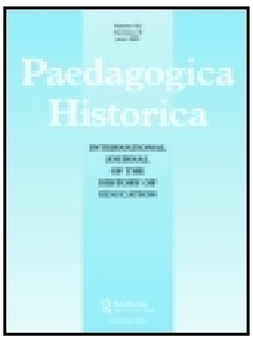

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Interrogating policy processes in education through Statement Archaeology: changes in English religious education

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ABSTRACT

This paper firstly presents Statement Archaeology, an innovative and rigorous method devised to systematically operationalise the approach to historical exploration used by Michel Foucault in pursuit of the question "how do certain practices become possible at particular moments in history?" Drawing on an analysis of the theoretical basis of Foucault's broad – and arguably equivocal – approach, a series of methodological procedures by which it can be systematically operationalised are set out. These focus on the interrogation of "statements", through a series of questions, against three criteria: Formation, Transformation, and Correlation. Secondly, through the use of a specific policy development in English Religious Education as an exemplar, the paper establishes the potential of the approach. Deploying Statement Archaeology in relation to this example reveals that the change under investigation became possible at a nexus of *changes in the rules* of what is thinkable and unthinkable within different domains of discourse, and complex and messy processes of changing legitimacies and normalisations, with previously unacknowledged policy-influencers playing an important role. Many existing accounts of this change have overlooked these matters. The paper concludes by arguing that Statement Archaeology has potential significance in any domain of enquiry that seeks answers to the question "how did *this* particular practice become possible at *that* particular moment?"

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Introduction to Statement Archaeology

What are the circumstances that allow an idea to become adopted as "policy" at a particular moment in time? How can we explore *why* one particular idea prevails over any number of alternatives? *Statement Archaeology*, an innovative approach that builds on Michel Foucault's practices of historical enquiry, allows us to investigate the changes in constraints on thinking that allow certain ideas to be taken up and become "legitimate" where previously they had either been unthinkable, or thinkable but considered illegitimate, invalid and/or inappropriate.[1] The novel approach, by systematically operationalising Foucault's process of historical exploration, identifies such changes in thinking by

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[1]Full details of Statement Archaeology can be found in Jonathan Doney, *Unearthing Policies of Instrumentalization in English Religious Education Using Statement Archaeology* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2021).

focusing on key moments of discontinuity, including points of differentiation at which new practices separate – and become distinct – from prevailing practices.

To comprehend Statement Archaeology, first consider the work of archaeologists as they examine the clues left behind by people in the past. They consider the background of, and relationships between, the artefacts they find. Who produced the item? When? For what reason? They ask whether the items are novel or original (not seen before in that period) or whether they are commonplace, every-day, items. Perhaps the things they find are slightly different from other objects; what are those differences and why/how might they have occurred? Why might change have been initiated? What was the original item on which the new one is based? They also look forwards in time; how does the item that has been found influence those items that come later, for what later adaptations is *this* item the starting point, or relative beginning?

In the same way as the archaeologist does this with objects, Statement Archaeology does this with key statements. Here, by focusing on statements relating to policy, the approach facilitates deep interrogation of policy development, opening up new pathways of policy analysis, exposing practices and revealing previously hidden policy actors, thus supporting the examination of policy directions, strategies of implementation, and ideological agendas.

In the paragraphs that follow, I will set out firstly the theoretical foundations of Statement Archaeology, together with a summary of the method. This is followed by a brief explanation of the case study presented here, which focuses on the shift away from a confessional form of religious education towards an academic study of world religions in English schools during the 1960s and 1970s. This change in religious education policy forms the basis of a worked example of Statement Archaeology in practice, exploring the Criteria of Formation, the Criteria of Transformation, and the Criteria of Correlation. Finally, a conclusion is offered considering the affordances of Statement Archaeology.

The theoretical foundations of Statement Archaeology

Statement Archaeology has foundations in post-structural theory and approaches to historical exploration and is based on a close reading of the works of Michel Foucault, particularly those associated with his exploration of *the history of ideas and systems of thought*. There, Foucault focuses on the changes in thinking that are necessary for "new" practices to emerge. At the heart of his historical explorations is a relentless focus on statements; he asked "how is it that one particular statement appeared, rather than another".[2] For Foucault, statements are rooted in particular time-space localities and function to "reveal" – amongst other things – processes by which specific practices become possible and taken up. Statement Archaeology offers an opportunity to understand *changes in the rules* of what is thinkable and unthinkable and thereby to expose how particular policies and their associated practices become taken up and `legitimate' where previously they had either been unthinkable, or thinkable but considered illegitimate, invalid, unidentified and/or unacknowledged.[3]

A detailed and comprehensive reading of Foucault's work, particularly *The Archaeology of Knowledge* and *The Order of Things*, demonstrates a precise and specific

[2]Michel Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2011), 90; 27 (hereafter *AOK*).
[3]Ibid., 101.

– albeit not prescriptive – methodological description.[4] There, Foucault foregrounds an emphasis on: (i) the production and proliferation of "statements", (ii) the search for the "relative beginning" of a practice and (iii) the search for moments of "discontinuity". This reading of Foucault exposes three specific criteria[5] These are: i) The "criteria of formation"; ii) The "criteria of transformation"; and iii) The "criteria of correlation".

These three criteria are the building blocks on which Statement Archaeology has been constructed. For each of them, a series of questions (based on the close reading of Foucault) are posed in respect of the statement under scrutiny. These will be explained in more detail in the worked example below.By tracing the development of statements in this way, Statement Archaeology makes it possible to identify points at which frameworks of thinking change and develop, and – related to these – key moments of discontinuity become identifiable, particularly where new practices become differentiated from prevailing practices. Ultimately – in relation to policies and their associated practices – Statement Archaeology facilitates a deep engagement with the question, 'what were the changes that allowed *this practice* to become possible at *that particular moment*?

In terms of *selecting which statements to consider*, it is important to gather those statements which are relevant to the guiding question. Foucault argues that, to start with, one must read – as far as possible – everything available from the domain of discourse under scrutiny.[6] This is seldom practical so, as in any such process, robust criteria must be established and applied. As it is impossible at the outset to predict where the investigation would lead, the first step is to select a series of statements that function as *starting points* for the study, based on Foucault's guidance to "try to determine in advance which are the most representative elements".[7] The final stage of the selective process is the removal of some statements from further consideration on the basis that they are not relevant to the problem or are not part of the domain of discourse. In the case illustrated here – but not in all cases – the criteria of selection focused on frequent repetitions of citations in influential documents. Where the policy under investigation is legislative, the criteria would focus on legal documents, Acts of Parliament, and so on.

But what does this actually look like in practice? The remainder of this paper will take the form of a worked example drawn from my current research in education policy. Familiarity with the specific case is not necessary; the author encourages the reader to consider the broader methodological approach being demonstrated through a worked case study example.

The context of the example

My current research focuses on the introduction (in 1944) and maintenance of the compulsory provision of religious education (hereafter RE) in all English state-funded schools, except where parents choose to withdraw their children.[8] It is important to emphasise that the focus here is on *English* RE; significant differences exist in the governance of RE between England

[4]Ibid,; and Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2003).
[5]Michel Foucault and Anthony Nazzaro, "History, Discourse and Discontinuity," *Salmagundi* 20 Psychological Man: Approaches to an Emergent Social Type (1972): 227–8. See also Foucault, *AOK*, 23–132.
[6]Michel Foucault, "The Order of Things – Interview," in *Michel Foucault Essential Works of Foucault 1954–184, Volume 2: Aesthetics*, ed. James D. Faubion (London: Penguin. 1998), 261–7.
[7]Foucault, *AOK*, 11.
[8]Full details of this research can be found in Doney, *Unearthing Policies*.

and other countries within the United Kingdom.[9] Having developed at a particular intersection of educational, ecclesiological, and societal influences, this school subject holds a unique position in the curriculum of English schools. Between 1944 and 1988 it was the only subject that had, by law, to be provided in state-funded schools. Since 1988 it has occupied a unique position within the English National Curriculum, being the only compulsorily provided subject that is not a core or foundation national curriculum subject. Rather, it is positioned as "first amongst equals", whereby state-funded schools are required to teach the "basic curriculum" of RE and the National Curriculum. As a consequence, it has a religious, educational, and political importance.[10] There have been a number of important developments in the policy of compulsory provision of RE since its introduction in 1944, with key stipulations remaining in force even today. The central question for my research, applicable to each of the developments over this period, is "*how did this particular policy (or change in practice) become possible?*".

