens, in the north of France; the Society established 122 schools for girls in 16 countries of Europe and North and South America during the time that Madeleine Sophie served as the first Superior General (1806–1865) of the Society. Today, members of the Society, known as the Religious of the Sacred Heart (RSCJ),[16] continue the apostolic mission 'to reveal Love of God' (Constitutions #4)[17] through the service of education of youth in 41 countries around the world with more than 2,500 members. The Society has contributed to the education of young women since its foundation;[18] the history and tradition of Sacred Heart education is well known for 'its excellence and eccentricity.'[19] With its fine reputation for its highly disciplined education and the courteous manner of its students, the educational tradition has formed thousands of 'Sacred Heart family members' over the more than two 200 years since its founding.

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[14]Nobutaka Inoue, Atarasii Kyokumen wo Mukaeta Gendai no Shukyō Kyōiku (Current Religious Education Facing New Situations), in *Shūkyō Kyōiku no Nikkan Hikaku* (A Comparative Study of Religious Education in Japan and Korea) (Tokyo: Kokugakuin Daigaku Press, 2002): 4-17; Dorothea Filus, 'Religious Education in Contemporary Japan,' in *International Handbook of the Religious, Moral, and Spiritual Dimensions in Education* (2009):1040–1041.

[15]For her life story and the history of the Society, see the followings. Phil Kilroy, *Madeleine Sophie Barat: A Life* (Cork, Ireland: Cork University Press, 2000); eadem, *The Society of the Sacred Heart in the 19th Century France, 1800–1865* (Cork, Ireland: Cork University Press, 2012); Monique Luirard, *Madeleine-Sophie Barat (1779–1865): Une éducatrice au coeur du monde, au coeur du Christ* (Nouvelle Cité, 1999).

[16]The name of the Society is Société du Sacré-Coeur in French; in English, Society of the Sacred Heart. The abbreviation used is actually that for members, RSCJ, which stands for Religieuses du Sacré-Coeur de Jésus, or Religious of the Sacred Heart of Jesus.

[17]*Constitutions: Société du Sacré-Coeur de Jésus* (Institut Apostolique de Droit Pontificial, 1987).

[18]Education for young boys was also included from the start in parish church schools and elementary levels of schools, however.

[19]Patricia Byrne, C.S.J., 'A Tradition of Educating Women: The Religious of the Sacred Heart and Higher Education,' *US Catholic Historian*, vol. 13: 4 (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1995): 49.

Plan des Etudes (The Plan of Studies),[20] the curriculum and instructional manual for the teachers of the Sacred Heart schools, was first edited in 1805 and repeatedly revised.[21] Thanks to the Plan of Studies, the Society could maintain its consistent quality of education even though its schools expanded throughout the world. It helped by instructing the schools about the common content of education and by integrating the religious education into each subject according to grade level.

The foundation of the educational institutions in Japan by the Society of the Sacred Heart was initiated at the request of the Roman Pontiff in 1906 to establish the institutes of higher education in Japan, for at that time such Catholic establishments were non-existent. Pope Pius X asked the Society of Jesus to found tertiary level education for men, and the Society of the Sacred Heart for women. Accepting this papal request, Mother Mabel Digby (the 5th Superior General) sent four members of the Australian vicariate to Japan in 1908.[22] Soon they started the Sacred Heart School for Foreigners (known as *Gogakkō*, later, as the International School of the Sacred Heart), the Japanese elementary school, and the kindergarten; in 1909, these schools were chartered (accredited) by the government. In 1910, *Kōtō-Jogakkō* (the high school) was also established and chartered. In 1916, *Kōtō-Senmon-Gakkō* (Teacher Training College in English) was founded for their higher education, and this institution became the predecessor of the University of the Sacred Heart in Tokyo. The Teacher Training College later branched out to include

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[20]Inspired by François de Fénelon's *De L'Éducation des Filles* and Mme de Maintenon's la maison de Saint-Cyr, and influenced by the Jesuit educational curricula, *Plan des Etudes (The Plan of Studies)* was composed as an instructional manual for the teachers of the Sacred Heart Schools. 'It excelled by integrating religion, philosophy, history, and literature.' (Byrne, 50).

[21]*The Plan of Studies* was revised seven times while Madeleine Sophie was alive (1806, 1810, 1820, 1826, 1833, 1852, and 1864), and the 9th edition was issued in 1922, under the leadership of Mother Janet Erskine Stuart (1911–1914), the 6th Superior General, a prominent educator of the Society, although its completion was under Mother Maria de Loë (1915–1928), the 7th Superior General. The 24th General Chapter in 1952 declared that thereafter *the Plan of Studies* should be made according to each Province. In 1954, *L'Esprit et le Plan des Études dans La Société du Sacré-Coeur de Jésus* was issued to summarize the essential spirit of education of the Sacred Heart. Today, the educational orientation has been expressed through the Documents of General Chapters. In 1988, the International Education Commission published the important educational document, *Education—A Commitment*. Cf. Kiyo Yamagata, rscj, 'Spirit of Christian Education and the Means for Its Implementation,' *Seishin Joshi Daigaku Ronsō*, vol.88 (Tokyo: University of the Sacred Heart, Tokyo, 1997): 61–62, 66–68.

[22]The First missionaries came from the Australia vicariate, included three Irish and one New Zealander sisters. In the beginning of the 20th century, the French government issued a series of the Laws of separation of State and Religion. The Waldeck-Rousseau Law in 1901 resulted in the exile of thousands of monks and nuns; hence, all the religious convents and schools of the Sacred Heart were closed in the French Province from 1902 to 1909. '[S]ome 2,500 religious became 'displaced persons' who quickly resettled—abroad.… Soon the furnishings from the French houses appeared in surprising places—such as Tokyo!' Margaret Williams, rscj, *The Society of the Sacred Heart in the Far East: 1908–1980* (Tokyo: The Far Eastern Province, 1982): 12–13; eadem, *The Society of the Sacred Heart: History of A Spirit 1800-1975* (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1978): 148ff.

departments in Japanese literature and history, and began to receive high social esteem and recognition, which contributed to advancing it up to the University of the Sacred Heart in 1948 under the new postwar educational system.

The Sacred Heart Schools in Japan (*Seishin Joshi Gakuin*)

The Sacred Heart Schools (the SH schools, henceforth) in Japan consist of one college (University of the Sacred Heart, Tokyo), one Professional Training College (SH Professional Training College), and five schools (Sapporo SH Schools [junior high and high schools], Sacred Heart School, Tokyo [elementary, junior high, and high schools], Fuji SH School [junior high and high schools], and Obayashi SH School [elementary, junior high, and high schools], and International School of the Sacred Heart, Tokyo [kindergarten, elementary, junior high, and high schools]).[23] Except for the kindergarten of the International School, all these institutions are female single-sex schools. All these affiliated schools and colleges are under the supervision of Sacred Heart School Corporation in Japan.[24]

According to the SH Principles of Education, 'the Sacred Heart Schools endeavor to help the students grow to be women of wisdom, who know that each one is unique and precious in God's Love, have a sense of solidarity and mission as a global citizen, and are ready to commit themselves towards building a better world.'[25] Based on this distinctive educational philosophy of developing 'the whole person' (*Zenjin Kyōiku*),[26] the SH Schools value (1) the religious education (nurturing of soul), (2) intellectual training (enrichment of mind), and (3) promotion of practicality (fostering the power to act).[27] Regardless of the grade of pupils and students, the educational principles are common to all SH schools and colleges in

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[23] Cf. School Corporation of the SH Schools in Japan (http://www.Honbu.sacred-heart.jp). Among them, International School of the SH holds a unique position. The school follows *the Goals and Criteria* of the Network of SH Schools in the US Province. *The Goals and Criteria* were compiled in response to the General Chapter of 2008.

[24] Sacred Heart School Corporation in Japan (Seishin Joshi Gakuin Gakkō Housin). Cf. http://www.honbu-sacred-heart.jp.

[25] From the brochure of School Corporation of SH Schools in Japan.

[26] Kiyo Yamagata, rscj, 'University of the Sacred Heart in the New Era,' *Seishin Joshi Daigaku Ronsō*, vol.100 (Tokyo: University of the Sacred Heart, Tokyo, 2003): 9-11.

[27] Kiyo Yamagata, rscj, 'Spirit of Christian Education and the Means for Its Implementation,' *Seishin Joshi Daigaku Ronsō*, vol.88 (Tokyo: University of the Sacred Heart, Tokyo, 1997): 62–66. Cf. Sumiko Iba, rscj, 'A Study of the Sacred Heart Education—with a Focus on Plans of Studies (1852)—,' in *Seishin-kai ni okeru Gakushū no Seishin to Sidou Yōryō (L'Esprit et le Plan des Études dans La Société du Sacré-Coeur de Jésus)*, trans. by Sumiko Iba (Tokyo: The Society of the SH, the Japan Province, 1986): 400–428; Machiko Yamashita, 'Report on the Research Commission on the Educational Principles of Seishin Joshi Gakuin,' *Catholic Joshi Kyōiku Kenkyū*, vol.11 (Tokyo: Research Institute for Catholic Education for Women, 2004): 193–206.

Japan. While reflecting the Euro-American tenor, the SH schools in Japan have established a unique SH educational legacy in their own cultural/social milieu. As so-called 'missionary carriers'[28] retired from the Japanese SH schools and colleges, the Japan Province has steered its own educational orientation, trying to 'inculturate'[29] its own educational legacy in Japanese soil and appropriating it in its domestic culture and society.

This movement was facilitated in the 1960s and 1970s as the impact of the Second Vatican Council on the Catholic mission schools was felt. Under the influence of *aggiornamento* (modernization, 'bringing up to date') of the Catholic Church, Catholic mission schools—all of which are congregation-sponsored schools—were obliged to reflect upon the efficacy of their apostolic works in educational institutions in the light of their religious charism. In fact, some mission schools decided to withdraw the religious members from the educational institutions and to hand the institutions over to lay people.[30] However, within its original charism, the Society of the Sacred Heart has embraced formal school education since its establishment; thus, basically we have continued the same educational mission throughout and since Vatican II. As Vatican II closed, the Church asked religious congregations to return to the spirit of their founders, which resulted in many changes to the style of religious life. Examples include the removal of cloister and of the wearing of habits, neither of which were desired by Madeleine Sophie, and the widening of the fields of educational mission of the Society to include a variety of works, which were always a part of Madeleine Sophie's vision. Catholic mission schools strived to follow the instructions of the Vatican II document on Catholic education—'Declaration of Christian Education (*Gravissimum Educationis*)' (1965), and ensuing documents by the Congregation for Catholic Education ('Catholic Schools' [1977], 'Lay Catholics: Witnesses to Faith' [1982], and 'Religious Dimension of Education in a Catholic School' [1988]). Catholic Bishops' Conference of Japan (CBCJ) also issued 'For the Fulfillment of the Education of Catholic Schools' (*Katorikku Gakkō Kyōiku no Jūjitsu wo Motomete* 1990).

Today, the SH schools in Japan have surely shared the common challenges that most Catholic schools are facing; the diminishment of sisters (brothers/priests), difficulties in hiring lay Christian teachers, and gender bias for single-sex schools. However, the School Corporation has endeavored to address these problems and to find an appropriate path. For setting up a framework of educational programs, the SH School Corporation established a Research Institute for Catholic Education of

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[28] Mullins, 'Japanese Christianity,' 119. Cf. Mullins, *Christianity Made in Japan: A Study of Indigenous Movements* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1998).

[29] Catholics use the term of 'inculturation,' while Protestants employ 'contexualization.' (Mullins, 'Japanese Christianity,' 120).

[30] For example, the Sister of the Infant Jesus [Dames de Saint-Maur], which started Catholic mission schools as early as 1872 in Japan, decided to—gradually but steadily—withdraw the religious sisters from the education institutions in the post-Vatican II period due to their original charism for the materially poor and disadvantaged children and young people.

Women in 1989 to organize and promote Catholic education of women, and to support the practice of school education in the twenty-first century. Also, the School Corporation has formulated the a ***Curriculum of Religion Classes*** (1993)[31] for junior high and high schools, as a manual for the teachers of religion classes, giving the overview program and the contents/themes to be taken up in each grade. The curriculum was composed by the collaboration of a Research Team (teachers of religion classes—including both religious sisters and lay teachers) in the affiliated schools, and completed in 1993. The draft plan of the curriculum was distributed to each affiliated school and put to use in religion classes. Later, the curriculum was revised from 1998 to 2000. In 2000, the final version of the curriculum was finished (Cf. ***Table 36.1: The Summary of the Curriculum of Religion Classes***).[32] The program was created to enable the lay religion teachers and sisters to follow the guidelines of SH religious education and to create her/his own classes appropriate for each grade.

Religion Classes in Junior High and High Schools

Nurturing the Soul

Being private mission schools, the SH schools have taken full advantage of implementing all three aspects of religious education (education of religious knowledge, education of religious sentiments, and denominational [Catholic] education). While maintaining the focus on academic excellence (focusing on 'intellectual training' [enrichment of mind]), the Catholic mission schools are keenly aware that academics are insufficient without actualizing the whole personhood of students through religious education—that is, 'nurturing the soul.'

Today, sisters and lay teachers carry out religion classes hand in hand, complementing each other. In the affiliated SH schools (which we call 'Sister Schools' [*Shimai-kō*]), the religion class is scheduled to be once a week (50 min) in each grade. Thus, students of the SH have religion classes normally 6 years in elementary school, 3 years in junior high school, and 3 years in high school—which means that students take up to 12 years of religion classes until they graduate from high school at the age of 18.[33] When possible, religion classes are scheduled to take place during

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[31] For the details of the formation of this curriculum, see the following. The Committee for the Compilation of the Curriculum of Religion Classes 'Religion Curriculum of the SH Schools—the Formation of the Sense of Values that Live the Love of Christ,' *Catholic Joshi Kyōiku Kenkyū*, vol. 8 (Tokyo: Research Institute for Catholic Education for Women, 2001): 53–62.

[32] The Committee for the Compilation of the Curriculum of Religion Classes 'Religion Curriculum of the SH Schools—the Formation of the Sense of Values that Live the Love of Christ,' 60–61.

[33] In the case of the Sacred Heart School in Tokyo, the School introduced the 4-4-4 grade system, which differs from the ordinary Japanese grade system (6-3-3), in order to better correspond with the physical and developmental growth of children.

Table 36.1 Summary of *the Curriculum of Religion Classes*

Aims of Religious Education: the Formation of Various Values to Live the Love of Christ

1. To make a base of Christian values
   * The Mind of Christ and His Way of Life
   * Moral/ethical values as a basis for spiritual and ethical guidance
   * The way of life as a member of a community
   * Prayers

2. To make bloom the life of humans beloved by Christ
   * The spirit of service and its practice
   * The power to act for the realization of justice and peace in society

	Junior High 1	Junior High 2	Junior High 3	High 1	High 2	High 3	As necessary
Building up "Kingdom of God" together / **Themes for each Grade**	To nurture the attitude to cherish myself and others as beings in the loving look of God			To build up a community based on the values of Christ	To foster critical thinking, judgment, and practicality based on Gospel values; to think about my way of life and choose it		
	To orient my mind to God	To know myself as one who is accepted and loved by God	To know myself as a member of community	The world and myself	My mission in salvation history	To orient myself to the future	
Jesus Christ	**The Sacred Heart/Mary**	To know the life of Christ	To follow the life of Christ	**To know Who Jesus is Death and Resurrection Love**	**Mass Catholic Church**	Catholic Church	
The Bible	**How to use the Bible reading the Bible**	The Four Gospels		**The New Testament (background and formation)**	**The Old Testament (background and formation)**	Pray with the Bible (the Psalms)	
Prayers	**Silence/prayer with mind and body the Lord's Prayer, Ave Maria Thanksgiving/pray for others**	Prayer in/with nature	Reflections (awareness)	Pray for the world	Mass		
My Self	Joy of living in relationship with others	**The power bestowed for me/myself loved by God**	Personal history	To know myself (as a co-creator)	Self-realization	**To live as a woman (marriage and religious life)**	
					Summary of Christianity		
Society	To know and to recognize difference (bullying)	Relationship with persons close to me (family, friends, school)	**Community (society)**	**To suffer together to relate (the Earth community)**	summary of SH education	**The Good News of "the Kingdom of God"**	Discrimination
Life and Environment		Universe and God/Creation/Life as a Gift (sex education)		Environment		Reverence for life	
Ethics			**Good and evil conscience**	Sin and forgiveness		**Life and death religious cults**	
The Sacred Heart Schools	The meanings of religious ceremonies St. Madeleine Sophie						
In collaboration of other subjects					Peace/hidden Christians and martyrs		Interreligious education

[a] The shaded sections with bold print are compulsory themes in the grade
[b] This is just a 'summary' of the Curriculum; the contents and instructions of each class are compiled in books

one of the morning periods of the day, although the tight schedule of the curriculum makes it impossible to always put them in ideal places. Their location at the best period simply articulates the value of religion classes in the SH education. The religion class is the 'backbone' of the educational program in the SH schools. Also, religion classes in the SH schools are exempt from the grading system, although many other mission schools (especially, Protestant mission schools) introduce grading into religion classes—usually through examinations and tests—to evaluate each student just as in other subjects. In the SH schools, the fundamental intent of religion class is the encounter of each student with Jesus Christ; thus, the teacher of the religion class aims to be connected with each student in the spiritual dimension and to promote a prayerful atmosphere in each class. Students accept religion class as their time for reflection, cultivation, and development of their mind and soul. The religion classes usually start with reflections/prayers and hymns. While teaching basic knowledge about Christianity and the episodes of the Bible according to *the Curriculum*, religion class is regarded as a 'special subject' for their spiritual guidance, and it surely formulates an integral part of the whole educational process.

The SH education gives emphatic priority to 'writing.' The legacy of SH education emphasizes the development of the student's 'critical thinking' through the training of thinking, understanding, discussing, and then integrating her own ideas; in training for integration, 'writing' is given importance in various ways. Thus, in religion class, the students are also required to think and express themselves in written words. In this sense, the notebook of religion class functions as a kind of personal correspondence between the teacher and each student. Needless to say, the affirmative and positive relationship between the teacher and students is the important base of religion classes; a good relationship with the teacher of religion lays the groundwork for students to nurture their sense of trust and confidence, which makes it possible for them to open themselves freely and naturally to others—that, in turn, facilitates them to open their minds toward the domain of transcendental Being. A student begins to know the person of Jesus Christ and his limitless love for her through the personality of the teacher. Each student describes in her notebook or reaction papers what she feels and thinks in response to the religion class contents, and the teacher collects them after the class and comments on their notes or reaction papers. The repetition of their exchange builds up their personal intimacy and confidence, which all the more enables them to honestly write about their feelings and their thoughts about their interior world, about relationships with friends and families, and about God (the transcendental Being). In this way, the teachers of religion classes try to be attentive to nurture the soul of each student.

Religious Sentiments and Prayer/Reflection

For the formation of Christian values and religious sentiments (*jōsō kyōiku*), the SH Schools underscore the education of affection and sensibilities. This aspect may be characteristic to female single-sex mission schools, featuring aesthetic sensibility and receptivity. In the SH Schools, religious ceremonies are celebrated throughout

the year:[34] the celebration of St. Madeleine Sophie Barat in May, the celebration of the Sacred Heart in June, Rosary Week in May and October, the Mass for the Deceased and the celebration of St. Philippine Duchesne[35] in November, the Lily Procession in December, and Christmas Wishing (also called Christmas Pageant, or Tableaux). Female images of the Virgin Mary—particularly, *Mater Admirabilis*[36] of the SH schools—and the saints of the Society (Madeleine Sophie Barat and Philippine Duchesne) become the models for students of ideal women who realized the life of integration of prayer, studies, and service to others in the love of God. All these religious ceremonies aim to foster the sense of holiness and transcendence as well as to promote aesthetic sensibility and creativity; sometimes students exhibit their unique abilities by decorating the altar or a nearby display with flowers and prayers. The Schools have Mass periodically, such as the Commencement Mass, Memorial Mass or Christmas Mass. Students from first-year Junior High to third-year High School set up a liturgy committee under the supervision of teachers and actively organize the execution of Mass and other religious ceremonies. Non-Catholic students also take roles in preparing the Mass and conducting religious ceremonies.

Here lies one of the advantages of female single-sex schools. Religious sentiments are shared among the students of a peer group in the same gender more easily and effectively. Aesthetic sensibility and receptivity seem to be enhanced among a single-gender group of students. All the committees are formulated by the students from first-year Junior High to third-year High School, and the leaders are usually second- or third-year High School students. The heads of the committees demonstrate their full leadership, organizing the meetings of the committee and executing some projects, whereas female students in co-educational schools are more likely to place themselves at the supportive positions to male students. Also, senior students function as 'models' for lower-grade students.[37] They surely share the same gender of 'nurturing life and helping life grow' (General Chapter 1994, p. 25).

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[34]The meanings of religious ceremonies are explained in religion classes through junior high to high school (see **Table 36.1**).

[35]St. Philippine Duchesne, rscj (1769–1852) was one of the prominent members of the Society of the Sacred Heart. She pioneered the overseas missionary activities, leaving France for America as early as 1818. She laid the groundwork for the US Province, and she was canonized in 1988. For her life, see the following; Catherine M. Mooney, *Philippine Duchesne: A Woman with the Poor* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock Publishers, 2007).

[36]Mary called *Mater Admirabilis* is a fresco at Trinità dei Monti, Rome, painted by Sister Pauline Perdrau in 1844. This image of Virgin Mary is the symbol of an ideal woman for all the SH schools in the world.

[37]The beautiful and elegant ways of speech and behavior of senior students (and the older students of the affiliated college)—even their sophisticated ways of wearing school uniforms and their hairstyles—work well for the lower-grade students as images of the possibilities for adolescent female students. Among the early graduates were those female leaders—Sadako Ogata (the former Head of UN Commission of Refugees), Sr. Kazuko Watanabe (the former President of Notre Dame Seishin University), and Atsuko Suga (a writer). Also, Ayako Sono (a novelist) and Michiko Shōda (the Empress) are the graduates from the University of the Sacred Heart, Tokyo, in its early days. Working as a 'hidden curriculum,' the collaboration and reciprocal interactions of female students in their friendly rivalry and admiration bring about a better outcome for their physical and spiritual growth as women and become a vehicle to promote a successful SH legacy.

The schools have a morning assembly that starts with prayer (*the Angelus, Ave Maria*, or another prayer), in which students—regardless of their faith—pray together in silence. For example, at Fuji SH school, everyone—teacher, office staff, or student—stops her/his action while the tower bell sounds *the Angelus*, and stands motionless in silence. Also, at Sapporo SH School, in homeroom classes, before and after the homeroom period, the students are to pray in silence for about 5 min with their homeroom teacher; this silent time is called 'Reflection' during which they reflect personally on their own thoughts and emotions in silence.[38] Silence naturally penetrates the minds of Japanese teachers and students, producing a time and space quite similar to prayers in their minds, which lays the foundation of their religious formation. Evidently, this silent time in daily school life makes the campus of the SH distinctively different from the outside world—where are fraught with incessant movements and noise in the materialistic and consumerist pretense.

Silence, indeed, is the key for constituting the 'climate' of the entire school. In *the Curriculum*, too, silence is the significant introduction to religion class for first-year Junior High students (Cf. **Table 36.1**). As Chapter Document 2008 confirms:

> We recognize that activism and dispersion diminish the quality of our life. Instead we are called to stop, to choose silence and to open and let ourselves to be opened to our inner depths where the Spirit of God allows us to feel, see and understand life and reality with God's heart. When we allow our bodies to be silent, our senses awaken and we are able to hear the voice of the Spirit within us. Then in the secret place of the heart the Spirit gradually transforms our feelings and responses, and draws us into an intimate relationship with God (*Contemplation*, General Chapter 2008, p. 21).

