'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.

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Abstract

It is claimed that during the 1960s and 1970s a new chapter in the history of English Religious Education (hereafter RE) began. Christian Confessionalism, whereby children were introduced to, nurtured in, and encouraged to adopt, the Christian faith, was swept aside and replaced by a non-confessional, phenomenological, multi-faith model, in which children were introduced to a variety of World Religions, with the aim that they would become more understanding of and tolerant towards others. Subsequently the study of World Religions (hereafter SWR) was adopted at all phases of the school system. Whilst this transition has been subjected to a wealth of historical analysis, existing accounts concentrate on narrative reconstructions of what happened, rather than investigating the complex interaction of discourses that created circumstances in which the change *became possible*. By framing analysis within national boundaries these reconstructions also overlook supranational influences. Thus, the supranational ecumenical movement (concerned with achieving greater unity and co-operation between denominationally separated Christian groups) has hitherto been largely overlooked.

Drawing on Michel Foucault's historical methods, I have developed a critical methodology, which examines how certain practices become possible. This method, Statement Archaeology, follows Foucault in emphasizing 'discontinuities', 'statements', and the search for the 'relative beginnings' of particular practices. Deploying the method entailed a detailed forensic exploration of relevant primary, unutilized, sources drawn from relevant domains of ecumenical discourses at both supranational (World Council of Churches) and national (British Council of Churches) levels. These sources were identified by tracing the provenance, and origin, of ecumenical statements repeated within Schools Council *Working Paper 36* (1971). A 'compound' framework of understanding, combining the notions of Governmentality and Normalization, has been used.

The thesis presents a number of original contributions to knowledge. By focusing on the multiple intersections of supranational and national domains of ecumenical discourse, Statement Archaeology reveals a much greater level of complexity than has hitherto been described and exposes a more nuanced understanding of how it became possible for SWR to be adopted, suggesting that the 'relative beginnings' of the practice are located—to some extent—in national ecumenical discourses. Further, supranational issues that affected these processes are unearthed, and motivations behind them are exposed, thus highlighting the importance of incorporating ecumenical discourses into the historiography of RE. The research also problematizes some assertions that have become characteristic of the existing historical narrative. Amongst other things, it disputes the existing positioning of *Working Paper 36*, highlights the problematic positioning of 'mass immigration' as a causal factor in adoption of SWR, and exposes a complexity of terminology, none of which appear to have been examined previously.

These findings have application both in England and elsewhere, and are briefly discussed in relation to two other national contexts where approaches akin to SWR have been adopted. Finally, the limitations of the study are discussed and recommendations made for further work.

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For Hannah and James

The true fruit of my labours

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'If I can see further it is because I stand on the shoulders of giants'[1]

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To these all, together with those unnamed, huge gratitude for hoisting me aloft, and helping me to see so far.

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[1] This statement is attributed to Issac Newton, being recorded in a letter to Robert Hook, dated 5th Feb (either 1675 or 1676), although it has echoes in John of Salisbury's, *Metalogicon*: *We frequently know more, not because we have moved ahead by our own natural ability, but because we are supported by the mental strength of others, and possess riches that we have inherited from our forefathers.* (John of Salisbury's, *Metalogicon* 1159, translated by Daniel D. McGarry, (Gloucester: Peter Smith, 1971): 167).

Abbreviations

ASC	Agreed Syllabus Conference
BCC	British Council of Churches
BCCED	British Council of Churches' Education Department
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CEM	Christian Education Movement
CERC	Church of England Record Centre
CRE	Critical Religious Education
DES	Department of Education and Science
DFI	World Council of Churches' sub-unit on Dialogue with People of Living Faiths and Ideologies
EBacc	English Baccalaureate
ERA	Education Reform Act 1988
FCFC	Free Church Federal Council
HMI	Her Majesty's Inspectorate (of Schools)
ICE	Institute of Christian Education at Home and Abroad
IMC	International Missionary Council
ISA	Ideological State Apparatus
JSCE	World Council of Churches' Joint Study Commission on Education
LEA	Local Education Authority
NATRE	National Association of Teachers of Religious Education
NLA	Newsam Library and Archive, Institute of Education, University College London.
RE	Religious Education
SACRE	Standing Advisory Council for Religious Education
SCMS	Student Christian Movement in Schools
SWR	Study of World Religions
TNA	The National Archive
VIC	Voluntary Informed Consent
WCC	World Council of Churches
WMC	World Missionary Conference, held at Edinburgh in 1910
WP36	Schools Council Working Paper 36

Prologue

The title of the thesis, *'That would be an ecumenical matter',* is a statement repeated from an episode of the television situation comedy series 'Father Ted'.[1] In preparation for a visit from a group of Bishops, Fathers Ted and Dougal express their concern that the elderly Father Jack, whose vocabulary usually consists of a variety of expletives and demands for alcohol, will say the wrong thing. Father Dougal suggests that they could train Jack to say something other than his usual phrases.[2] Father Ted agrees that this would be a good idea, adding 'Nothing too specific; a few all-purpose sentences, like "That would be an ecumenical matter"'.[3]

Subsequently, Father Jack is trained by Father Ted to respond appropriately to any questions the Bishop might ask, and attempts are made to train Jack to say 'That would be an ecumenical matter'. The phrase is only used twice in dialogue with the Bishops; both times from Father Jack's lips; once in response to a statement about 'assessing the social effects of some of the Church's thinking regarding issues of personal morality',[4] the other in response to a diatribe about anticlerical bias in the media.[5]

'That would be an ecumenical matter' not only breaks down the 'yes'/'no' binary, it also offers a useful response to questions where the answer is not clear or straightforward. Father Ted underlines the value of the statement by adding 'I can't think of any religious question that can't be answered by that'.[6] Thus, from the start of this study, looking forwards, the phrase was appropriated, first and foremost to deliberately disturb existing binaries, but also as a shorthand for 'this may be unclear and complicated'. However, the phrase has persisted throughout the writing of this thesis, and has become ever more accurate as a title, so that from the end looking backwards, in relation to how the adoption of the study of World Religions became possible in English Religious Education in the 1960s and 1970s, it can justly be said 'that would be an ecumenical matter'.

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[1] "The Tentacles of Doom", *Father Ted,* series two, episode three, written by Graham Linehan and Arthur Mathews, Hat Trick Productions for Channel Four. First broadcast 22 March 1996.
[2] The Tentacles of Doom, 00:07:36.
[3] The Tentacles of Doom, 00:08:19.
[4] The Tentacles of Doom, 00:17:04.
[5] The Tentacles of Doom, 00:18:14.
[6] The Tentacles of Doom, 00:08:19.

Chapter 1

The Adoption of the Study of World Religions in English Religious Education.
An Introduction

In a globalized and plural world, the inclusion of Religious Education (hereafter RE[1]) in schools has been, and remains, a contested and confused issue.[2] This is symptomatic of the tension, seen both nationally and internationally, of balancing a 'strong secularist trend towards the exclusion of religion from the public sphere',[3] and the inclusion of religion in education. In England, compulsory RE was introduced under the 1944 Education Act. Having developed at a particular intersection of educational, ecclesiological and societal influences, RE holds a unique position in the curriculum of English schools, and as a consequence it has a religious, educational and political importance.[4] It has been at the centre of considerable debate and, at times, controversy. There are on-going discussions

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[1] In England from 1944 until 1988, the term *Religious Education* was used to describe the combination of *Religious Instruction* (that part of Religious Education that took place as classroom teaching, whether or not as a discrete curriculum area), and *Collective Worship* (where the school community gathered together for devotional instruction and worship). For the avoidance of confusion, throughout the thesis, I have consistently used the term *Religious Education* (RE) to refer to classroom teaching, only using the term *Religious Instruction* (RI) where it is within a verbatim quotation. The issue of Collective Worship is not considered within this thesis.

[2] See, for example, Arto Kallioniemi and Martin Ubani, 'Religious Education. In Hannele Niemi, Auli Toom and Arto Kallioniemi (eds) *Miracle of Education: The Principles and Practices of Teaching and Learning in Finnish Schools.* (Rotterdam: Sense Publishers, 2012): 176-187, who claim that: 'Internationally there has been much active discussion about what is the function and the most suitable solution for RE in public schools in multicultural, post-modern societies'(177). They also refer to the 'Europeanization of RE' as a recent trend (178).

[3] Saila Poulter, 'From citizenship of God's Kingdom to liberal individualism? A critical historical analysis of Finnish religious education', *British Journal of Religious Education*, (forthcoming), 1. See also Jacqueline Watson, 'Religion, Spirituality and State-Funded Schooling: Revisiting a Fractured Relationship with Guidance From Habermas.' *Journal of Study of Sprituality* 2, no. 2 (2012): 186-202.

[4] L.P. Barnes, 'The Misrepresentation of Religion in Modern British (Religious) Education', *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 54, no.4, (2006): 395-411; J. Watson, 'Educating for Citizenship—the Emerging Relationship Between Religious Education and Citizenship Education', *British Journal of Religious Education* 26, no. 3 (2004): 259-271; Department for Children, Schools and Families (DCSF) *Guidance on the duty to promote community cohesion*, (London: DSCF, 2007); Department for Children, Schools and Families (DCSF). *Religious Education in English Schools: Non-statutory Guidance 2010.* (Nottingham: DCSF, 2010).

over whether the subject should remain compulsory,[5] by whom, and to what ends, the content of the RE curriculum should be determined,[6] and over the place of RE within the wider educational system.[7] Underpinning these debates are wider philosophical and ideological debates about the nature and purpose of RE,[8] accompanied by changing understandings of what it means to 'be religious', all this in a context where the very notion of religion is increasingly under scrutiny.[9]

Against the backdrop of these controversies, RE in English schools since the mid 1960s has focused primarily on the Study of World Religions.[10] There appears to be a general consensus amongst scholars in the field that during the 1960s and 1970s, a new chapter in the history of English Religious Education began; consequently, the period is highlighted as a moment of great transformation. It is suggested that between the post-war introduction of compulsory RE in 1944 and the mid-1960s, most RE in English publicly-

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[5] John White, 'Should religious education be a compulsory subject?' *British Journal of Religious Education* 26, no.2, (2004): 151-164; Wright, A. 'On the Intrinsic Value of Religious Education', *British Journal of Religious Education* 27, no.1, (2005): 25-8; AQA, *AQA General Studies AS paper, 'Culture and Society', Spring 2011 series, Source B 'Arguments for and against Compulsory RE'.* Adapted from Woodhead, C. 'Let's banish God from the classroom.' The Sunday Times, 14 July 2005. See also Charles Clarke and Linda Woodhead, (*A New Settlement: Religion and Belief in Schools*, (Westminster Faith Debates, June 2015); URL: http://faithdebates.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2015/06/A-New-Settlement-for-Religion-and-Belief-in-schools.pdf, last accessed June 14th 2015).