For the purposes of this example, we will start the process of Statement Archaeology by focusing on *just one* such development which took place in the 1960s, a period during which there were wider curricula changes underway.[11] My work on RE in this period shows that up until this point the subject was very often delivered through a confessional – frequently proselytising – pedagogy, whereby children were nurtured in and encouraged to adopt the beliefs and practices characteristic of the Christian faith.[12] In short, the aim – articulated through a number of agreed syllabus documents – was to convert children, to use a phrase used at the time, into "little Christians".[13] A number of scholars claim that in the late-1960s this Christian "confessionalism" was swept aside, and replaced by a "post-confessional, multi-faith", phenomenological, liberal, scholarly Study of World Religions.[14] This shift is hugely significant, marking a change in aim of RE from socialising children into specific religious worldviews, practices, and adherence to offering the academic study of a variety of religious perspectives from a non-confessional perspective; in short from being *encouraged to become* to *learning about*.

The publication in 1971 of the Schools Council "*Working Paper 36 – Religious Education in Secondary Schools*" (WP36) has been foregrounded within the existing historiography as a key point in this transition;[15] this positioning has resulted from WP36 being constructed as an initiatory document, and as a locus of a swift, revolutionary transformation in English RE.[16]

[9]Jonathan Doney, "'That Would Be an Ecumenical Matter': Contextualizing the Adoption of the Study of World Religions in English Religious Education Using 'Statement Archaeology', a Systematic Operationalization of Foucault's Historical Method" (PhD thesis, University of Exeter, 2015).

[10]For example, see L.P. Barnes, "The Misrepresentation of Religion in Modern British (Religious) Education," *British Journal of Educational Studies* 54, no. 4 (2006): 395–411; Department for Children, Schools, and Families (DCSF), *Religious Education in English Schools: Non-statutory Guidance 2010* (Nottingham: DCSF, 2010).

[11]For example, the development of the Schools Council, the expansion of the Department of Education to the Department of Education and Science, as well as significant governmental reports. For more on these issues, see Doney, "That Would Be an Ecumenical Matter."

[12]Doney, *Unearthing Policies*.

[13]Ibid. See also Hansard HC Deb 18 November 1941, Vol. 376, c.250.

[14]For example L.P. Barnes, "Developing a New Post-Liberal Paradigm for British Religious Education," *Journal of Beliefs & Values* 28 (2007): 17–32; G. Teece, "Too Many Competing Imperatives? Does RE Need to Rediscover its Identity?" *Journal of Beliefs & Values* 32 (2011): 161–72.

[15]Schools Council, *Schools Council Working Paper 36: Religious Education in Secondary Schools* (London: Methuen Educational, 1971) (hereafter WP36).

[16]For example, Phillip Barnes, "Working Paper 36, Christian Confessionalism and Phenomenological Religious Education," *Journal of Education and Christian Belief* 6, no. 1 (2002): 61–77, 62; Terence Copley, *Teaching Religion: Fifty Years of Religious Education in England and Wales* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2008), 102.

Further, WP36 has been constructed as "significant"; Philip Barnes, for example, claims it to be "one of the most important working papers produced by the Council".[17] Imbued with this significance, WP36 is often cited, commonly as convenient "shorthand" for the changes that took place in English RE in the 1960s and 1970s.

Central to these arguments is one particular statement, on page 17 of WP36: "It should be clear that the aim of religious education in county schools is to deepen understanding and insight, not to proselytize."[18] This is our *starting point*, hereafter identified as Statement One. Whilst this statement has been situated as being central to the change in RE practice and – ultimately – policy, the origins and background of this statement have not been fully explored. So, what changed that allowed the shift from confessional to non-confessional religious education to become possible at this particular time?

To engage with this question, we now implement Statement Archaeology to explore, dissect, and contextualise the background and origin of Statement One. This entails a forensic examination centring on the three criteria discussed above.

The criteria of formation

Exploring the Criteria of formation requires us to subject our statement to a series of questions. These include: what are the circumstances under which statements were produced? Where, when, for and by whom were the statements produced? What is known about relevant institutions and their authoritative standing? It is important to note that from time to time *who* produced a statement is important, but only in as far as it informs an understanding of the circumstances of its production. What rules govern the "production of statements", "that delimit the sayable", "that create the spaces in which the new statements can be made", and "that ensure that a practice is material and discursive at the same time"?[19] In relation to WP36 therefore, we need to find out about the publication and the body that produced it. (Methodological note: it is not always possible to answer each and every question in the same level of detail, but the objective is to ascertain as much as possible about the circumstances of production of the statement.)

What kind of publication was it? Who were the authors? Where, when, by whom, and for whom was it produced? Some general reading tells us that *The Schools Curricula and Examination Council* (generally known as the Schools Council) was launched in March 1964 to monitor curriculum and examinations in England, taking over responsibility from the Secondary Schools Examinations Council (SSEC, formed in 1958) and the Curriculum Study Group (CSG, formed in 1962 without representation from LEAs or teachers).[20] The Schools Council was formed in such a way that representation would be included from the Ministry of Education, Local Education Authorities (LEAs) and Teacher groups, with teachers being assured a majority on the Council.[21] The establishment of the Schools Council as "non-

[17]Barnes, "Working Paper 36," 61.
[18]*WP36*, 17.
[19]Gavin Kendall and Gary Wickham, *Using Foucault's Methods* (London: Sage, 1999), 41ff.
[20]P. Gordon, "The Schools Council and Curriculum: Developments in Secondary Education," in *The Changing Secondary School*, ed. R. Lowe (London: Falmer Press, 1989), 52–71; P. Fisher, "Curriculum Control in England and Wales: The Birth of the Schools Council, 1964," *Journal of Educational Administration and History* 14, no. 2 (1984): 35–44; and R. Manzer, "The Political Origins of the Schools Council," *Secondary Education* 4, no. 2 (1974): 47–50.
[21]Gordon, "Schools Council and Curriculum," 53–4; Manzer, "Political Origins," 49. See also Doney, "That Would Be an Ecumenical Matter," 160–5.

directive", advising not only the Ministry of Education, but all member interests, and making materials and suggestions *available* (rather than prescribing curriculum content) appears to have eased fears arising at the time about increasing centralised control of the curriculum. These arose – in part at least – from an increasing political focus on education during the mid 1960s.[22]

The RE Committee of the Schools Council began meeting in 1965, and within three years had already initiated projects on RE in both Primary and in Sixth Form.[23] In late 1968 a proposal for a project focusing on RE in secondary schools was discussed, having been submitted by Ninian Smart, Professor in the then newly established Religious Studies department at Lancaster University.[24] This eventually led to the establishment of a three-year project, beginning in January 1970.[25] At their first meeting, the project team expresses an anxiety "to write a document which can be published as a Working Paper by the Council".[26] Soon after, it was agreed "to produce, for general debate, a Working Paper indicating the major concerns of the project and the lines on which it was developing".[27] This highlights both a rush to publish and a clear emphasis on the publication being an initiator of *debate* rather than an initiator of change to *policy and practice*.[28]