Even non-Christian teachers and students have no resistance to the silent time that permeates the air of the school. As a Japanese, everyone shares and knows the quality of silence. The calmness and peacefulness experienced in silence becomes the keynote for the climate of the whole school, as if to weave up the hearts of all people in the school community together. It definitely communicates that the SH school presumes the existence of a transcendent Being—something (someone) beyond our ordinary experience but intriguingly innate to our souls.

Promotion of Practicality

Another element deeply related to religion class is the promotion of practicality. In order to foster the power to act according to these Gospel values, the SH schools promote volunteer works for their local community as a part of the educational program to inculcate service for others as a natural part of life. Usually, volunteer activities are encouraged for students as extra-curricular activities, sometimes supporting these through homeroom activities. Conducted as a part of extra-curricular activities, students go out of school to serve at various institutions (hospitals or

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[38] Religion class in junior high 3 focuses on 'reflection' (Cf. **Table 36.1**).

homes for elderly or handicapped people) or in their local community. Programs vary from one to SH school to another. In most of the SH schools, on the Feast of the Sacred Heart students dedicate themselves to service through volunteer activities.

Also, each SH school has its own study tour program in the Asian countries.[39] The network of the SH is worldwide, reflecting the international character of the Society of the Sacred Heart. In schooling, students are guided to be aware of diversity in cultures and to have tolerance for this diversity. A true sense of internationality starts with accepting in one's mind the realities of oneself and of others in one's own locality. Then the capacity of one's acceptance/tolerance must be widened to respond to the needs of the world, to foster the sense of global issues, and to ensure our internationality as a gift and a responsibility. High school students of the Sister Schools freely participate in these study tours, while the host school mainly organizes and conducts the whole schedule of the tours. Different from the summer programs for studying foreign languages,[40] these study tours aim at developing the sense of the diversity of different cultures, as well as the sense of justice and peace in the globalized world. As a citizen of the same planet Earth, students learn their responsibility and sense of togetherness (*Kyōsei*), figuring out what each student can do in her present situation, and will be able to do in the future, for the betterment of the world. As the Chapter Document of 2008 states:

> Journeying with peoples of different contexts, races, and cultures, and listening profoundly to the joys and suffering of humanity have allowed us to be touched by the poverty, inequality, exclusion, violence, and environmental destruction that are present in today's world. We recognize with greater clarity the interconnectedness of global realities and the impact that these have on our local situations. We are more aware of the marginalizing effects of globalization and of cultures of dominance and exclusion. (*Justice, Peace and Integrity of Creation in Solidarity with Those Who Are Most Vulnerable*, General Chapter 2008, p. 26).

Characteristically, the study tours focus on the reflection of each student since the integration of her experience in her own interiority is an important aspect of the study tour. During the tour, students reflect on their daily experience when they come back to their lodgings and they share their experience. Sharing and reflection play a particularly important part in deepening and integrating their experience. Every morning, students and teachers pray together as they do in the schools and start the tour day. The practice of reflection—and therefore religious orientation—penetrates the program of the study tour. Thus, the study tours are usually organized by the teachers of religion and the social sciences, in collaboration.

In this way, all through the school life, the students face themselves, others (locally and globally), and God through these reflections, prayers, and practicality.

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[39] Obayashi SH School has a study tour for Philippines; Sapporo SHS, for Thailand; Tokyo SHS, for Cambodia; Fuji SHS, for Korea.

[40] The SH schools in Japan develop the programs for experiencing internationality and studying foreign languages, through the world-wide network of the SH schools. For example, Tokyo SH School has exchange programs for Australia and New Zealand; Fuji SHS, for the USA and Malta; Sapporo SHS, for Canada, France, and the USA; Obayashi SHS, for Australia.

The combination of trainings (nurturing the soul, enrichment of the mind, and fostering the power to act) is a characteristic feature of the SH education and significant for developing a sense of self-knowledge, of reaching out to others, and of becoming aware of transcendent Being and his love. By the age of 18, the students of the SH Schools all share the same SH Spirit and sense of being 'Children of the Sacred Heart.'

The execution of the balanced curriculum in Japan is possible mainly because the students of these Sisters Schools are guaranteed acceptance into the University of the Sacred Heart, Tokyo (*Seishin Joshi Daigaku*), as their affiliated liberal arts college.[41] Although not all students enter the affiliated college, the presence of the affiliated college and the preferential entrance to it guard SH schools against the immense pressure of the preparation for entrance examinations for higher education that most private and public schools are subject to undergo in contemporary Japan. The education of the SH in Japan is relatively free from the focus on university entrance mock examination scores and their standard deviations; thus, students spend their student life in a more relaxed and balanced manner. The graduates from these 'Sister Schools' constitute about 27 % of the total number of students of the University of the SH, Tokyo[42] is not too much to say that by their very presence these students create the ambience of the University and make it 'Catholic.'[43]

Those students who enter the University of the Sacred Heart continue their academic studies in the same SH climate. Religious education at the university is chiefly carried out by the academic courses of Christian Studies I and II. In order to promote the sense of faith-based Christian values, the University requires all the students to take Christian Studies I and II as General Subjects (required subjects), a total of 8 credits toward graduation. Christian Studies I is the obligatory subject

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[41] The University of the Sacred Heart, Tokyo, was established in 1948, first as The International College of the Sacred Heart, and in 1953 with the present title. 'It followed the pattern of American private liberal arts colleges with a religious commitment, notably Manhattanville.' (Margaret Williams, rscj, *The Society of the Sacred Heart in the Far East* (The Far Eastern Province, Tokyo 1982):161. 'Manhattanville' refers to Manhattanville College in New York). The Society set about opening institutions of higher education for women in the early 1900s, and in the US Province 10 colleges were established up to 1949. These colleges are: '**Grand Coteau Normal School and College**, Grand Coteau, Louisiana (1914[4-year-college, 1939]-1956; **Clifton**, Cincinnati (1915–1935); **Duchesne**, Omaha (1915?/1917?-1968); **Manhattanville**, New York (1917-); **Barat**, Lake Forest (1918–2005); **Forest Ridge Junior College** (1918–1937); **Maryville**, St. Louis (1920-); **San Francisco College for Women** (Lone Mountain College) (1921 [as Junior College at Menlo Park] 1929 [as San Francisco College for Women]-1978); **Newton**, Newton, Massachusetts (1946–1974); **San Diego College for Women** (1949–1972).' (Cf. Patricia Byrne, C.S.J., 'A Tradition of Educating Women: The Religious of the Sacred Heart and Higher Education,' 49).

[42] Data Retrieved from HP of the University of the Sacred Heart (http://www.u-sacred-heart.ac.jp/about/grading/pdf/data12.pdf).

[43] In addition to the graduates from Sister schools of SH, the graduates from the Christian-related high schools (both Catholic and Protestant) amount to 30 %; thus, roughly 2/3 of the freshmen come from 'mission schools.'

for freshmen (or sophomores), and Christian Studies II is for juniors (or seniors). Based on the educational principle of the university—Christian humanism—and a thorough background in liberal arts education, the students are to take two years of Christian Studies so that they understand Christian values in a more scholarly manner through academic courses.

Formation of Religion Class Teachers in the SH Schools

The Curriculum presents a framework and basic orientations for religion classes of each grade; however, there are no textbooks or materials—except for the Bible (both Old and New Testament) and the hymn book—commonly used among the teachers. The quality of religion classes thus depends largely upon the capabilities and abilities of each teacher. Religion classes particularly require the teacher's sincerity and faithfulness, since students learn not from simply acquiring knowledge about Christianity or the Bible but from their teacher's personal attitude towards God. Therefore, the on-going formation of the religion class teachers is an indispensable aspect of religious education.

For many years the education of the SH has been carried out by the collaboration of the religious sisters and lay teachers; thus, the sharing of the educational legacy is an integral part of our mission: '[h]er (Madeleine Sophie's) heritage belongs to us all.'[44] For new teachers (not only religion class teachers but also teachers of other subjects), the School Corporation gives a training seminar prior to the beginning the new school year, so that each teacher understands the mission statement and the principles of education of the SH schools. The SH School Corporation gives a variety of opportunities of seminars and workshops to improve the quality and spirituality of teachers. Once or twice a year, usually during the spring or summer holidays, the School Corporation carries out a joint-workshop (or seminar) for teachers of the Sister Schools, in which specialists of various fields are invited to give lectures on their specialties and class methods. These Training seminars include the seminar for the fifth-year teachers of Sisters Schools, the seminar for fifteenth-year teachers, the seminar for middle management staff, and the seminar for the office managers. In addition, some particular subjects such as Japanese and Science regularly hold meetings to discuss the management of the curriculum and how to achieve appropriate education in light of Gospel values. With regard to religion class, attempts were made to organize similar subject meetings among the religion class teachers, but it has not yet fully actualized on a regular basis. All of these training seminars aim to share the common value of SH educational principles. They also operate as opportunities for the teachers of the Sister Schools to share the joys, challenges, and concerns they experience in their classes. Through this sharing, the teachers of the Sister

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[44] *From General Chapter 2008 to Sacred Heart Friends and Colleagues*, Chapter Document 2008, 36. ([ ] is added by the present author.)

Schools gain a sense of belonging to the Family of the SH in the same spirituality. Usually the religious sisters supervise and give direction for the on-going formation of the lay teachers, and the teachers continuously study the SH educational philosophy—particularly the spirituality of SH religious education—through the writings of Madeleine Sophie or the educational documents of the Society.

Indeed, formation of lay teachers in Catholic education is more and more critical for Catholic mission schools. In order to preserve the Catholic identity of the mission schools when the number of religious sisters diminishes, the lay teachers—especially Christian lay teachers—need to assume the responsibility to continue the same Spirit of the SH and exercise leadership in the schools. However, as Kozaki points out, 'hiring of Christian lay persons is increasingly difficult' in Japan (Kozaki, 773). The situation regarding hiring religion class teachers among Christian lay people is becoming more serious in light of the rarity in the teaching profession of Catholic religion classes in Japan.[45] For this reason, in 2004, the University of the Sacred Heart (the Department of Philosophy) started the course for the license for teaching religion classes; out of 13 alumnae who acquired the license, 5 are now employed as religion class teachers at Catholic mission schools. The number is still small; however, the applicants are steadily growing in number as the need for teachers becomes urgent. Fortunately, superior alumnae who aim to enter the teaching profession are usually eager to work for *alma mater* SH schools, and they are expected to become leading figures who will sustain the Spirit of the SH.

For the formation of teachers and the enhancing of the quality and spirituality of the school community, the role of the principals is quite significant. As Earls states, '[i]n the Catholic schools, the principal serves not only as the instructional and managerial leader of the school, but also as its spiritual leader' (Earl, 37). The principals function to deliver the SH spirituality to the school community. If the principals are RSCJs, the spirituality and educational orientation is smoothly delivered to the school community, since she serves as a link with the Society, being well acquainted with its spirituality and educational principles. But in the future, inevitably the principals will be replaced by lay teachers. Formation of the lay teachers—and especially, the principals—in the spirituality of the SH is an urgent need. The world-wide network of the SH schools thus started the International Conference for the Heads of the Schools of the Society of the Sacred Heart. Recently, the 4th International Conference was held in 2011 in Taipei, Taiwan, with 55 participants from 15 countries, being comprised of heads of co-educational schools, male single-sex schools, and female single-sex schools of the SH. For the purpose of strengthening communication among the SH schools world-wide, the conference decided to build up 'a virtual community' on the website, on which all the leaders/heads of the schools can 'exchange ideas regarding formation to mission, good ideas by goals, announcements about conferences and workshops, student and faculty exchanges, curricular projects and service/

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[45] The license for teaching religion class is offered by very few private Christian universities that have the department of theology or religious studies.

social justice programs.'[46] For fostering the quality and spirituality of the principals of the SH schools, and particularly creating the sense of the Family Spirit of the SH, this web-site community should be of great help. The global network and perspective of the SH Schools is one of the advantages of SH education, making our schools open to multiple possibilities to continue the on-going formation of the SH Spirit in more information-oriented society.

Conclusion

Religious Education of the Sacred Heart Schools in Contemporary Japan and Beyond

The influence of mission schools and colleges/universities in Japan cannot be underestimated, even though the number of Christians is consistently small. In mission schools in Japan, Christian values and traditional Japanese values uniquely and intriguingly coexist and even merge with each other, bringing out positive educational effects upon developing religious sensibilities and fostering 'the whole person.' The legacy of the SH schools and colleges is only one of these examples in Japan. The education of the SH schools has shown a unique alternative education within the Japanese school system. While standing in a particular religious denominational position, the SH schools have been proven by history to have provided so many alumnae who have contributed to the Japanese society with the spirit of Christian humanism.

In contemporary Japan, the need of proper religious education for formal education is actually increasing, especially after the *Aum Shinri-Kyō* incident in 1995 that precipitated many Japanese people into a skepticism and trepidation toward religion, and drastically changed the sense in Japan of what constitutes a religion.[47] Also, the impact of the September 11 attack in 2001 totally altered our understanding of the situation of world religions in this globalized society. Moreover, natural disasters oblige people to come to terms with their religiosity. Japan has been hit by unprecedented earthquakes, in 1995 (The Great Han-shin Awaji Earthquake) and more recently in 2011 (the Great East Japan Earthquake). With these major earthquakes and heavy casualties, the fundamental problem of life and death of human beings has been keenly perceived. Today, understanding religions has become crucial as never before. Some critics postulate that rapid social changes since the 1990s call for new cognitive frameworks to formulate and redefine religious education in Japan, and that

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[46] Retrieved from http://www.sofie.org/international network.

[47] The *Aum Shinri-Kyō* (a Japanese cult) incident in 1995 was an attack in the Tokyo subway system using the nerve agent sarin. It was one of the most serious terrorist attacks in Japan, causing a number of casualties (13 deaths; 54 injuries; around 1,000 affected). Cf. Haruki Murakami, *Underground: The Tokyo Gas Attack and Japanese Psyche*, trans. by Alfred Birnbaum and Philip Gabriel (London: The Harvill Press, 2000).

religious education for safety measures (*shūkyō anzen taisaku kyōiku*) and religious tolerance education (*shūkyō kanyō kyōiku*) are required—in addition to the three elements of religious education—in contemporary Japan.[48] The possibility or impossibility of religious education in public schools goes beyond this article; however, under Article 20 of Constitutions 1947, the Japanese religious education in public schools seems to come to an impasse in the face of 'Religious Taboo.'

The education of the SH mission schools stands as alternative education in Japan that explicitly proposes faith-based education and global perspectives in educational values. Upon our following conviction, the SH Schools in Japan continue our educational legacy.

> We feel that our spirituality has something important to say to the world today and we want to share this in creative and life-giving ways, conscious that many thirst for an experience of God's love. Young people are the agents of change in their own lives and we can learn from each other. We hear a strong invitation to walk with them, sharing our thirst and aspirations in a common effort to build a world where the desires of God will become a reality. (*Our Priority for Young People*, Chapter Document 2008)

Considering the historical interrelations between Christianity and education in the Japanese society, we can say that Christian mission schools have been presenting models of religious education in Japan since the post-World War Two period up to the present. Whatever new cognitive frameworks may be introduced in the future, the mission schools will endeavor to meet the demands of a globalized society and implement faith-based education from their unique position in the Japanese educational system. There lies our *raison d'être* of the Japanese Sacred Heart schools as Catholic mission schools in Japan, maintaining their educational values and role in contemporary Japan and beyond.

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[48] Nobutaka Inoue, 'New Cognitive Frameworks in the Age of Globalization and Information' (Gurōbaruka, Jōhōka-jidai ni okeru Shūkyō Kyōiku no Atarasii Ninchi Furēmu), *Shūkyō Kenkyū* 369, (Tokyo: Nihon Shūkyō Gakkai, 2011): 115–121; Tatuso Miwa, *Gendai Kyōiku Kagaku* (1996).

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Chapter 37
A Systems Approach to Enhancing the Capacity of Teachers and Leaders in Catholic School Communities to Link Learning, Student Wellbeing, Values and Social Justice

Helen Butler, Bernadette Summers, and Mary Tobin

Introduction

In a rapidly changing world the nature of learning and the place of school communities in helping children and young people to flourish should be a high priority, particularly in faith-based school communities. Across the world educators have moved a long way from the days when student health, welfare and wellbeing were seen as discrete entities separate from learning and teaching In Australia, Ministers of Education of all state and Commonwealth governments affirmed this in policy directions for the twenty-first century in the *Melbourne Declaration on the Educational Goals of Young Australians*:

> Education equips young people with the knowledge, understanding, skills and values to take advantage of opportunity and to face the challenges of this era with confidence.
>
> Schools play a vital role in promoting the intellectual, physical, social, emotional, moral, spiritual and aesthetic development and wellbeing of young Australians, and in ensuring the nation's ongoing economic prosperity and social cohesion (MCEETYA 2008, p. 4).

Along with this focus on the flourishing of the whole child this key policy document explicitly identifies a focus on social justice in its first goal: 'Australian schooling promotes equity and excellence' (MCEETYA 2008, p. 7). From a faith-based perspective Catholic school communities take particular responsibility for the development of the whole child in providing 'an outstanding Catholic education that integrates faith, life and culture' (Catholic Education Office Melbourne

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2011, p. 6.). Based on Gospel teachings this requires a commitment to pastoral care and a focus on values including 'love, respect, compassion, tolerance, forgiveness, repentance, reconciliation and justice' (Catholic Education Office Melbourne 2009a, para. 1).

Developing the whole child requires nurturing the flourishing of the whole person within a strong, supportive, and socially just community. Policy priorities in Australian education include social inclusion, values education and strengthening family engagement in children's learning (Australian Social Inclusion Board 2009; Department of Education, Employment and Workplace Relations (DEEWR) 2008; MCEETYA 2008; Vinson 2009). The dignity of the human person, promoting the common good, preferential options for the poor, and other aspects of Catholic Social Teaching (CST) are more relevant than ever to education in the twenty-first century (Hornsby-Smith 2006; Massaro 2005). As a consequence addressing the demands for professional learning of teachers and leaders requires reflection and probing. Old paradigms of learning and teaching are being challenged and replaced by improved ways to support the building of supportive learning environments for all. New ways of thinking provide the potential for renewed opportunities for professional learning in school communities so that all may experience hope and optimism for the future.

This chapter describes a systems approach to meeting these challenges through a partnership between a Catholic education system and a Catholic university in Australia. The focus of this partnership was to build the capacity of schools, teachers and leaders to promote social justice and the wellbeing of students and school communities. Drawing on our experience and perspectives as university-based and system-based partners, we describe the evolution of a postgraduate course, developed by the Catholic Education Office Melbourne (CEOM) and the Faculty of Education at the Australian Catholic University in Melbourne. We describe the positioning of this course as one of the elements of a multilevel Student Wellbeing strategy developed by the CEOM and the Strategy's integration into a broader School Improvement Framework. We illustrate the learning and teaching approach by examining one unit within the course which enables teachers and leaders to critically analyse their values and practices within a whole school approach and in light of current educational research, policy and initiatives. In essence we explore the development of an integrated professional learning space in a faith-based context and identify a number of key implications of this approach.

The Victorian Education Context

Across the world the place, purpose and partnership of faith-based school communities within the state provision of education vary (McGettrick 2005). Therefore, before going any further it is important to understand partnership within the context of Victorian education. There are three jurisdictions to which

Victorian schools belong – government, Catholic and independent. All three are governed by federal and state legislation and all have had a significant commitment to student wellbeing over many years. In practice each jurisdiction has taken its own approach to the way student wellbeing has been promoted and linked to broader school improvement initiatives, and how professional learning has been developed and delivered.

Victorian Catholic primary and secondary schools are established under the authority of the Bishop of their diocese. There are four dioceses in Victoria – Melbourne, Ballarat, Sandhurst and Sale (Catholic Education Commission of Victoria 2009). The Catholic Education Office Melbourne (CEOM), in the Archdiocese of Melbourne, represents the sixth-largest education system in Australia, operating in the third-largest Catholic diocese in the world (CEOM 2010b). In 2012 approximately 146,400 students were enrolled in 329 Catholic schools in the Archdiocese, supported by more than 16,700 teaching and non-teaching staff. Since 2006 CEOM has been developing and implementing a range of school improvement initiatives aimed at educating the whole person with a strong focus on student wellbeing and community partnerships (Tobin and Thomas 2009).

An important part of this work has been partnering with universities on teacher education and research. A key partner, the Australian Catholic University (ACU), is a national public not-for-profit university funded by the Australian Government (ACU 2013a). It is open to students and staff of all beliefs. There are six campuses located in the capital cities of Melbourne, Sydney and Brisbane, as well as the regional city of Ballarat and the national capital, Canberra. ACU's Faculty of Education Victoria works in a range of ways with the CEOM in undergraduate and postgraduate teacher education, and in research in areas related to school improvement, particularly in relation to student wellbeing and community partnerships. The two organisations share a strong focus on promoting Catholic identity and Catholic Social Teaching.

How *Do* Systems Build Capacity of Teachers and Leaders to Enable Young People to Flourish and Learn? Student Wellbeing Within a School Improvement Framework

For young people to flourish and learn systems need not only to identify the key elements of school improvement but to develop processes that enable the integration of these to occur. Along with the importance of leadership and quality learning and teaching there has been increasing international recognition of the importance of a focus on the promotion of student wellbeing and, more recently, school community partnerships as central (Fullan 2006; Bryk et al. 2010). In addition, a focus on building the collective capacity at the school, community and system levels is emerging in several international educational settings (Fullan 2010).

Over recent decades, both internationally and locally, there has been a shift from seeing student wellbeing as separate from learning and teaching to its being understood as integral to learning and teaching (see for example, Education Scotland 2010; Paulus 2005; Welsh et al. 2001). Student wellbeing is regularly explicitly included alongside other important educational areas such as leadership, curriculum development and school organisation and school community partnerships. Indeed school improvement efforts and research now routinely reflect this understanding (Fullan 2006; Senge 2000; West-Burnham et al. 2007).

A whole school and integrated approach to wellbeing has an impact upon the culture of the school community, levels of engagement and in positive relationships and partnerships across the community. Building capacity in these areas then impacts upon learning and teaching. Managing and supporting school change from a system's perspective requires a scaffolding approach with macro (education system) and micro (school based) levels.

Early work in Health Promoting Schools (HPS) led the now widely accepted understanding that schools are key sites for learning about social relationships and have potential to promote wellbeing through the interrelationships of:

1. Curriculum, teaching and learning
2. School ethos, organisation and environment
3. Partnerships and services (Marshall et al. 2000).

This early work has been taken up by educational systems in different ways. Often student wellbeing has been addressed through encouraging school communities to take up professional learning or programs, very often developed in sectors outside education such as health. The legacy of this was often an abundance of materials and resources that were not effectively utilised and became quickly outdated. Moreover these programs seldom achieved sustainable change or alignment with school improvement strategies at the level of school or system (Bond and Butler 2010). It is increasingly recognised that driving transformation and real change requires a more considered and strategic response with a number of elements working together to support systemic change International Union for Health Promotion and Education (IUHPE 2009). Strategic models of organisational management and leadership are required if wellbeing is to be effectively addressed within a whole school community approach.