[6] V.M. Baumfield, 'How Local should a Local Agreed Syllabus for RE be?' In M. Leicester, C. Modgil, S. Modgil *Spiritual and Religious Education* (London: Falmer Press, 2000); Office for Standards in Education (Ofsted), *Making Sense of Religion. A Report on Religious Education in Schools and the Impact of Locally Agreed Syllabuses,* (London: Ofsted, June, 2007); Dilwyn Hunt, 'Why Gandalf Doesn't Pick Up the Ring: The Case for Keeping Local Control of RE.' *REsource* 30, no. 2 (2008): 12-14.

[7] Department of Education, 2010, *The Importance of Teaching The Schools White Paper 2010*, Stationary Office, London; David Marley, 'RE teaching time slashed in English Bac scramble.' *Times Educational Supplement*, February 4, 2011.

[8] M. Chater, 'An Educator's Faith'. In M de Souza, K Engebretson, G Durka, R Jackson & A McGrady (eds), *International Handbook of the Religious, Moral & Spiritual Dimensions in Education. Part 2*, (Dordrecht: Springer, 2006): 799-813.

[9] Timothy Fitzgerald, 'Playing Language Games and Performing Rituals: Religious Studies As Ideological State Apparatus.' *Method & Theory in the Study of Religion* 15, no. 3 (2003): 209-254.

[10] G. Parsons, 'There and Back Again? Religion and the 1944 and 1988 Education Acts.' In G. Parsons (ed) *The Growth of Religious Diversity*, *vol. 2, Issues.*(Abingdon: Routledge, 1994): 173-4; Kevin O'Grady, 'Professor Ninian Smart, phenomenology and religious education', *British Journal of Religious Education* 27, no. 3, (2005): 227-37; Barnes and Wright, *Romanticism, representations of religion and critical religious education*; Teece, G. 'Too many competing imperatives? Does RE need to rediscover its identity?', *Journal of Beliefs & Values* 32, no.2, (2011): 161-172. Also see Parker and Freathy, *Ethnic diversity, Christian hegemony*; Stephen Parker and Rob Freathy, **'**Context, complexity and contestation: Birmingham's Agreed Syllabuses for Religious Education since the 1970s', *Journal of Beliefs & Values* 32, no.2 (2011): 247-63.

funded schools was delivered through a confessional pedagogy,[11] whereby children were nurtured in and encouraged to adopt the beliefs and practices characteristic of the Christian faith. During the mid-1960s this Christian Confessionalism was swept aside,[12] and replaced by a 'post-confessional, multi-faith',[13] phenomenological, liberal,[14] study of World Religions,[15] with the aim of enabling pupils to 'gain an authentic understanding of religion'[16] and to 'increase tolerance and understanding, the widening of the pupil's horizons, as well as deepening his understanding of man [*sic*] and the world.'[17] The existing historiography frequently exemplifies these changes in terms of the influence of the 1975 Birmingham *Agreed Syllabus of Religious Instruction*,[18] (which was greeted as a 'major breakthrough',[19] and

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[11] For example, L.P. Barnes, and A. Wright, 'Romanticism, representations of religion and critical religious education', *British Journal of Religious Education* 28, no.1, (2006): 65-77; K. Engebretson, 'Phenomenology and Religious Education Theory'. In de Souza, M. et al.(eds) *International Handbook of the Religious, Spiritual and Moral Dimensions in Education*. Vols 1 & 2, (Dordrecht: Springer, 2006): 651-65; R.Jackson and K. O'Grady, 'Religions and Education in England: Social Plurality, Civil Religion and Religious Education Pedagogy'. In R. Jackson, S. Miedema, W. Weisse and J-P. Williame (eds), *Religion and Education in Europe: Developments, Contexts and Debates*, (Munster, New York: Waxmann, 2007): 181-201; Penny Thompson, *Whatever Happened to Religious Education?* (Cambridge: The Lutterworth Press, 2004).

[12] For example: L.P. Barnes, 'Ninian Smart and the Phenomenological Approach to Religious Education', *Religion* 30, (2000): 316; L.P. Barnes 'Developing a new post-liberal paradigm for British religious education', *Journal of Beliefs & Values* 28, no. 1, (2007): 17-32; Barnes and Wright, *Romanticism, representations of religion and critical religious education;*A. Wright, 'Critical Religious Education, Multiculturalism and the Pursuit of Truth'. In *Critical Religious Education,* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2007): 125. 'Confessionalism' in this context is a term (often used pejoratively) in RE discourse in England to refer to teaching that seeks to engender particular religious beliefs and practices in pupils. The concept is derived from the notion of a 'Confession of Faith' (i.e. declaration of articles of belief) on behalf of the teacher and pupils (see Rob Freathy and Stephen Parker, 'The Necessity of Historical Enquiry in Educational Research: The Case of Religious Education', *British Journal of Religious Education* 32, no.3 (Sept 2010): 229-243).

[13] L.P. Barnes, 'An alternative reading of modern religious education in England and Wales', *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 30, no.5, (2009): 609.

[14] L.P. Barnes, 'Developing a new post-liberal paradigm for British religious education', *Journal of Beliefs & Values* 28, no. 1, (2007)**:** 17.

[15] G. Parsons, 'There and Back Again? Religion and the 1944 and 1988 Education Acts.' In G. Parsons (ed) *The Growth of Religious Diversity*, *vol. 2, Issues,* (Abingdon: Routledge, 1994): 173-4; Kevin O'Grady, 'Professor Ninian Smart, phenomenology and religious education', *British Journal of Religious Education* 27, no. 3, (2005): 227-37; Barnes and Wright, *Romanticism, representations of religion and critical religious education*; G. Teece, 'Too many competing imperatives? Does RE need to rediscover its identity?', *Journal of Beliefs & Values* 32, no.2, (2011): 161-172; also Stephen Parker and Rob Freathy, 'Context, complexity and contestation: Birmingham's Agreed Syllabuses for Religious Education since the 1970s', *Journal of Beliefs & Values* 32, no.2 (2011): 247-63; 'Ethnic Diversity, Christian Hegemony and the Emergence of Multi-faith Religious Education in the 1970s', *History of Education* 41, no. 3 (2012): 381-404.

[16] City of Birmingham District Council Education Committee, *Agreed Syllabus for Religious Education* (Birmingham: City of Birmingham District Council Education Committee, 1975): 9-10.

[17] Schools Council, *Schools Council Working Paper 36: Religious Education in Secondary Schools* (London: Methuen Educational, 1971): 63.

[18] Schools Council, *Working Paper 36;* City of Birmingham District Council Education Committee, *Agreed Syllabus for Religious Education;* City of Birmingham District Council Education Committee, *Living together: A teachers' handbook of suggestions for religious education* (Birmingham: City of Birmingham District Council Education Committee, 1975).

[19] J. Hull, *Studies in Religion & Education*. (Lewes: The Falmer Press**,** 1984): 29.

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bringing about 'a totally new orthodoxy'[20]), and publication of the '*Schools Council Working Paper 36 – Religious Education in Secondary Schools*' being seen as a key moment of transformation.[21]

Enriching understandings of how this adoption of the Study of World Religions became possible is important for a number of reasons. By understanding better how certain practices become adopted, a more nuanced, complex, and fine-grained picture of the present is built (how did we get here?), which offers to inform, not just policy direction (where we might go?), but also strategies of implementation (how we might get there?). The approach can also prevent the repetition of past errors (haven't we been here before?).

It is important to emphasize at this point that, within the context of this study, the phrase 'became possible' has a very specific meaning. Before a practice can become adopted, it must first become possible. In exploring the circumstances in which a particular practice becomes possible, one is asking: how did this practice become possible at this particular point? Why was it not possible before? Were there constraints that had prevented this practice from developing which, by being lifted, create new 'historic circumstances of possibility',[22] in which the previously impossible becomes possible? The use of the term 'constraints' here is problematic, and highlights a disonnance between Foucault's theoretical framing and his practice. In using the term 'constraints', it might be understood that the new practice was always *possible*, but prevented from being taken up (that is to say, it was always possible in principle, but not in practice) due to the 'constraints' that acted on it. However, in his examples, it is clear that Foucault understands the process in a more strongly emergent sense; the process of the development and adoption of new practices relates to the addition of new elements being added to those existing, which enables the new practice to develop and be adopted. (The relationship between Focault's theoretical framing, his exemplars, and emergent theory is fascinating, but beyond the scope of this study.)

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[20] J.G. Priestley, 'Agreed Syllabuses: Their history and development in England and Wales 1944-2004'. In M. de Souza, K. Engebretson, G. Durka, R. Jackson & A. McGrady (eds), International Handbook of the Religious, Moral & Spiritual Dimensions in Education. Part 2, (Dordrecht: Springer, 2006): 1012; see also L.P. Barnes, 'The 2007 Birmingham Agreed Syllabus for Religious Education: A New Direction for Statutory Religious Education in England and Wales.' *Journal of Beliefs and Values* 29, no. 1 (2008): 75-83.

[21] Schools Council, *Working Paper 36*. See Chapter 4 for a more detailed discussion.

[22] The term is used by Foucault, (Michel Foucault and Anthony Nazzaro, 'History, Discourse and Discontinuity.' *Salmagundi* 20, Psychological Man: Approaches to an Emergent Social Type (1972): 245).

Here then, the term 'became possible' relates to the addition of new elements which enable something to manifest; this manifestation becomes possible in principle where previously in principle it was not possible. Thus, the study is not simply the tracing backwards of a linear sequence, rather it is searching for the point at which that which had not been possible became possible, and investigating that change in thinking. In short, the study attempts to describe the 'bits and pieces that had to be in place to allow something else to become possible'.[23]

There has been some analysis of the change in English RE, mostly undertaken as historical analysis of policy development and classroom practice. For example, there is some suggestion that this adoption of the Study of World Religions grew, in part at least, from a political and public response to rising immigration.[24] At the time, the Schools Council acknowledged that there was a desire amongst pupils to be introduced to other religions,[25] and that '[t]he arrival of non-Christian religious groups in Britain reinforces a case that has already been argued on educational grounds'.[26] However, there has been very little investigation of the theological background to these developments,[27] despite the dominance of the Church in the provision, and development, of English RE. Rather than considering how it became possible for certain practices to become adopted, such theological investigation as has been carried out often centres on the lives of key individuals focusing on their actions, and providing, in essence, a narrative reconstruction of events.[28] These existing studies also tend to overlook or underplay some key theological developments that offer to contextualize how the adoption of the Study of World Religions in English RE became possible. For example, discussions on the relationship between Christianity and non-Christian religions have long been the focus of attention of the

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[23] Gavin Kendall and Gary Wickham. *Using Foucault's Methods*. (London; Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1999): 37.

[24] For example, Freathy and Parker, *Ethnic diversity, Christian hegemony*. See also Ian Grosvenor, *Assimilating Identities: Racism and Educational Policy in Post 1945 Britain*. (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1997).

[25] Schools Council, *Working Paper 36*, 61.

[26] Schools Council, *Working Paper 36*, 61.