The issue of the authorship is generally overlooked within more recent discussions of WP36. Whilst there is a prevailing, unexamined, assumption that Ninian Smart was the report's overall author, the minutes of the Consultative Committee show that the drafting process was shared, with editorial decisions on the full draft being made by a sub-committee (which included Smart).[29] Ultimately, final editorial control of WP36 did indeed rest in the hands of one man, not Ninian Smart, but Colin Alves, who had not only earlier rejected an invitation to chair the consultative committee on the grounds of the conflict of interest, but also had stated that the full draft was inadequate in a number of respects.[30]

This brief survey shows that WP36 was published in 1971 by the Schools Council, a body that was considered authoritative in educative matters in England by Government at local and national levels, as well as by the school Inspectorate and individual teachers.[31] As such, publications under its banner, particularly its series of Working Papers, were considered as

[22]See e.g. Gary McCulloch, "Secondary Education," in *A Century of Education*, ed. R. Aldrich (London: RoutledgeFarmer, 2002), 31–53; C. Chitty and J. Dunford, eds., *State Schools: New Labour and the Conservative Legacy* (London: Woburn Press, 1999), 21.

[23]The National Archive (hereafter TNA), EJ 1/210 – Schools Council for Curriculum and Examinations. Agenda and Minutes. RE Committee. Meetings 1–44.

[24]TNA, EJ 1/210: Minutes of 12th meeting of Religious Education Committee, 6 November 1968. Lancaster was one of the first Universities to open a Religious Studies department (rather than Theology): see Ninian Smart, "A New Look at Religious Studies: The Lancaster Idea," *Learning for Living* 7, no. 1 (Sept 1967): 27–9.

[25]Newsam Library and Archive, Institute of Education, University of London (hereafter NLA): SCC-318-440-117, *RE in secondary schools. Professor Smart. – Consultative Committee. 1969–1976*: Paper SC 69/62, Proposal for a project in Religious Education for Secondary Schools.

[26]NLA, SCC-318-440-117: Minutes of inaugural meeting of the Consultation Committee, 21 January 1970.

[27]NLA, SCC-318-440-117: Minutes of Second Meeting of Consultation Committee, 3 June 1970. Emphasis added.

[28]*WP36*, 5.

[29]For example, L.P. Barnes, "Ninian Smart and the Phenomenological Approach to Religious Education," *Religion* 30 (2000): 315–32; Barnes, "Working Paper 36."

[30]TNA, EJ 1/210: Minutes of Eighteenth Meeting of RE Committee, 28 October 1970. NLA, SCC-318-440-117: Letter to Prof Jefferys from Phillip Halsey, 26 June 1969, Letter to Colin Alves from Phillip Halsey 17 July 1969; Letter to Phillip Halsey from Colin Alves, 4 August 1969. For more on the underreported role of Colin Alves see Jonathan Doney, "'The British Council of Churches' Influence on the 'Radical Rethinking of Religious Education' in the 1960s and 1970s," *Studies in Church History* 55 (2019): 593–608.

[31]*WP36*; Doney, "That Would Be an Ecumenical Matter," 159–214.

having some degree of authority, or even "official" sanction.[32] WP36 was produced specifically to engender discussion at the start of a project, and was aimed at "those concerned with education", including – explicitly – the public; it was emphatically not intended to be the initiator of a new policy.

The criteria of transformation

Next, we scrutinise the nature of Statement One against the "criteria of transformation". Specifically, we need to ask: what is the nature of the statement? In particular, is it novel (that is, original)? Where a statement is novel, does it suggest a changed structure of rules in terms of what is thinkable and unthinkable?[33] Is the statement a repetition of an earlier statement? If so, what are the rules that govern its repetition? What is the original statement on which the repetition is based? Where is the relative beginning of the idea located? Is it a full or partial repetition (where repetition is partial, what is included and what is excluded)? Is the statement repeated subsequently? Does it stop being repeated? Is there a silencing/absence of a discourse evident through the lack of – or marginalisation of – statements? The repetition of statements is part of the process of normalising the practices to which they refer, and which they help to constitute;[34] recurrent repetition of statements therefore tends to confer an authoritative status on them. (Methodological note: again, it is not always possible to identify every possible moment of repetition or to establish beyond reasonable doubt that the statement is novel. The objective is to ascertain as much as possible about these questions.)

We must also consider the extent to which the statement is programmatic. Programmatic statements are those "writings that try to impose a vision or spell out most clearly a new way of conceptualizing a problem".[35] In what ways does the statement attempt to persuade?[36] How does the statement seek to "reconcile conflicting ideas, to cope with contradictions or uncertainty, or to counter alternatives?".[37]

Is the statement novel?

A detailed examination of the novelty (or otherwise) of the statement under scrutiny is fundamental to the deployment of Statement Archaeology, especially where – as is the case here – novelty is assumed and uncritically accepted. Despite later suggestions that the statements are novel, the authors of WP36 signal that their statement is not novel through a footnote citation. This indicates that Statement One is a quotation from an "Interim Statement submitted to the Secretary of State for Education and Science, July 1969".[38] The text of WP36 suggests this to be a joint paper prepared by the Christian Education Movement (hereafter CEM) and the British Council of Churches (hereafter BCC). Extensive searches of primary

[32]Manzer, *Political Origins*, 50; Gordon, *The Schools Council and Curriculum*, 56–7; 68; also M. Stewart, "The Growth of the Schools Council 1966–1973," *Secondary Education* 4, no. 2 (1974): 51–3.
[33]Kendal and Wickham, *Using Foucault's Methods*, 45.
[34]Foucault, *AOK*, 206ff.
[35]Kendal and Wickham, "The Foucaultian Framework," in *Qualitative Research Practice*, ed. G. Seale, G. Gobo, J.F. Gubrium, and D. Silverman (London: Sage, 2004), 129–37, 133.
[36]Gillian Rose, *Visual Methodologies: An Introduction to the Interpretation of Visual Materials*, 2nd ed. (London: Sage, 2007), 161ff.
[37]F. Tonkiss, "Analysing Discourse," in *Researching Society and Culture*, ed. C. Searle (London: Sage, 1998), 225.
[38]*WP36*, 17 (footnotes 18, 19) and 75–6 (notes 18, 19).

materials held in the CEM archive and the Government's Department of Education and Science (hereafter DES) have not revealed a joint document of the form suggested by the footnote, nor any reference to such a joint document.

However, a document was discovered in the archive of the BCC Education Department that was submitted to the Secretary of State for Education in *October 1969*. This document communicates the view of CEM's Executive Committee and appears to have been approved by the CEM General Council. It begins by claiming to "generally support … the Interim Statement from the Education Department of the British Council of Churches made in *July 1969*", which is then cited in full. Statement One appears there as point 7 in a list of 13 items, with the text appearing thus: "It should be clear that the aim of religious education in county schools is to deepen understanding and insight, not to proselytize."[39] The text as it appears in WP36 is therefore an *exact* repetition of the text included in the BCC document, which is repeated *verbatim* in the CEM's *Interim Statement*.