The critical nature of the areas of student wellbeing and family-school-community partnerships has been recognised in two of the spheres of the CEOM's School Improvement Framework (SIF) (Tobin and Thomas 2009). The SIF was phased in over the period of 2006–2009 for primary schools and 2007–2011 for secondary schools within the Archdiocese of Melbourne. It has provided the context within which school communities have focused on developing strategic action plans for improving student learning outcomes. The SIF (see Fig. 37.1) comprises five intersecting spheres: Education in Faith; Learning and Teaching; Leadership and Management; Student Wellbeing; and School Community. The School Review process is a 4 year cycle of continuous planning, action and review of achievements in each of the five spheres, supported by staff and resources from the CEOM.
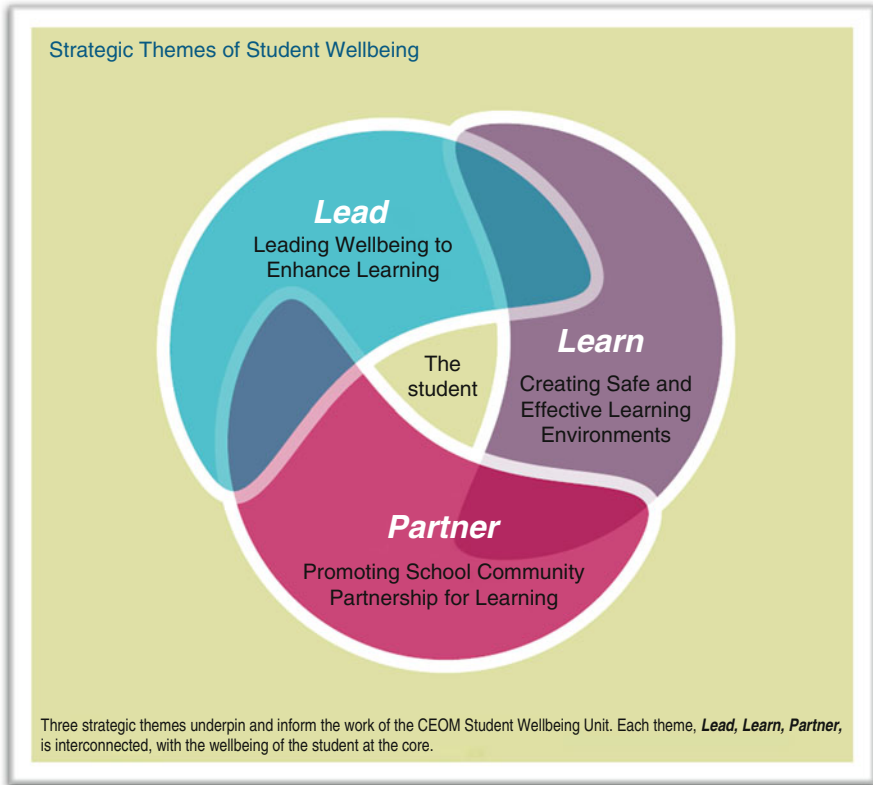
The CEOM Student Wellbeing Strategy

The CEOM responded to the challenge of building capacity throughout the system by embarking on a multi-component Student Wellbeing Strategy which commenced in 2006. The Strategy gained momentum due to the leadership of the CEOM Director (subsequently Executive Director of Catholic Education) who, recognising the importance of Student Wellbeing and the link to learning outcomes, was active in his support of its development and implementation. This support was reaffirmed in the development of *Learning Centred Schools, A Sacred Landscape: Learning and Teaching Framework & Strategy 2009–2013* which sought to 'bring together faith and education' through provision of a 'framework for the strategic alignment of policies and initiatives of the CEOM and school communities' (CEOM 2009d, p. 1). Student wellbeing was as one of eight priority areas identified as key to improving 'the educational experience and learning outcomes for all students' (CEOM 2009c, p. 2).

The evidence-based Strategy was particularly informed by research from the World Health Organisation (1996), Malecki and Elliot (2002) and Leonard and colleagues (2004) that supports the integration of Social and Emotional Learning (SEL) and interpersonal development into the curriculum of all school communities. The evidence also shows that connectedness to school is a key protective factor for young people (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention 2009; Patton et al. 2006). The CEOM's approach to student wellbeing has thus involved a move away from a focus on 'welfare' to promoting 'wellbeing' and alignment with learning and school improvement through whole school approaches.

Fig. 37.2 CEOM student wellbeing strategy 2011–2015 (Reprinted with permission from Catholic Education Office Melbourne)

'welfare' and 'wellbeing' have been used interchangeably, however current research and literature prefer the use of the term 'wellbeing'. This term reflects the inclusive nature of schooling and a whole-school approach….Wellbeing has a prevention and early intervention focus and involves whole-school approaches with an emphasis on school organisation, ethos and environment, community links and partnerships, and curriculum, teaching and learning (CEOM 2009b, p. 6).

Acknowledging the holistic nature of Student Wellbeing, the CEOM notes that it is:

integral rather than incidental to learning. A learner will find it difficult to engage with learning programs if they are distracted by significant physical, social and emotional issues (CEOM 2009b, p. 1).

The Student Wellbeing Strategy (see Fig. 37.2), reviewed and updated in 2010, has the wellbeing of the student at its core. Three strategic themes frame the most recent articulation of the strategy:

- Leading Wellbeing to Enhance Learning
- Promoting School Community Partnerships for Learning
- Creating Safe and Effective Learning Environments.

The CEOM's Student Wellbeing and Community Partnerships team (previously Student Wellbeing team) provides strategic support to assist Catholic school communities to work within the SIF and Student Wellbeing Strategy to identify and address goals and priorities at the local level. Areas that school communities might address within the Strategy have included: Social and Emotional Learning (SEL); Schools as Core Social Centres (SACSC); Family-School-Community Partnerships; Restorative Practices; Community Arts; Drug Education; School Attendance Strategy; Transition and Engagement; and Values Education. This strategic support involves designated staff from the CEOM Student Wellbeing and Community Partnerships team leading the development and resourcing of the areas identified above through a number of complementary elements which are described below.

Appointment of Designated Student Wellbeing Leaders

Key to the Strategy was designated funding to each primary school to enable time release for a dedicated part-time Student Wellbeing Leader to develop policies, programs and structures to support wellbeing across the school community. The positioning of the Student Wellbeing Leaders in the school Leadership Team enables wellbeing to be integrated across the school within a school improvement context.

Establishment of Melbourne Based Clusters for All Primary Schools

To facilitate coordination, cooperation and collaboration amongst schools 36 clusters of Student Wellbeing Leaders from primary schools were established across the Archdiocese of Melbourne. A CEOM staff member acts as a cluster facilitator to support the clusters. The facilitators have the key task of supporting schools to design strategic approaches to wellbeing linked to the school improvement plan. The ongoing professional learning environment promotes internal capacity at the level of school as well as system-based alignment and sharing.

Professional Learning Aligned with School Improvement

When school communities develop their capacity to link wellbeing and learning they are confident in the design of goals and priority setting. This then leads to the 'take up' of system level initiatives and associated professional learning activities to enable school communities to achieve their specific goals and objectives as part of their school improvement plan.

Website and Documentation to Support Ongoing Learning and Teachers and Leaders as Researchers

To support the overall uptake of the CEOM Strategy a series of research documents have been developed for schools and the knowledge base is being further developed through a website development project involving the University of Melbourne (UoM) and CEOM called the Student Wellbeing Action Partnership (SWAP) (UoM and CEOM 2007).

Building Leadership Capacity Through Credentialed Learning

Credentialed learning for Student Wellbeing Leaders, teachers and school leaders was an important component of building the capacity of these leaders to drive school based improvement in the area of wellbeing linked to learning. The CEOM first sponsored many teachers and leaders in the University of Melbourne's Graduate Diploma in Student Welfare, later Master of Education (Student Wellbeing). Recognising shared goals and values CEOM also developed a partnership with ACU in Victoria to develop a new postgraduate course in 2006 focused on Wellbeing and Inclusive Schooling. The aim was not simply to better equip those already in positions of leadership and those aspiring to such positions but rather to build the capacity of all members of school communities to view themselves as leaders who have a responsibility to promote student wellbeing and social justice consistent with the Gospel values.

The course was developed in line with ACU's mission of exploring 'cultural, social, ethical and religious issues through the lens of the Catholic Intellectual Tradition in teaching, research and service' and fostering graduates 'skilled in their chosen fields, ethical in their behaviour, with a developed critical habit of mind, an appreciation of the sacred in life and a commitment to serving the common good' (ACU 2013b). CEOM and ACU staff, in particular the then Executive Dean of Education who was instrumental in leading the ACU team, worked in partnership to develop a customised course for teachers and leaders in Catholic schools within the Archdiocese of Melbourne.

Wellbeing in Inclusive Schooling: Working in Partnership to Build Capacity in Promoting Wellbeing, Social Justice and Learning in Schools

ACU's Wellbeing in Inclusive Schooling postgraduate specialisation began as a Postgraduate Certificate in Education in 2006, with a Master of Education option introduced in 2009. The partnership between the ACU and the CEOM in the development of these postgraduate specialisation courses has enabled the establishment

of strong links between theory, research, policy and practice. The implementation of several key CEOM school improvement policies and strategies at the same time as the development of the ACU course has provided authentic learning opportunities for participants as they explore, and apply in their own contexts, the intellectual traditions and current evidence-base for international, national and local systems policy and practice. Moreover, further partnerships have been developed with school communities as teachers and leaders have undertaken the course in teams either simultaneously or sequentially. This process has enabled strong links to be made between the participants' learning outcomes and assessment tasks and school improvement priorities identified in their school communities.

Structure of the Course

The Master of Education (Wellbeing in Inclusive Schooling) built on the units previously offered in the Postgraduate Certificate, with the addition of units focused on research, and implementing and evaluating a project in a school community. Constructed collaboratively by representatives of the CEOM and ACU, the current units are drawn from Schools of Education, Religious Education and Educational Leadership. As indicated in Table 37.1 below, the full Master of Education option has been designed sequentially to lead students through the following process:

- an understanding of the origins and evolution of Catholic Social Teaching and other key theoretical traditions as foundations of approaches to social justice in Catholic schools and communities;
- identifying and exploring whole school approaches to promoting social justice;
- critically appraising key international, national and local evidence-based strategies and frameworks for promoting student wellbeing and developing a proposal for evidence-based action in a particular school context;
- exploring different models and frameworks for planning, implementing and evaluating change processes and outcomes in education;
- developing a proposal for action in a school community;
- studying research principles and processes and developing an appropriate research plan for the proposal;

Table 37.1 Program map

Year of course	Unit	Credit points
1	EDRE 627 Educating for social justice.	10
	EDFD 651: Social justice: a whole school approach	10
2	EDFD 662: Wellbeing in inclusive schooling	20
	Students can exit here with postgraduate certificate	
	EDFD 668: Interpreting and designing educational research	10
3	EDFD 617: Research project	20
	EDLE 605: Leading educational change	10

- implementing the proposal and research plan;
- exploring the implications for leading change in schools.

Participants can exit early with a Postgraduate Certificate in Education.

A Focus on Social Justice in Catholic School Communities

In all units outlined in the Program Map attention is paid to an approach to learning that connects theory and practice across education, faith, social justice and student wellbeing. To illustrate the integrated learning and teaching approach, the second unit completed by teachers and leaders *Social justice: a whole school approach* is now explored in more detail. This unit explores:

> …the foundations that underpin the characteristics of inclusive and cohesive Catholic school communities. In particular the unit aims to develop in educators an understanding of schools as places of inclusion, built on Gospel values as expressed in Catholic social teaching (ACU 2012a, pp. 478–479).

An exploration of the principles of Catholic Social Teaching lays the foundation for this unit for teachers and leaders. A range of whole school community and system approaches to building social capital and student wellbeing is investigated and the key components of these are identified and critiqued. An explicit focus is placed on building the capacity of teachers and leaders to critically reflect on their individual beliefs and those of their school community through the lenses of theory, current policy and effective practice in social justice.

Learning is about "making sense" and "interpreting and understanding reality in a different way" (Ramsden 2003, p. 28). As a consequence the learning and teaching approach uses a combination of input, interaction and activity to enable teachers and leaders to critically reflect on: current educational, social, and theological theory; their own and their school community's values and practices; and the structures and processes within their school communities that impact on the experiences of schooling and the educational outcomes of all young people in relation to access and equity in the experience of faith-based schooling (ACU 2012b). As described below, the content of the unit enables participants to consider the alignment of identities, beliefs and commitments of faith-based school communities; key national goals and priorities in relation to inclusive schooling; and system and school priorities in Catholic education.

Building Capacity for Critical Reflection on Theory, Policy and Practice

Ramsden proposes that 'learning in educational institutions should be about changing the ways learners understand, or experience or conceptualise the world around them' (2003, p. 6) and it is the aim of teaching in higher education to make this

learning happen. The mode of delivery for the *Social justice: a whole school approach* unit is an intensive learning approach over several weekends that allows time and space for participants to critically reflect at both the individual and school community level. Teachers and leaders in this unit often refer to conversations with members of their school's leadership team about issues that challenged their own thinking or the current practices of their school community. While this practice strengthens the capacity of the individual participants, when multiple staff members from the one school community participate in this unit together, the capacity of the whole school community can be enhanced. The learning and teaching strategies implemented enable practicing teachers and leaders to explore in a broader sense what is meant by social justice, inclusion and wellbeing in Catholic school communities and specific examples of these strategies in practice are discussed further below.

Alignment with Identities, Beliefs and Commitments of Faith-Based School Communities

'Teachers, I believe are a key, but muted voice in the struggle for social justice in schools' (Grant 2009, p. 655). Learning strategies in *Social justice: a whole school approach* aims to give participants a stronger voice in the struggle for social justice. They are designed to assist participants to explore their own values, beliefs and learning and align with the identities and commitments of their faith-based school community and build on the focus on the foundations of Catholic Social Teaching in the first unit of the course. It can be argued that the most effective adult learning experiences or programmes are those that enable the learner to become conscious of their implicit theories and thinking about learning (Rogers 2003). Rogers proposes that formalised learning needs to 'utilise the personal experience and inputs which each of the learners brings into the formalised learning programme' (p. 38). We have found that often participants have moments of epiphany where they realise there is a disparity between what they expect to be the practice in their school community and what they witness or experience. It is often in the acting out of 'inclusion' practices in their school community setting that this disparity surfaces. As a previous participant revealed, this unit made her stop and think 'about what does the Gospel say about social justice…about humanity and dignity…and how does that fit into wellbeing?' (ACU and CEOM 2008, para 6).

To illustrate, one learning experience focuses on nine themes of Catholic Social Teaching as identified by Massaro (2005). It challenges teachers and leaders to 'identify and critically examine the principles of Catholic Social Teaching and the extent to which they influence the structures and processes that in particular build inclusive and cohesive Catholic school communities' (ACU 2012b, p. 2). To facilitate the exploration, the nine themes are distributed amongst teams. Each team discusses their understanding of the assigned theme and writes a 'nutshell' statement (25 words or less) for this key theme. In addition examples of how this theme might be expressed in practice within Catholic school communities are provided. It is in

this space that a coherence and alignment between theory and current school community practice is investigated. Often the discovery leads to a struggle in making sense of what is at the heart of their faith-based school community. In exploring the theme of 'subsidiarity and the proper role of government' (Massaro 2005 p. 128) one team struggled with reconciling this concept with current agendas and practices in education while another questioned the place of the student as a worker in 'the dignity of work, rights of workers, and support for labour unions' (Massaro 2005, p. 138). What holds the focus of discussion for all teams continues to be their responsibility in opening up the conversation of Catholic Social Teaching and its implications for individuals and groups at all levels of their faith-based-school community. A useful outcome of this learning experience has been a continuous return to these themes by the teachers and leaders as the unit progresses. We have observed that this learning experience or 'Aha Moment' can renew the social justice conversation for many and lay the foundation to connect and critically analyse new ideas and concepts being introduced or revisited. For some teachers and leaders it is the finding of, or 'turning up' of their muted voice (Grant 2009).

Alignment of Current Practice with Key National Goals and Priorities in Relation to Social Justice and Inclusive Schooling

Unpacking key theoretical perspectives, including Catholic Social Teaching, critical theory, and ideological perspectives, as well as exploring national, local and systemic policy priorities, is a significant aspect of the *Social justice: a whole school approach* unit. Brookfield (1995) argues for a thoughtful approach to learning and teaching through the use of critical reflection. He contends that incidents can arise which force teachers and leaders to 'confront the possibility that they may be working with assumptions that really don't fit their situations. Recognising the discrepancy between what is and what should be is often the beginning of the critical journey' (p. 29). In line with this understanding the focus consistently taken throughout this unit is critical reflection on theory and current practice, either as an individual or as a member of a school community, and taking the learning to a deeper level. Teachers and leaders in this unit participate in online forums that facilitate critical reflection on theory and practice in social justice in education and enable the participants to explore and engage in discourse of associated issues with others. It is in this context that paradigms or viewpoints are challenged and probed often leading to new insights. This has sometimes included questioning the common assumption that shared understanding and exemplary practice in relation to social justice can be taken as a given in all Catholic or faith-based school communities.

Teachers and leaders make two postings in these online forums. The first posting engages each participant in proposing a key question that has arisen for them from

a critical reflection on one reading or discussion in relation to Catholic Social Teaching, Social Justice, Equality and Equity. An example of such posting could be: '*what exactly are equity and equality and what do they look like in my classroom or my school community?*' The second posting requires a critical and thoughtful response to another person's reflective question and ideas. It is common to read second postings that begin with '*I love your question as I have been considering the same thing myself.*' or '*I read that differently as I thought…*'. This articulation exposes teachers and leaders to different perspectives on social justice and different approaches to how it is lived out, or not, in Catholic school communities. In the process of critically reflecting upon the readings and the comments of their peers, it has been quite common for participants to experience a sense of disequilibrium between what they now understand and value, with the tradition or current practice of their school community.

The focus of these two postings is to provide support for the learning and deeper understanding of the teachers and leaders as they begin to 'engage in research and scholarship in a way which informs professional practice' (ACU 2012b, p. 2) and to facilitate the transfer of knowledge about social justice to the school context. Following the online discussions participants complete an extended reflective written piece that explores connections between the key concepts of social justice, Catholic Social Teaching, equity and equality and identifies social justice issues in their current school community. In addition this task builds the capacity of teachers and leaders to seek evidence of alignment and coherence with the school improvement plan of their particular school community.

Alignment of the Unit with School and System Priorities

The unit particularly enables participants to explore key priority areas of the CEOM's School Improvement Framework and Student Wellbeing Strategy, through examining areas for action such as Schools as Core Social Centres (SACSC); Family-School-Community Partnerships; Restorative Practices; and Access and Equity. Guest speakers drawn from the Catholic education system and social justice organizations within the broader community, work with the participants to explore policy and practices to promote social justice and inclusion within these key areas for action. While the guest speakers' focus is on their role or the initiative they represent, participants are encouraged to explore the thinking and theory behind the approach and the practical challenges and opportunities experienced. This co-inquiry enables participants to see international and local evidence being applied to developing local policy and practice and to consider the evolving portfolios and frameworks in the light of their university study of broader theoretical and research literature. As a graduate of the course stated, the benefit is '…to dig and ask…to explore policy…take what you recognise is important and apply to your school. It is a quest for what is important' (ACU and CEOM 2008, para 16).

A significant assessment piece is an essay that requires the critical exploration of one of the key policy/program areas studied in relation to building social capital and social justice. This task provides an opportunity to achieve depth rather than breadth of learning for the teachers and leaders. Participants draw on relevant and current academic literature to critically explore the opportunities and challenges for building social capital and promoting social justice of one of the key priority areas. They outline the area of focus in relation to social justice, that is, how does it relate to building social capital and promoting the common good and respect for each individual and human diversity. In addition they are required to concisely identify key elements of a whole school community approach in this area and discuss the role of the teacher as an agent of change in this area.

Leadership and Action in Faith-Based School Communities

Following the unit described above, teachers and leaders complete further units in which they explore in more detail key international, national and local evidence-based strategies and frameworks for promoting student wellbeing. They develop a proposal for addressing an area in their school which would enhance student wellbeing and/or social justice and inclusion. They explore research theory and methodology to support the implementation and evaluation of their proposal. After completing the research project, they complete their Master of Education with a unit on leading educational change. All graduates of this course are considered by the ACU and CEOM partners to be leaders of wellbeing, inclusion and social justice in their school communities, whether or not they are in formal positions of leadership. They are encouraged to demonstrate this leadership in all areas of Catholic education in Victoria: in their classrooms; their professional learning teams; their school community; their parish; their work with colleagues or pre-service teachers; or their engagement in university teaching or school improvement projects and research. This in turn enhances the system-wide approach to integrating school improvement and social justice, faith and identity, student wellbeing and community partnerships. As indicated by a previous participant the challenge became 'how do I actually now take what I have learnt into my work and my work with school communities and weave this information in…' (ACU and CEOM 2008, para 10).

Conclusion: It Takes a System…

The well-known saying that 'it takes a village to raise a child' may be adapted in this instance to 'it takes a systemic partnership to build the capacity of teachers, leaders and school communities to promote student wellbeing and social justice.' Just as different people in a village play different roles in the development of a child, different parts of a system can play important roles in educational reform and the development of teachers and leaders in faith-based schools communities.

Studies of educational reform and the impact of educational research on teachers and leaders suggest the need to understand the complexity of educational systems and build capacity at all levels (Fullan 2006; Hargreaves and Fink 2006). The focus has moved away from top-down linear models of learning towards the creating of 'connecting webs' or 'learning spaces' in which practitioners engage with theory and foundational principles through dialogue, inquiry and learning relationships with researchers, policymakers and other practitioners (Figgis et al. 2000; McMeniman et al. 2000; Butler et al. 2011).

In this chapter we have explored the development of such a learning space within a faith-based context in Australia. We have described how the postgraduate course has been designed to enable teachers and leaders from Catholic schools to engage with theory from Catholic Social Teaching and other traditions of social justice, student wellbeing and education through dialogue, inquiry and learning relationships with ACU academic teachers and researchers; policymakers and educational leaders from Catholic education and community organisations; and, importantly, with each other.

Perhaps this may be more accurately described as a series of nested learning spaces, for while the key focus of the chapter has been on the postgraduate course developed in partnership between the CEOM and ACU, this has been shown to have developed within the broader capacity building Student Wellbeing Strategy and School Improvement Framework of the CEOM. This is certainly not a neat process of transmission of knowledge but rather a complex interaction of multiple and strategic learning opportunities. Importantly, as reflective conversations and learning opportunities occur at a range of levels and in a range of places throughout the system such an approach has the potential to influence learning and change across the system, not just for the participants in the postgraduate course.

There are a number of key ingredients in the effective implementation of such an approach. The *leadership* of the system and university is important in giving weight and resources to the work. The *partnership* between the CEOM, ACU and school communities in supporting teachers and leaders to undertake the course requires shared vision, values and commitment of resources and goodwill. Teachers and leaders require *time, space and place*: *time* for critical reflection and dialogue around theory, policy and practice; a *place* in which share and deepen their own experiences of practice and learning with peers, educators, policy makers and community; and *space* between learning experiences to enable further reflection and deep learning to occur. As adult learners seeking to build their own research capacity, the postgraduate participants *require a learning approach* that both acknowledges and respects their prior experience and rigorously extends their skills in identifying areas for action in their own school communities and practice; critically appraising international research and theory; using sound evidence to underpin their practice; and drawing on sound research processes to plan, implement and evaluate learning, teaching and school improvement initiatives in their school communities and education system.

This chapter has been largely descriptive, telling the story of this work so far. It will be important to undertake further research in tracking the learnings for the individual teacher and leader participants; implications for professional learning

and practice within their school communities; and learnings for the university and systems partnership in further building the capacity of teachers and leaders to promote social justice, learning and wellbeing within Catholic education in Victoria. The story so far highlights the potential for powerful professional learning when a systematic, planned approach brings together the shared resources, values and commitment of an educational system, a university and school communities within a faith-based context. While tailored to the Australian, indeed Victorian, context, aspects of the approach described in this case study of systems partnerships and professional learning of teachers and leaders may be useful for others in different contexts who are seeking to link learning, student wellbeing, values and social justice in faith-based schools.