[27] Terence Copley, 'Is UK religious education failing to address its own cultural context?' In Rune Larsson & C. Gustavsson (eds), *Towards a European Perspective on Religious Education*, (Skellefteå, Sweden: Artos & Norma, 2004): 80-89; Terence Copley, *Teaching Religion*. (Exeter: Exeter University Press, 2008): 11 ff.; Freathy and Parker *The Necessity of Historical Enquiry*, 229; Geoff Teece, *A religious approach to religious education: the implications of John Hick's religious interpretation of religion for religious education*. (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Birmingham, 2010): 59.

[28] For example, Dennis Bates, 'Ecumenism and Religious Education between the Wars: The Work of J.H.Oldham', *British Journal of Religious Education* 8, no.3, (1986): 130-9; 'Christianity, Culture and Other Religions (Part 1): The Origins of the Study of World Religions in English Education.' *British Journal of Religious Education* 17, no. 1 (1994): 5-18; 'Christianity, Culture and Other Religions (Part 2): F H Hilliard, Ninian Smart and the 1988 Education Reform Act.' *British Journal of Religious Education* 18, no. 2 (1996): 85-102. See also Teece, *A religious approach to religious education*.

Christian ecumenical movement,[29] which is concerned with achieving greater unity and co-operation between denominationally separated groups within Christianity.

Such ecumenical theories and ideas transcend national boundaries and thus have the potential to influence even the most nationally-orientated educational systems. However, many existing historical studies of RE, including those centering on England, are written from within national boundaries thus further complicating any engagement with ecumenical developments. The full implications of the rich diversity of material that resulted from these national and international meetings have hitherto been overlooked in the historiography of English Religious Education.

It is vital that any engagement with present debates over the nature and purpose of RE should take the fullest possible account of the background, history and development of the subject.[30] However, in this regard, the historical methods currently being used are problematic. Their focus on character studies and narrative reconstructions of what happened does not place sufficient emphasis on how it became possible for new practices become adopted; they focus instead on the fact *that* they became adopted, and the consequences of their adoption.

Such an analysis therefore overlooks the fact that things could have been otherwise, that certain bifurcations may have been entirely arbitrary (acausal), meaning that the 'new' practice was not inevitable, and could have been different. Not only does this reframe how we might look at how current practice became possible, it also changes the way we look at the possible futures. Moreover, by focusing on the actions and activities of individuals, such studies overlook wider discourses, ideas, and systems of thought and their complex interactions, in particular taking insufficient account of the inter-relationships between ecumenical and educational discourses in relation to developments in RE. In addition, many of the existing historiographies of English RE take specific Acts of Parliament as their starting points (often 1944, sometimes 1870), rather than tracing the origin of a practice to the point of its inception.

To address these lacunae, I have developed a new method, Statement Archaeology, which is a systematic operationalization of Michel Foucault's historical approach. I have deployed this new method in relation to previously unutilized primary sources, to explore, describe, and contextualize the multiple mechanisms by which theological developments

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[29] Nationally at Swanwick (1931); Leicester (1972); Birmingham (1974); and internationally at Edinburgh (1910); Jerusalem (1928); Oxford (1937); Uppsala (1968); and Addis Ababa (1971).

[30] John Tosh, *The Pursuit of History - Aims, Methods and New Directions in the Study of Modern History*, Second ed. (London: Longman, 1991).

could have influenced the development of RE, focusing on the nature of the relationships between international and national ecumenical discourses and the development of RE curricula. In doing so, this study seeks to make an original contribution to knowledge, firstly by making a contribution to methodological knowledge, which in turn establishes the importance of being attentive to ecumenical discourses.

In the remainder of this chapter, I will establish the territory in which this research is located, firstly setting out in more detail the context of the work, covering RE in England and identifying its unique position. Then, I will describe the nature and significance of the research, highlighting two particular lacunae in the existing historical analysis. In response, I will set out the research objectives and key research question, and demonstrate coherence between my positioning as a researcher and the methods I have adopted. Finally, I will set out the structure of the remainder of the thesis.

1.1   Religious Education in England

In order to position this study appropriately, it is valuable to undertake a brief survey of the wider context of Religious Education, considering how RE has been situated in the school curriculum, the purposes of RE, the unique position of RE and the recent history of the subject in the English education system. By necessity, what results will be a series of 'snapshots' rather than a comprehensive and detailed account; many of the themes set out are developed at more length later in the thesis, but these 'snapshots' serve to enable the reader to appreciate what follows with sufficient understanding of the relevant issues in the field to see the project as a coherent whole.

1.1.1   *Religious Education*

Whether religion is an appropriate subject for the school curriculum is a long debated and controversial issue.[31] Some countries, such as USA,[32] and France,[33] have resolved these

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[31] For example, in Kallioniemi and Ubani, *Religious Education*, the authors make the statement that 'Internationally there has been much active discussion about what is the function and the most suitable solution for RE in public schools in multicultural, post-modern societies' (p177).

[32] Suzanne Rosenblith and Scott Priestman, 'Problematizing Religious Truth: Implications for Public Education', *Educational Theory* 54, no.4 (2004): 365-380. Rosenblith suggests that Religion should be included on the curriculum of schools in the US, in part 'given the concerted attention our public schools have paid to multiculturalism during the past several decades, it is quite striking that the rhetoric and ideology of tolerance and respect have not, to a significant degree, extended to religion' (367).

tensions by prohibiting RE from the state-funded school curriculum altogether.[34] However, in a number of European countries RE has remained a core element of the school curriculum. Within education systems where RE is included, it tends to take one of two forms;[35] the term can been used to describe a 'whole educational process and through it the transmission of religious beliefs and values'.[36] However, this study focuses on the other understanding, whereby it is used to describe 'subjects or elements of the curriculum that are concerned with religion'.[37]

It was this second type of RE that was introduced to English state-maintained schools under provisions of the 1944 Education Act.[38] The 1943 White paper that led to the Act, under the heading '*Educational Reconstruction*' records that:

> There has been a very general wish, not confined to representatives of the Churches, that religious education should be given a more defined place in the life and work of the schools, springing from the desire to revive the spiritual and personal values in our society and in our national tradition. The church, the family, the local community and the teacher—all have their part to play in imparting religious instruction to the young.[39]

Responding to the totalitarian regimes of the time in other parts of Europe,[40] the introduction of compulsory Religious Education was seen as a way of developing 'good citizens'.[41] In short, at this point, to be a good citizen was to be a Christian citizen; thus the inclusion of teaching about Christianity in state sponsored schools was considered wholly

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[33] For example, Jean-Paul Willaime, 'Religious Education in French Schools'. In Martin Rothgangel, Robert Jackson and Martin Jäggle (eds). *Religoius Education at Schools in Europe Part 2: Western Europe,* (Vienna: Vienna University Press, 2014): 99-119. Also Rob Freathy, 'Religious Education.' In *The Routledge International Encyclopedia of Education.* Edited by G McCulloch and David Crook. (Abingdon: Routledge, 2008): 491.

[34] Freathy, *Religious Education.*

[35] Freathy, *Religious Education.*

[36] Freathy, *Religious Education,* 490.

[37] Freathy, *Religious Education,* 491.

[38] For a detailed discussion of the religious clauses of the 1944 Act, see, for example, M.R. Behenna, '*The Significance of Canon E.F. Hall as General Secretary of the National Society in the Negotiations between the Church of England and the Government on the Clauses of the 1944 Education Act concerning Denominational Religious Education and Church Schools.*' (University of Exeter; Unpublished MPhil Thesis, 2000).

[39] Board of Education, *Educational Reconstruction*, (London: HMSO, 1943): §36.

[40] For example: White, *Should religious education be a compulsory subject?*; James Arthur, 'Christian Commentary and Education 1930-1960', *History of Education* 41, no.3, (2012): 339-359.

[41] For example: Dennis Bates, '*The Nature and Place of Religion in English State Education c.1900 – c.1944 with Special Reference to Conceptions of the Relation of Religion to Education and the Development of Christian Education c.1920 – c.1944.*' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Lancaster, September, 1976); Freathy, *Religious Education*; Liam Gearon, *Religious Education and Citizenship, A report on Research and Pedagogy, with Curriculum Guidance for Initial Teacher Training*, (unpublished report, University of Plymouth, 2009).

appropriate.[42] However, as will be seen in more detail later, during the 1960s and 1970s the content of RE changed, and moved towards a wider study, encompassing other religions as well as Christianity.

1.1.2   *The unique position of English RE*

In England, compulsory RE was introduced under the 1944 Education Act. Having developed at a particular intersection of educational, ecclesiological and societal influences, RE holds a unique position in the curriculum of English schools, and as a consequence it has a religious, educational and political importance.[43]

In appreciating the position occupied by RE in the curriculum of English schools, it is important to first understand the significant differences between England and other areas of Great Britain. Scottish education, including RE, is legislated for separately from England, Wales and Northern Ireland; in addition the Church context in Scotland is significantly different from England, following a Presbyterian structure as a result of a Church history that was strongly influenced by the Calvinist Reformation.[44] Welsh education is covered by the same legislation as England,[45] and whilst Wales has a broadly similar Church history to England, the Church of Wales was disestablished in 1920,[46] meaning that the current relationship between Church and State is significantly different in nature from the English context. Again, this affects understandings of RE. Education in Northern Ireland is subject to separate legislation and different structures of local management to England, Wales and Scotland.[47]

A number of issues combine to situate RE in England as unique and complex. First, between 1944 and the introduction of the National Curriculum following the Education Reform Act, 1988 (discussed later), RE was the only compulsory subject in

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[42] For example: S.J.D Green, 'The 1944 Education Act: A Church-State Perspective', *Parliamentary History* 19, no.1, (2000): 148-164; Stephen Parker, Rob Freathy, and Jonathan Doney, 'Professionalizing Religious Education in England', in preparation.

[43] L.P. Barnes, 'The Misrepresentation of Religion in Modern British (Religious) Education', *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 54, no.4, (2006): 395-411; J. Watson, 'Educating for Citizenship—the Emerging Relationship Between Religious Education and Citizenship Education', *British Journal of Religious Education* 26, no. 3 (2004): 259-271; Department for Children, Schools and Families (DCSF) *Guidance on the duty to promote community cohesion*, (London: DSCF, 2007); Department for Children, Schools and Families (DCSF). *Religious Education in English Schools: Non-statutory Guidance 2010.* (Nottingham: DCSF, 2010).

[44] For example, Great Britain, *Education (Scotland) Act* , Elizabeth II c.44, (1980). See also, Marjorie Cruickshank, *Church and State in English Education 1870 to the Present day*, (London: Macmillan & Co, 1963).

[45] For example, Great Britain, *Education Act*, 7&8 Geo.6 c.31, (1944); Great Britain, *Education Reform Act,* Elizabeth II. c. 40, (1988); Great Britain, *Education Act,* Elizabeth II. c. 21, (2011).

[46] Great Britain, *Welsh Church Act*, Geo.V, c.91, (1914).