Further archival exploration revealed a letter, probably written in July 1969, to Mr Fletcher (of the DES) from the BCC, setting out "a draft reply". Fourteen points are set out, with point 7 stating: "It should be clear that the aim of religious education in county schools is to deepen understanding and insight, not conversion."[40] It is apparent that between this draft and the circulated version of the submission, from which the CEM draw for their *Interim Statement*, the wording has been changed, from "conversion" to "to proselytize". This change is notable; conversion and proselytisation have slightly different interpretations theologically (conversion might be considered a change to follow a particular religious grouping – Christianity, for example; whilst proselytisation has a stronger weighting towards adherence to a particular denomination – Methodism, for example). The reasons for this change are not recorded explicitly in the extant materials, although an exploration of the circumstances of production of the BCC document might help identify some possible reasons. The correspondence related to the BCC's "draft reply" shows that it is compiled in response to an appeal issued by the DES in February 1969 welcoming comments on a prospective Education Bill, particularly in relation to the legislative aspects dealing with Religious Education.[41]

Within the materials of the BCC's Education Department immediately prior to that time, there is no record of any discussion focusing on whether RE should or should not aim for proselytisation. It is conceivable that the reason for the change from "conversion" to "proselytization" in the BCC document was related to the audience for whom it was written; imaginably the BCC wanted to ensure their statement had a sufficient to degree of "gravitas" to be taken as authoritative, and so they opted for a more specific theological term.

Further, the change from "conversion" to "proselytize" here may be a result of an increased awareness of a statement included in a 1968 publication "*Religious Education in the Secondary School*".[42] This publication reports the findings of a research project undertaken by Colin Alves (later responsible for final editorial control of WP36), who had been seconded from his role as Lecturer in Divinity at King Alfred's College in Winchester to work under the auspices of the British Council of Churches Education

[39]CERC, BCC/ED/7/1/49 – *Papers and correspondence re. dealings with the Department of Education and Science (DES) 1964–1974*: CEM Executive Statement, prepared for DES, October 1969. Emphasis added.
[40]CERC, BCC/ED/7/1/49: Draft Reply to Mr Fletcher of DES. Undated letter but likely July 1969.
[41]CERC, BCC/ED/2/1/2: Minutes of Special Meeting of British Council of Churches Education Department, 18 March 1969.
[42]Colin Alves, *Religion and the Secondary School* (London: SCM Press, 1968).

Department. The project investigated the state of RE in secondary schools, with a particular focus on county schools – that is, state funded schools without a religious affiliation – the *exact* context addressed by Statement One, which deals specifically with the aim of "religious education *in county schools*".[43]

The majority of the publication describes in detail the quantitative survey undertaken by Alves during 1965 and 1966, which focused almost entirely on Biblical knowledge, Christian religious practice (including personal Christian affiliation), and Christian morality.[44] This concludes with a lengthy discussion of the findings under a number of headings, including: "Is it a Right and Proper Thing to Do?" It is here that Alves declares that an objective approach to the teaching of religion demands "the rejection of anything which smacks of *indoctrination or proselytization*".[45]

Religion and the Secondary School begins with a "Report of the Special Committee appointed by the Education Department of the British Council of Churches", which introduces Alves's work, reflects on its findings, and suggests responses. Whilst the exact term "proselytization" does not appear in this "Report of the Special Committee", the notion can be found there; it is very clear that the Committee's emphatic view is that "preparation for church membership is the duty of the churches, not the schools".[46]

However, the extent to which the notion of RE as non-proselytising becomes "official" BCC policy is complicated to unravel. In the "Foreword" to *Religion and the Secondary School*, Kenneth Sansbury (then General Secretary of BCC) emphatically distanced the report on Alves's research from the BCC, opening with the statement: "THIS IS not an official Report of the British Council of Churches, but the Council is glad to have been able, through its Education Department, to initiate the research project it describes."[47] The Foreword continues, suggesting that "[Alves's] conclusions should be assessed on their own merits and not necessarily as representing the views of the British Council of Churches".[48] The latter part of the Foreword sets up a similar "distancing" from the BCC; Sansbury states: "In the same way the Directing Committee, which has supervised the project under the Chairmanship of Mr D.G.O. Ayerst, C.B.E., is responsible for the Introduction and the inferences which it has drawn from the Report."[49]

In some respects, the distance created in the Foreword between the BCC and Alves's survey report appears reasonable; what is being presented is a report produced by an independent researcher, funded by a third party, that the BCC has helped to facilitate. As the title page suggests, this is "a report undertaken *on behalf* of the Education Department of the British Council of Churches".[50] However, in the case of the *Report of the Special Committee*, the distancing is more complex: here the report is for, *and by*, the BCCED, yet the Department still appears reluctant to be associated with it. Elsewhere in the records of the BCC there are

[43]Whilst the project was conceived by the British Council of Churches Education Department, the work was funded by Gulbenkian Foundation of Lisbon (CERC, BCC/ED/2/1/1: Minutes of 19th Meeting of Education Department 20 June 1963; Minutes of 20th Meeting of Education Department, 12 November 1963, item 64/2.
[44]Alves, *Religion and the Secondary School*, Survey 65 and 66, 36ff and 129ff respectively.
[45]Ibid., 148.
[46]Ibid., 14 – §2 of Special Report.
[47]Ibid., 11 (emphasis original).
[48]Foreword to Alves, *Religion and the Secondary School*, by Kenneth Sansbury, Bishop, (General Secretary of the British Council of Churches) October 1967.
[49]Alves, *Religion and the Secondary School*, Report of Special Committee of Education Department of the British Council of Churches to consider the state and needs of religious education in county secondary schools.
[50]Ibid., title page (emphasis added).

certainly examples that suggest the BCC were becoming increasingly sympathetic to the non-proselytisational aim of RE during this time, but we cannot say with certainty that this was an official policy position, or simply tacit support for the idea.[51]

What we can say with more certainty is that the discussions of the BCCED in this period reveal changes in their conception of what RE is aiming to achieve that are rooted in changes at a global level, particularly within the discourse of the World Council of Churches (WCC). The change is perhaps most acutely seen in Theodore Gill's introduction to the *Report of the Joint Study Commission on Education* presented to the WCC Fourth Assembly at Uppsala in 1968. Under the title "*The Great Convergence*", Gill epitomises educational developments during the 1960s, highlighting the status of school-based education in relation to the ecumenical discourse and missionary endeavour.[52] The report was the culmination of ongoing dialogue between WCC and the World Council of Christian Education beginning in 1961, when the New Delhi Assembly of the WCC authorised the development of a Joint Study Commission on Education (established in 1962).[53] Three avenues of enquiry were followed, including a group that asked "How are the shifting political and social realities of these years affecting Christian educational institutions?"[54]

Contrary to the earlier discourse of the WCC and its predecessor organisations, where "education" had primarily been seen as a "Mission motivated activity carried out overseas", Gill – invoking the student protests of the late 1960s and the "educational explosion" – positions education as facilitating and supporting wide-ranging change in the world.[55] The novelty of Gill's construction of education in these non-missionary terms is an important discontinuity in the discourse of the WCC, with effects felt in other domains of discourse, including in the discourse of English Religious Education. The argument here is not that Gill's work has a direct influence on the development of WP36, but rather, that it serves to show that constraints on thinking about religious education within this particular discourse were being lifted. By expanding the ecumenical discourse beyond its foundational missionary prerogative, Gill constructs education as "non-missionary". This creates "historical conditions of possibility", in which it becomes legitimate to suggest that religious education should not have a proselytisational aim.[56] The effects of this "lifting of constraints" can be seen in the work of Colin Alves.[57]

In summary, we see that Statement One is not novel when it appears in WP36. The statement appears to originate with Colin Alves and the British Council of Churches. The existing narrative generally positions the church as being "supportive" of confessional RE and the groups that supported non-proselytisation as being "against" the church position. This is not what was happening; the groups arguing for the change are not divided so clearly, and there are at least some church groupings arguing for a move away from confessional RE, influenced – it would appear – by changing understandings of the purpose of education more widely among Christian groupings at a global level.