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Chapter 38
Schools and Families in Partnership for Learning in Faith-Based Schools

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Introduction

Across the international arena, the importance of families working with schools in the interests of improving learning for students is increasingly being recognised. This chapter details the initial outcomes of a system-wide reform effort by four Catholic dioceses in the Australian state of Victoria directed towards improving student outcomes through strengthening family-school-community partnerships; and the role of educational systems in supporting and enabling such reform. In particular, the chapter focuses on the study of nine case study schools, selected from 46 participating schools, and provides evidence of the success of the Catholic Education Commission of Victoria's (CECV) Family School Partnership Initiative (2010– 2012) in connecting family school partnerships to improvements in student learning and wellbeing. The reform effort was structured in response to funding provided to the Catholic sector in Victoria by the Australian federal government

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657

through the education initiative Smarter Schools National Partnerships for Low Socio-economic Status School Communities. This chapter also elaborates educational-system actions that supported family-school-community partnerships, using the seven categories of the Australian federal government's Department of Education, Employment, and Workplace Relations (DEEWR) family school partnership framework (DEEWR 2008a), an Epstein-based model of seven dimensions of school and parent actions (DEEWR 2008a; see also Epstein et al. 2002).

The Context

Three educational school sectors operate side-by-side in Australia: the public or government sector whose schools receive funding from the state/territory government (80 %), the federal government (15 %) and private sources (5 %); the Catholic sector whose schools receive funding from the state/territory government (20 %), the federal government (57 %) and private sources (23 %); and the independent sector whose schools receive funding from the state/territory government (12 %), the federal government (33 %) and private sources (55 %) (The Australian Government 2011). All three sectors can receive federal funding through targeted interventions such as the Smarter Schools National Partnerships for Low Socio-economic Status School Communities initiative from the federal government Department of Education, Employment and Workplace Relations. In the state of Victoria in 2010 there were approximately 850,000 students from Prep (the first year of schooling) to Year 12 (the final year of secondary schooling): 63.4 % in Government schools, 22.4 % in Catholic schools, and 14.2 % in Independent schools (Department of Education and Early Childhood Development 2010). Four Catholic education offices oversee Catholic schools in Victoria. One is located in the Archdiocese of Melbourne and three in country dioceses: Sale, Ballarat, and Sandhurst.

The Smarter Schools National Partnerships for Low Socio-economic Status School Communities initiative used data on parental socio-economic status to identify schools (regardless of sector) in each state and territory of Australia whose families had a low socio-economic status. Each educational sector had schools whose students came from high SES backgrounds and schools whose students came from low SES backgrounds. Of the 1,555 government schools in Victoria in 2010, 224 were designated National Partnership for Low Socio-economic School Communities schools; of the 489 Catholic schools in Victoria in 2010, 46 were designated National Partnership for Low Socio-economic School Communities schools; and of the 218 independent schools in Victoria in 2010, 25 were designated National Partnership for Low Socio-economic Status School Communities schools. In the Catholic sector, while some Catholic schools have substantial fees, there have traditionally been many low fee paying schools that served low SES communities. These schools have often been started by religious orders dedicated to the transformative power of education. While each sector (or individual independent school) received National Partnerships funding to improve student outcomes in identified schools, each sector was able to decide how that funding would be used to achieve that aim at a local level.

Implementation of the Family School Partnership Initiative: A System Led Approach

The Family School Partnership Initiative of the Catholic Education Commission of Victoria (2010–2012) began as a targeted system-led initiative designed to build the capacity of schools, families and communities, to improve student learning, through partnerships in rich and diverse low socio-economic school communities. The Family School Partnership Initiative of the Catholic Education Commission of Victoria consisted of four key components. Forty-six Victorian Catholic schools were identified and targeted as part of the Smarter Schools National Partnerships for Low Socio-economic School Communities. A designated position – the family school partnership Convenor was established and convenors were appointed to identified low SES schools, or clusters, in selected Victorian Catholic schools. Family school partnership convenors were responsible for collaboratively planning initiatives to develop the capacity of families, schools and the local community. Professional learning and resource development was provided at a diocesan level to support and facilitate the role of family school partnership Convenor, to help schools, families and communities develop partnerships that fostered engagement, learning and improved outcomes. And finally, brokerage grants were provided to facilitate and support the development of school-family-community initiatives and partnerships with the business, tertiary and the not-for-profit sector.

The role of the convenor was new. One feature of the Family School Partnership Initiative was the employment of both teaching qualified and non-teaching trained staff, with skills in community building, to lead the implementation of the reform. Another dimension of the convenor position was the employment of former principals or deputy principals as convenors to work alongside principals in small schools with no (or a small) leadership team. In one school with a substantial indigenous enrolment, the employment of a Koori Educator and Chaplain with long standing links to the community was found to be most effective. In other schools, convenors who were new to the school were able to develop the family school partnership agenda over the 3 year initial implementation period. The system support of a fourth year (2013) of the convenor role was reported by schools as being critical in helping to embed the changes. Convenors were appointed to diocesan offices but were located within schools and worked with, not worked for the principals. Due to the individual demographic and geographic circumstances of the schools, convenors were allocated in a variety of ways: many convenors worked with a cluster of three schools (sometimes including both primary and secondary settings), while some schools had a part-time convenor role.

Each of the four dioceses had a designated education officer who supported the professional learning of the convenors. In the regional dioceses this role was undertaken by a senior member of the education office of the diocese. The Catholic Education Office in the Archdiocese of Melbourne had several staff supporting the Family School Partnerships Initiative. These staff organised forums and professional learning including the Look Out 2011 Partnerships for Learning: Outward Facing Schools in the Twenty-first Century conference which were open to all

dioceses thus supporting the implementation of the reform with links to key researchers in the field. These events enabled school staff from all four dioceses to hear internationally respected speakers such as Charles Leadbeater, Maggie Farrar, George Otero and Anne Henderson.

Brokerage grants were allocated to dioceses and each diocese distributed the funds to schools. Principals had oversight of their own brokerage money. Expenditure was decided at the local level, for example, for employing associated staff; for taking parents on excursions; for partnering with not-for-profit organisations; for purchasing outside programs; for supporting school-devised programs; for goods such as signage, parent room materials, or community art or garden materials; or for student materials such as bilingual books.

The implementation model of the Family School Partnership Initiative in the Catholic sector in Victoria (across four dioceses) was aimed at improving the life chances of all children in the schools by helping all students, both low performing and high performing, to reach national minimum standards; to stay in education pathways; and to achieve their potential.

Evaluation of the Family School Partnership Initiative

An independent evaluation of the Family School Partnership Initiative, by a team of researchers from the Australian Catholic University, was commissioned by the CECV in 2010. The multi-layered context within which the CECV Family School Partnership Initiative was located was recognised in this evaluation. This included, firstly, the agenda of the Australian Government, particularly in regard to a 'stronger and fairer Australia' (Commonwealth of Australia 2009, p. 2); the development of social inclusion and social cohesion in Australian society; and to the achievement of changes in the learning and life chances of all young people, especially in low SES communities. Secondly the evaluation recognised the Smarter Schools National Partnerships, a set of agreements between the Australian Government and all states and territories that aimed to improve the quality of Australian schooling and student outcomes was the specific context for the Family School Partnership Initiative. The (DEEWR) partnerships directed investment and resources to where they were most needed to improve the quality of education and student performance in Victoria's Catholic, independent and government schools. Thirdly, the evaluation recognised the distinctive Catholic commitment to family–school–community partnerships that have always been integral to the mission and purpose of Catholic schools and the strategic, system-wide approach adopted by Catholic Education in Victoria to strengthening the relationship between the family school partnerships and improvement of student learning and capacity building underpinned this CECV Initiative. In addition, knowledge and understanding gained from internationally recognised research that has provided evidence of the positive relationship between family school partnerships and improved student learning influenced the implementation of the Family School

Partnership Initiative. And finally, international policy developments, in particular the work of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) in regard to the model of schools as core social centres as put forward by the OECD (2001) report, Schooling for Tomorrow, and the relationship between international comparative indicators of learning achievement, such as the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA), and the systemic commitment to quality and equity embedded in the work of Catholic Education in Victoria also influenced the conception of the reform effort.

The evaluation of the Family Schools Partnership Initiative, by the research team at the Australian Catholic University, involved the collection of formative and summative data over the course of 3 years, 2010–2012. An underlying assumption of the evaluation was that much of what is valuable in education is qualitative in nature, and that goals and impacts of education, and the enhancement of life chances, are not all amenable to quantification and cannot all be articulated and measured in quantitative terms.

Data from pre-existing data sets in the Catholic Education Offices were provided where appropriate to the evaluation team. These included national testing data: National Assessment Program: Literacy and Numeracy (NAPLAN) data of individual schools provided to the Catholic Education Offices by the Australian Curriculum and Reporting Authority (ACARA) that conducted the national testing program of Year 3, 5, 7 and 9 students in government, Catholic, and independent schools. Around 94–95 % of Victorian Year 3, 5 and 7 students, and around 91 % of Victorian Year 9 students, participate in the annual national testing of reading, writing, spelling, grammar and punctuation, and numeracy (ACARA 2012). In addition, independent to the research evaluation, each diocesan Catholic Education Office collected staff, student and parent perception survey data in School Improvement Surveys, and these data were made available to the evaluation team. The diocesan offices also supplied school level aggregated demographic data such as the language backgrounds of students.

Data specific to the study, both quantitative and qualitative, were collected by the evaluation team from the following three categories of respondents: Family school partnership convenors; school and cluster personnel from the 46 schools who were involved in the Initiative, with data collected by surveys, and individual and focus group interviews; and system officials, coordinators and education officers in each diocese in Victoria. All 46 schools were part of the research evaluation and were visited during the evaluation.

Intensive case studies were conducted in nine individual schools. All case study schools were visited for 2 h in 2010, for two full days in 2011, and for one full day in 2012. The school visits in 2012 all took place in the second or third term of the four term school year. Interviews were conducted with principals, leadership team members, teachers and teacher assistants, parents, students, employees of community agencies, and other community members (e.g., parish priest) as determined by the school. There were also other interactions with staff and community members during school visits.

Characteristics of the Case Study Schools

The nine case study schools had individual and distinctive characteristics. It was found that there was no one stereotypical low socio-economic status school. Some had enrolments of around 30 students, some around 500 students, and the largest case study school had around 1,500 students. The schools were located in the inner city of the state capital; around 10 km from the city; around 30 km from the city; in suburbs of regional cities; or in country towns. Some schools had students from English-speaking backgrounds only, while others had students from around 20, 35, or 50 language backgrounds other than English. Being in the National Partnership for Low Socio-economic Status School Communities did not automatically indicate that the school had poor (NAPLAN) results, and seven of the nine schools in 2009, before the Family School Partnership Initiative was implemented, had at least one school mean above a state mean in student performance on NAPLAN testing.

Similarly, the 2011 Australian Census data (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2012) showed that there was not a stereotypical community in which the nine low socio-economic case study schools were geographically situated. The percentage of residents, in the suburb or town of the case study schools, who identified as Catholic ranged from approximately 15–45 % and the percentage of children in Catholic primary schools in these suburbs or towns ranged from approximately 10–45 %. Some case study schools were in areas where there was a low percentage of public housing available, while others were in areas in which over one fifth of local residents lived in public housing. Some communities had a significant Indigenous population (around 5 %), while in others it ranged from approximately 0.5–2 %. There was no uniform low SES community profile. The occupations of the residents of the suburb or town in which the case study school was located, as reported in the 2011 Census, similarly revealed that there was not one stereotypical resident profile in these low SES communities. The percentage of 35–44 year-olds, in the local suburb or town of the case study schools, with Year 12 or equivalent qualifications ranged from approximately 30–75 %. The main employment in some communities was in occupations not requiring post-secondary educational qualifications, whereas in other areas, high SES and low SES families lived side by side. This was evident in communities in which professionals accounted for the most common occupational group.

In summary, all National Partnership for Low Socio-economic Status School Communities schools had been identified as having families with low socio-economic status. However, the individual characteristics of the schools and the communities in which they were situated, was not uniform. Given the diversity in schools and communities, individual diocesan and school-level decisions about relevant aspects of the implementation of the Family School Partnership Initiative were warranted.

Impact of the Family School Partnership Initiative

The Family School Partnership Initiative 2010–2012 achieved significant change in a short period of time. It built on the Catholic traditions of human dignity and the transformative nature of education, particularly in overcoming disadvantage. The nine case study schools discussed in this chapter provide evidence that the Family School Partnership Initiative, by Terms 2 and 3, 2012, in some of the schools at this early stage, had resulted in measured positive impacts on student learning including value-adding to literacy, numeracy and other curriculum areas. In all schools, school improvement and capacity building had increased around the connections between parent engagement and student learning, and it might be anticipated that this should lead to improved student outcomes (academic, social and emotional) in the future. These changes included: new understandings, knowledge and beliefs; an improved sense of wellbeing among students; new or revised actions and beliefs of classroom teachers; the implementation of new or more effective curriculum activities; and the modification of school events to encourage attendance, engagement, and a focus on student learning. In addition, significant changes in understandings of teachers and leadership team members had occurred around the benefits of the concept of 'outward facing schools' and the participation of schools in wider networks of agencies concerned with educational pathways and community building. In some instances, a willingness to embrace community partners has resulted in the receiving of significant external (to the Catholic education system) funding for initiatives relating to partnerships in the school.

These changes in understandings, beliefs and practices will be critical to authentic and sustainable reform and the realisation of the full impact of the Initiative in the future. The impact on school culture and teacher beliefs was evident to the researchers on return case study visits to such an extent that changes had become normalised within the schools and so were often reported as how we do things rather than how things have changed. It should also be noted that some changes in school level practices observed by the third year of the Initiative had often seemed unimaginable outcomes to school staff at the beginning of the Initiative.

Seven Dimensions of Family School Partnerships: The Importance of System Led Reform

A synthesis across the case study schools of what works provides a composite illustration of the significant effects and changes in practices that were evident in the case study schools. The Australian Commonwealth Governments' DEEWR (2008a) Family – School Partnerships Framework for parent engagement, based on Epstein et al.'s (2002) categories of parent engagement, provided a useful guide for considering the multiple aspects of family school partnerships and student learning at the school level. Those dimensions were: communicating; connecting learning at school and

learning at home; building community and identity; recognising the role of the family; consultative decision- making; collaborating beyond the school; and participating.

What was less elaborated in the DEEWR framework was the role that education systems play in supporting the family school partnership agenda. The case study analysis presented here also includes system-wide supports of the family school partnership agenda, as demonstrated in the CECV Family School Partnership Initiative of the Catholic Education Commission of Victoria.

Dimension 1: Communicating

> Effective communication is a two-way exchange between families and schools that involves information sharing and opportunities for schools and families to learn about each other (DEEWR 2008b, p. 1).

At the school level, communication between parents and staff underwent a change as a direct result of the Family School Partnership Initiative. In 2012, principals and teachers reported a change in the way they were communicating with parents – they were becoming more committed to talking with parents, as opposed to becoming more effective at talking at parents. This was evident, for example, in school processes and teacher understandings such as:

- staff reporting a change in their understanding of the word invite, which no longer meant an item in the newsletter, but a personal communication to parents;
- the introduction of community conversations, often facilitated by an external educational consultant;
- gaining of new insight as a Principal after being translated to at a Vietnamese-spoken morning tea;
- positive communications initiated by the school such as postcards home from classroom teachers;
- planned-for opportunities for parents to meet teachers, particularly in Term 1, and;
- professional learning for teachers around talking with parents. For example, one convenor attended the Australian Parents Conference to listen to parent concerns and bring this national agenda back to staff.

This change in communication was also evident in parents' comments in interviews with the research evaluation team. Many parents reported that they were attending school events, that they did not feel judged when talking to teachers, and that they knew more about their children's school experiences.

In addition, schools that were open to communication from parents also had processes in place to act upon concerns or suggestions. Examples from the secondary case study school where parent concerns were effectively responded to included: establishing a Year 7 mathematics homework group for the lower performing students in the cohort; continuing as a Year 8 homework group for the same cohort, in response to parent concerns about low performance in mathematics raised at parent teacher interviews. Similarly, following up on a parent request for further access to robotic Lego activities after a Year 7 transition night led to the formation of a RoboCup Search and Rescue student team, which then competed in interschool competitions.

Communication between families and school staff was also supported at education-system level. Diocesan education offices responsible for many National Partnership schools were able to co-ordinate visits to Victoria by a US-based consultant and many schools elected to draw upon this professional learning opportunity and have him facilitate community conversations. While some case study schools used brokerage money to fund multicultural aides who were literate in school-specific community languages, the Catholic Education Offices also provided translation services funded at a system level for all Catholic Schools. This move to two-way communication echoes Henderson's description (2012) of a continuum from fortress schools; come-if-we-call schools; Open Door Schools; and partnership schools.

Dimension 2: Connecting learning at home and at school

> Connections between families and school that promote student learning and high expectations from both teachers and family contribute to students' success at school. (DEWWR 2008b, p. 1)

At the school level, a greater focus was evident on connecting learning at home and at school as a direct result of the Family School Partnership Initiative. In 2012, principals and teachers reported that they were doing the same activities but in new ways, and that they also had new activities, processes, and understandings. These changes were evident in the following:

- the introduction of programs such as Books in Homes, a commercial program that involved students receiving nine picture story books at three family literacy nights held at the school;
- transition to Prep (the first year of schooling) activities in 2012 involving getting-to-know-you sessions for parents, and current Prep parents speaking to new Prep parents: a change from orientation activities being only aimed at familiarising the child with the school;
- the introduction of orientation activities for new students and families who did not commence at the beginning of the year;
- transition to Year 7 program (in the primary sector) involved introducing those Year 6 students living in the same local area going to the same secondary school, but attending different primary schools;
- transition to Year 7 (in the secondary sector) involving evening programs for selected families;
- the introduction of a Learning at Home leadership role in one school's staffing profile;
- a change in emphasis from parent teacher interviews to parent teacher conversations;
- the inclusion of family learning activities in term planning document proformas and weekly planning;
- the creation of a positive homework cycle;
- parent excursions to the State Library, the National Gallery, and/or the Museum led by the convenor; and encouragement for parents to attend school excursions with their children;

- expectations by teachers and leadership teams that whole-school (teacher) professional learning would include a parent session to communicate new school programs to families, and;
- the organisation of a food handling certificate opportunity for breakfast club volunteers (through local Technical and Further Education (TAFE) providers), or providing English language classes on site for families (through external non-government agencies).

Parents reported involvement in classroom and homework activities; engagement with their children's learning on excursions by being able to talk to their children about the experiences; and empowerment through involvement in teacher professional learning or furthering their own learning. There has been much research that connects the importance of parental engagement in learning and student achievement (see e.g., Bryk et al. 1993; Emerson et al. 2012; Harris et al. 2009; Hattie 2009; Henderson 2011; Henderson and Mapp 2002).

The dimension of connecting learning at school and learning at home was also supported by system-level actions. In the Family School Partnership Initiative, brokerage money enabled programs such as Books in Homes to be tried out. Such trials would have been too expensive to consider at individual school level without system funding. Brokerage money was also used to enable parents to accompany students on excursions and to include parents in professional learning or conferences. The single focus that convenors could bring to the role (being either employed across a cluster of schools or part-time in the one role) was reported by schools to be a significant enabler of the connecting learning at school and learning at home agenda. Being employed to work with, not work for, the principal, through the decision by the CECV to employ them as a diocesan office appointment, equivalent to a senior teacher, enabled the convenor's focus to remain on this dimension of family school partnerships.

Dimension 3: Building community and identity

> Inclusive school policies, practices and programs build a culture of welcome, inclusion and belonging for all families that reflects and respects diversity within the school's community. (DEEWR 2008b, p. 2)

At the school level, there was an increase in actions that built community and identity in the case study schools as a direct result of the Family School Partnership Initiative. In 2012, Principals and teachers had harnessed a commitment to learning and improving life chances that had been untapped in some of their families. In all case study schools the leadership team had a strong moral commitment to improving life chances through education, grounded in a Catholic social justice tradition. Some principals had not always been able to realise these beliefs fully, while in contrast, the principal of the secondary college had worked for many years creating a culture of high achievement (over 60 % of Year 12 students received university offers).

In all case study schools positive changes had taken effect. These changes were evident, for example, in school processes and teacher understandings such as:

- the establishment of parent rooms;
- new signage welcoming families into the school;

- choosing to structure school events so that they were family friendly;
- fostering an individual school culture and identity of high performance and cooperation, and a belief in the potential of the young people in their care;
- the introduction of a community art project, and;
- the introduction of community-building strategies from the community sector.

The parents reported that they felt more welcome and more positive about the school's ability to support their children in maximising their life chances.

The building community and identity agenda was also supported by system-wide drivers. Diocesan support for some school staff to visit low SES schools in Santa Fe in New Mexico in the United States was reported as a significant contributor to building a teaching community that celebrated the rich and diverse low SES communities in which they worked. Other dioceses supported teacher study trips to Toronto, Canada to gain first hand understanding of the high performing school system guided by Michael Fullan, an internationally respected educator.

Similarly, the organisation of conferences and forums over the 3 years (2010–2012) by staff at diocesan level scaffolded the implementation of the family school partnership agenda. These forums provided the opportunity for school staff, (and pre-service teachers and parents in some case study schools) to hear leading educational consultants and researchers speak about family school partnerships. These forums also provided an opportunity for participating schools to learn from each other with displays or presentations. The system-wide nature of the Family School Partnership Initiative in the four Catholic dioceses in Victoria supported this state-wide communication channel for teacher professional learning.

The Catholic education sector as a whole also supported community building in the practice of family fee structures and low school fees in low SES communities.

Dimension 4: Recognising the role of the family

> Families, as the first and continuing educators of their children, assist and encourage their children's learning in and out of school and support school goals, directions and ethos. (DEEWR 2008b, p. 2)

At the school level, there has been an increase in actions that recognised the role of the family as a direct result of the Family School Partnership Initiative. In 2012, principals and teachers recognised that families are central to the academic socialisation of children. Changes were evident in school processes and teacher understandings, such as:

- the establishment of Parent Action Teams in KidsMatter programs, a separate mental health and wellbeing framework under the auspices of the federal government's Department of Health and Aging National Mental Health Plan;
- including the family school partnership agenda in school policy and improvement documents;
- conducting a parent survey, by parents or the convenor, that, for example, resulted in the school taking note of parents' preferred times for community activities;
- the recognition of the role of parents in initiating out-of-school learning activities, such as sport and weekend language schools;

- the identification of oral language skills as needing support in many of the primary schools, particularly in the junior years, and;
- the use of bilingual reading resources.

In their interviews, children illustrated the many ways that families supported their out-of-school learning and development, such as taking them to sport, dance, or language classes outside of school.

The role of the family was also recognised at system level. In the Catholic sector, all schools participated in staff, student and parent surveys: in some dioceses this happened every year; in others with the periodic school review process. Across the system, due to the Family School Partnership Initiative in 46 schools, questions have been added to the surveys for all schools to elicit data on the quality of parent partnerships (to the staff survey in 2011 and to the parent survey in 2012).

Dimension 5: Consultative decision-making

> Families play meaningful roles in the school decision-making processes through parent representative bodies, committees and other forums. (DEEWR 2008b, p. 2)

At the school level there has been movement along the continuum of consultative decision-making between schools and parents, as a direct result of the Family School Partnership Initiative. The case study schools were represented along this spectrum in 2009: one had effective parent representation on School Council and a vibrant Student Representative Council; some had Parents and Friends committees; others had low parent involvement in governance matters. Of the seven dimensions of family school partnerships described here, the consultative decision-making agenda appears to need the longest lead time for development. In 2012, principals and teachers demonstrated that they were actively listening to parent perceptions and suggestions, and schools without parent representation on school boards were considering developing this aspect of consultative decision-making. These changes were evident, for example, in school processes and teacher understandings such as:

- inviting all parents to comment on new policies, such as the homework policy, and;
- re-introducing school boards in consultation with the parish priest.

A Year 12 student during an interview reflected,

> At the moment I'm part of the Board of Management Committee and we do have parents on there and they do get a say. They seem to really want to know what is happening around the school, we do ask for their opinions. Like they know about all our master plans and things like that, so they're not just, they don't just hear about the good things about our school, like they actually know if we're struggling with something, they'll know about it. And they just represent the parents as well. So we have all these different groups representing each other. And I think it's a good thing about our school.