[47] For example; Northern Ireland, *Education Act (Northern Ireland),* c.3 (1947); Northern Ireland, *Education (Northern Ireland) Act,* c.13, (1978).

English schools. By law, it still has to be provided for each pupil (except those who are withdrawn by their parents) in every state-maintained school that does not have a specific religious affiliation. Second, since 1870, Religious Education in such schools has been non-denominational. Third, RE remains the only school subject from which parents are afforded the right to withdraw their child(ren),[48] although how long this remains the case is a matter of current debate.[49] Finally, RE is the only curriculum area to have locally determined content. Since 1944 each Local Education Authority (LEA) has been required to produce or adopt an Agreed Syllabus for RE through an Agreed Syllabus Conference (ASC) - supported by a Standing Advisory Committee for Religious Education (SACRE) - comprising representatives from four groups, identified as:

> (a) such religious denominations as, in the opinion of the authority, ought, having regard to the circumstances of the area, to be represented;
>
> (b) except in the case of Wales or Monmouthshire, the Church of England;
> (c) such associations representing teachers as, in the opinion of the authority, ought, having regard to the circumstances of the area, to be represented; and
> (d) the [Local Education] authority.[50]

In order for a Syllabus to be accepted, it has to be supported by all four groupings, each of which has one vote. The Education Reform Act, 1988, strengthened the legislative framework within which these Committees would work,[51] requiring each Local Authority (LA) to establish a Standing Advisory Committee on Religious Education (SACRE).[52] Thus, local determination was maintained despite the introduction, under the 1988 Act, of a National Curriculum for England and Wales.

The local determination of content in RE, in theory at least, allows the content of RE in a particular area to reflect the religious diversity within that same area; in that respect locally determined content for RE might be considered an appropriate response to growing religious diversity. However, in practice, many Locally Agreed Syllabuses are very similar to

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[48] Great Britain, *Education Act*, 7&8 Geo.6 c.31, (1944); Great Britain, *Education Reform Act,* Elizabeth II. c. 40, (1988); Great Britain, *Education Act,* Elizabeth II. c. 21, (2011).

[49] Clarke and Woodhead, in *A New Settlement: Religion and Belief in Schools*, suggest that the right to parental withdrawal should be dropped.

[50] Great Britain, *Education Act*, 7&8 Geo.6 c.31, (1944), Schedule 5.

[51] Hansard, HL Debate 18 April 1988, vol 495, col 1213.

[52] ERA, 1988, Section 11.

each other in terms of content. In earlier years, it was common practice for some LAs to adopt the Syllabus of another area.[53]

More recently, especially since the publication of model Syllabuses (1994),[54] a non-statutory framework (2004),[55] and non-statutory guidance (2010),[56] Locally Agreed Syllabuses tend to cover similar content, following the patterns set out in these documents. However, these are not always followed, with some ASCs acting to devise Syllabuses that directly challenge the national guidance.[57] Such actions have contributed to debates over whether the content of the RE syllabus should be locally, regionally or nationally determined.[58]

1.1.3   *Current debates in English RE*

On a wider scale, the inclusion of RE in the curriculum of English schools remains a contested issue, with the revisionist arguments of Phillip Barnes and Andrew Wright serving to exemplify some of the current debates.[59] They suggest that the current paradigm of RE based on the 'post-confessional' study of World Religions is no longer sustainable or appropriate,[60] and claim that a new approach to RE is required. Wright proposes, under the heading of 'Critical Religious Education' (CRE), a combination of the development of pupils' personal spiritual development with a critical assessment of religious truth claims.[61]

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[53] See, for example, T. Copley, 'Rediscovering the Past: Writings on Religious Education in Religion in Education Quarterly, 1934-39, Raise Some Questions for Today's Religious Educators', *British Journal of Religious Education* 20, no.2 (1998): 80-9. See also, Section 2.4.1 starting on page 86 below. Note that this practice persists.

[54] Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (QCA) *Model Syllabuses for Religious Education 1: Living Faiths Today*. (London: QCA, 1994); Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (QCA) *Model Syllabuses for Religious Education 2: Questions and Teachings*. (London: QCA, 1994).

[55] Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (QCA), *Religious Education - the Non-statutory National Framework*. (London: QCA, 2004).

[56] Department for Children, Schools and Families (DCSF). *Religious Education in English Schools: Non-statutory Guidance 2010*. (Nottingham: DCSF, 2010).

[57] Birmingham City Council, *Agreed Syllabus for Religious Education*, (Birmingham: City Council, 2007). See also Phillip Barnes. 'The 2007 Birmingham Agreed Syllabus for Religious Education: A New Direction for Statutory Religious Education in England and Wales.' *Journal of Beliefs & Values* 29, no. 1 (2008): 75-83.

[58] Ofsted, *Making Sense of Religion*; Dilwyn Hunt, 'Why Gandalf Doesn't Pick Up the Ring: The Case for Keeping Local Control of RE.' *REsource* 30, no. 2 (2008): 12-14.

[59] For an introduction, see: L.P Barnes and A. Wright, 'Romanticism, representations of religion and critical religious education', *British Journal of Religious Education*, vol.28, no.1, (2006): 65-77; L.P. Barnes, 'The Misrepresentation of Religion in Modern British (Religious) Education', *British Journal of Educational Studies* 54, no.4, (2006): 395-411.

[60] For example, L.P. Barnes, 'Developing a new post-liberal paradigm for British religious education', *Journal of Beliefs & Values* 28, no. 1, (2007): 17-32; L.P. Barnes, 'The 2007 Birmingham Agreed Syllabus for Religious Education: A New Direction for Statutory Religious Education in England and Wales.' *Journal of Beliefs and Values* 29, no. 1 (2008): 75-83.

[61] A. Wright, *Spirituality and education*, (Abingdon: RoutledgeFalmer, 2000).

Others argue that RE should not be included in schools at all. John White, for example, argues that the grounds that once justified RE as a compulsory subject are no longer valid, and therefore compulsory RE is no longer justifiable.[62] At the heart of White's thesis appears to be the view that the justification for RE based on its 'perceived importance as a foundation for civic unity' in the shadow of totalitarian regimes across Europe and Russia is no longer valid.[63]

Although the totalitarian regimes of the late 1930s and early 1940s are much less of an immediate threat to our society, there is a renewed emphasis in Government policy on developing inter-religious understanding—through RE—as a way to reduce religious fundamentialism and religious extremism, especially in the context of the development of Islamic State (ISIS) and events such as the Charlie Hebdo attack in Paris in 2015.

In the wake of the so called 'Trojan Horse' episode,[64] Lord Nash wrote to schools in England, highlighting the role that RE has 'in promoting social cohesion and the virtues of respect and empathy, which are vitally important in our diverse society', and suggesting that 'inappropriate religious education teaching and a distorted school ethos served to undermine fundamental British values'.[65] Although the term 'British Values' has been much used, it has not been defined. Regardless of this, the Department for Education issued guidance in November 2014 on the promotion of British Values.[66] Amongst other things, this guidance asserts that

> It is expected that pupils should understand that while different people may hold different views about what is 'right' and 'wrong', all people living in England are subject to its law. The school's ethos and teaching, which schools should make parents aware of, should support the rule of English civil and criminal law and schools should not teach anything that undermines it. **If schools teach about religious law, particular care should be taken to explore the relationship between state and**

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[62] John White, 'Should Religious Education be a Compulsory School Subject?', *British Journal of Religious Education*, 26, no.2, (2004): 151-64.

[63] White, *Should Religious Education be a Compulsory School Subject,* 153.

[64] See House of Commons Education Committee, *Extremism in Schools: The Trojan Horse Affair, Seventh Report of Session 2014-15.* (London: HMSO, 2015). Available from URL: http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201415/cmselect/cmeduc/473/47302.htm last accessed April 4th 2015.

[65] Letter from Nash to SACRE, 7 Jan 2015, 1. Available from URL: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/353107/Open_letter_to_Chairs_-_Lord_Nash.pdf, last accessed 1st Nov 2014.

[66] URL: https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/promoting-fundamental-british-values-through-smsc last accessed 19 Jan 2015. RE has been under particular scrutiny in respect of British Values, with anecdotal examples of Ofsted focusing on this during inspections. Whilst the instrumentalization of RE in this way is contested and debated, materials have been produced which support the development of RE in this direction, see for example, Lat Blaylock, Kate Christopher and Fiona Moss, *Religious Education and British Values: Issues, Opportunities and Resources,* (Birmingham: RE Today Services, 2015).

> **religious law. Pupils should be made aware of the difference between the law of the land and religious law.**

The guidance also promotes the development of tolerance and harmony between different cultural traditions by enabling students to acquire an appreciation of and respect for their own and other cultures.

So there appears to be a desire by government to use RE in this 'instrumental' way, to develop national identity and tolerance of 'the other', and to prevent religious extremism. Yet, on the other hand, there is an ongoing marginalization of the subject.

Recent work by the National Association of Teachers of Religious Education (NATRE) shows that, in many schools, RE teaching is being marginalized.[67] The exclusion of RE from the English Baccalaureate (EBacc) has been seen by many as an attempt to devalue RE, and there is anecdotal evidence that this exclusion led to a reduced number of pupils sitting exams in the subject at 16 and 18.[68] Further, whilst Academy schools are not bound to follow the Local Agreed Syllabus, they remain legally obliged to provide RE teaching, thus sending a confusing message. These events, in combination, suggest that there is a confused national policy on the inclusion of RE. Historically, there appears to be a reluctance of Governments to act on the issue of RE; former HMI Alan Brine, claims that 'a full review of the legal position of RE' has been recommended three times by Ofsted,[69] yet no action towards this has been taken by the DfE.[70]

Within this tension, it seems that the instrumentalization of RE as a tool against religious fundamentalism and extremism is the result of simplified thinking. As Derrida says, 'one shouldn't complicate things for the pleasure of complicating, but one should also

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[67] NATRE have undertaken a series of annual surveys on the impact of the EBacc on RE since 2011. They are available from URL: NATRE.org.uk/resources, last visited 1st June 2015.

[68] These comments appear to relate to Short Course RE, rather than Full Course. The latest NATRE survey (2013) shows a decline in the number of Short Course entrants, but a rise in the number being entered into Full Course. This is further complicated by the removal of the Short Course qualification from the list of qualifications schools can use to aggregate their average points score. The survey suggests that a number of schools are now requiring the Full Course to be taught in the time allocated previously to the Short Course, an issue with further exemplifies a marginalization of RE. (NATRE, 2013 Survey on the Impact of the EBacc. On-line, URL: http://www.natre.org.uk/uploads/Free%20Resources/2013%20NATRE%20Survey%20on%20the%20Impact%20of%20the%20EBacc%20on%20RE.pdf, last accessed 1st June 2015).

[69] Ofsted, *Making Sense of Religion*, (London: Ofsted, 2007); Ofsted, *Transforming Religious Education*, (London: Ofsted, 2010); Ofsted, *Religious Education: Realising the Potential*, (London: Ofsted, 2013).