[51]See Doney, "The British Council of Churches."
[52]Theodore Gill, "The Great Convergence: Introduction to Education Report," *The Ecumenical Review* 20, no. 4 (October 1968): 385–94. Republished in Albert H. van der Heuvel, *Unity of Mankind, Speeches from the Fourth Assembly of the World Council of Churches, Uppsala 1968* (Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1969).
[53]Norman Goodall, *Ecumenical Progress: A Decade of Change in the Ecumenical Movement 1961–71* (London: Oxford University Press, 1972), 94.
[54]WCC, Appendix VIII – Report of the Joint Study Commission on Education, 165.
[55]For a more detailed account, see Doney, "That Would Be an Ecumenical Matter," 216–66.
[56]Foucault and Nazzaro, "History, Discourse and Discontinuity," 245.
[57]Alves, *Religion and the Secondary School.*

What is the pattern of repetition prior to publication in WP36?

Prior to its inclusion in WP36 Statement One was included elsewhere, including in the published report of a seminar on "Prospects and Problems for Religious Education", held at Windsor at Easter 1969.[58] Under the heading "What is Religious Education For?", Statement One appears as: "It should be clear that the aim of religious education in county schools is to deepen understanding and insight, not to proselytize", with a clear attribution in the text to "a statement from the Education Department of the British Council of Churches".[59]

The issue of attribution is important; not all statements were so clearly attributed. At the seminar a segment of the CEM *Interim Statement* (discussed above), was included in an opening address by The Bishop of London. There – and in the subsequent (unpublished) report of the seminar circulated to those who had attended – the (partial) statement is clearly attributed to the CEM.[60] However in the later, commercially published, report of the Windsor seminar which included a more extensive quotation from the CEM *Interim Statement*, all attributions relating to the statement were consciously removed, and replaced with the introductory text: "It might be useful to start with one of the definitions which have recently been published by bodies submitting evidence to various committees considering the subject."[61]

This removal of any CEM attribution in the published version of the Windsor report is important. Why might this have happened? It is clear that the DES were content for the *ideas* from the CEM statement to be included in the published version of the report; what is removed is the connection between the ideas and their authors. This suggests that it was *authorship* rather than *content* that was at issue. Perhaps CEM were seen, in some way, as a group with which the DES did not want to portray a close relationship, even though they *were* content to repeat the group's ideas. All that can be said with any degree of certainty is that the de-attribution of CEM statement *may* suggest a marginalisation of the group, but not necessarily of their ideas, which are perpetuated through repetition.

If we contrast this with the BCC statement, which is clearly attributed, we might suggest that – to some extent – the DES, as publishers of the Report, saw the BCC as a more legitimate authority in relation to RE policy than the CEM.[62] Inclusion of Statement One only at the drafting stage of the published Windsor Seminar Report suggests that the DES, being aware of the statement, regarded it sufficiently well to include it, even though it had not formed part of the Seminar discussions (Statement One is not recorded in the session-by-session accounts, nor is it included the preliminary, unpublished, report sent only to the seminar attendees).[63]

[58]Department of Education and Science, *Prospects and Problems for Religious Education* (London: HMSO, 1971). For a more in-depth discussion, see R. Freathy and S.G. Parker, "Prospects and Problems for Religious Education in England, 1967–1970: Curriculum Reform in Political Context," *Journal of Beliefs & Values* 36, vol. 1 (April 2015): 5–30.
[59]Freathy and Parker, "Prospects and Problems," 15.
[60]TNA, ED 158/89 – *DES. Inspectorate Panels. RI PANELS. Weekend seminar at Windsor on prospects and problems for religious education in the 1970s*. 1969: Seminar on Religious Education: Session by Session Account. First Session: "Prospects and Problems of Religious Education in the 70s," page 2; Department of Education and Science, *Prospects and Problems for Religious Education in the Seventies: A Record of the seminar held at St. George's House, Windsor from the 21st to the 23 March 1969* (London: Department of Education and Science, 1969. Limited Circulation), 3.
[61]Department of Education and Science, *Prospects and Problems for Religious Education* (London: HMSO, 1971), 14; TNA, ED 158/89. For an extended discussion see Doney, "That Would Be an Ecumenical Matter," 204–8.
[62]DES, *Prospects and Problems* (1971).
[63]TNA, ED 158/89.

A view on the non-proselytising nature of RE similar to that expressed in Statement One is included in *the fourth R* (also known as the *Durham Report*).[64] This publication described and summarised the work undertaken by a Commission established by the Church of England Board of Education and the National Society for Promoting Religious Education in October 1967 under the chairmanship of the Bishop of Durham.[65] The Commission was to "report on 'Religious Education in Schools'", with an emphasis on Church of England schools, offering its findings "for study to the Department of Education and Science, and the Parliamentary Education Committees".[66] Published in 1970, *the fourth R* soon became considered as authoritative, with discussion of its content in the professional journals, and reference made to it in later parliamentary debates.[67]

Within chapter four, which focuses on County Schools (the specific context of Statement One), *the fourth R* states: "The teacher is thus seeking rather to initiate his pupils into knowledge which he encourages them to explore and appreciate, than into a system of belief which he requires them to accept."[68] Whilst this is not an *exact* repetition of Statement One as it appears in WP36, the *sentiment* is very close.[69]

Each chapter of *the fourth R* was prepared by a separate committee. Among the drafting Committee responsible for the preparation of this particular chapter was Colin Alves, who – as we have seen already – had earlier worked with the British Council of Churches, investigating the state of RE in county schools.[70] An early draft of chapter four includes *verbatim*, many of the paragraphs that make up the published version, albeit in a different order.[71] Further, a copy of Alves's report, *Religion and the Secondary School*, was included in the Durham Commission's evidence files.[72] This knowledge of Alves's involvement in the drafting of the relevant section certainly suggests that the assertion in *the fourth R* may, to some extent, *originate* with Alves.

Examining these prior repetitions of the BCC statement demonstrates that by the time of its inclusion in WP36, Statement One cannot be considered as novel. Rather, by this point it had gained – to some extent – an authoritative status, being repeated verbatim by the DES and – in a modified form – within *the fourth R*. This process of normalisation serves to lift constraints on thinking that previously had made a rejection of proselytisation in English RE unthinkable and unsayable – at least in certain influential discourses. With these constraints lifted, new circumstances of possibility existed in which it *became possible* for WP36 to add legitimacy to the rejection of proselytisation through the repetition of Statement One.

It is clear that there are multiple routes by which Alves's suggestion that RE should not be proselytisational is taken up in the RE discourses. In other words, the notion of non-proselytisational RE becomes normalised through a number of routes, some of which are

[64]Ian Ramsey, ed., *The fourth R: The Durham Report on Religious Education* (London: National Society and SPCK, 1970).
[65]CERC, NS/7/8/1/14 – [Durham] Commission on Religious Education: Evidence file I.
[66]CERC, NS/7/8/1/14: Press Release: "New Commission on Religious Education in Schools. Bishop of Durham to be Chairman", undated (but prior to 4 October 1967), papers 61–3.
[67]Doney, "That Would Be an Ecumenical Matter," 208–10; 280.
[68]Ramsey, *The fourth R*, §216, cited in *WP36*, 19.
[69]*WP36*, 17.
[70]Ramsey, *The fourth R*, xv-xvii records the make-up of each chapter committee.
[71]For example, §193–5; 198; 200; 205–210; 212–14; 217 from *The fourth R* are all present in exactly the same form in CERC, NS/7/8/1/7: 'Draft for Discussion – Chapter 4 "Religious Education in County Schools."
[72]CERC, NS/7/8/14/1: Paper 16: Report of Special Committee appointed by the Education Department of the British Council of Churches to consider the state and needs of religious education in secondary schools.

identified here, but it is possible that other routes – as yet undiscovered – also exist. It is only by paying close attention to each one, using an approach such as Statement Archaeology, that one can begin to understand the process in detail; without such rigorous approaches, our claims run the danger of being vague, imprecise, and/or impressionistic

Is the statement programmatic?