Dimension 6: Collaborating beyond the school

> Developing relationships with government and non-government agencies, community groups, businesses and other educational providers strengthens the ability of schools and families to support their children's learning and development outcomes. (DEEWR 2008b, p. 3)

At the school level, there has been an increase in school-community partnerships as a direct result of the Family School Partnership Initiative. In 2012, principals and teachers had a greater understanding of the lived experience and possibilities of outward facing schools, and were developing true partnerships with outside agencies, government structures, and community groups. These changes were evident, for example, in school processes and teacher understandings such as:

- the introduction of playgroups for children of pre-school age held on school grounds;
- the planning (opening 2013) of a co-located kindergarten (pre-school setting) with a primary school, on parish land, in response to a community need for more kindergarten places in the local geographical area;
- teachers recognising that many agencies and professions work together to promote student learning;
- the use of school sites as soft entry points for outside organisations such as those that offer English language classes, for parents with a language background other than English;
- locating outreach services on school sites, such as Centrelink offices (the federal government agency responsible for administering social welfare benefits), or municipal librarians (local libraries are managed through the third tier of government in Australia – local councils);
- accessing community programs such as homework clubs run by not-for-profit agencies;
- inviting community groups, such as sporting groups, into the school to connect to parents through demonstration sessions, or through displays on parent teacher interview days, and;
- using volunteers sourced through outside agencies who train and place volunteers, to support curriculum programs such as one-to-one literacy programs.

In interviews, professionals from these outside agencies reported that there were networks of agencies concerned with education and/or community building for 0–18-year-olds, and that they were interested in establishing connections to schools: the convenor role in particular had enabled this to happen in these National Partnership for Low Socio-economic School Communities participating schools in the Catholic sector.

The Family School Partnership Initiative at a system level encouraged schools to partner with Catholic and non-Catholic organisations. The Catholic education offices supported the family school partnership agenda at a system level by linking it with other initiatives promoting school-community partnerships, such as the Schools as Core Social Centres partnership with VicHealth (CEOM 2011), a health promotion foundation established by the Victorian State government in 1987.

In some instances, outward facing partnerships resulted in the receiving of significant external (to the Catholic Education system) funding. For example, philanthropic funding was offered for the Books in Homes program for all students P-6 in one primary school.

The Chapman and West-Burnham vision of schools as federations (2009) could be used to describe the emerging collaborations between schools and the wider community. In the government school sector, schools as community hubs with co-located kindergartens and maternal and child health centres had been established over the past decade (see e.g., Black 2008), and this model was extended to several National Partnership schools in the government sector.

Dimension 7: Participating

> Every member of the school community has something to offer and families' time, energy and expertise supports learning and school programs in many ways. (DEEWR 2008b, p. 3).

In 2012, resulting from new understandings gained from the Family School Partnership Initiative, the nature of parent volunteering evolved from fundraising or helping teachers, to participation in activities connected to student learning. These changes were evident in school processes and teacher understandings such as:

- inviting parents to help construct and support a community garden and/or help with cooking classes in a program that connected the Science and the Humanities curricula to real life and improved student learning;
- renaming (and reframing) parent helpers as parent leaders;
- allowing for soft entry points for parent participation, such as breakfast club, gardens and art projects, and packing Books in Homes bags or Prep transition bags. Classroom helper roles, parent action group roles, or speaking to parent cohorts, could develop from these other roles.

Parents reported valuing these roles and being valued by the school. Epstein et al. (2002) had highlighted that parents attending school events were volunteering their time, and that this should be appreciated.

The system supported participation of families primarily by supporting convenors, and this drew on a deep Catholic tradition of the partnership between parents and schools. Several of the principals during the case study school visits pointed to the 'thickness of the walls' of their schools as indicating the strength of parental involvement in the establishment of parish primary schools.

Connecting Family School Partnerships with Student Learning and Wellbeing

The continuing professionalism, good will, support and development of leaders in Catholic Education, has been crucial to the success of the Family School Partnership Initiative and the link to learning outcomes. All principals in the case study schools were critical to the successful implementation of the Initiative in their schools. The Initiative has been a powerful reform in Catholic education, especially when it has been combined with a school culture already intent on improving student learning and connecting student learning to enhanced family school partnerships. In those

schools characterised by a strong leadership team, Convenors were able to focus on capacity building for staff and developing school, family and community engagement activities which enhanced student learning. In such contexts the strength of the leadership provided the driving integrative impetus bringing together all aspects of reform from student learning to classroom pedagogy to involving parents in school events. A spirit of respect, cooperation and trust laid the basis for successful partnerships embracing school personnel, convenors, parents, students, diocesan personnel and the community.

The School Improvement Survey data from 2009 to 2012 (or 2010 to 2012) available for the six of the nine case study schools suggests there was an increase in wellbeing in the schools. Student morale increased in five of the six schools, and in the sixth was maintained at a positive level. Staff morale increased markedly in five of the six schools. Staff perception of student motivation increased in five of the six schools while the sixth maintained a positive level for this indicator. This possibly suggests a greater appreciation of the aspirations and potential of students and their families by staff in these schools. Parents' perception of teacher approachability increased in five of the six schools while the sixth maintained its extremely positive level of this indicator. Parents' perception of parent input increased in all six schools. Parents' perception of parent partnerships (data collected in 2012 only) showed three of the schools as having extremely positive levels. Staff perceptions of parent partnerships increased (2011–2012) in all six schools. This suggests there were positive school–parent relationships in the case study schools.

Schools that had a culture of 'a whole cycle of envisaging, goal setting, strategies and what we are going to do, implementation, and evaluation', were able to provide evidence of specific programs, supported by the family school partnerships agenda, resulting in improved student learning. In a secondary school this included a Year 7 (and continued to Year 8) maths tutoring program developed in response to parent concerns, and using Year 10 tutors trained by an outside community agency. The school provided evidence of better academic outcomes for those students who took part in this program than those who chose not to participate. An example from the primary sector illustrates the impact of the Family School Partnership Initiative on creating new possibilities. In 2012, the school ran a one-on-one mentoring (tutoring) program, during class time, to improve the literacy skills of the Prep children. To do this they used volunteers from the parent body, from the parish, and from the community including a pre-service teacher and volunteers trained and provided by a community agency. School level results provided by the school indicated that this cohort of Prep students was progressing in their reading levels faster than previous cohorts. To suggest such a solution to an identified learning need, relying on such a high number of adult volunteers, would have been seen as impossible at the beginning of the Initiative, but became not only conceptually possible but enacted, supported by the community building skills of the convenor, the support of teaching staff, and the initial use of volunteers from a community agency.

Final Comments

In summary, the key findings drawn from across the case study schools show that the Family School Partnership Initiative resulted in positive impacts on student learning; school improvement and capacity building around the connections between parent engagement and student learning that should lead to improved student outcomes (academic, social, and emotional); and significant changes in the understandings around the benefits of school-community partnerships and outward facing schools.

The Catholic Education Commission of Victoria Family School Partnership Initiative has highlighted the role that educational systems play in supporting educational reform in the area of family school partnerships. Examples of education system-level actions included: co-ordinating international education consultants to visit Victoria, to support the dimension of communicating; providing brokerage money and the convenor role as a diocesan appointment, to support the dimension of connecting learning at home and at school; coordinating international study tours for staff to visit successful low SES schools or successful models of school system change, and organizing conferences to bring international speakers to Australia, to support the dimension of building community and identity; collecting system-wide data such as staff, parent and student surveys with specific questions about family school partnerships, to support the dimension of recognizing the role of the family; encouraging parent representation on parish school boards, to support the dimension of consultative decision making; commitment at the diocesan level for the concept of schools as core social centres, to support the dimension of collaborating beyond the school; and the employment of education and non-education trained staff for the Convenor role to support the community-building aspect of this role in developing the dimension of participating. These actions were embedded in a wider Catholic tradition of education being a partnership between families and schools.

The success of the Family School Partnership Initiative in the rich and diverse communities of the schools involved in this study built upon the high aspirations held by so many low SES, immigrant and refugee families for their children; the enthusiasm shown by many families, including newly arrived families from Africa and Asia, to become involved and embrace the life, spirit and culture of Victorian Catholic parishes; and the preparedness of parents to share their particular gifts and cultural riches and initiate many extra-curricular learning experiences for their children when they felt respected and valued by the school and its community.

Successful learning gains in case study schools were also related to the determination of school leaders, convenors and staff to actively challenge frequently held stereotypical attitudes about the capacity of schools with a low SES index to have school means above state means in NAPLAN testing. High aspirations for student learning, a love of the young people in their care, a sense of being blessed by the richness and diversity of the communities being served, and a deep commitment to bringing all young people into 'abundant life' characterised those schools where successful implementation of the Family School Partnership Initiative was most remarkable and inspiring.

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Chapter 39
Learning for Leadership: An Evidence Based Approach for Leadership Learning in Faith-Based Schools

Michael T. Buchanan and Judith D. Chapman

Introduction

The skills required by educational leaders to effectively lead schools are not necessarily natural gifts and talents possessed by all people in the educational setting. In recent times much research and policy oriented work has been devoted to identifying the skills and attributes which leaders and aspiring leaders need to know and learn if they are to develop and maintain an effective school, and in particular if they are to contribute, through their leadership, to increased levels of student learning (Chapman 2005, 2008; Marzano et al. 2005; MacBeath et al. 2006; Robinson 2007; OECD Activity on Improving School Leadership 2007). In this chapter we argue that these lessons, derived from leadership research and from the international policy context more broadly, are necessary to the development of leaders in faith-based schools, just as they are necessary to leaders in all school systems. However, whilst in faith-based schools and school systems these generic areas of professional knowledge, skills and competencies are vital and necessary, they are not sufficient for the preparation, formation and renewal of educational leaders in faith-based schools (Chapman and Buchanan 2012; see also Buchanan 2013b). This is in accordance with the growing body of literature that has pointed to the distinctiveness of leadership in faith-based schools (Bezzina et al. 2007; Buchanan 2011; Cook 2008; Duignan 2007; Holman 2007; Miller 2007).

Leaders and aspiring leaders of faith-based schools must undergo continual renewal, growth and development in the ability to lead, develop and maintain successful schools and to promote the learning and wellbeing of students in faith-based contexts (Buchanan and Rymarz 2008). The findings of the research (Chapman and Buchanan 2009, 2012) which informs this chapter reveal many attributes that

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leaders and aspiring leaders need to know and learn that may not necessarily be achieved exclusively through traditional forms of higher education undertaken to complete postgraduate academic qualifications or forms of professional learning and development that are focussed on the development of managerial skills or competencies. Drawing upon this research we aim to articulate what leaders need to learn, to know and to do as a rigorous evidence base for informing and shaping innovative and successful initiatives and strategies for the learning of leaders in faith-based Christian schools.

Research Design: Developing an Evidence Base for Learning for Leadership in Faith-Based Schools

The research upon which we are drawing in this analysis was initiated by the Catholic Archdiocese of Melbourne, the fourth largest education system in Australia and the third largest Catholic diocese in the world. It was an assumption underpinning this research that whilst the concepts and categories emerging from the broad body of literature on educational leadership is valuable in providing major insights and understandings relevant to the preparation, retention and renewal of school leaders in all schools and school systems, other considerations need to be brought into play to deepen and enrich the formation of effective leadership and leadership development in faith-based schools. A key concern of this study, therefore, was to identify not only the generic learning needs of leaders, but also to identify the additional elements and factors called for and appropriate for leadership in faith-based environments. After analysing the emerging concepts and categories from this research, we set out to synthesise and integrate these with existing bodies of knowledge and insights from national and international developments in leadership and leadership learning more broadly, to construct an evidence base for learning for leadership in faith-based schools. This subsequently informed the development of the learning platform for the Catholic Leadership Centre which commenced in Melbourne, Australia in 2013.

At all stages of the enquiry, the researchers worked closely with senior officers of the Catholic Education Office, in Melbourne in formulating the design of the study, identifying relevant individuals and groups for consultation; revising and refining drafts of documentation; and evaluating the progress of the project as it unfolded. The first phase of the study involved an extensive review of the national and international literature and developments relevant to leadership and leadership learning, particularly drawing upon work undertaken in association with the OECD Activity on Improving School Leadership. In addition to work undertaken in association with the OECD it included discussions with leaders in leadership and leadership learning in the United Kingdom including senior personnel at the National College of School Leadership, Nottingham; The Faculty of Education, University of Cambridge and the Centre for Leadership and Learning, the University of London. The second phase involved data gathering in the Australian context and involved 43

interviews with representatives of organizations and stakeholder groups in Catholic education and the broader Catholic community. The findings and tentative recommendations and proposals for action were presented to focus groups for further scrutiny. This process of interactive discussion and analysis between group members resulted in a clarification of key findings and recommendation and attested to their validity and plausibility (Flick 2006; Lincoln and Guba 1985). The data collected from interviews, focus groups, and insights gained from international experience were analysed in context with additional sources of knowledge gained from the international research and policy context.

The Research Evidence: Dimensions of Learning for Leadership in Faith-Based Schools

From the research evidence a number of guiding principles, values, concepts and concerns emerged as being vital to the development of leadership in faith-based schools. An analysis of the responses revealed both distinct and generic dimensions of learning for leadership in faith-based schools. These dimensions of learning for leadership in faith-based schools are detailed below.

Faith, Religious and Spiritual Formation

Our evidence suggests that leaders in faith-based schools need well developed formation experiences where spiritual growth and religious understanding are in harmony and through which faith can be lived and celebrated by the leader in the school and in all other aspects of his/her life. This type of formation is beyond what is normally provided in a typical professional development program or in an academically orientated higher education course in educational leadership. A key theme is an emphasis on the leader being *committed* not only as a professional educator but in terms of his/her whole being (de Souza 2006).

Leaders need to be very committed to their own faith journey as the following comment from one of the leaders in our research suggested.

> Leaders need to have some idea of where they stand, where their spirituality is, a very firm grasp on who God is in their life, what faith is all about and how they're going to impart that to other people.

It is the experience of faith, a world view, and a preparedness to see everything that one does through the prism of faith that is distinctive in the leader of a faith-based school. If leaders do not have a clear value set or a vision of who they are, and the nature of their vision for a faith-based education, then they are not going to be able to fulfil all the expectations, roles and responsibilities of leadership in a faith-based context. This insight was echoed by many participants and is reflected in this comment shared by a representative of the regional Council of Priests.

Table 39.1 Faith, religious and spiritual formation

1. Understanding of self in relationship to God, one's self and other people
2. Being committed to the formation of the whole person
3. Being committed to faith leadership inspired by the religious tradition and values
4. Being engaged in ongoing dialogue and study of theology, religion and sacred texts
5. Being committed to nurturing a person's spirituality in the religious tradition
6. Engaged in a faith journey
7. Living the faith in relationship with God and others
8. Celebrating faith in light of the religious culture and tradition
9. Involving people in dialogue about faith, religion and spirituality
10. Supporting others in their spiritual journeys
11. Having an understanding, awareness and knowledge of different faiths and religious traditions
12. Working with diversity in the faith community

> It's the way we see the world in which we live, so that the leader, him or herself, will see something about his or her own participation in that world, but the leader will also be trying to engage others into that world view. I think it is around integration.

In Christian schools leaders need the capacity to integrate Christian leadership and educational leadership in order to develop and maintain successful schools that promote learning and wellbeing in a faith-based context (Buchanan 2013a). In regard to this particular dimension of *faith, religious and spiritual formation* in learning for leadership, the evidence from this research has highlighted the importance of the qualities, knowledge and attributes identified in Table 39.1.

It is our recommendation that in learning for leadership in faith-based schools there is a need to place emphasis on programmes and formation experiences specifically oriented towards the development of the whole person, especially in reference to their faith, religious, and spiritual formation and those responsible for the delivery of such programmes should incorporate the qualities and attributes highlighted above.

Formation in the Identity, Culture and Mission of the Church

A leader in a faith-based school needs to be able to nurture their own spirituality and the spirituality of other people, live the faith in relationship with others (Buchanan 2010). Connecting people to the commitments and culture of the Church can be among the many challenges of leadership. Working with the people we are *given* to lead and drawing the best from each person and situation requires the support of the wider Church community.

Faith-based schools have often been hierarchical in structure and the leader of the school is generally perceived to be possessing authority and power that has sometimes had the potential to make leadership a somewhat lonely and isolated experience (Stern 2009, 2013). Formation in the identity, culture and mission of the Church is vital to sustain leaders and to promote the development of a sense of commitment

Table 39.2 Formation in the identity, culture and mission of the church

1. Understanding of the history of the Church
2. Commitment to and knowledge of faith-based education in Australia and beyond
3. Commitment to Church traditions and teachings
4. Understanding of the religious identity and mission of the Church
5. Awareness of the vision of the Church as it finds expression within a contemporary context
6. Knowledge of the institutions and agencies of the Church across the community
7. Commitment to and understanding of the Church's social teachings as they apply to frameworks of equity, inclusion and family-school partnerships
8. Conversant with the laws, canons and structure of the Church as they apply to education
9. Awareness of the deep story and traditions of religious orders and congregations
10. The capacity to exercise leadership in the dimensions of faith, parish, pastoral support and ministry

and belonging to a broader tradition and entity. The following insight from a principal of a school alludes to this concern and the need for ongoing formation.

> While we're leaders in our schools, we are also leaders in our community and there's a danger that you tend to become the person in an ivory tower if we don't listen to the language of faith from all walks of life. So not only do we need to have access to the best learned people in the area of faith and religion, we also need to hear about life journeys from people who have been transformed by their faith experience. And that might be as simple as meeting with colleagues from other professions.

This insight from a primary school principal highlights the need for ongoing learning and looks more broadly as to the form and shape of this learning within the Church and across the faith community, extending beyond the traditional confines of professional development programs in educational leadership and management and academic programs in traditional tertiary settings. Learning from this perspective requires opportunities to dialogue as well as listen and learn from the life journeys of people from all walks of life, people who have been transformed by their faith experience and by their identification and belonging to Church. This type of learning needs to be oriented toward guiding leaders and aspiring leaders to opportunities for ongoing formation in the identity, culture and mission of the Church.

From the evidence collected in this research in the dimension of learning for leadership that we have described as *identity, culture and mission of the Church* we would recommend study in areas such as ecclesiology, the history of the Church, and the teachings, traditions, culture and the history of the Church. In regard to formation in the identity, culture and mission of the Church the findings of this research indicated the importance of the qualities, knowledge and attributes identified in Table 39.2.

We thus recommend that in learning programmes for leaders in faith-based schools there needs to be formation experiences that enable leaders to deepen their understanding of Church history and teachings so that they can feel confident to exercise faith leadership in school, parish and pastoral contexts. It should be pointed out however, that formation in this dimension of learning for leadership should not be confined only to achieving an academic understanding of these significant areas. The planning and delivery of such opportunities must also be available for experiences that allowed one to engage personally and deeply with the Church culture and teachings.

Table 39.3 Personal formation: embodying and exemplifying personal and interpersonal qualities and skills

1. Capacity to communicate, interact well with people and work in teams
2. Ability to model leadership and enable leadership in others
3. Capacity to lead for transformation and change
4. Ability to build personal, professional and leadership capacity in others
5. Ability to engage others in the articulation of an educational vision and provide leadership to others in bringing about its realisation
6. Ability to make wise judgements
7. Awareness of self in relationship to others
8. Commitment to 'being one's best self'
9. Able to overcome resistance and resolve conflict and build resilience
10. A commitment to life-long learning
11. Ability to manage stress and stressful situations
12. Commitment to ethical and moral decision making

Personal Formation: Embodying and Exemplifying Personal and Interpersonal Qualities and Skills

In all schools effective leadership is about relationship building but in faith-based schools, leaders must embody, exemplify and model valued personal and interpersonal qualities and skills to ensure that a school is able to portray its unique character. Concern for the formation of the whole person is paramount if the Church is to achieve its mission. Attention must be given to the personal formation of leaders of schools as well as teachers and students. This places great responsibilities on leaders of schools to be attentive to ongoing personal formation not only for their own development but for the development of the entire community. The following insight from one of the leaders in our research highlights this concern.

> A principal should be involved in this communal endeavour of bringing people to wholeness. The holistic nature of leadership exercised in-situ honouring the situation of people, honouring formation as a permanent pursuit. Ultimately a commitment to ongoing personal formation by leaders and teachers has the potential to impact on the lives of students. School leaders and teachers reveal to students what it means to be human, as a person of faith.

The personal formation of leaders and aspiring leaders will require the ability to interact positively and communicate effectively with a diverse range of people, inspiring and mobilising people towards a common goal and building a sense of teamwork among the school community, so that people can commit to a shared vision that enables them to confidently embrace change.

In regard to personal formation oriented towards embodying and exemplifying personal and interpersonal qualities and skills the findings of this research indicated the importance of the qualities, knowledge and attributes identified in Table 39.3.

We thus recommend that formation programmes for the development of personal and interpersonal qualities and skills as outlined in Table 39.3 stem from Christian faith-based contexts so that leaders can learn to witness to the faith in all aspects of their leadership role as well as their own being.

Professional Formation

The dimensions of leadership highlighted above are of particular importance in faith-based schools but other areas of professional formation are also of vital importance. Our evidence suggests the special importance of learning for leaders in the areas of Promoting Quality Teaching and Learning; Goal Setting and Accountability; Management of Resources; the Creation and Fostering of Community. Each of these key areas of concern are explored in the discussion which follows.

Promoting Quality Teaching and Learning

Leaders have a responsibility to promote teacher's professional learning through mentoring, coaching and providing opportunities for them to engage in decision making. Leaders need to be actively engaged in the learning of their staff. Associated with this, leaders should also understand the advantages of distributive leadership and encourage staff to become involved in decision making. In so doing teachers have the opportunity to become engaged with leadership throughout their professional careers. As one principal comments:

> The thing that will most shape you is the experience of working with people who see it as their role to mentor you and to develop you and who give you opportunities and coach you through it. You also have to have a predisposition to learn too and so therefore you have to also be reading or engaging in professional learning.

Promoting teaching and learning will require leaders to have the knowledge and skills to promote teachers' professional learning and capacity; promote teachers' professional behaviour; foster team building; provide mentoring for staff; exercise and foster curriculum leadership; be abreast with knowledge of the latest issues and developments in learning and teaching; be knowledgeable about issues impacting on student engagement and wellbeing and committed to improvements in student learning experiences and the achievement of outcomes.

Goal Setting and Accountability

Leaders also need to develop a multi-faceted approach to goal setting and an evidence based approach to accountability. At the very core of education must be a concern for leaders to deliver quality learning outcomes for all children in all domains, academic, physical, cultural and in a faith-based school that includes the faith dimension as well. As one leader comments:

> Unless you produce outcomes you don't get students. It is important that principals be informed that their school, that their performance will be judged by the performance of their students, and that the principal's obligation will include a focus on improving the academic performance across the whole school and that this is to be demonstrated by all teachers.

In this area of professional responsibility leaders will need to develop the skills necessary for establishing goals and expectations; ensuring a supportive learning environment; ensuring coherence and alignment; maintaining whole school focus; linking vision to achievable plans; understanding the principles of teacher evaluation and appraisal; promoting school improvement and other strategic initiatives; establishing sustainable and achievable goals and growth and using accountability mechanisms and requirements to bring about positive school reform.

Strategic Management of Resources

Leaders also need to effectively manage resources as an essential aspect of improving quality learning impacts and outcomes. A leader's ability to manage the resources in their school is a critical part of delivering quality learning outcomes for students. As a primary principal comments:

> You have to understand the economics of running a school, how to bring a community together but at the same time how to support what the community does financially. You have to be somewhat of an architect in matching what's the best way to learn with the best environment in which to do so.

In an evidence based learning environment leaders also need the capacity to be able to analyse, interpret and implement information about student results. They need to be able to read the data that they're working with, whether it is student performance data, financial data or school improvement data.