[70] Alan Brine, *The Legal Muddle That Remains the Burden of RE - And Going A Little Crazy*. Blog entry, Jan 14th 2015. URL: http://www.reonline.org.uk/news/alans-blog-the-legal-muddle-that-remains-the-burden-of-re-and-going-a-little-crazy-alan-brine/, last accessed Jan 15th 2015. Brine was lead inspector for RE prior to his retirement.

never simplify or pretend to be sure of such simplicity where there is none. If things were simple, word would have gotten around'.[71]

Supranational discourses have been overlooked in existing analysis of the nature and purpose of RE. Consequently the ways in which educational practices are shaped by powerful—but currently invisible—discourses are overlooked. By exposing these currently invisble discourses, hidden processes are revealed, and their operation can be discussed and debated, and due attention can be paid to them, both in understanding how we have got to where we are, but also, in terms of where we might go from here.

1.2   The Significance of the Research

A historical enquiry that reveals and exposes the effects of supranational discourses in local contexts, and focuses on how what happened *became possible*, helps to develop a more nuanced understanding and a more fine-grained picture of *what is happening* that reflects the complexity of the situation,[72] highlighting 'how traces of the past are embedded in contemporary practices, discourses and experiences'.[73] This offers to illuminate present discussions centring on the (de)-marginalization of RE, the confusion over the nature and purpose of the subject, the impact of wider education policy on RE and the place of RE in the curriculum of schools in plural societies.[74] This more comprehensive picture of the present, then informs 'how we might live better in the present and the future'.[75] Furthermore, such a 'rear-view mirror' approach can prevent 'avoidable errors, not least in the re-invention of the wheel (a potentially flawed wheel) by educational reformers ignorant of the fate of previous similar schemes'.[76] In short, developing historical understandings of how contemporary RE has developed can illuminate longer-term, broader, and philosophical issues, add depth and range to our understanding of the present, temper a tendency to see contemporary challenges as entirely novel,[77] and provide us with hope:

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[71] Jacques Derrida, *Limited Inc,* (Illinois, Northwestern University Press, 1977): 119.

[72] John Tosh, *The Pursuit of History - Aims, methods and new directions in the study of modern history*, Second ed. (London: Longman, 1991): 15.

[73] Penny Tinkler and Carolyn Jackson, 'The past in the present: historicising contemporary debates about gender and education'. *Gender and Education* 26, no.1 (2014): 72.

[74] Office for Standards in Education (Ofsted), *Religious Education - Realising the Potential* (Manchester: Ofsted, 2013); All Party Parliamentary Group for Religious Education, *RE: The Truth Unmasked: The Supply of and Support for Religious Education Teachers* (London: All Party Parliamentary Group for Religious Education and The Religious Education Council of England and Wales, 2013).

[75] Richard Aldrich, *Lessons from history of education*, (London: Routledge, 2006): 2.

[76] Aldrich, *Lessons from history of education,* 2-3.

[77] Rob Freathy and Stephen Parker, 'The necessity of historical inquiry in educational research: The case of Religious Education', *British Journal of Religious Education* 32, no. 3 (2010): 229-243.

'[t]here is, perhaps, no more liberating influence than the knowledge that things have not always been as they are and need not remain so'.[78]

However, whilst the established narrative of development on RE has been widely promulgated and discussed, key areas of research have been overlooked. Rob Freathy and Stephen Parker have argued that, whilst there has been a great deal of historical analysis, it has mostly been undertaken from the point of view of pedagogical and curriculum theory or the development of national policy.[79]

1.2.1   The lack of a theological assessment

Throughout the development of RE, Christianity has held a dominant position. Prior to 1870 Education Act, the Christian Churches provided most free education in England. The involvement of the Church of England in negotiating the Religious Education clauses of the 1944 Education Act is well documented,[80] and the development of the 1988 Education Reform Act was punctuated by Christian comment and debate,[81] resulting in the provisions of the 1944 Act pertaining to religious education being strengthened, and the primacy of Christianity amongst faith communities in England being made explicit.[82] There has also been a Christian dominance in curriculum development; The Schools Council, in 1971, pointed out that many of the Agreed Syllabuses of the 1960s 'remain Christian documents written by Christians and aiming at Christian education. Moreover their content is still predominantly biblical'.[83] In his analysis of the situation, Bates records that 'the leading proponents of the objective study of major religions other than Christianity in Theology and Religious Education were 'Christian theologians and educationalists'.[84] Furthermore, a significant number of the inter-disciplinary organizations concerned with RE have

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[78] Brian Simon, 'The History of education'. In J. W. Tibble (ed) *The study of education*, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966): 92.

[79] Freathy and Parker, *The necessity of historical inquiry*, 253; see also Dennis Bates, 'Christianity, Culture and Other Religions (Part 2): F H Hilliard, Ninian Smart and the 1988 Education Reform Act.' *British Journal of Religious Education* 18, no. 2 (1996): 85-102; Penny Thompson, *Whatever Happened to Religious Education?* (Cambridge: The Lutterworth Press, 2004); Barnes and Wright, *Romanticism, representations of religion and critical religious education*; Copley, *Teaching Religion*.

[80] For example: Marjorie Cruickshank, *Church and State in English Education 1870 to the Present day*, (London: Macmillan & Co, 1963). Wedderspoon, A.G. (ed). *Religious Education 1944-1984,* First ed. (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 1966); Thompson, *Whatever happened to Religious Education,* 75.

[81] See Bates, *Christianity, Culture and Other Religions (Part 2)*, 96 ff.

[82] 'an agreed syllabus shall reflect the fact that the religious traditions in Great Britain are in the main Christian' (Great Britain, *Education Reform Act,* Elizabeth II. c. 40, (1988): Section 8 (3)).

[83] Schools Council, *Working Paper 36,* 32.

[84] Dennis Bates, 'Christianity, Culture and Other Religions (Part 1): The Origins of the Study of World Religions in English Education.' *British Journal of Religious Education* 17, no. 1 (1994): 6.

Christian foundations.[85] However, despite these strong links, there has been very little investigation of the theological background to the developing nature of RE.[86]

The theologically orientated investigations that have been carried out tend to focus on the lives of key individuals, examining in detail their role in what happened, and, in essence, setting out narrative reconstructions of what happened rather than asking how the change became possible.[87] This focus leads to the marginalization of any rigorous exploration of theological discourses and networks within their wider intellectual context, and fail to consider how it became possible for certain practices to become adopted. Consequently, such studies overlook or underplay some key theological developments that offer to contextualize how the adoption of the Study of World Religions in English RE became possible.

1.2.2 The overlooked ecumenical background

One area thus overlooked is the Christian ecumenical movement. Deriving from the Greek term *'οἰκουμένη'* meaning 'whole inhabited world', the ecumenical movement is concerned with, and acts to engender, greater co-operation and unity between disparate Christian denominations that are separate due to differences in practice, doctrine and history.

Not only were the 1960s and 1970s the furnace in which modern English Religious Education was forged; significant developments in the field of Christian Ecumenism also occurred. On-going discussions about the relationship between Christianity and those of other worldviews began to bear fruit during the 1960s and 1970s. Through the work of the supranational bodies of the Catholic Church and the World Council of Churches dialogue expanded between Christians and those of other worldviews (both religious and non-religious); increasingly this was seen as a legitimate activity of the Christian Church, especially in the light of *Nostra Aetate* (Second Vatican Council 1964), and the World Council of Churches (established 1948).

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[85] Including: The National Society, Student Christian Movement (SCM) and the Christian Education Movement (CEM) amongst others.

[86] Although absent across a range of literature, some writers explicitly highlight this, including: Copley, *Teaching Religion,* 11 ff.; Freathy and Parker, *The necessity of historical enquiry,* 229; Geoff Teece, *A religious approach to religious education: the implications of John Hick's religious interpretation of religion for religious education.* (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Birmingham, 2010): 59.

[87] For example, Schools Council, *Working Paper 36*; R. Freathy and S. Parker, 'Secularists, Humanists and religious education: religious crisis and curriculum change in England, 1963-1975', *History of Education* 42, no. 2, (2013): 222-56. Also Bates, *Christianity, Culture and Other Religions (Part 1) and (Part 2)*; Teece, *A religious approach to religious education.*

However, to date, in highlighting the change from Christian Confessionalism towards a 'post-confessional' multi-faith approach during the 1960s and 1970s, the existing historiography of English (RE) fails to take account of these ecumenical developments.

Rather these (apparently parallel) developments in ecumenism and education have been discussed in isolation and questions about how they might be related have been neglected. The transition from the 'confessional' study of Christianity to the non-confessional, non-proselytizing Study of World Religions in RE, references to ecumenical documents within the educational material,[88] together with specific educational developments, (including, but not limited to the establishment of the Shap Working Party on World Religions in Education (est. 1969),[89] the inclusion of a rationale for the Study of World Religions in the Church of England sponsored Durham Report,[90] the 1971 'Interfaith seminar convened jointly by the Department of Education and Science and the National Society',[91] Interfaith conferences organised by British Council of Churches (BCC) and The World Council of Faiths (WCF) in Leicester, 1972, and Birmingham, 1973,[92] and the establishment of the RE Council in 1973 all take on a new significance when read against the ecumenical developments of the time. Yet, existing approaches fail to adequately explain relationships between developments in the different discourses; the necessary exploration of the wider intellectual and theological discourses and networks that would allow the development and transmission of these ideas to be scrutinized remains lacking.[93]

A more nuanced understanding of these ecumenical issues would enrich our knowledge and understanding of RE's past (as seen above) and potentially inform current debates, not least by uncovering the theoretical origins of religious educators' basic assumptions, and clarifying the historical and contemporary meanings of key terms, such as multi-faith, immigration, ecumenical, and inter-faith, that are frequently used

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[88] For example, citation of key ecumenical documents in Schools Council, *Working Paper 36*, which is discussed at more length in Section 4.4, starting on page 210 below.

[89] See, for example, Thompson, *Whatever happened to Religious Education,* who records that 'A conference was held in 1969 at the Shap Wells Hotel in Westmorland with the title 'Comparative Religion in Education… Shap's concern was to broaden the curriculum of schools and colleges to include the study of religions other than (but not excluding) Christianity. At first its focus was on the study of comparative religion, sometimes known as CSR, but this was dropped in favour of world religions.' (56-7).

[90] Ian Ramsey (ed), *The fourth R. The Durham Report on Religious Education*, (London: National Society and SPCK, 1970): §264.

[91] The National Archive (TNA), EJ 1/210 - *Schools Council for Curriculum and Examinations. Agenda and Minutes. RE Committee. Meetings 1-44. 1965 Oct 1 - 1979 Oct 11*: Minutes of meeting 17th Feb 1971.

[92] Braybrooke, M. *A Wider Vision*, (Oxford: One World, 1996).

[93] Parker, Freathy, and Doney, *Professionalizing Religious Education in England.*

interchangeably. An understanding of how historical developments have led to the present position is vital within the context of understanding how religions are included in the education system of a secular state.