Next, we consider the ways in which Statement One attempts to persuade, and/or seeks to "reconcile conflicting ideas, to cope with contradictions or uncertainty, or to counter alternatives".[73] To do this, we first consider the rhetorical structure of Statement One itself. In stating "*It should be clear* that the aim of religious education in county schools is to deepen understanding and insight, not to proselytize", there is a clear implication that this understanding of the aim of RE is self-evident, or obvious. Further, the educational aspects ("deepening understanding and insight") are emphasised *contra* the spiritual/religious aspect of proselytisation. The presentation of the aim in this way might be seen as closing down or countering alternative understandings of the aim of the subject.

Secondly, we must consider Statement One within the wider context of WP36. The citation from the BCC is used in the construction of WP36 as part of an opening "bookend" for a series of arguments supporting the non-confessional study of world religions in secondary schools. As described earlier, Statement One is placed immediately within the context of a citation from the CEM *Interim Statement* of 1969. This in turn, comes immediately after citations from three key national Government reports, each of which supports the teaching of religion in schools, but none of which refers directly to Christianity. It comes directly before statements from a range of constituencies including the Durham Commission (via *the fourth R* discussed above), the Social Morality Council, the cultural panel of Birmingham Community Relations Committee, and the Birmingham Community Relations Committee.[74] In this position, Statement One acts as part of a "rhetorical bridge" between more general statements, which had previously been interpreted as referring to Christianity (but in WP36 were interpreted in a more open way, as referring to other religions), and calls for teaching specifically about non-Christian religious perspectives.[75]

Thus, Statement One forms part of a complex matrix of justifications presented within WP36 for moving away from the prevailing confessional approach to religious education.[76] This then leads us to consider how Statement One seeks to reconcile conflicting ideas, cope with contradictions or uncertainty, and/or counter alternative understandings. To do this we need to parse out the processes of policy adoption, particularly through the practices of normalisation within RE.

As set out in the contextual material to this worked example above, from its introduction in 1944, compulsory RE in England was very often delivered through a confessional – often proselytising – pedagogy, with as shift towards a "post-confessional, multi-faith",

[73]Rose, *Visual Methodologies*, 161ff.; F. Tonkiss, "Analysing Discourse," in *Researching Society and Culture*, ed. C. Searle (London: Sage, 1998), 245–60, 225.
[74]*WP36*, 16ff, 18.
[75]*WP36*, 18.
[76]See Doney, "That Would Be an Ecumenical Matter," 201.

phenomenological, liberal, Study of World Religions during the mid-1960s.[77] However, regardless of any assumptions about the implicit intentions regarding RE in the various Acts, there is no explicit mention of RE having a proselytisational aim in the legislative framework; the 1870 Education Act is silent on the matter, as are the Education Acts of the intervening years.[78] Similarly, the provisions of the 1944 Education Act do not specify that it should aim for adherence to a specific religious group, despite interpretations that it legitimised this aim.[79] In fact, in correspondence during the discussions over the 1944 legislation sent to William Temple (Archbishop of Canterbury), R.A. Butler (President of the Board of Education) emphatically states: "It is not part of the function of the state to train children in the dogmas of the various religious denominations so as to attach them to the worshiping communities for which the denominations stand."[80]

The practice of proselytising RE therefore did not arise through legislative prescription, rather through some process of normalisation. An analysis of the stated aims of Agreed Syllabuses undertaken in the 1950s suggests that after the 1944 Act a proselytisational aim for RE developed, becoming widely established as general practice by the mid-1950s.[81] Although this practice had begun to change by the mid-1960s, confessional approaches to RE were still widespread *in practice*, meaning that the inclusion of Statement One in WP36 can be understood as countering alternatives.

On the basis of this exploration then, we can see that the use of Statement One in the context of WP36 meets the threshold for it to be understood as a programmatic statement. As such, the call for non-proselytising RE in WP36 contributes to – rather than initiates – a process by which a non-proselytising approach to RE is normalised. The inclusion of Statement One in 1971 is therefore not the point at which the aim of RE changes; Statement One is not novel at that point. This approach to RE was already being promoted and practised in schools (as shown through the discourses of the professional journal) before 1971. Therefore, the claim, made by some, that WP36 is *the* locus of the change from confessional to non-confessional RE is erroneous. Further, as we shall see next, the adoption of non-confessional RE took place over a longer period that previously described, starting earlier than the late 1960s.

The criteria of correlation

Lastly, we consider Statement One from the perspective of the criteria of correlation. Here we ask: how does Statement One relate to others within and beyond its own domain of discourse? Is there a correlation? Is there discontinuity? Does it correlate with statements within its own domain, but not with statements from other domains? What does this reveal about changing meanings of specific terms over time and within and between discourses? Does the statement represent a point at which a practice becomes differentiated, and consequently does it mark "the relative beginning" of a practice? (Methodological note: as with the previous two Criteria, the aim here is to ascertain *as much as possible* about the correlation between this statement and others.)

[77]See note 9 above.
[78]Including The Elementary Education Act, (1880); The Elementary Education Act (1891); Education Act (1902).
[79]Great Britain, Education Act, 7&8 Geo.6 c.31, (1944). On the interpretations, see Doney, *Unearthing Policies*.
[80]Lambeth Palace Library, *William Temple Papers*, 20/198, Butler to Temple, 2 February 1943.
[81]See Doney, "That Would Be an Ecumenical Matter," 311.

Correlations and continuity

Within the discourse of the Schools Council there is very little consideration of the issue of proselytisation beyond the Religious Education in Secondary Schools Project; its sister project (*Religious Education in Primary Schools*) considers the matter only briefly.[82] Thus, the aim of RE as expressed in Statement One correlates strongly with the wider domain of discourse within the Schools Council where RE is constructed as "helping children to understand religion" rather than "helping to make children religious".[83]

Assessing how Statement One relates to others beyond its own immediate domain of discourse can be achieved through an exploration of articles in the main RE Teacher's professional journal, *Learning for Living* (*L4L*).[84] The view that in the early to mid-1960s "the purpose of RE in schools [was] seen as close to, but not identical to, that of teachers in Sunday school", is supported by material published in the early editions of *L4L*.[85] These include articles on "The School as a Christian Community"; interpreting the Bible; and editorials.[86]

However, from as early as 1962, articles began to appear suggesting that RE should not have the aim of proselytising. From this point onwards, there are a number of submissions which present challenges to RE from the Humanist movement, and others, suggesting that the dominance of Christianity was being questioned.[87] Certainly, a series of identifiable changes can be traced across the editions of *L4L*, such that by the mid-1960s it is clear that understandings of the aim of RE were being reconsidered.[88] There were discussions about different approaches, including an "Open" approach,[89] and a non-proselytising approach, discussed by Edwin Cox in *Changing Aims in Religious Education*, later becoming labelled as a "neo-confessional" approach.[90] There were also two "Open Letters to LEA Religious Education Advisory Committees", written by different groups with different viewpoints, but which in combination epitomise the extent of the contested nature of the discussion.[91]

This contestation is evident in other sources too. For example, in *Changing Aims in Religious Education*, Cox questions the assumptions that he claims lay behind the RE