Among the various strategic management competencies required of leaders are skills in: financial management; knowledge management; facility management; technology management; industrial relations; managing data and applying it for improvement; legal issues; occupational health and safety; management of human resources; and knowledge of branding, marketing, public relations and relations with the media; understanding of current and future trends and their relationship to resource needs; knowledge of systems analysis and the capacity to undertake risk management.

Creation and Fostering of Community

Leaders in faith-based schools have a responsibility to engage with a broad range of community members in a values-driven, faith-based approach to improving the learning of young people (Buchanan 2013b). In order to achieve this, leaders need to be informed about national agendas and priorities and understand their implications for the school and for its community and for students within it. In addition, leaders need to learn ways of collaborating with a wide range of partners and school stakeholders, including: parish priests, parents and carers, system personnel and representatives of the Archdiocese, religious congregations, commonwealth, state and local

government representatives, community groups, governance bodies, professional bodies and associations. Within the school they need to be able to develop collaborative relationships amongst students, staff and the broader community. They need to be able to promote connections and networks among a range of schools and enter into collaborative arrangements with social justice organisations, and the broad range of service agencies, and social support groups within the community.

These networks, internal and external to the school, require the ability to negotiate and deal with a wide range of interests; the capacity to exercise wise political judgement; knowledge of the political environment within which schools operate and an understanding of the variety of governance bodies and arrangements that are a part of education provision. This in turn requires the ability to think innovatively about collaboration; be an advocate on behalf of the school and education more broadly; understanding the context of schooling and the conceptions of society and community that influence schooling. Most importantly the leader must be committed to working with families and the community in the interests of improving education for young people.

Implications for the Design of Leadership Learning Experiences for Leaders in Faith-Based Schools

To develop, support and retain effective leaders it is vital that their morale, commitment and sense of professional value and personal worth are maintained and their creativity and enthusiasm are promoted. Leaders are subject to the effect of a complex array of factors that have the potential to impact negatively on their vision for education, their performance and continuing survival in leadership roles. Leaders must be given support to face the challenges of their responsibilities and to renew and reinvigorate their professional performance and personal belief and commitment.

Across the world there is widespread agreement that there is a need for a fundamental rethinking of the content, structure, delivery and assessment of leadership learning. To date there have been many studies designed to identify characteristics of effective leadership learning programmes but very little specific attention to learning for leadership in faith-based schools. We hope that our research has begun to address this deficiency.

We argue that vital to leadership learning for faith-based schools is the interplay of a number of elements that are necessary for leadership learning in any school setting: personal formation; study of the relevant theoretical disciplines and the substantive domains of professional knowledge and competence; critically reflective practice; engagement in field-based learning activities and peer supported networks. But in regard to faith-based schools, we argue leadership learning involves more than this.

A review of the literature reveals a range of practices are available for the development of leaders and those with future leadership capacity. These include: mentoring and networking (Buchanan 2013c); coaching; internship; shadowing; special assignments and targeted learning experiences; formal university award

bearing study; and engagement in programmes organized by learning institutes and academies. A carefully conceived and comprehensive programme of leadership learning should involve the incorporation of many of these strategies in a portfolio of leadership experiences shaped in accord with a personal learning development plans.

Leaders of faith-based schools would be well served by accessing as many as possible of the range of learning experiences available to leaders in all types of schools. But in addition, there needs to be those experiences in leadership learning that integrate it with faith formation and development. As one participant in our study commented:

> A lot of people have a real commitment to the Church but not a great understanding of the theological tradition of the Church or the really fundamental theological principles on which everything else is built. It is important to try and engage people in such a way as to lead them into that kind of understanding.

Strategies for linking leadership learning with faith formation might include: studies in religion and theology; opportunities for guided reading; opportunities for reflection and spiritual direction; retreat experiences with other leaders to dialogue on issues associated with faith and religion; opportunities to engage with internationally acclaimed theologians and religious educators; and opportunities to be immersed in key aspects of the identity and mission of the Church in the global context.

Concluding Comments

In this chapter we have argued that the ongoing learning required for leadership in faith schools needs to be conceived as occurring not only when but beyond the traditional knowledge and professionally based training programs offered through professional development activities or traditional institutions for higher education. The distinct dimension of learning for leadership in faith-based schools requires more than a commitment to academic studies; it requires a commitment by each individual to the ongoing formation of the whole person. This endeavour should aim to be achieved through shared insights from people from diverse social, cultural and professional backgrounds, engaged in both formal and experiential learning that embraces opportunities for shared insights into the mission, traditions and commitments of the Church. Present and aspiring leaders will flourish from opportunities to engage more deeply with their faith and to become more conversant with their Church's identity, culture and mission, finding expression in their leadership role in the school and community as well as within their own personal lives. Learning in traditional academic institutions and managerially oriented professional development programs would be necessary but not sufficient to fulfil the needs for the holistic formation of leaders and aspiring leaders necessary to exercise leadership in a faith-based context.

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Chapter 40
Leading Australian Catholic Schools: Lessons from the Edge

Michael Gaffney

Introduction

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, Catholic schools in Australia lie on the edge of possibility. They are positioned across the geographic expanse of the Australian continent and the social and economic spectrum of Australian society. As a sector, Catholic schools and school systems take their place in the mainstream of Australian schooling while at the same time by virtue of their mission they are challenged to be more than ordinary schools.

The mission of Catholic schools calls them to be *in the world* but not *of the world* and to encourage students and others in their school communities to a deeper awareness of the Good News of Jesus Christ. Further, the purpose of Catholic schools is to bring the Good News to life by serving others, exercising stewardship, and leading by example so that those in their care learn to respect the dignity of the human person, promote the common good and live life to the full. In fact Catholic schools exist to be different – to be on the edge!

Leading Catholic schooling is a strategic, practical and deeply spiritual act. For leaders in Catholic education, this means ongoing reflection and action to ensure that Catholic schools are well positioned:

(i) *educationally* – on the edge of mainstream trends in policy and practice, so that they can make a distinctive and valuable contribution to debates and developments rather than be swept along or consumed by those trends;

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(ii) *socially and economically* – on the poorer and the wealthier edges of town (as well as everywhere in between) so that everyone has a 'fair go', and can support and be supported by others for the common good, i.e. the social conditions that allow people to reach their fulfilment more fully and more easily (Libreria Editrice Vaticana 2004), and

(iii) *spiritually* – recognising and respecting students, staff and school communities 'on the edge of faith' and helping them in their search for meaning and a fuller appreciation of the Word of God, Catholicism and the Church.

Ensuring that Catholic schools are well positioned educationally, socially, economically and spiritually is a multi-faceted endeavour. Being 'on the edge' is risky and challenging. It requires the ability to represent the interests of Catholic school communities, negotiate effectively and work collaboratively with multiple stakeholders, and understand how to achieve outcomes in diverse and often politically sensitive contexts. Effective leaders of Catholic schools and school systems demonstrate these abilities and are sustained through their connection with their local church and their affinity with the mission of Catholic education. For these leaders:

- **the edge of the mainstream** refers to the way they shape and respond to educational trends and government agendas. The key question is: what is educationally distinctive and valuable about Catholic schooling and how might it contribute to mainstream developments in school education?
- **the edge of town** highlights the context and challenges of Catholic schools serving the diverse communities across Australia, especially those in privileged and those in severely disadvantaged and remote settings. The key question is: what is consistently inclusive and hopeful about Catholic schooling regardless of whether you are poor, wealthy or somewhere in between?
- **the edge of faith** recognises that people connected to Catholic schooling understand and practice their faith differently. This theme focuses upon the authenticity and sustainability of Catholic schools and school systems. It encourages reflection on their daily operation as well as their future. The key questions are: what is witnessed and modelled in classrooms, playgrounds, staffrooms, boardrooms, and diocesan offices? What is authentically 'Catholic' about it? And, how can this authenticity be developed and sustained?

Answering these questions leads us to **the edge of possibility** for Catholic schools. In essence, this refers to how leaders in Catholic education understand the challenges of distinctiveness, equity, diversity, authenticity and sustainability inherent in the above themes; and how they develop and enact their vision for meeting those challenges.

In this chapter, each of the themes is considered through reference to contemporary education policy and research literature and related ecclesial documents and commentaries. Discussion of the first three themes – Catholic schools on the edge of the mainstream, on the edge of town, and on the edge of faith provides the foundation for considering the concluding theme – Catholic schools on the edge of possibility. Let's consider the first theme.

Catholic Schools on the Edge of the Mainstream

What is educationally distinctive and valuable about Catholic schools? What is it about their educational offerings and how they help to develop the intellectual, physical, creative, social and spiritual gifts and emotional wellbeing of young people that is different from schools that are not Catholic? In its Circular Letter to the Presidents of Bishops' Conferences the Vatican Congregation for Catholic Education (2009: 3) expressed the distinction in these terms:

> The Catholic school is truly an ecclesial subject because of its teaching activity, in which faith, culture and life unite in harmony. It is open to all who want to share its educational goal inspired by Christian principles. The Catholic school is an expression of the ecclesial community, and its Catholicity is guaranteed by the competent authorities [i.e. the Bishop]. It ensures Catholic parents' freedom of choice and it is an expression of school pluralism. The principle of subsidiarity regulates collaboration between the family and the various institutions deputised to educate.

The Vatican circulated this letter for purpose of recalling the principles of Church teaching in the face of debate, especially in Western countries, about the nature and role of religious education in schools. In these times of intensified government centralization and control, all schools (public, private, government, non-government, independent and Catholic) are under pressure to comply in order to maintain their legitimacy and attract the funding and other resources necessary to continue to operate. Religious education is one feature that sets Catholic schools apart from the mainstream.

In these days of national education agendas and international comparisons, leaders in Catholic schools and school systems are challenged to ensure that what is offered is in line with government priorities and meets society's expectations, and is also educationally distinctive, valuable and does not run counter to the principal features of Catholic schools as decided by the bishops of the dioceses in which those schools are located. In other words, leaders in Catholic education are 'responsible to Caesar and to God' (Grace 2010). How they balance those responsibilities depends in part on how they understand the essential marks of Catholic schools. These have been outlined in *The Holy See's Teaching on Catholic Schools* (Miller 2006). This document describes an authentic Catholic school in the following terms:

A Catholic school should be inspired by a supernatural vision, founded on Christian anthropology, animated by communion and community, imbued with a Catholic worldview throughout its curriculum, and sustained by gospel witness.

Maintaining this distinctiveness and authenticity in the midst of mainstream national school reform agendas is demanding, especially in light of the rhetoric and 'spirit' of these reforms and the chain of reasoning that underpins them. It goes like this:

1. There is an 'achievement gap' crisis – across schools in different parts of Australia as well as between Australia and its major international economic competitors.
2. This achievement gap is determined by valid and reliable comparisons of student achievement on standardised national and international tests in selected areas of the curriculum (e.g. literacy, numeracy, mathematics and science).

3. Performance on these tests is an indicator of school, system, state/territory, and national education quality, as well as an important measure of a student's capacity for a fulfilling life and the nation's future economic being.
4. Teachers have the most significant effects on these measures of student performance.
5. Teachers and their principals should consequently be held accountable, and the best way to do this is by standardization and centralization, and by offering reward funding.

This is 'top down' hierarchical command and control logic characteristic of the machine-bureaucracy model of schooling. It treats teaching as a form of organised labour, and students as the raw material to be fashioned through careful exposure to certain types of curriculum content into useful products. This spirit of reform is alive in Australian government circles and its momentum is real. At a recent National Press Club address, then Prime Minister Julia Gillard said Australians need to face up to the truths that information from My School (www.myschool.edu.au) – the national repository for performance information on each Australian school, and from international tests – is revealing. The Prime Minister announced that

> **The first truth is we have to aim higher for every child in every school.** Four of the top five schooling systems in the world are in our region and we aren't in that coveted top five. To take one telling example, the average 15 year old maths student in Australia is two years behind a 15 year old in Shanghai.
> **The second truth is we particularly need to improve the education of our poorer children.** By year three, 89 percent of children from the poorest quarter of Australian homes are reading below average (Gillard 2012).

While these truths may well indicate desired ends, it is the underpinning assumptions and means by which such ends are realised that are in contention. As Sir Ken Robinson (2011) admits, it is difficult to disagree with the objective of raising standards. The debate arises about exactly what those standards are, the reasons for adopting them, and how they are developed and measured. Standardised tests of student achievement measure some types of outcomes and not others. When results on these tests are compared and used as indicators of school, system, state/territory and national performance, the negative impacts on the purposes of schooling and how and what is resourced, taught and learnt are compounded.

Over recent years the mainstream of Australian school education has been shaped by a national agenda that not only includes changes to assessment and reporting as described above but also to curriculum and to teaching and school leadership standards. A new 'educational architecture' has been put in place at the national level to support this agenda. It is designed to provide a mixture of pressure and support for schools and school systems, and for Australian state and territory governments to improve their performance across a range of measures. These include student achievement in literacy and numeracy, student attendance and retention rates, and progress information on related reforms in the areas of teaching and school leadership standards and the implementation of the Australian curriculum, as well as infrastructure expenditure on school buildings and digital technologies

(for more information see www.deewr.gov.au). The authorities established to guide and oversee these reforms are:

- ACARA – the Australian Curriculum Assessment and Reporting Authority, responsible for the National Assessment Program in Literacy and Numeracy (NAPLAN), the design and oversight of the new Australian Curriculum, and the development and maintenance of the *myschool* website (www.myschool.edu.au) which provides public information on various measures of school performance.
- AITSL – the Australian Institute for Teaching and School Leadership, responsible for the development of professional standards for teaching and school leadership.
- DEEWR – the Department for Education, Employment and Workplace, responsible for the Australian Government general recurrent funding and targeted program support for Catholic schools.

In this current policy milieu, leaders in Australian Catholic schools and school systems *on the edge of the mainstream* need to be alert to the dangers of currents that are inauthentic to the mission (Bevans 2009). Instead their role is to work to effect a change in the spirit of school education reform – one that has a broader conception of the human person and places a higher value on the Principles of Catholic Social Teaching (Libreria Editrice Vaticana 2004) including those principles relating to the inherent dignity of the human person, the right and obligation to participate, and make decisions that give preference to the poor. A further principle of Catholic Social Teaching, *subsidiarity*, is especially relevant to this work. This principle is directed toward limiting government by insisting that no higher level of organisation should perform any function that can be handled efficiently and effectively at a lower level of organisation by those who are closer to the problems and closer to the ground. In this way the potential for overactive or oppressive governments is mitigated (Byron 1998).

Moreover the application of Catholic Social Teaching principles makes good policy sense. Years of research on educational change (Fullan 1998) emphasise the limits of rationalist approaches that rely on hierarchy of authority, expect compliance and presume implementation through established regulations and routines. In fact, anyone who has experienced or studied the 'predictable failure of educational reform' (Sarason 1990) would know that nothing much happens unless school system officers, school principals, and teachers actually 'buy into' the process.

Translating the principles of Catholic Social Teaching into practice can be challenging. In this respect, research by Olsen and Sexton (2009) provides some timely warnings for Catholic school and system leaders working with Australia's national agenda. They studied the responses of teachers who had been subject to school reforms in the United States, a number of which are similar to those being enacted by the Australian Government. Olsen and Sexton (2009) found teachers felt that reforms devalued their expertise and autonomy, constrained their practice, left them uninformed and voiceless, and created tensions and communication problems among themselves and with the school executive.

The centralisation of control, increased accountability, and pressure to conform (in some cases – under threat of job security) meant that teachers withdrew to the privacy of their classroom in order to strike an appropriate balance between meeting the new requirements and teaching the way they wanted. The message from these findings is that educational reforms can close down collaboration and de-professionalise teaching to the level of organised labour if the changes are not well led at school level. As a consequence, Olsen and Sexton (2009) call for school leaders to consider reforms from the perspective of their teachers, include them in decisions, and value their expertise. Above all, school leaders work to build trust and nurture teacher efficacy i.e. teachers' self-beliefs that they have knowledge and skill in teaching, and can make a difference to their students' learning and life opportunities. These, according to Olsen and Sexton, are essential ingredients for working with externally initiated school reform.

Recent Australian research dealt with similar themes. Pettit (2010) studied the attitudes of principals, school executive, and teachers to external testing across a whole Catholic school system. He found that they had significantly different views about the value of such testing and the processes associated with it, particularly how leadership is exercised with respect to analysis and follow-up on the data. Specifically, Pettit (2010) discovered statistically significant differences between the views of principals, school executive and teachers on a range of fronts:

- **The Worth of External Testing**: Differences existed in perceptions about the value of data from external testing; principals and school executive valued the testing more highly than did classroom teachers, especially those who were in their first 5 years of teaching.
- **Data Leadership**: Leadership was seen as crucial in promoting 'data utility', but often was absent or not explicit in the analysis and use of external testing results at the school level. Teachers viewed the exercise of data leadership in their school less favourably than did their principals or school executive.
- **Effectiveness of Data Analysis**: Differences existed in perceptions about how effectively external testing data was analysed, with teacher ratings being significantly lower than those of either principals or school executive. The lack of involvement of teachers in data analysis was seen to influence their engagement with the data and inhibit the development of shared understandings about its meaning. This, in turn was seen to impact on the ability of schools to develop plans for improving literacy and numeracy.
- **Impact on Teaching Practices**: The study showed that linking external testing data with classroom-based assessment was valued, but often did not happen. Even though the research confirmed that such testing has potential to impact positively on student achievement, the study found little evidence of the tests' systematically effecting change in teaching practices.
- **Accountability for results**: Teachers were more likely to value external testing and accept accountability for test results if they were related to the diagnosis of student needs and improving their teaching, i.e. for the purpose of promoting internal accountability (Elmore 2009). On the other hand, if external testing data

were used for making comparisons between teachers, schools and jurisdictions, their views of testing regimes were much less positive. Teachers believed that such comparisons contributed little to improving student achievement. Moreover, they were more likely to regard accountability of this type in negative terms than were principals or school executive.

These findings suggest that there is a possible disconnection between the perceptions of those in promotion positions in Catholic schools (principals and school executive) and those who are not (teachers). On one hand, this may serve as a warning to leaders in Australian Catholic schools and school systems that the 'top-down' logic of current mainstream school reforms such as NAPLAN and the publication of its results through the My School website present a risk to cohesion and collaboration at the school and system level. On the other hand, Pettit (2010) also found general agreement among teachers and principals that results from external testing can have value, but that this will require developing better collaboration among principals, school executive and teachers through focussing more directly on the use of evidence and placing higher priority on the value and delivery of professional learning – for teachers, for school executive, for principals, and especially for teachers, school executive and principals together.

The national agenda for reform and the new 'educational architecture' in Australian school education are presenting new challenges for 'Catholic voice' in shaping mainstream education policy. The National Catholic Education Commission (NCEC) is the body 'commissioned by and responsible to the Australian Catholic Bishops Conference, through the Bishops Commission for Catholic Education for developing and implementing national policy for the Church's work in schools' (www.ncec.catholic.edu.au). The way that the Catholic voice is heard varies from issue to issue and place to place. NCEC, as the major Catholic voice in national school policy, is formally represented on the new national education authorities (for example ACARA and AITSL) as well as other committees and working parties convened by the Australian Government that require participation by key agencies and major stakeholders in Australian school education. Usually senior staff from diocesan Catholic Education Offices and State/Territory Catholic Education Commissions represents NCEC on these bodies. One concern with the current situation is the issue of identifying and articulating a consistent Catholic position on key policy areas in Australian school education given the breadth of policy under consideration and the diversity in background and expertise of NCEC representatives. Unless the Catholic school sector consistently articulates a clear and agreed position and set of principles (on boards, committees and working parties of various kinds, directly with governments, and in the media), its power to influence the course of the mainstream school reform is limited. As the sector responsible for 20 % of all Australian school students and Australia's largest non-government employer, Catholic education has significant responsibility and capacity to act in this regard.

Leading in the current context of Australian school education calls for Catholic school system officers, principals and teachers to serve the national interest but also to stay true to the mission of Catholic education and leverage

the pressure and capitalize on the support from governments and their agencies to accomplish that mission. Leading from the edge of the mainstream is about the transformation of schooling where the aim is to develop a new spirit and mindset, and fresh and engaging practices which bring the Good News to life for students and staff. The context and time is right for some creative thinking and strategic action.

Catholic Schools on the Edge of Town

Australian Catholic schools serve a diversity of students, families and communities. There are approximately 1,700 Catholic schools in Australia, with an enrolment of almost 704,000 students. One in five Australian school children attend a Catholic school. Catholic school students receive significantly less government funding than students in government schools. The Australian Curriculum, Assessment and Reporting Authority (ACARA) data show that in 2009 the Catholic school sector had the lowest net recurrent income per student (NRIPS) in all Australian school jurisdictions apart from the Northern Territory. The NCEC Submission to the Review of Funding for Schooling, i.e. the Gonski Review (NCEC 2011a: 10) stated that:

> Across Australia, NRIPS was $10,008 in the Catholic sector, $11,132 for the government sector and $13, 711 for the independent sector. Also Catholic schools had the lowest mean and median NRIPS in every state.

These funding comparisons include contributions to the Catholic school sector from parents and parishes through fees and levies, and indicate a significant investment and degree of confidence in their local schools. This investment can cause hardship for some families yet it is the position of all Catholic education authorities across Australia that no child is ever denied a Catholic education because of their family's financial situation (NCEC 2010). Despite the differences in funding levels across Australian school sectors, data from the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) in 2009 provide evidence that Australian Catholic school sector is comparable in terms of performance and equity outcomes with Finland, regarded internationally as having a high performing school system (NCEC 2011a).

Most Catholic schools (96 %) are systemically funded. This means that the government funding that they attract is provided to the relevant state/territory Catholic Education Commission for needs-based distribution. Sixty-one Australian Catholic schools are non-systemically funded and receive government grants directly (NCEC 2011a). Catholic schools cover the socio-economic and geographic spread of Australian society. Two of out every five Catholic schools are located outside of Australia's major cities.

Let's meet a couple of Catholic school students from different ends of town – in fact from different corners of the continent!

Jai and Mille are both 13 years old. They are generally hopeful and resilient teenagers, ready to take on life's opportunities and challenges, and like other young

people they are influenced by peers and the role models particularly those they experience through digital media of various kinds. Jai is an Aboriginal boy enrolled in a remote school in the Australian Outback. Mille is a girl of Anglo-Irish-Italian decent attending a wealthy inner suburban all girls' college in an Australian state capital city. They go to different Catholic schools.

Mille's school world is characterised by a tension between mission and market position. At her school rising costs mean raising fees, and the school is under pressure to enrol more fee-paying international students but is conscious of keeping enough boarding places available for children of 'not so well off' country families. There is also tension between mission and 'Myschool'. Mille and particularly her older sister in Year 12 sometimes worry about having to do Religious Education, attend Masses and cope with other interruptions (not another Feast Day event!) – all of which take time away from the core subjects that really count, and may even be lowering the school's ranking.

Jai's school world is characterised by a tension between mission and relevance. Where does school fit? The whole concept has an alien quality about it. Its industrial age structures and assumptions about staffing, year levels, daily timetables, annual calendars, curriculum, assessment and certification simply don't fit with the seasons, let alone the cultural traditions of Jai's extended family. At a personal level – his questions are: Who can I trust? Who are my role models? What can I aspire to? It's hard to form a worthwhile relationship with teachers who move through every 6 to 12 months, or to take NAPLAN testing seriously when Standard Australian English is your 3rd or 4th language.

Given the differences in these school worlds, what is distinctively inclusive and hopeful about Catholic schooling? What do, and should Catholic schools offer Jai and Mille so that they may experience 'life to the full' (John 10:10)? Answers to these questions lie in two areas (i) building relationships and (ii) using evidence to develop better practices and supporting structures.

With regard to the first area, learning cannot occur without engagement, and engagement relies on the relationship between the student and the teacher. But developing relationships is not easy in Jai's school context given the high levels of transience of students, families and teachers. Some teachers stay three years, most leave earlier. Building relationships with teachers is not easy in Mille's school either. Parents and students have high expectations of teachers especially for ensuring career choices and school reputation in a competitive educational market place. At times, this can make her teachers feel as though their expertise is merely a commodity for purchase in some type of 'school curriculum supermarket' where students and their parents shop for the best deal to ensure success at Year 12 examination.