1.3   About the Research and the Researcher

The objective of this study is to undertake a rigorous historical enquiry which responds to the key lacunae identified by investigating the broader, complexly networked, discourses created circumstances in which the adoption of the Study of World Religions became possible in English RE, with a clear focus on ecumenical discourse. Rather than being chronologically bound to a specific period, the work is chronologically centred on the change in English RE during the 1960s and 1970s; thus freedom is retained to include material from any period that is appropriate. The current historiographies are often predicated on a very limited selection of sources.[94] However, previous work undertaken with Rob Freathy and Stephen Parker on their long-term project on the 'hidden history' of RE has revealed a wealth of previously unutilized primary source material. Thus, this study will focus on relevant primary sources from educational and ecumenical sources.

To this end, the following key research question for this study has been devised:

> In what ways does an exploration of ecumenical discourses enrich understandings of how the adoption of the Study of World Religions became possible in English Religious Education during the 1960s and 1970s?

1.3.1   *The study of World Religions – towards a definition*

The decision to adopt the term 'the Study of World Religions', rather than any other, has been far from straightforward. Firstly, the notion of *World Religions* is problematic. The concept appears to be a development of the nineteenth century, when, according to Masuzawa there was a turn away from an 'obsession with the primitive and the original'.[95] He claims that at this point, *World Religions* was used in a Christian-monopolistic manner, citing the publication of John Henry Barrows' *Christianity the World-Religion*, (1897). The first non-Christian religion to be included here was Buddhism,[96] and there was some debate

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94 See more detailed discussion, in Section 2.4.1, starting on page 86 below.

95 Tomoko Masuzawa, *The Invention of World Religions. Or, How European Universalism Was Preserved in the Language of Pluralism*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2005): 13.

96 Masuzawa, *The Invention of World Religions*, 23.

about whether Islam should be included.[97] Masuzawa concludes that the discourse of World Religions is a 'discourse of othering',[98] suggesting that the notion of comparative study of religion(s) is primarily a 'religiously motivated discourse'.[99] In the ecumenical discourse at the turn of the twentieth century, the term *World Religions* does not appear to be used; rather, the world is divided into 'Christian' and 'non-Christian',[100] along geographical, rather than religious lines.[101]

Suzanne Owens highlights the way in which dependence on the 'World Religions paradigm' has 'remodelled [non-Christian religions] according to liberal Western Christian values'.[102] Certainly, the changing frameworks of taxonomy suggest a confusion between religious and ethnic identity. Early European taxonomies were based on the categorization of 'the peoples of the world into four parts … Christians, Jews, Mohammedans (as Muslims were commonly called then), and the rest'. This structure was displaced during the 'early decades of the twentieth century',[103] and replaced with a framework that was based less on religious identity, and more on national identity, so for example, Islam becomes identified as the religion of the Arabs.[104] Thus, although taxonomies have changed, they have tended to be 'articulated from the point of view of the European West',[105] with bipartate (Christian/non-Christian or 'Eastern'/'Western) and tripartite (near East/Asia/Far East or Western/South Asian/Far Eastern) structures being common. Such taxonomies persist in current policy documents; this is illustrated in *'Theology and Religious Studies'* (2007),[106] where the QAA discusses the way in which 'religious studies' 'developed out of oriental studies and the fascination Western scholars found in the discovery of the languages and sacred literature of the East'.[107]

Within the same document, the term 'Theology and Religious Studies' is adopted; however, there is no discussion of what the term means. This foregrounds a further framework of taxonomy that is often overlooked, whereby distinctions are made on the

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[97] Masuzawa, *The Invention of World Religions*, 24.

[98] Masuzawa, *The Invention of World Religions*, 14.

[99] Masuzawa, *The Invention of World Religions*, 22.

[100] World Missionary Conference, *Report of Commission IV: The Missionary Message in Relation to Non-Christian Religions*, (Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson and Ferrier, 1910): 1.

[101] The discussion refers to 'the conflict of faiths in *non-Christian lands.'* (World Missionary Conference, *Report of Commission IV*, 1).

[102] Suzanne Owen, 'The World Religions Paradigm: Time for a Change.' *Arts and Humanities in Higher Education* 10, no. 3 (2011): 253.

[103] Masuzawa, *The Invention of World Religions*, xi.

[104] Masuzawa, *The Invention of World Religions*, xiii.

[105] Masuzawa, *The Invention of World Religions*, 3.

[106] QAA (The Quality Assurance Agency for Higher Education), *Subject Benchmark Statements: Theology and Religious Studies*, (Mansfield: QAA, 2007)

[107] QAA, *Theology and Religious Studies*, §1.8.

basis of titling. Main religions are capitalized (e.g. Christianity, Judaism) but others are not (e.g. shamanism, animism). Further, these 'others' are often compounded with geographical locations (for example, Native American Shamanism). Masuzawa highlights 'that this category in its entirety used to be uniformly called "primitive religions",…but has more recently been variously termed "primal", "preliterate", "tribal", or even "basic religions"'.[108]

The issue of titling epitomizes the view that some religions are more important, and by consequence, more worthy of study. Masuzawa suggests that

> Today, we understand the term "world religions" to be more or less equivalent to 'religions of the world", which is to say, major religions, that is, *those conspicuous-enough religions distinctly and properly identified as now existing in the world.*[109]

This is reflected in current curriculum literature pertaining to English RE. *World Religions* is assumed to be synonymous with the 'six main traditions' (generally taken to mean Christianity, Judaism, Islam, Sikhism, Hinduism and Buddhism).[110] Other religious traditions, whilst sometimes included in the classroom, are not—by implication—considered to be 'main'. Thus, there is the potential for some religious traditions—particularly those considered 'minor'—to be overlooked.

The issue goes beyond the content, and relates also to the naming of the curriculum subject; perhaps comprehension of RE is limited by the language used. In other countries, the name of the subject has changed alongside changes in nature and purpose. For example, in Sweden the name changed in 1962 from *kristendom* (Christianity) to *kristendomskunskap* (knowledge about Christianity); a few years later to *religionskunskap* (knowledge about religion), in 1980 to '*människans frågor inför livet og tillvaron* and *religionskunskap* (human questions in the face of life and existence and knowledge about religion)', and in 1994 it returned to *religionskunskap.*[111]

What lies beneath these issues is a more fundamental issue; 'religion' as a category has been generally left unexamined.[112] It has been 'largely unhistoricized, essentialized, and

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[108] Masuzawa, *The Invention of World Religions*, 4

[109] Masuzawa, *The Invention of World Religions*, 10.

[110] For example, Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (QCA), *Religious Education - the Non-statutory National Framework.* (London: QCA, 2004): 11.

[111] Wanda Alberts, 'The Academic Study of Religions and Integrative Religious Education in Europe.' *British Journal of Religious Education* 32, no. 3 (2010): 276. In Norway too, the name changed. See Section 2.4.3 on page 99 below.

[112] See Fitzgerald, *Playing Language Games and Performing Rituals,* for a detailed analysis of this.

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tacticly presumed immune or inherently resistant to critical analysis'.[113] This tendency is epitomized in the previously mentioned work of Andrew Wright and Philip Barnes. In relation to their proposed *Critical Religious Education* (which is heavily orientated towards a Baskharian critical realist ontology), there are significant internal contradictions. There are, for example, potential difficulties with adopting a realist ontology to engage with, as Wright suggests pupils should, the variety of religious traditions. Traditionally, Western/Christian philosophy has emphasised a single ontology (The Truth) which may be accessible (even if only in part). Wright perpetuates this perspective, suggesting that there is *an* ontology, which can only be known 'later' (mirroring the Christian perspective seen in the Biblical quote 'For now we see only a reflection as in a mirror; then we shall see face to face. Now I know in part; then I shall know fully, even as I am fully known'[114]). Whilst the notion of epistemic relativism goes some way to overcome some of the issues, in doing so it opens up other potential difficulties, including the claim that it proposes that 'no one point of view is more valid than another'.

The key issue in such approaches is that 'the truth' tends to be constructed as a single ontological position, whilst the variety of religious perspectives on truth are seen as a variety of epistemological positions. In short, different religions are perceived as different routes to the same truth.

An alternative, and I would argue, somewhat more appropriate construction, is to consider the different religions as different onto-epistemological positions. Whilst it might *seem* from the 'outside' that different religious worldviews and practices are all attempts to access the same, singular, truth, many adherents of different religions see their chosen approach as 'true' and other approaches as 'false'. Thus, not only are the 'ways of understanding' different, the 'what is being understood' is different.

The term 'teaching' is also problematic; what is really under scrutiny here is the practice of *studying* religion(s) in school. The relationship between teaching and studying is contested and vexed, and it is acknowledged here that they are not the same. However, the reality of life in the classroom must also be acknowledged; in terms of studying religion(s) in school, there is inevitably a significant involvement of teachers in the practice. They support, encourage, facilitate and scaffold the study undertaken by students under their tutelage.

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[113] Masuzawa, *The Invention of World Religions*, 1-2.
[114] 1 Corinthians, Chapter 13, verse 12. New International Version (NIV).

Whilst there are difficulties with the term '*Study of World Religions*', the current alternatives to offer no realistic substitute and to develop an appropriate substitute would be impossible within the scope of this work. Therefore, for the purposes of this work, I have used the term *Study of World Religions* (hereafter SWR) to mean:

> the non-confessional, non-proselytizing, objective, and academic study
> of a range of religious world views from the point of view of developing
> factual knowledge.

Thus I have differentiated it from confessional study (by which I mean an approach to teaching which nurtures children in their own faith),[115] and from proselytizing study (by which I mean an approach which encourages children to convert to a specific faith tradition).

1.3.2   Researcher positioning

On the basis of Wittgenstein's claim that 'whereof one cannot speak, thereof one must remain silent',[116] it is important to find an appropriate vocabulary with which to articulate one's research. Not only are words vital to communication, they are the very means by which ideas and systems of thought are formed before they can be transmitted.[117] A detailed reading, over a long period of time, of theorists including Vygotsky, Bakhtin, Derrida, and Foucault has allowed me to find such a vocabulary, with which I can begin to express the complex, networked, and emergentist way in which I see the world, and with which I can begin to articulate (and develop) my interest in the history and transmission of ideas and systems of thought. Understanding something of this vocabulary, and the way in which I see the world, is key to appreciating the orientation of this study.

In this respect, I have found Foucault's writing to be especially helpful. In framing my research, I would identify myself most closely as following a Foucaultian interpretation

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[115] There are alternative understandings of 'confessional' in the field of RE; Geoff Teece, for example, discusses the varied use of the term, suggesting that 'Hull's description of [confessional] religious education might be preferred; the idea that the subject involves Christian teachers teaching Christian material to eager young Christian youngsters with the expectation that knowledge will be widened and faith deepened'. (Teece, *A religious approach to religious education*, 5. This definition presupposes that a degree of commitment to a faith exists, thus I have differentiated Confessional and Proselytizational.