[82]Schools Council, *Working Paper 44, Religious Education in Primary Schools* (London: Schools Council, 1972), esp. 20–21; 58–9.
[83]Ibid., 58.
[84]On *Learning for Living* (*L4L*), see S.G. Parker, R. Freathy, and J. Doney, "The Professionalisation of Non-Denominational Religious Education in England: Politics, Organisation and Knowledge," *Journal of Beliefs & Values* 37, no. 2 (2016): 201–38.
[85]Penny Thompson, *Whatever Happened to Religious Education* (Cambridge: The Lutterworth Press, 2004), 8.
[86]Mary Bray, "The School as a Christian Community," *L4L* 1, no. 1 (September 1961): 14–15; Jack W.G. Hogbin, "The School as a Christian Community," *L4L* 4, no. 3 (January 1965): 21–3. Amongst many, see J.W.D. Smith, "Adam and Eve," *L4L* 1, no. 2 (November 1961): 18–19; David L. Edwards, "The Prophets," *L4L* 1, no. 2 (November 1961): 20–21; M. E. Rose, "Elijah's Despair," *L4L* 1, no. 4 (March 1962): 11–12; Peter Ackroyd, "Understanding Amos," *L4L* 2, no. 1 (September 1962): 6–9; T. Handley, "Teaching Amos," *L4L* 2, no. 1 (September 1962): 9–13. See Editorials by David Ayerst (vol. 5, no. 2 [November 1965]: 4–5; vol. 6, no. 2 [November 1966]: 4–5); and Catherine Fletcher (vol. 8, no. 1 [September 1968]: 4–5).
[87]For example, Harold Blackham, "A Humanist View of Religious Education," *L4L* 4, no. 2 (November 1964): 19–22; Anon, "Religious and Moral Education in County Schools," *L4L* 5, no.2 (November 1965): 6–10; Anon, "The Christian–Humanist Memorandum," *L4L* 5, no. 3 (January 1966): 16–18.
[88]See e.g. Thompson, *Whatever Happened to Religious Education*; also Doney, "That Would be an Ecumenical Matter" and "The British Council of Churches."
[89]Discussed in *L4L* 5, no. 2 (November 1965): 6–10.
[90]Edwin Cox, *Changing Aims in Religious Education* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966). See also *WP36*, ch. 3.
[91]Anon. "An Open Letter to LEA Religious Education Advisory Committees," *L4L* 5, no. 1 (September 1965): 16; Anon, "Another Open Letter to LEA Religious Education Advisory Committees," *L4L* 5, no. 3 (January 1966): 18–19.

clauses of the 1944 Education Act, suggesting that developments in Theology and research (such as that carried out by Goldman), and the questioning of RE's purpose as proselytisational, all combine to demonstrate that the nature and purpose of the subject was being reconsidered. Other publications of the time, including *Revolution in Religious Education*, and the later published *New Movements in Religious Education*, make very similar claims.[92]

Subsequent repetition

An important mechanism by which to assess the influence of Statement One is to consider its reception and subsequent repetition in other contemporaneous materials. Overall, these suggest that at the time of publication, reception of WP36 was muted. In a 1971 *L4L* article, the forthcoming release of WP36 was announced, reminding the reader that the Working Paper "is not a report but an interim statement for public discussion, and it invites comments from all concerned with education, and particularly religious education, in schools".[93] After publication, there appears to be very little discussion in the scholarly press, and what is published tends towards a critical view, highlighting for example that the paper "does not make significant additions to the questions already familiar to many".[94]

A brief survey of articles in *L4L* after the publication of WP36 reveals that the *Working Paper* is mentioned infrequently, and even then, generally only in passing.[95] Where the document *is* cited, it often is marginalised by an emphasis on other documents. For example, in a discussion of recent trends in RE, one 1974 editorial includes reference to WP36 only in passing, as a contrast to *the fourth R*.[96] Whilst there are a number of articles in which one might expect it to be mentioned, it is not;[97] other (often earlier) sources are more frequently cited, especially *the fourth R* and the Birmingham Agreed Syllabus of 1975.[98]

The reception more widely seems similarly low-key; in discussions of "controversial" and "notable" publications by the Schools Council, a number of Working Papers are mentioned, but WP36 is not. Gordon notes that "Working Paper 53 – The Whole Curriculum" included "no final recommendations, but many controversial ideas".[99] Likewise, Stewart discusses the influence of "Working Paper 10 – Teachers Centres", and Alves, writing about the work of subject committees (at this point he was chair of the Religious Education Committee) draws examples from a wide variety of subjects, including Classics, science, geography, music and English.[100] Mention of WP36, the RE subject

[92]Cox, *Changing Aims*, 16–18; 28ff (Theology); 38ff (Goldman's research) and 61ff (RE as conversion); H.F. Mathews, *Revolution in Religious Education* (London: The Religious Education Press, 1966); Ninian Smart and Donald Horder, eds., *New Movements in Religious Education* (London: Temple Smith, 1975).
[93]Donald Horder, "Religious Education in Secondary Schools," *L4L* 10, no. 4 (1971): 10–14.
[94]Paul King and Kenneth Hyde, "Review Article: What are We Trying To Do in the Secondary School?" *L4L* 11, no. 2 (November 1971): 30–33, 32.
[95]For example, Mohammed Iqbal, "Education and Islam in Britain: A Muslim View," *L4L* 13, no. 5 (May 1974): 198–9; John Marvell, "The Formation of Religious Belief in a Multi-Racial Community," *L4L* 15, no. 1 (Autumn 1975): 17–23; John Marvell, "Phenomenology and the Future of Religious Education," *L4L* 16, no. 1 (Autumn 1976): 4–8.
[96]John Hull, 'Editorial," *L4L* 14, no. 1 (September 1974): 2.
[97]For example W.J.H. Earl "The Place of Christianity in Religious Education," *L4L* 13, no. 4 (March 1974): 132–5; Eric Sharpe, "The Phenomenology of Religion," *L4L* 15, no. 1 (Autumn 1975): 4–9; Daniel W. Hardy, "The Implications of Pluralism for Religious Education," *L4L* 15, no. 2 (Winter 1976): 55–62.
[98]John Hull, "Editorial," *L4L* (September 1974): 2; There is a "symposium" on Birmingham Agreed Syllabus 1975 (*L4L* 14, no. 4 (March 1975) and a group of papers published in response to the Durham Report (*L4L* 10, no. 1 (September 1970).
[99]Gordon, "The Schools Council and Curriculum," 60.
[100]Stewart, "The Growth of the Schools Council," 52; Colin Alves, "The Role and Work of the Subject Committees," *Secondary Education* 4, no. 2 (1974): 83–6.

committee, and its working parties is absent from every one of these papers. Within the bounds of these two domains of discourse, had WP36 been considered as particularly noteworthy or significant we might expect that it would have been mentioned in some, even if not all, of this literature.

However, a few years after its publication, WP36 begins to be referenced as a convenient shorthand for the non-confessional study of world religions. In a 1974 article an author refers to a book which "reflects the aims of the Schools Council project (Schools Council Working Paper 36)"; however, nowhere in the review is there any discussion or examination of what these aims are.[101] Elsewhere, WP36 becomes positioned as – to some degree – authoritative by being cited (alongside a variety of other documents, including *The Fourth R*) in the 1985 Swann report (*Education For All*).[102] This report documents the Government's enquiry into the "Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups", which considered the issue of RE in some depth, repeating a number of statements from WP36, and concludes that "[w]e ourselves therefore share the view expressed in the 1971 Schools Council Report".[103]

One more contemporary example of the construction of WP36 as an authoritative document is found in the work of Philip Barnes. He claims, for example, that "for over a decade, [it] effectively set the boundaries within which debates on the nature and purpose of religious education in Britain were conducted and discussed".[104] Further, Barnes claims that WP36 "is widely regarded as heralding *the demise of Christian confessionalism* in state-maintained schools in England and Wales", "*initiating a shift from a confessional model of religious education*, which aims to nurture Christian faith, to a non-confessional 'open' model which aims to impart knowledge and understanding of religion".[105] Barnes wants the reader to accept that WP36 is initiatory, suggesting that it is seen by others as authoritative in some way, although he consistently fails to undertake any type of detailed analysis of the document, and ultimately, presents no evidence to support his claims.[106]

Rules of repetition

This survey shows that Statement One, when cited from WP36, is not widely repeated immediately after publication. Later repetitions tend to overlook the original positioning of WP36 as a non-conclusive, provisional, contribution written and published to *engender* debate. In contrast, WP36 itself has been more recently positioned as definitive and authoritative, arguably being attributed with an authority which would appear to stand contrary to its authors' stated intentions. Barnes' situation of WP36 as *the* locus of change, and references made to it in the 1985 Swann report (mentioned above) exemplify this.