The challenge for Catholic school leaders in both these contexts is to build relationships by modelling what is distinctive, inclusive and hopeful about Catholic schools. This can be done by promoting a view of the human person centered on the person and teaching of Jesus Christ, being welcoming and encouraging (especially to the spiritually and financially poor), critiquing and challenging prevailing culture and community values, acting to address injustice, and celebrating the God given gifts of each student and staff member (NCEC 2011b).

The second area of priority for offering Jai and Mille the type of learning opportunities that can help them experience 'life to the full' is how their principals and teachers use evidence about student learning to develop and support school wide effective teaching practices. Essentially, this is an approach to school development that is built upon the idea that shared principles of effective teaching practice developed and implemented by teachers and principals working as a professional learning community are the most powerful means of supporting student learning. Approaches to school improvement based upon this idea (Andrews et al. 2004; Caldwell and Spinks 2008; Crowther 2012; Crowther et al. 2012; Gaffney and Faragher 2010) highlight the importance of respect and support for teachers, trialing and incorporating proven research findings in teaching practice, having organizational arrangements that are conducive to effective teaching and learning, encouraging community engagement, promoting an inspiring and achievable vision, and exercising collaborative and complementary leadership from principals and teachers in developing and sustaining alignment among these elements through the gathering and informed use of evidence.

These approaches to school development can also have a systemic dimension. The 'Leading Aligned Numeracy Development' project (LAND) was funded by the Australian Government as a *National Literacy and Numeracy Pilot* initiative to investigate how to develop and sustain higher levels of student numeracy achievement in low socio-economic communities. The project was a partnership between the Australian Catholic University, the Catholic Education Office of Western Australia (CEOWA), Catholic Education South Australia (CESA), and the Northern Territory Catholic Education Office (NTCEO) and a sample of schools in low socio-economic communities in each of these jurisdictions. Each participating education authority appointed officers to provide project liaison and management services and ongoing specialist support to schools.

Research on the LAND project (Gaffney and Faragher 2014) demonstrated the value of collaboration among principals and teachers working in low SES and remote Catholic school communities with colleagues working in other parts of Australia. Significant benefits flowed from the contacts and networks formed through the LAND project that enabled teachers, principals and central office staff from different school and school system contexts to work collaboratively on common priorities and issues and shared interests. Given the strengthening national agenda around curriculum, assessment, reporting, and teaching standards, it is time to think more strategically at a Catholic school system level about how to take the networking foundations and possibilities identified through the LAND project to the next level – possibly through having formal agreements between systems about sharing staff expertise; conducting research; supporting collaborative policy and program development; and facilitating professional learning networks.

One inhibiting factor to creating stronger links between Catholic schools and school systems has been the funding arrangements that have developed through the Australian Government Smarter School National Partnerships related to Literacy and Numeracy, Teacher Quality and support for Low SES school communities (see http://smarterschools.gov.au). The approach taken by the Commonwealth to

work through State and Territory governments, rather than directly with the NCEC not only added to the administrative load of those in Catholic education offices and frustrated implementation at school level, it also weakened the Catholic voice with governments in Canberra and around Australia. That is why the call by the NCEC to restore its direct relationship with the Commonwealth Government as an Election 2010 commitment sought from the major political parties was appropriate and timely. A combination of internal action on the part of Catholic school systems and State/Territory Catholic Education Commissions around Australia and external advocacy from the NCEC is needed to bring Catholic schools *on the edge of town* more closely together. That way Jai and Mille will have a better opportunity to understand and respect each other – and Australia will be the better for it.

Catholic Schools on the Edge of Faith

Neither Jai nor Mille attend Sunday mass, or in fact have much involvement at all with their local parish outside of school. Both join in regular prayer and weekly liturgies at school and participate in the occasional school masses. Jai has natural rhythm for playing the drums. Mille's ballet background makes her an ideal choice for the liturgical movement pieces that are performed just after Communion. Both students are involved in community service activities. Mille organises fashion shows to raise money for Caritas, the international Catholic charity organisation. Jai and his mates are growing and selling vegetables to raise money to partly subsidise the costs of this year's football trip to Melbourne. Both Jai and Mille are generally interested in religious education and every now and then they experience moments of genuine catechesis – but they also occasionally wonder about the Church. Jai wonders why there is not a 'St Jai'. Mille wonders why women cannot be priests …

Catholic schools are on the edge of faith. Not only are they contributing to the Church's mission by proclaiming the Good News of Jesus Christ to an increasingly multicultural and pluralistic Australian society, they are also vehicles for members of their communities to find meaning in their lives through forming a relationship with their God – wherever they are on their understanding and journey of faith (NCEC 2011b). Consideration of recent Church documents and research findings on the demographics of Catholic school communities, emerging forms of governance, and the authenticity and sustainability of Catholic schooling underscore the fact that Australian Catholic schools are operating in a changing ecclesial, political, cultural, social and economic context.

Discussions about the purpose and context of Catholic schools and what they hope to achieve are not new. For the past 180 years, questions have been asked about what is being witnessed and modelled in Catholic schools and calls have been made to strengthen schools' impact and demonstrate their accountability. McLaughlin (2005) explains that the original purposes of Catholic education were to value and secure salvation, reproduce a religious culture, and establish an alternative school system, based in Australia around tribal Irishness to counter the Anglo-Protestant establishment.

These purposes now seem somewhat anachronistic – certainly to post war migrants and Asian refugees, middle class non Catholic families, and a significant proportion of those learning and teaching in Catholic schools today.

Research on why parents choose to send their children to Catholic schools highlights quality of teaching, care of children and school discipline as more important reasons than religion (Canavan 1995). Catholic schools are becoming more popular particularly with middle class non-Catholics and non-practising Catholics but they are less popular with wealthy Catholics and less accessible to poorer Catholic families (CEC NSW 2005). These enrolment trends raise issues about the quality, affordability and mission of Catholic schools (Croke 2007). For example, Benjamin (2011), former Executive Director of the Diocese of Parramatta Catholic Schools Office, has noted a consequent dilemma for Catholic education that significant numbers of those for whom it has a special mandate (i.e. students from lower income families) are not attending Catholic schools.

The report of changing enrolment patterns in NSW Catholic schools (CEC NSW 2005) was a source document for the pastoral letter *Catholic Schools at a Crossroads* from the Bishops of NSW and the ACT (2007) in which they invited all those involved in Catholic Education to dedicate themselves to ensuring that Catholic schools:

1. Are truly Catholic in their identity and life?
2. Are centres of 'the new evangelisation'?
3. Enable their students to achieve high levels of 'religious literacy'?
4. Are led and staffed by people who contribute to these goals?

Australian Catholic schools are indeed at a crossroads. 'Crossroads' is an intriguing metaphor. Are those in schools passing through a crossroads looking for direction, or are Catholic schools stationed at a crossroads providing services for pilgrims on the journey? Both these interpretations are relevant for leaders of Catholic schools and school systems at this time. The recent announcement by the Australian Federal Government of the Royal Commission into Institutional Responses to Child Sexual Abuse (www.childabuseroyal.commission.gov.au) gives an additional *gravitas* to an already complex set of issues around purpose, distinctiveness, mission and witness of Catholic schools.

The crossroads metaphor can also be applied to the issue of declining numbers of priests, sisters, and brothers involved in the governance of Church ministries in education. Questions relating to ownership and stewardship of the temporal goods, and responsibility for mission and identity are increasingly being considered and debated as more and more lay people are being called to take on governance roles (Morrissey 2011).

Recent research by Thornber (2012) focussed on this issue by investigating the formation needs of individuals for roles in the governance of the Church's ministries. He researched the human, intellectual, spiritual, and pastoral dimensions of formation through surveys and interviews with leading figures in Catholic agencies in Australia and North America. The survey items were drawn from the 1992 Vatican document by Pope John Paul II on priestly formation *Pastores Dabo Vobis* and the *Co-Workers in the Vineyard of the Lord* document by the United States Conference

Table 40.1 Dimensions and content of formation for governance of Catholic schools

Dimension	Content
Human	Sense of justice, compassion and respect
Intellectual	Understanding of faith, revelation and tradition
Spiritual	Understanding of baptismal call to mission, and sense of vocation to the role
Pastoral	Knowledge of the ministry, the role of the bishop, and responsibility for ongoing identity and care of temporal goods

Source: Thornber (2012)

of Catholic Bishops (USCCB 2005) on formation of the laity working in ecclesial roles. The dimensions and the associated content for formation investigated by Thornber (2012) are shown in Table 40.1.

Thornber (2012) reported that the expectations for those in governance roles are high but that current levels of capability appear to be somewhat below this. He also found that while people serving on governance bodies were committed to the mission and the work of the ministry, they had limited understanding that the works of the ministry were about the Good News of Jesus Christ.

The issues underpinning this research have important implications for leaders in Catholic education. This has been recognised by the National Catholic Education Commission of Australia through its publication of the document *Catholic School Governance* (NCEC 2002) to provide guidance for those serving on and responsible for the constitution of Catholic school boards. Particular areas highlighted in this document refer to the need for board members to understand their responsibility for the mission and spiritual capital (Grace 2010) of the school community, to base their decisions on principles of Catholic Social Teaching, and to be cognisant of the authority of the bishop.

Prior to and during Vatican II, governance in the Church was only ever expected to be the responsibility of the clergy and members of religious institutes. The current reality sees that alternatives are not only required, but are already happening in ministries. As lay people are finding themselves required to lead education ministries in the name of the *mission* of the Church, the question of appropriate formation arises along with issues about what has been taken for granted in the formation of priests and religious for governance and how this translates or needs to be transformed to contemporary contexts. We are on the edge of faith in our thinking and practice about governance in Catholic education.

Catholic Schools on the Edge of Possibility

Being on the edge presents a range of possibilities for Australian Catholic schools:

- By being on the edge of the mainstream – they can transform the mainstream by engaging with educational trends and futures, advocating the Catholic perspective and leading with the right spirit, professional skill and integrity of mission.

- By being on the edges of town – they can build bridges by strengthening relationships and facilitating collaboration through networks and formalising cooperative agreements with other schools and school systems.
- By being on the edge of faith – they can witness and proclaim the Good News of Jesus Christ by taking a fresh perspective on what it means to be at the cross-roads, and on the related challenge of formation for leadership and governance roles in Catholic education.

What are the implications for the leaders of Australian Catholic schools and school systems? Leading Catholic schools *on the edge* is about leading educational change. Change happens as people find meaning. 'Finding meaning' in this sense refers to people seeing the value in what is proposed, how it will impact on their life and work, and the ways in which it will influence the guiding beliefs and daily practices of their organisation. Leaders help people find meaning by developing their own capability for leadership and supporting that process in others.

The concept of leadership capability has been defined as including qualities that integrate knowledge, skills and attitudes in such a way that they can be used appropriately and effectively in new and changing circumstances (Stephenson, as cited in Duignan 2006, p. 120). The LAND project research (Gaffney and Faragher 2014; Gaffney 2012) has identified five dimensions of leadership capability related to Catholic school performance and student achievement. The following dimensions were based on research on system leadership (ACU 2007) and informed by meta-analyses of the relationship between school leadership and student learning (Chapman 2008; Robinson 2007):

(a) **Personal** – developing shared purpose, e.g. enlivening the school's vision for teaching and learning;
(b) **Professional** – valuing teaching and professional learning, e.g. supporting teaching and developing shared understandings and principles of effective teaching;
(c) **Organisational** – organising curriculum and infrastructure, e.g. ensuring organisational arrangements are conducive for teaching and learning;
(d) **Relational** – engaging the school community, e.g. involving parents in supporting their children's learning; and
(e) **Transformational** – thinking strategically and acting practically to build alignment between the school's vision, teaching practices, organisational arrangements and community relationships in support of improved outcomes, e.g. engaging in investigations with colleagues about causes and effects related to student achievement.

Each of the dimensions of leadership capability was found to be not only important in its own right, but also connected with the development and practice of leadership actions in other dimensions. In other words, capability in one dimension supported the development of capability in another. Of further note was that the LAND project identified a fifth, so-called *transformational*, dimension of leadership capability. This was incorporated from evidence that LAND school leadership teams who demonstrated this capability were able to bring about

greater alignment between school vision, teaching practices, organisational arrangements and community expectations and engagement. As such, the transformational dimension of leadership capability has the potential to overcome a limiting characteristic of contemporary school leadership standards frameworks (e.g. ACEL 2010; ACU 2007; AISTL 2011). This is that these frameworks tend to deconstruct leadership practice without providing an insight on how the various 'parts of leadership' can actually work in unison to produce something greater than the sum of those parts. Transformational leadership capability on the other hand is about building alignment between the parts, i.e. it involves thinking strategically and acting practically to develop and realise new possibilities for Catholic schools on the *edge of the mainstream*, *of town* and *of faith*.

Lessons for Leading on the Edge

Leading Australian Catholic schools 'on the edge' is a creative synthesis of personal, professional, organisational, relational and transformational capabilities for the purpose of bringing the Good News of Jesus Christ to life for each and every student. It involves applying knowledge, skills, attributes of leadership wisely in context so that Catholic schools.

1. Offer engaging valuable learning for their students – appropriate to 'the age', in touch with the mainstream but not consumed by it;
2. Are consistently inclusive, hopeful and take action to connect students and school communities from the edges of town, from across the geographic expanse and socio-economic and cultural diversity of schooling in Australia; and
3. Witness and model faith, and practice and sustain what is authentically 'Catholic'.

The role of school leaders is to develop and exercise their capabilities to realise these qualities so that their students, staff and all associated with the project of Catholic Education are given opportunity to 'have life and have it to the full' (John 10:10). Jai and Mille will thank you for it!

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Chapter 41
Faith-Based Non-government Organizations and Education in 'Post-new War Societies': Background, Directions and Challenges in Leadership, Teaching and Learning

Tom O'Donoghue and Simon Clarke

Introduction

The focus of this chapter is on providing insights for educational leaders (including school principals and teachers) working for faith-based non-government organizations (faith-based NGOs) in a particular form of post-conflict setting, namely, that of 'post-new-war' societies. This notion of 'new wars', coined and elaborated on by Kaldor (2005, 2006), refers to those violent conflicts which have their origins in the informal wars of the second half of the twentieth century and have contributed to the disintegration of a number of authoritarian states. Faith-based organizations play a role in providing education in such societies.

The chapter is in four parts. First, the nature of faith-based NGOs and their work in providing aid and fostering development in crisis situations around the world is briefly considered. Secondly, the role of faith-based NGOs, especially as it applies to education in the crisis situation pertaining in many 'post-new-war' societies, is examined. Thirdly, the recent emphasis placed by academics and multi-lateral organizations on the importance of this role in the education domain, is considered. The final section of the chapter is directly concerned with providing a broad overview of recent investigations on education in post-new war societies and indicating how they can be instructive in regard to teaching and learning for faith-based NGOs working with leaders of faith-based schools located in such settings.

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The Nature and Work of Faith-Based Organizations in Providing Aid and Fostering Development Around the World

State intervention in education throughout much of the world is a relatively recent phenomenon. In general, it is associated with the foundation of modern industrial nations. The models of state education usually adopted, however, derived many of their characteristics from the dominant providers for centuries, namely, faith-based organizations. These have included, but have not been restricted to, organizations from the Judaeo-Christian tradition and Islam. Along with providing schools on the home front, outreaches were also developed to emigrant communities and in the missionary work of evangelization. This latter work continues today along the traditional pattern of running schools, technical and vocational education and university education, as well as hospitals and social-care facilities in long-established mission settings. In more recent times, however, faith-based NGOs, like individual-country aid agencies and multi-lateral organizations, have also been responding to various crises situations around the world, including those generated by famine, climate, disease, and violent conflict.

Regarding NGOs in general, their activity has grown over the last two decades, particularly through the involvement of such organizations as Amnesty International, Oxfam, Greenpeace, the World Council of Churches, Soka Gakkai International, and the World Jewish Congress. Indeed, 10 years ago, Berger (2003, p. 16) noted that they were injecting their voices with significant effect into 'policy discussions on issues, including human rights, sustainability development, the environment, peace building, and governance', while some were also providing extensive relief and social services in regions of the world where, because of lack of governmental will, or capacity, no alternatives existed. Faith-based NGOs have been central in this activity. They have been defined as follows:

Faith-based NGOs are formal organizations whose identity and mission are self-consciously derived from the teachings of one or more religious or spiritual traditions and which operate on a nonprofit, independent, voluntary basis to promote and realize collectively articulated ideas about the public good at the national or international level (Berger 2003, p. 16).

They have been particularly heavily involved in education over the last four decades. This is striking in view of the fact that by the 1960s, scholarly interest in faith-based schools had waned, influenced partly by the analyses of sociologists of religion who assumed that state-run schools would gradually become the norm. From the perspective of many academics, the world was in the grip of an irreversible process of secularization (Bruce 2003, p. 42). Their projected retreat of religion from public space, however, has not become a reality. This, in Jackson's (2007, p. 27) view, is attributable, in part, to the global attention religion has received since 11 September 2001.

Specifically regarding education, one focus of attention in recent years has been the expansion of fundamental Christian schools. The growth of minority

non-Christian religious schools and the resilience of schools provided by the traditional Christian churches have also received the attention of scholars and researchers. Collectively, such developments constitute one set of indicators prompting social scientists like Hamilton (2001, p. 186) to argue that the secularization assumed by various scholars to have fundamentally changed modern society may be less widespread than originally thought. Also, "despite the religious roots of many present-day conflicts" (Berger 2003, p. 16), religious groups and actors have played pivotal roles in the prevention and resolution of international conflict.

The number and variety of faith-based NGOs that support faith-based schooling, including when located in post-new war settings, are too expansive to permit a comprehensive portrait to be painted here. The following outline of the main organizations involved provided by Berger (2003, p. 23) regarding the situation 10 years ago is, however, still broadly indicative of current circumstances:

Baha'i:	Baha'i International Community;
Buddhist:	International Buddhist Foundation, Soka Gakkai International;
Christian:	Baptist World Alliance, Catholic Relief Services; Friends World Committee for Consultation; Lutheran World Federation, World Vision International;
Jewish:	Americans for Peace Now, B'nai B'rith;
Muslim:	Africa Muslims Agency, Islamic Relief, Muslim World League, World Islamic Call Society;
Multi-religious:	International Association for Religious Freedom, World Conference on Religion and Peace.

A brief consideration of the work of the Christian and the Muslim groups outlined here gives some idea of the variety of activities in which all faith-based NGOs are involved.

Benedetti (2006, p. 849) has noted that Christian-inspired NGOs are usually overlooked when talking about Western NGOs, as if they are a remnant of the past, or as if the Western NGOs are necessarily secular in nature. The reality, he points out, is very different. Indeed, a substantial proportion of US government funding for relief and development annually is received by Catholic Relief Services and World Vision, both faith-based NGOs. Funding, however, tends not to be sought on religious grounds by such organizations. Rather, when appeals for donations are made the organizations refer to charity and compassion, which have a very strong Christian resonance (Benedetti 2006, p. 849).

Benedetti (2006, p. 850) goes on to point out that while relief aid is carried out by all Christian-based NGOs, very few of them intend it to be their only goal. On this, he identifies two 'ideal types' at either end of a spectrum, and between which most organizations can be placed. At one end are those Christian faith-based NGOs with low religious pervasiveness in the membership and the mission, and whose language is similar to secular NGOs. Nevertheless, their mission still uses Christianity as a reference point and ideology, as they "venture beyond notions of social responsibility to assertions of 'rights' and 'wrongs', 'truths' and 'untruths'" (Benedetti 2006, p. 850). These he refers to as the secular-Christian NGOs. At the

other end of the spectrum are those organizations he defines as the militant-Christian NGOs. They are characterized by 'high religious pervasiveness both in the membership, which might require high religious motivations, and the mission' (Benedetti 2006, p. 850). Also, they actively set about spreading the Gospel, and do not place a high regard on the humanitarian principles of neutrality and impartiality.

The other large group of faith-based NGOs consists of Islamic organizations. These have been defined by Wiktorowicz and Farouki (2000, p. 686) as follows:

Islamic NGOS are non-profit, grassroots, voluntary societies that provide basic goods and services to communities in a manner Islamists deem consistent with Islamic values and practices. Often termed 'social Islam', these organizations reflect a growing functional synthesis between socioeconomic need and religious values.

They took off in earnest in the 1970s and 1980s, particularly in Africa, in response to recurrent drought and civil wars in Angola, Chad, Ethiopia, Mozambique, Sudan, Somalia and Uganda. The first amongst the Islamic NGOS in these countries included 'the African Islamic Relief Organization and a myriad of Islamic banks supportive of Islamic cooperatives and private, or collateral, investment' (Salih 2002, p. 2). Currently, these and similar Islamic organizations operate medical clinics, schools, hospitals, training centres, charitable societies and cultural associations. Their aim is to 'address pressing development issues while at the same time propagating a religious message…. Activities are framed in terms of religious obligations of charity and da'wa (charity work)' (Wiktorowicz and Farouki 2000, p. 686). Also, as with NGOs affiliated to other faith-based organizations, they are very much involved in education in post new-war societies.

Post New-War Societies, Education and Faith-Based NGOs

The notion of 'new wars' used in this chapter is that provided by Kaldor (2005, 2006). She distinguishes between 'old wars' and 'new wars'. 'Old wars' refers to an idealized version of war that characterized Europe between the late eighteenth and the middle of the twentieth century (Kaldor 2005). These wars contributed to the development of modern nation states because of their ability to monopolize organized violence, eliminate private armies and establish professional armies subservient to them. The state carried out its job of defending its territory against others by engaging in wars fought by armed forces in uniform and the decisive encounter was the battle.

While the middle of the twentieth century witnessed 'old wars' reaching their apex, what followed was also the high point of state building. The very forces which brought about mass killings led individual nation states to the conclusion that they could not fight wars unilaterally (Kaldor 2006, p. 31). The centralized totalitarian state emerged, as did blocs of states and the associated ideas of democracy against totalitarianism, and of socialism against fascism. One outcome is that since 1945 there have been very few inter-state wars.

'New wars', on the other hand, have their origins in the informal wars of the second half of the twentieth century, 'starting with the wartime resistance movements and the guerrilla warfare of Mao Tse-tung and his successors' (Kaldor 2006, p. 32). Their characteristics have been summarized as follows:

These are wars fought by networks of state and non-state actors, often without uniforms, sometimes they have distinctive signs, like crosses or *Ray-Ban* sunglasses as in the case of the Croatian militia in Bosnia Herzegovina. They are wars where battles are rare and where most violence is directed against civilians as a consequence of counter-insurgency tactics or ethnic cleansing. They are wars where taxation is falling and war finance consists of loot and pillage, illegal trading and other war-generated revenue. They are wars where the distinctions between combatant and non-combatant, legitimate violence and criminality are all breaking down (Kaldor 2005, p. 3).

Immediately, in this regard, one thinks of the devastation that eventuated in various places across the world, including Northern Ireland, Kosovo, Timor Leste, Lebanon, Rwanda, and Solomon Islands, to mention but a few.

While the notion of a post-new war society conjures up an image of peace, it can often be an uneasy peace. In other words, the cessation of conflict may not be clear-cut. Hostilities usually do not end abruptly and complete peace rarely follows, with splinter groups often being unready, or unwilling, to cease hostilities. Thus, Brown et al. (2007, pp. 4–5) conclude, it is not helpful to think in terms of one, or a number, of conditions to define the beginning and end of post-conflict. Rather, we should think in terms of a process that involves the achievement of the following peace milestones: cessation of hostilities and violence; signing of political/peace agreements; demobilization, disarmament, and reintegration; refugee repatriation; establishing a functioning state; achieving reconciliation and societal integration; economic recovery.