[116] Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Tractatus Logico Philosophicus* (New York: Cosimo, 2007): §7.

[117] For example, L. Vygotsky, *Mind in society: the development of higher psychological processes*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978); R. Cordon, *Literacy and Learning Through Talk: Strategies for the Primary Classroom*. (Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 2000).

of critical linguistic post-structuralism.[118] However, to self-taxonomise in this way is, to me, anathema. I agree with Foucault, who says:

> I don't feel it necessary to know exactly what I am. The main interest in life is to become someone else you were not in the beginning.[119]

It is necessary here to differentiate critical linguistic post-structuralism from postmodernism (itself, very much a contested term), an umbrella term under which it is frequently, but inappropriately, subsumed.[120]

At the centre of critical linguistic post-structuralism is a concentration on language, with a rejection of 'structuralism' as a way of explaining how language functions.[121] During the 1960s and 1970s a variety of distinct reactions to de Sausserre's work on structural linguistics emerged, predicated on a reconceptualization of the role of language in the construction of reality.[122] Key areas of response included the call for a multi-faceted interpretation of the text, even where this gave rise to significant internal inconsistencies; an idea that was built on the rejection of de Sausserre's dependence on binary oppositions which gives rise to 'an illusory singularity of meaning'.[123]

Claiming that any given text is open to any number of interpretations gives rise to the rejection of the notion of absolute truth, as any given text cannot be constrained to one interpretation.[124] Allied to this is a rejection of all totalizing concepts, such as God. This includes the rejection of the 'self' as defined by Enlightenment empiricism as an objective

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[118] This is explained in more detail, in Section 3.1.3, on page 127 below.

[119] Michel Foucault, quoted in L. Martin, H Gutman and P Hutton (eds), *Technologies of the Self,* (London: Tavistock, 1988): 9.

[120] For example, Evans fails to make a distinction between the two until the 'afterword' to his 'In Defence of History.' (Richard Evans, *In Defence of History,* Revised ed. (London: Granta, 2000)). Similarly, Bayley uses the terms synonymously (Bayly, C. *The Birth of the Modern World, 1780-1914: Global Connections and Comparisons.* (Malden, MA : Blackwell Pub, 2004). Patterson consistently uses the phrase 'post-structuralism and post-modernism', only occasionally undertaking any differentiation, and this generally in terms of specific theorists rather than justifying the difference in terms of theoretical content (Thomas Patterson, 'Post-Structuralism, Post-Modernism: Implications for Historians.' *Social History* 14, no.1, (Jan 1989): 83-88). See also P. Joyce, ('The Return of History: Postmodernism and the Politics of Academic History in Britain', *Past & Present*, 158 (Feb 1998): 212) and K. Passmore, 'Postructuralism and history'. In S. Berger, H. Feldner and K. Passmore (eds), *Writing History: Theory and Practice,* (London: Hodder Education, 2003): 118-140) on subsumation of terms.

[121] Structuralism being an approach especially associated with Ferdinand de Sassure and Claude Levi-Strauss.

[122] Ferdinand de Saussure, *Course in General Linguistics* (Illinois: Open Court, 1983).

[123] John Lye. 'Some Post-Structural Assumptions.' http://www.brocku.ca/english/courses/4F70/poststruct.php (accessed January 1, 2012), p22. See also Deal, William E, and Timothy K Beal. *Theory for Religious Studies.* (New York: Routledge, 2004).

[124] On the development of Nietzschean 'perspectivisim', see Jeffrey Weeks, 'Foucault for Historians', *History Workshop*, no. 14 (Autumn) (1982): 106-119. See also Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge,* (London: Routledge, 1972): 145.

singularity, instead proposing that 'subjects' are constructed through language.[125] Consequently, reality becomes something that is fragmented, tenuous and provisional.

Further, the closed nature of the linguistic system also has a constraining effect on meaning. Language can only be described - and thus critiqued - by using language; 'a text, or piece of historical evidence, cannot be interpreted in relation to an "essential" principle lying outside it'.[126]

Behind many of these responses lies the foundational priority within linguistic post-structuralism of studying both the 'object' and the underlying structures and systems of knowledge that come together to produce the 'object'; thus in some ways, critical linguistic post-structuralism becomes - to an extent - a study of how knowledge is produced, a factor that contributes to the particular usefulness the concept in some areas.

Critical linguistic post-structuralism represents a variety of responses to Structuralism, therefore there is no sense of homogeneity. This perhaps accounts for the variety of reactions to and deployments of it in history. Some theorists go so far as to suggest that critical linguistic post-structuralism is not so much an approach as 'a group of approaches motivated by some common understandings, not all of which will necessarily be shared by every practitioner'.[127] To militate against this homogenizing tendency, some scholars suggests that, for the sake of clarity and the avoidance of possible confusion by, theoretical approaches should be referred to primarily in terms of the key theorist's name.[128]

Within this diversity of response, Derrida and Foucault are often named as key theorists.[129] Whilst there is some debate over their relative contributions towards the development of critical linguistic post-structuralism (and some mistakenly make no differentiation between the two) space here does not allow for a full discussion of their differences and dialogues.[130] Sufficient for our discussion here is to distinguish between them, if nothing else, as an example of diversity within the approaches.[131]

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[125] Weeks, *Foucault for Historians*, 108 for example, discusses Foucault's rejection of Marxism as a totalising concept.

[126] Passmore, *Postructuralism and history*, 123.

[127] For example, Lye, *Post-Structural Assumptions*.

[128] Brown*, Postmodernism for Historians*, 75; Joyce, *The return of History*, 212.

[129] Patterson, *Post-structuralism, post-modernism*, 84.

[130] Evans, *In defence of history*. Also Algis Mickunas, 'Modernity in Postmodernity', *ATHENA* , no. 3 (2006): 9-29.

[131] For a more detailed discussion, see, for example, Zagorin, *History, the Referent, and Narrative*; and Patterson, *Post-structuralism, post-modernism*.

Derrida, who is best described in his own terms as a Deconstructionist, is frequently misunderstood, particularly in terms of the meaning of his statement that 'il n'y a pas de hors-texte' (often translated as 'There is nothing outside the text', but more accurately rendered as 'There is no outside-text').[132] He concentrated on the text in isolation and on the uncertainty of the relationship between words and concepts; for him the ultimate truth was undiscoverable, and in terms of history his view was equally pessimistic: 'the past too is inaccessible, and ... any attempt to write about the past is doomed. What historians would write would be a linguistic construction'.[133]

In contrast, Foucault's development of the approach in relation to history is often elevated as primary.[134] He was concerned with the role of language in relation to social and institutional processes and power, proposing that phenomena are not pre-existent, but are 'constructed' through language.[135] As Catherine Belsey states, 'language intervenes between human beings and their world'.[136]

Further, linguistic post-structuralism is characterised by a certain type of criticality, the doubt that any 'method or theory, discourse or genre, tradition or novelty, has a universal and general claim as the right or privileged form of authoritative knowledge'; all truth claims are suspected of masking and serving particular interests in local, cultural and political struggles.[137] Foucault describes this critique as *problematization*. As Lynn Fendler explains: 'His approach to critique was not to provide answers to social and political problems, but to ask questions about how we think'.[138] It is on this basis that he explores the conditions that lead to different historical systems of thought.

For Foucault, the exploration of *Discourse* is fundamental; when something is put into words, it becomes part of a discourse. But at the same time, discourses shape how

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[132] Jason Powell, *Jacques Derrida, A Biography*, (London: Continuum, 2006). See also, Jacques Derrida, 'Force of Law: The "Mystical Foundation of Authority"', *Cardozo Law Review* 11 (1990): 919-1045, and Patterson, *Post-structuralism, post-modernism*, 84. Note Passmore's warning that 'what Derrida 'really' meant to say concerns us less than the fact that many critics of history have interpreted Derrida thus' (Passmore, *Postructuralism and history*, 123).

[133] Passmore, *Postructuralism and history*, 123.

[134] For example, Fitzhugh & Leckie, *Agency, Postmodernism, and the Causes of Change*, 60; Allan Megill, 'Foucault, Structuralism, and the Ends of History', *The Journal of Modern History* 51, no.3, (1979): 452; Zagorin, *History, the Referent, and Narrative*, 9.

[135] This is perhaps most clearly seen in Michel Foucault, *Madness and Civilization* (London: Routledge, 2001), although evident in his more theoretical works.

[136] Catherine Belsey, *Poststructuralism A Very Short Introduction,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002): 6, where Belsey also asserts: 'Ideas are not the origin of the language we speak'; rather, 'ideas are the effects of the meanings we learn and reproduce' (6).

[137] Laurel Richardson, 'Writing: A Method of Enquiry'. In N. Denzin and Y. Lincoln (eds), *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, First ed, (London: SAGE, 1994): 516-529.

[138] Lynn Fendler, *Michel Foucault,* (London: Bloomsbury Press, 2010): 8.

people think and speak. Furthermore, discourses are dynamic, and historical; that is they exist in space and time, and they change.

So, in Foucault I do not so much find a pattern of thinking that I can adopt and follow; rather I find an articulation and explanation of the way that I have already been thinking. Thus, from my viewpoint, there is not a differentiation between ideas and the world, between discursive and 'real'. All interactions with the 'real' world—for me—are mediated through discourse, through ideas and systems of thought. For me, the world can *only* be experienced through discourse. In other words, language does not simply describe reality; it constructs it.[139]

Whilst my reading of Foucault has provided me with a suitable vocabulary, it has also raised significant issues in presenting this research. Primarily, it makes a traditional discussion of the researcher's positioning somewhat problematic. For example, I am incapable of framing my research in a way that perpetuates a division between epistemology from ontology. Although ontology and epistemology are traditionally considered as separate philosophical concepts, dealing in turn with what is there and how we know what is there, they do not exist in complete isolation from one another; to continue to deal with them as independent concepts denies the complexity of the interactions between them, and leads to misunderstandings about the philosophical foundations of educational research. Therefore, I have appropriated the term 'onto-epistemological' to highlight this inter-dependence.

Such a positioning further complicates any discussion of my 'paradigmatic' positioning. The traditional, dichotomous, separation by which philosophical assumptions that underpin educational research are taxonomized into one of two 'paradigms',[140] which can be characterized (in an oversimplified manner) like this: The 'Positivist' paradigm (sometimes called 'scientific' or 'normative') which seeks to explain *how* things work, through experimental approaches (often quantitative), and is based on a concept of reality as being final and fixed, not open to interpretation, and existing independently of the

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[139] See for example, Belsey, *Poststructuralism, A Very Short Introduction,* 12*:* 'We do not have the idea of poststructuralism first, and then go on to discover the name. Instead, we learn the appropriate use of the term in the course of internalizing its meaning'. Similarly, Derrida's assertion that 'il n'y a pas de hors-texte' accurately circumscribes my own experience that we come to know everything we know about the world through language (see, for example, Jacques Derrida, *Of Grammatology,* (Baltimore: John Hopkins Univeristy Press, 1974).