In attempting to understand the rules of repetition, it is instructive to note that pretty much every citation drawing on the Religious Education in Secondary Schools Project are drawn

[101] Iqbal, "Education and Islam in Britain," 199. Also D.C. Meakin, "The Justification of Religious Education," *British Journal of Religious Education* 2, no. 2 (1979): 50.
[102] Department of Education and Science, *Education For All: The Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups* (The Swann Report) (London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1985).
[103] *Swann Report*, §2.11, 474–5, citing *WP36*, 43. The Swann Report §2.6, p470, §2.7, p470 and §2.9, p472 also cites *WP36*, p21 and p15 respectively.
[104] Barnes, "Working Paper 36," 62.
[105] Ibid., 61; 62 (emphasis added).
[106] Ibid.

from WP36, a discussion document published at the start of the project, rather than from the Teachers' Handbooks, published at the close of the project, providing curriculum materials for teachers to adapt, and repeating the statements made in WP36.[107] The rules under which the statements have been repeated differ between WP36 and the *Teachers' Handbooks*; consequently, the handbooks – positioned as declaratory rather than provisional – have not been constructed as either significant or as authoritative.[108] Moreover, it is important to note an absence in the *Teacher's Handbooks* of any discussion prompted by the publication of WP36. This suggests that it is not the statements themselves that carry the significance and authority; it is the rules by which the statements have been repeated that infuse the statements with these attributes.

This exploration of the extent to which Statement One correlates with the wider discourses of RE at the time shows that the statement supports a change that was already being considered and was gaining some momentum. It therefore cannot be considered a moment of discontinuity within this particular domain of discourse; rather it is more appropriate to understand WP36 as *part* of a process of normalisation of the practice of non-proselytisational RE.

None of this renders WP36 irrelevant. Even though WP36 does not mark a clear point of differentiation, nor a point at which the unthinkable becomes thinkable, it does make a significant contribution to the normalisation process. Specifically, the publication of WP36 contributes to processes of "legitimisation". By including Statement One, WP36 confers legitimacy on the practice of non-proselytisational RE. In short, it demonstrates to its readership that it is permissible to adopt this practice.

More recently, this positioning of WP36 has been overlooked, and the document has become positioned as emblematic of a particular discourse. This is perhaps indicative of a more recent search for a "justification" for adopting and maintaining the practice of non-proselytisational RE. In other educational areas such justification is often located in rhetorical policy statements from Government or in legislation. In the case of this practice, the widespread adoption of non-proselytisational RE predates any kind of Governmental statement; official sanction for the practice does not appear until 1975, and it is not until the 1988 Education Reform Act that the practice becomes legislated for.[109]

Conclusion: what does Statement Archaeology offer?

This paper began by analysing the theoretical basis of Foucault's broad – and arguably equivocal – approach to historical exploration, outlining a series of methodological procedures by which Foucault's approach can be systematically operationalised; I have called this new approach *Statement Archaeology*. It differs from other approaches that claim a Foucauldian foundation, including certain approaches to Critical Discourse Analysis, in that fidelity to Foucault's practice has been central to the development of Statement Archaeology.[110]

[107]Schools Council, *Journeys into Religion A: Teachers Handbook* and *Journeys into Religion B: Teachers Handbook* (St Albans: Hart-Davis Educational, for Schools Council, 1977).
[108]Aside from a rather scathing review (Geoffrey Robson, "Review: Journeys into Religion," *L4L* 17, no. 1 [Autumn 1977]: 40–1), there is virtually no reference to these materials in *L4L*.
[109]TNA, ED 135/35 – HMI Memos 1975: Memo 3/75; Great Britain, *Education Reform Act*, Elizabeth II. c. 40, (1988).
[110]See Doney, *Unearthing Policies*, ch. 7.

The paper provides a worked example of these procedures in practice by providing a detailed analysis of one aspect of the development of policy in relation to English Religious Education. By focusing on a single statement (Statement One) and its patterns and routes of transmission using Statement Archaeology, we have begun to appreciate how it became possible for the aim of Religious Education in England to change so drastically during the 1960s – changes that have shaped the current approach to RE in English classrooms. This exploration has revealed that this change became possible at a nexus of *changes in the rules* of what is thinkable and unthinkable within different domains of discourse, and complex and messy processes of changing legitimacies and normalisations. Many accounts of this change have overlooked these aspects. Within these processes, the role of hitherto marginalised unofficial policymakers and shapers has been influential. For example, at the time of his involvement with the BCC research project, Colin Alves did not devise – or even suggest – policy, but he was a *policy influencer*; his statements have affected the way in which policies and their associated practices have developed. Yet, his role in the legitimisation and normalisation of non-proselytisational RE has been overlooked in the existing historiography.

Statement Archaeology affects our engagement with policy analysis more widely. We know that policy processes tend to be complex and messy; practices that inform and become officially sanctioned as policies do not always arise from "official" policymakers.[111] Yet, the historiography often overlooks this, frequently suggesting that policy processes somehow unfold in neat, stepwise, stages.[112] Those suggestions are perhaps built on certain assumptions about policymaking whereby the macro-level materials (grand rhetorical speeches by legislators, or ground-breaking publications, for example) are foregrounded.

By focusing on material at an increasingly micro-level, Statement Archaeology facilitates a move away from such an impressionistic form of historical writing towards a more forensic, detailed engagement with particularities. By concentrating on changes in what is thinkable, legitimate, and/or "normal", any claims we make about causation, correlation, and coincidence; about influence and affect; about processes of change and continuity, are based on a rigorous – some might say "scientific" – analysis of material. This allows us to track and unravel the complexities and messiness of the processes of policy change, moving us beyond sometime over-simplified comprehensions of how policies are derived and taken up, and allowing the development of more significant understandings. Further, where "unofficial" routes of policy development and hitherto hidden or marginalised policy-shapers are present, this approach has the capacity to expose them, and bring those actors and their actions into plain view.

Statement Archaeology has deliberately been devised in a way that will allow others, nationally and internationally – far beyond the realm of religious education and the discourses of education policy and practice – to easily take up the approach and apply it to their own area of work. Navigating the complexity and messiness of how particular practices become possible can be achieved with a relentless and forensic focus on statements against the criteria of Formation, Transformation, and Correlation, using the series of questions for each set out earlier.

[111]Sarah Diem, Michelle D. Young, Anjale D. Welton, Katherine Cummins Mansfield, and Pei-Ling Lee, "The Intellectual Landscape of Critical Policy Analysis," *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education* 27, no. 9 (2014): 1068–90, 1072.

[112]For an explanation and critique of "stagist" and other sequential models of policy making, see e.g. Peter Dorey, *Policy Making in Britain: An Introduction* (London: Sage, 2005), 4–7.

The development of this innovative and original method has potential significance in any domain of enquiry that seeks answers to the question "how did *this* particular practice become possible at *that* particular moment?" Ultimately, whatever the area we examine, Statements make a difference, and demand investigation. *Statement Archaeology* makes that possible.

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