Kaldor (2006, p. 12) also argues as follows regarding what needs to be done in post new-war settings:

The key to any long-term solution is the restoration of legitimacy, the reconstitution of the control of organized violence by public authorities, whether local, national or global. This is both a political process – the rebuilding of trust in, and support for, local authorities – and the legal process – the reestablishment of a rule of law within which public authorities operate.

The need, she concludes, is for a strategy aimed at controlling violence that would include political, military and economic components. Furthermore, the maximization of the possibility of the successful implementation of such a strategy, she argues, requires not just the involvement of transnational institutions, but also the establishment of an alliance between these institutions and local defenders of civility. This applies as much in relation to initiatives in the field of education as it does in other fields.

Various faith-based NGOs have, for some time, been responding in the realm of education along the lines proposed by Kaldor across the various types of post-new war societies. They have also disseminated insights on the complexity of the tasks they have carried out. For example, back in 1998, the results of the research by the

War-Torn Societies Project (WSP) (1998) into rebuilding societies in war-ravaged Lebanon revealed three problems, namely, rebuilding schools, training teachers and providing educational materials. The difficulties for teachers trying to teach children exposed to the horrors of war were also revealed. Recommendations were made on the provision of specially designed programmes for these children and possible strategies aimed at dissuading them from becoming military recruits in the future were indicated.

More recently, research by Jawad (2008) investigated how faith-based NGOs in Lebanon responded appropriately to the social problems confronting them. Particularly instructive was the highlighting of the need to address issues of poverty at the same time as making provision for schooling. One organization was held up as an exemplar because of its work aimed at creating new jobs in order to give those attending school a reason to gain an education, while also providing wages for parents to help them to pay their children's school fees. Also, in making a case aimed at encouraging aid donors to engage more explicitly, but carefully, with faith-based NGOs, James (2011), highlighted how various other Christian and Islamic NGOs in Lebanon had been at the forefront in providing vital services to the poor of the country, particularly in health and education.

A similar scenario has been painted by Kirmani et al. (2009) in analysing the experience of Islamic Relief, when working with and for refugees and internally displaced persons in other parts of the world. They found that this organisation's humanitarian aid approaches were adaptable to changing circumstances. On this, they drew particular attention to the way Islamic Relief first began providing humanitarian assistance to refugees fleeing conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1992. The provision of food and non-food items continued throughout the Bosnian War of 1992–1995. Then, in the immediate aftermath of the war, Islamic Relief shifted its focus to promoting the return of refugees through the reconstruction of war damaged homes, health clinics and schools (Kirmani et al. 2009).

While international aid donors are inclined to be supportive of many of the activities along the lines noted above undertaken by faith-based NGOs, it was not until a little over a decade ago that they began to recognize the importance of the specific work undertaken in the realm of education. In 2006, Johnson and Van Kalmthout (2006) were able to note that international aid donors were becoming increasingly supportive of education in post-conflict settings and that multilateral organizations like the OECD, UNESCO and the World Bank were engaging in associated documentation, research and evaluation aimed at informing decision making. They went on to state that UNICEF has been 'strengthening mechanisms for generating and applying experiential knowledge based on lessons from the field, to inform policy and design intervention strategies, as well as identifying and promoting "recommended practices" that are supported by evidence' (Johnson and Van Kalmthout 2006, p. 3). This brings us to the next section of this chapter, in which we provide an overview of the associated research and insights yielded by the work of academics and multi-lateral organizations. This body of work serves to legitimate the emphasis faith-based NGOs have placed on education, alongside their other activities,

over the last four decades, and strengthens their case for continuing and increased support from financial donors, including their work in faith-based schools in post-new war societies.

The Importance Currently Attached to the Role of Education in Post-new War Settings

It has long been recognized that investment in education is crucial for the promotion of economic progress. However, the position of the Save the Children Alliance (2006, p. 11) must also be emphasized, namely, that every child in the world has a right to education, whatever the circumstances. The Alliance went on to specify the following advantages of providing quality education through schools and other places of learning, including those supported by faith-based NGOs, in the post-new war circumstances that are the main interest in this chapter:

- help protect children from physical harm, exploitation and violence, since post-conflict settings can still be very dangerous;
- provide psychological support and healing by signalling a return to stability, thus helping children to deal with the traumas they have experienced, and developing their social skills and self-esteem;
- assist the affected society more widely by helping to restore normalcy, safeguard the most vulnerable, provide psycho-social care, promote tolerance, unify divided communities and begin the process of reconstruction and peace building;
- offer an entry point for initiating longer-term social, economic and political change, especially for the poorest families, being one of the key ingredients of democracy building;
- yield some of the highest returns of all development investments when it involves investment in girls' education, since such investment results in both private and social benefits for individuals, families and society at large.

Emphasis has also been placed in the literature regarding schools in post-conflict settings, including those supported by faith-based NGOs, on the importance of teaching children about conflict (Davies 2005, p. 357), especially through 'peace education'. Initiatives in this area by the United Nations have stressed the idea of a culture of peace, of shared meanings and values, and of diversity between different peoples of the world (Bretherton et al. 2003). The literature also highlights the need for trained teachers, facilities and resources for peace education, and also the need to connect with the local culture. Furthermore, authors in the field provide enlightenment on how to plan, construct and implement peace education. McGlynn et al. (2009) and Spence (2009), for example, offer theoretical, pedagogical, empirical and contextual perspectives from different projects in such troubled parts of the world as Burundi, Cyprus, Macedonia, the Middle East, Rwanda, Solomon Islands, and Sudan.

Faith-based NGOs, like other organizations engaged in educational initiatives in post-conflict societies can, however, be faced with great difficulties (Bretherton et al. 2003). On this, Buckland (2006, p. 7) has detailed as follows the problems which may present themselves:

- there is often a chronic shortage of qualified teachers;
- the sheer number of war-affected youth, demobilized soldiers and young people who have not completed basic education can seem overwhelming;
- poor record keeping, corruption and lack of transparency in education governance (e.g., salaries are often paid to 'ghost' teachers) can exacerbate an already daunting situation;
- the 'relief' bubble in international financial support often subsides before a more predictable flow of reconstruction resources can be mobilized;
- skills training for youth is seriously under-resourced, and even when available, vocational training programmes often fail to prepare people for locally available employment opportunities;
- as education involves an interface of humanitarian action and development in complex ways there is often a plethora of coordination mechanisms which, in turn, lead to coordination challenges;
- failure to develop successful initiatives to build the skills of young people and prevent their recruitment into military or criminal activity, can lead to youth being seen as a threat to stability;
- few programmes value young people as an important resource for development and reconstruction.

A particular approach to addressing such problems has been offered by the United Nations (2003), one of the most significant multi-lateral organizations recognising the importance of developing education in post-new war societies, including through the work of faith-based NGOs. This approach distinguishes between the short term and the long term initiatives that need to be taken in rehabilitating education in any post-conflict society. The short term initiatives include building schools, providing teaching materials, desks and stationery, providing teachers and making sure they get paid, and getting students back into the schools as soon as possible. The long-term strategy involves taking initiatives aimed at raising attendance levels, increasing literacy rates, reducing any gender imbalance in enrolment and attendance at the various levels, reducing drop-out rates, educating enough teachers, and providing pedagogical support material to help teachers attain high quality standards of teaching.

A complementary approach has been outlined by UNESCO's (2004) International Institute for Educational Planning. What it emphasizes is a coordinated approach to education. Such an approach has been found to have at least five advantages:

1. a coordinated education system becomes connective tissue linking people from the same country (recognized or *de facto*) together;
2. a coordinated emergency education system promotes the acceptance and utility of humanitarian work because it addresses a fundamental value shared

by families, committees, and nations engulfed by war. Education is the most practicable, durable and encompassing peace-making enterprise available to humanitarians;

3. quality education is valuable because it limits the chances that trauma, abduction, forced labour, or a range of social and economic obligations will consume the lives of war-affected children and youth;

4. promoting education can, because it constitutes a mammoth sector in any nation, involve entire communities and their recognized or *de facto* government, in a potentially uplifting endeavour during times of profound stress, uncertainty and tragedy. The work of education can also keep children and their teachers busy on useful activities;

5. coordinating the education sector facilitates the practice of humanitarian work by signifying the humanitarians' response to a widely shared and fundamental value. Coordination is of towering significance to the practice of education during emergencies and early reconstruction because a coordinated education system magnifies the coherence and utility of education for students, teachers and their communities. Displaced people within and outside countries, classified as IDPs and refugees, have been cast adrift from their homes and distanced from their peace-time lives (UNESCO 2004, p. 881).

This brings us back to Kaldor's (2006, p. 12) position, namely, that the maximization of the possibility of the successful implementation of strategies emanating from coordinated approaches requires not just the involvement of transnational institutions, including faith-based NGOs, but also that of local defenders of civility, and the establishment of an alliance between both. Equally, we argue, what is required in relation to these areas, and what is greatly neglected in the educational literature in the field, is 'appropriate' leadership. Furthermore, while the provision of such leadership at the individual school level in post-new war settings is the specific focus in the next section of this chapter, we recognize the importance of locating considerations within a context which also takes cognizance of transnational institutions and of their relationship to local stakeholders.

To put it another way, while we emphasize the need for research to inform leadership at the individual school level in post-new war societies because this is the 'coal face', the actual place where policy is enacted in a way that is meant to result in real change for students, we recognize that appropriate initiatives also need to be taken at the macro-level. As the Save the Children Alliance (2006, p. 17) has argued, while government structures and ministries are often operating under increased pressures and, in some cases, limited capacity, they are the primary duty-bearers in the fulfilment of their citizens' rights in societies affected by conflict. Thus, to ensure that all children enjoy the rights set out in international standards, governments need to put in place policies and plans to achieve education for all. Also, international donors have a vital role to play in supporting not only governments, but also NGOs, including faith-based NGOs, especially through providing direct aid to enable basic services such as education to function and through providing the technical support to guide them. This includes making "financial commitments to

support curriculum renewal, modernization of teacher training and supervision, as well as a significant investment in building technical capacity" (Save the Children Alliance 2006, p. 30).

Research-Based Insights on Teaching and Learning for Faith-Based NGOs Working with Leaders of Faith-Based Schools

This final section of the chapter seeks to 'speak' to leaders in NGOs involved in education at the individual school level in post-new war societies, rather than being about them and their activities. It takes as its starting point the fact that about 20 years ago, in a field previously dominated by studies of educational organization, administration and management, leadership studies in education began to move centre stage (Grace 1995, p. 1). Since then a rich body of knowledge has developed. A simple, yet profound, observation arising out of that body of knowledge, is that decisions on the type of leadership approach to be adopted in any particular circumstance should be greatly influenced by the context within which the circumstance occurs (Bottery 2006, pp. 169–184; MacBeath and Dempster 2009).

In the case of educational leadership in post-conflict societies, including leadership at the individual school level, very little research, as Jansen (2007, p. 92) has pointed out, has been undertaken on what the nature of such circumstances might be, what challenges they pose for those who are ascribed leadership roles, and what strategies school leaders adopt in dealing with them. The limited amount of research that does exist, however, can be instructive regarding teaching and learning for faith-based NGOs working with leaders of faith-based schools and is offered here with such a purpose in mind. This body of research can be considered in terms of the three learning agendas of the school articulated by Knapp et al. (2003), namely, the organizational learning agenda, the teacher learning agenda, and the student learning agenda. However, we offer the qualifier that while these three learning agendas can constitute distinct foci, it is important to emphasize that they are interdependent in a complex variety of ways. Furthermore, while this interdependence can vary with context, it always requires great sensitivity and attention on the part of school leaders.

Leadership in Relation to the Organizational Learning Agenda

Regarding leadership in relation to the organizational learning agenda, great emphasis is placed in the post-conflict literature on the need for capacity building, and encouragement of participation and coordination between communities, teachers

and their organizations, local authorities and other stakeholders, in order to build the appropriate culture (Buckland 2006, p. 8). Also, there is an emerging consensus that the efforts of local communities and authorities already active in supporting education should not be brought into competition with the efforts of external support agencies. A major safeguard in this regard, it is held, can be provided by establishing a decentralized educational system. Furthermore, the resultant community participation, it is argued, should not be confined to mobilizing labour to rebuild and repair schools. Rather, space should be given for parents to be involved in school governance (Buckland 2006, p. 8).

Adopting the same position, Brown (2006, p. 20) injects a sense of realism, arguing that this is a particularly challenging task in urban areas where a sense of community can often be lacking. Furthermore, Greeley and Rose (2006, p. 14) caution that parental involvement in a decentralized educational system in post-conflict societies should not be seen as a panacea. As he puts it, there is need for caution since reliance on communities can 'intensify inequality, particularly where communities are fractured as a result of conflict. School management committees can be captured by local elites, and can themselves give rise to conflict'.

Various examples of projects geared towards promoting greater community involvement in education in post-conflict areas are available, although it is difficult to calibrate the extent to which they have been 'successful'. Spence (2009) has reported on an educational project in Solomon Islands, where communities were ripped apart as a result of lawlessness related to old grievances over land. The aim also was for the community to become reassured through witnessing youths working productively and constructively. A second example relates to the formerly violence-strewn Indonesian province of Aceh. Here, the Australia Indonesia Partnership for Reconstruction and Development (AIPRD) focused its relationship-building through a Communities and Education Project (CEPA) which sought to promote reconciliation and village-level democracy through the education sector at the community level (AusAID 2006). A third example comes from Timor-Leste. Here the 100 Friendly Schools Project (100 FSP) sought to strengthen national educational policy and planning, increase the capacity of primary schools to deliver quality education, and increase enrolment and completion rates.

Without intending to simplify or diminish the intractable problems that are likely to be encountered by schools located in post-new war contexts, the small body of literature along the lines outlined above does present glimpses of particular leadership challenges pertinent to the organizational sub-level. Not surprisingly, perhaps, one of these challenges relates to changing the culture of a school so that it becomes conducive to learning. Njeru (2010), for example, in his account of post war recovery in Southern Sudan, refers to the imperative of transforming a culture of meta-conflict to one of negotiation, trust and confidence. Likewise, MacBeath and his colleagues (2010), in their work in schools in Ghana, describe a range of obstacles to promoting a learning culture, including deeply embedded cultural and tribal priorities. Other leadership challenges at the organizational sub-level of the school may well be manifested in such matters as the school environment and grounds, policies and procedures, community partnerships, governance, and decision-making.

It is through these processes and structures that the complexity of exercising school leadership can be revealed. Furthermore, they are likely to reflect and reify the stance adopted towards leadership, especially as it relates to learning.

Leadership in Relation to the Teacher-Learning Research Agenda

Focusing on the limited body of research on school leadership in post-new war societies as it relates to the learning agenda of teachers draws attention to the need to engage in the process of building teachers' intellectual and professional capacities. We hold that the efficacy of this process will depend, in the first instance, on teachers and principals recognizing that they are learners themselves. Nearly 15 years ago, Hargreaves (1997) recognized the increasing complexity of teaching, which he regarded as the crucible for teachers' learning, especially by means of collaboration. Factors such as an expanded knowledge base of teaching, increasingly diverse students in classrooms, and the broadening ambit of teachers' responsibilities, serve to buttress the importance of teachers' continuous learning. This situation applies to teachers in post-conflict societies every bit as much as it does in the case of teachers in schools more broadly.

Nicolai (2006, p. 23) has argued that initiatives aimed at improving the quality of teachers in post-conflict situations cannot be postponed until an education system is fully functioning and the curriculum known, especially in places where the teaching force is inexperienced. This, as Spink (2006, p. 16) implies, is because teachers need to be able to deal from the outset with a range of contentious issues. He points to developments in Afghanistan to illustrate the sorts of difficulties that can arise. Here, he states, complex tasks of curriculum development were not adequately addressed. As a result:

> …. curriculum and textbook reform remains fraught with political agendas. There is ongoing debate about religious textbooks, particularly how to present non-Sunni religious practices. Ethnic groups are vying for influence over how history is taught (Spink 2006, p. 16).

The argument is not that this situation could have been avoided. Rather, what Spink is keen to highlight is the importance of teachers possessing the pedagogical skills and subject knowledge to be able to deal with the situation in a professional manner. While leadership on its own, of course, cannot guarantee such a scenario, it is sorely needed in order to promote initiatives to enhance teacher agency. In particular, there is recognition of a need for initiatives to address problems caused by the acute shortage of trained teachers in many post new-war contexts (Buckland 2006). Associated challenges presented to school leaders at the teacher research-agenda level are likely to be heavily connected with professional learning and development. In particular, it would seem desirable for schools to promote structures and processes facilitating collaborative strategies among teachers, for developing a sense of instrumentality in their work on a day-to-day basis.

In keeping with the general thrust of this section of the paper, however, one would need to be well informed on the context in any situation before formulating plans on how to proceed.

Leadership in Relation to the Student Research-Agenda

The third research-agenda in relation to which school leadership in post-conflict societies can be considered is that of the student. Such leadership is especially important in order to facilitate recognition of the various disorders which may be evident in young students' behaviors. Teachers in post-conflict settings should not be surprised to be confronted with many student adjustment problems as well as misbehavior, aggressiveness, violence and lack of motivation. For example, Darweesh (1992) was able to identify neurotic symptoms, depression, maladjustment and an enfeeblement of intellectual performance related to academic achievement amongst Kuwaiti children as a result of the First Gulf War.

There is a growing consensus that leadership in education is also required so that children themselves can be involved in providing solutions not only to their own problems, but to those of the society (Buckland 2006, p. 8). As Hart (2006, p. 9) puts it, 'the role of the researcher should be to enable young people to participate in research as fully as they wish, sharing their views safely and to their own satisfaction….. When the situation of children is properly understood, innovative programmes can be developed that provide meaningful learning opportunities'. Bird (2006) takes up the same point in arguing that children should be considered as 'clients' and as the reason for educational intentions. He goes on to state that by 'genuinely listening to children and taking note of their concerns and needs in our programming interventions, the policy and research debate can be better informed from a truly 'grounded' perspective' (p. 30).

The Save the Children Alliance (2006, p. 20) has pointed out that some organizations, being cognizant of such positions, have established children's clubs in post-conflict settings and that these have proven to be 'a remarkable catalyst for change and development within communities'. Luswata (2006, p. 2) has also documented how UNICEF, in Southern Sudan, promoted children's participation by mobilizing girls and boys to act as 'advocates within their communities through "creative facilitation", helping to publicize children's voices in the media, and ensuring children's visibility in "Go To School" launches, marches and other public events'.

Once again, in light of the above commentary, it would be instructive to investigate the leadership challenges that are presented in seeking to provide opportunities for children to participate meaningfully in learning at school. For example, it seems axiomatic that fundamental to the efficacy of students' learning, is the nature of the curriculum, as understood in its broadest sense for the messages – overt and covert – about what it conveys about students' learning. In this connection, one refrain in the literature is the need for the curriculum to be relevant so that an explicit connection is made between what and how children learn in school and the informal

learning that takes place in home, peer group and community (MacBeath et al. 2010). For this purpose, of course, the extent to which student voice is encouraged and acted upon might constitute a further challenge in encouraging students to engage with their learning.

Given the adjustment problems experienced by many children in the schooling contexts of post-new war societies, as well as their potential misbehaviour, aggressiveness, violence and lack of motivation, another pertinent leadership challenge at the student research-agenda level might be manifested in providing appropriate pastoral care and 'behaviour management'. Regarding Ghana, for example, MacBeath et al. (2010) refer to the presence of 'a whip in every classroom'. Regardless of the effectiveness or not of corporal punishment for students in post conflict circumstances, the practice is also likely to reflect and reify the stance adopted towards leadership, especially as it relates to students' learning. (MacGilchrist et al. 1997). Again, however, to make such an observation in light of the general thrust of this paper is to bring one back to the central argument. In other words, there is a need to develop an extensive body of empirically-based research on school leadership in a wide variety of post-new war conflict situations since leadership can only be understood within the context in which it is exercised and decisions on the type of leadership approach to be adopted in any particular circumstance should be greatly influenced by that context.

Conclusion

Milligan (2010) has pointed out that interest in education after conflicts, including in post-new war societies, has grown over the last decade. This might well be because such contemporary conflicts tend to be more deadly for children and more destructive of civilian infrastructure, including schools, than traditional wars (Munday and Dryden-Peterson 2011). As a consequence, conventional priorities in these contexts such as food, shelter, and healthcare, no longer take precedence over schooling, which is now recognized as being essential to maintaining communities, promoting the psychological recovery of children, and assisting in the general recovery of society.

Milligan (2010) has also pointed out that while there is an emerging body of literature that considers the challenges and needs of students and teachers in post-conflict situations, and particularly those of the post-new war type, the area of educational leadership in these contexts has been not received a lot of attention. Nevertheless, the research that has been undertaken, and the principles and recommendations which it has generated, can be insightful for those working in the field. One particular group in this regard is that of educational leaders, including school principals and teachers, working for faith-based NGOs.

This chapter has sought to provide insights for personnel working for faith-based NGOs in post-new-war societies. In doing so, the nature of faith-based NGOs and of their work in providing aid and fostering development in crisis situations around the

world was considered. The recent emphasis placed by academics and multi-lateral organizations on the importance of this work in the education domain, has been described. Finally, a broad overview was provided of recent studies on education in post-new war societies, with attention also being paid to how these studies can be instructive regarding teaching and learning for faith-based NGOs working with leaders of faith-based schools located in such settings.

Notwithstanding the small number of studies conducted in the area, what is clear is that any proposals regarding education in a post-new society must take into consideration its political, economic and cultural contexts. Certainly there is often a need to introduce new curricula. There is not much point in doing this, however, unless it is accompanied by initiatives aimed at promoting whole school development and the fostering of an ethos favourable to embracing new approaches to school subject content and paedagogy. To put it simply, any specific changes in curriculum and teaching are unlikely to be successful unless, at the same time, a major effort is made to provide a safe school environment, to involve parents and the community in policy and administration, and to increase the professionalism of the teaching staff.

Preparation of school leaders so that they can play a major role in orchestrating such developments is, of course, crucial. Such preparation has to be take account of the fact that the post-new war society schools in which they work are characterized by disorderliness, complexity and unpredictability, and that this situation creates major challenges and pressures for them. In order to do this, it is desirable that associated programmes should be grounded in the day-to-day realities of schools, rather than being driven by normative models of leadership which often have little application to those realities and make it more likely that principals will find dissonance between how they were prepared and what they experience in their roles (Clarke and Wildy 2010). This brings to mind Harber and Dadey's (1993, p. 159) point made nearly 20 years ago in their advocacy that in African countries "wherever and however headteacher training takes place, it must be grounded in the reality of the nature of their work and that some form of research will be necessary to establish what the needs stemming from that work are". We suggest that this recommendation is just as pressing now as it was then, and not just in relation to countries in Africa that have experienced conflict, but in its application to enhancing school leadership in all post-new war contexts. This includes school leadership provided by faith-based NGOs involved with leaders of faith-based schools.

To conclude, this chapter should be seen as a first step in highlighting the importance of providing faith-based NGOs with directions they might take in trying to ensure quality leadership for teaching and learning at the school level. Hopefully, it will also serve to highlight the importance of conducting much more research in the area. On this, Karpinska et al. (2007) have suggested that existing research in the field of education and conflict has failed to fill the theory practice gap. They further argue that this gap must be resolved in order to generate an adequate knowledge base of effective approaches to rebuilding education systems emerging from conflict. In making the same point, Barakat et al. (2012, p. 4) argue that these approaches will need to be sensitive to, and have application across, a range of country contexts (Barakat et al 2012, p. 4).

Our hope is that in taking our initial and somewhat tentative foray into the relatively uncharted territory which has been the concern of this chapter, we may encourage others to engage in empirical case-study research for generating robust examples of school leadership exercised in post-new war environments. These, we hold, have the potential to develop theoretical models for informing innovation and reform. While such models would be valuable for that group which has been central in the considerations of this chapter, namely, faith-based NGOs involved with leaders of faith-based schools, they should equally be of valuable to all interested in providing leadership at the school level in post-new war societies.

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