[140] For example: I. Stronach and D. Hustler, 'Old Whine in New Battles (Editorial)', *British Educational Research Journal* 27, no.5, (2001): 523-5; R.B. Johnson and A.J. Onwuegbuzie, 'Mixed Methods Research: A Research Paradigm Whose Time Has Come', *Educational Researcher* 33, no.7, (2004): 14-26; R. Weber, 'The rhetoric of positivism vs interpretivism', *MIS Quarterly* 28, no.1, (2004): iii-xii; L. Cohen, L. Manion, and K. Morrison, *Research Methods in Education*, 7th ed. (Routledge, Abingdon, 2011).

researcher. Conversely, the 'Interpretativist' paradigm is constructed as being more concerned with *why* things happen, using participatory, qualitative methods, and is based on the concept that reality is constructed and/or culturally determined, being experienced differently by different people.[141] Central to this structure of understanding is the 'rule' that a researcher cannot mix paradigms.[142]

Cohen *et al* set out a detailed historiographical background to these paradigms, together with their respective theoretical foundations, particularly highlighting the roles of Kuhn, Popper and Comte in their development and propagation.[143] They demonstrate an acceptance that the paradigm incorporates ontological (modes of existence) and epistemological (types of claim) assumptions in a linear hierarchical manner, whereby ontological position informs epistemology, which in turn informs the methodology.[144]

However, the researchers' paradigm is often categorized by the methods used.[145] As others point out, the paradigmatic division is unhelpful on a number of levels.[146] There is firstly agreement that the paradigmatic dichotomy is false and excludes other approaches - particularly restricting the possibility of mixed methodologies, and secondly, that data collection methods, in and of themselves, are not epistemic. Similarly, analytical processes are not necessarily paradigmatic, although some rely heavily on particular philosophical positions.[147] Weber for example, concludes that the whole dichotomy is based on 'false assumptions and tenuous arguments' in particular meta-theoretical assumptions about epistemology and ontology.[148] Scott highlights that paradigms have different ontological and epistemological bases,[149] and therefore cannot simply be seen as two ways of looking at

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[141] This summary based primarily on: R. Pring, 'The 'False Dualism' of Educational Research', *Journal of Philosophy of Education* 34, no.2, (2000): 247-60; N. Mackenzie, and S. Knipe, 'Research Dilemmas: Paradigms, Methods and Methodology', *Issues in Educational Research* 16, no.2, (2006): 193-205; and Cohen et al, *Research Methods in Education.*

[142] Weber, *The rhetoric of positivism vs interpretivism.*

[143] Cohen et al, *Research Methods in Education*, Ch.1.

[144] Mackenzie & Knipe, *Research Dilemmas: Paradigms, Methods and Methodology*, also Cohen et al, *Research Methods in Education,* 6 and M. Crotty, *The Foundations of Social Research: Meaning and Perspective in the Research Process*, (London: SAGE, 1998): 4.

[145] For example, Sandberg, in Weber, *The rhetoric of positivism vs interpretivism*, iv; also Pring *The 'False Dualism' of Educational Research*, and MacNaughton et al 2001, in Mackenzie and Knipe, *Research Dilemmas: Paradigms, Methods and Methodology.*

[146] D. Scott, 'Resolving the quantitative - qualitative dilemma: a critical realist approach', *International Journal of Research & Method in Education* 30, no.1, (2007): 3-17; J.E. Symmonds, J.E. and S. Gorard, 'Death of Mixed Methods? Or the Rebirth of Research as a Craft', *Evaluation & Research in Education* 23, no.2, (2010): 121-36.

[147] Symmonds and Gorard, *Death of Mixed Methods?*

[148] Weber, *The rhetoric of positivism vs interpretivism*, iii.

[149] Scott, *Resolving the quantitative – qualitative dilemma.*

the same thing.[150] A number of other commentators also highlight the falsity of the paradigmatic dichotomy.[151]

Within the traditional paradigmatic framework, there is a tendency to privilege knowledges arising from the 'scientific' paradigm, on the basis that it is perceived to be more 'rigorous'. Consequently, the provisionality of *all* theory is overlooked. The development of Quantum theory, and more recent debates over the speed of light, for example, show that scientific understandings are not fixed and closed to interpretation, rather they are provisional and open to wide debate.[152]

A number of responses to the inadequacy detailed above have arisen, such as Pragmatism,[153] and Critical Realism.[154] However, many of these 'alternatives' preserve the existing foundations, perpetuating the hierarchical relationship between epistemology and ontology, simply adding more choices to the menu list of paradigms and doing little to topple the 'one paradigm' rule.

A more helpful response is found in the work of John Searle who overcomes the flawed hierarchical relationship between epistemology and ontology,[155] and the polarized conception of objectivity-subjectivity (whereby reality is either fully subjective or fully objective), and instead suggests that it is possible for a subjective domain to have an objective science.[156] His approach may be conceptualised in quadratic terms (Figure A).

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[150] Symmonds and Gorard, *Death of Mixed Methods?*

[151] For example, K. Ercikan and W. Roth, 'What Good is Polarizing Research into Qualitative and Quantitative?' *Educational Researcher* 35, no.5, (2006): 14-23.

[152] For example, J. Knoblock, 'Can the neutrino speed anomaly be defended?' *Proceedings of the International Symposium on Subnuclear physics: Past, Present and Future. Pontifical Academy of Sciences, Vatican City*, 30-10-2011 to 02-11-2011. (On line publication, URL: http://arxiv.org/pdf/1111.3284v1 last accessed 13th Jan 2012). See also K. Popper, *Conjectures and Refutations*, 3rd ed. (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1980); R. Pring, 'Conclusion: Evidence-based Policy and Practice'. In G. Thomas & R. Pring (eds), *Evidence Based Practice in Education*, (Maidenhead: Open University Press, 2004): 201-12.

[153] Johnson and Onwuegbuzie, *Mixed Methods Research*; Symmonds and Gorard, *Death of Mixed Methods?*, also Scott, *Resolving the quantitative - qualitative dilemma*.

[154] For an introductory text, see M. Archer, R. Bhaskar, A. Collier, T. Lawson, and A. Norrie, *Critical Realism: Essential Readings*, (London: Routledge, 1998).

[155] For example, Crotty, *The Foundations of Social Research,* 4.

[156] John Searle, *The Construction of Social Reality,* (London: Penguin, 1995): 149ff. Also J. Searle, *Social Ontology and Reality - Inagural Lecture for College of Social Sciences and International Studies (SSIS) 2010*, Exeter University ECHO resources.
URL: http://echo360.exeter.ac.uk:8080/ess/echo/presentation/e4681974-eb97-4df7-999b-0d036559d361. Last accessed 15 Dec 2011.
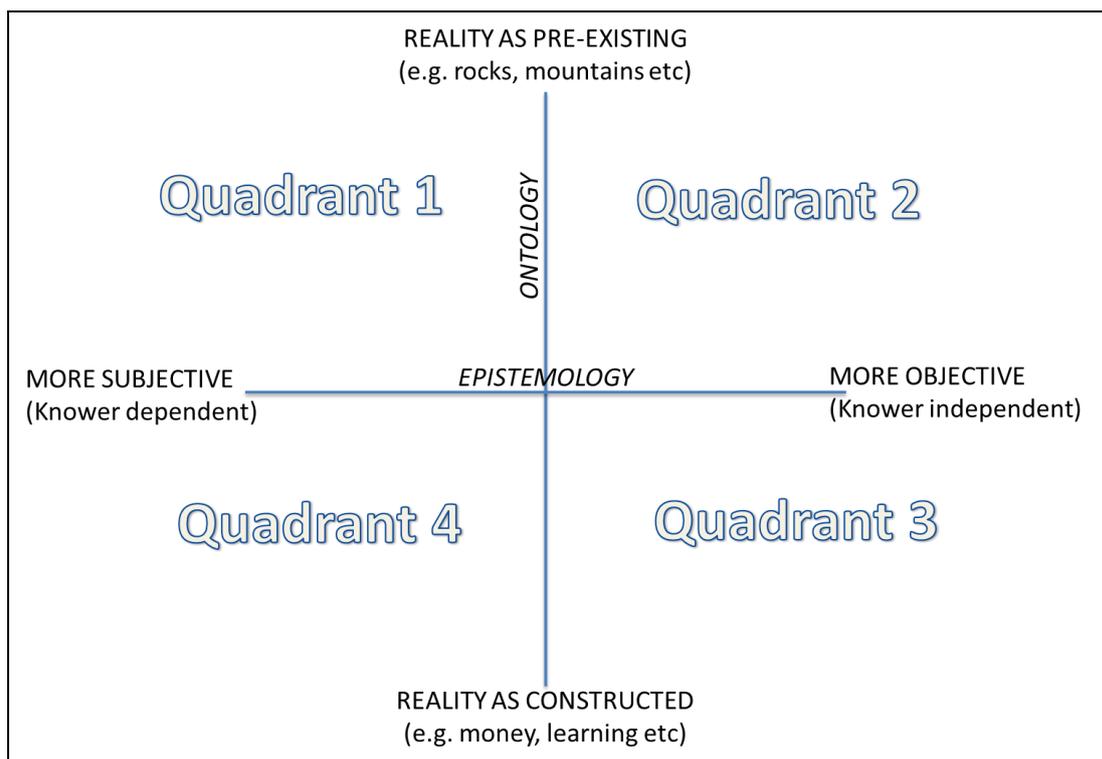
Figure A - An alternative envisioning of the relationship between Ontology and Epistemology (after Searle)

Searle's approach offers an alternative to the existing dichotomy; it demonstrates the interdependence, rather than division, of ontology and epistemology, and by working beyond the notion of paradigms, it allows practitioners to position themselves more freely. Furthermore, it is better able to reflect the diversity of views held by different researchers hold on a number of philosophical issues, especially those that work across the paradigmatic divide, rather than trying to fit a researcher's approach into a pre-determined pigeon-hole.

However, whilst Searle breaks the existing binary oppositions of ontology: epistemology, and subjective: objective, he perpetuates the binary opposition between 'reality' and 'representations of reality'.[157] One example that Searle uses to explain 'Realism' (for him, the view that 'the world exists independently of our representations of it'[158]) focuses on Mount Everest. He claims that Mount Everest exists as a tangible reality, 'independently of how I or anyone else ever represented it'.[159] However, from my viewpoint, this is not so! For me, the 'reality' of Mount Everest can only be encountered through discourses; whether discourses of political geography which situate it in Nepal, or

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[157] Searle, *The Construction of Social Reality*, 150 ff.
[158] Searle, *The Construction of Social Reality*, 153.
[159] Searle, *The Construction of Social Reality*, 153.

through discourses of topology that construct it as a 'mountain', or through other discourses that assign to Mount Everest a meaning that is different from any other mountain, on the basis of its height, its social importance and so on. Even to dismiss any element of social construction associated with Mount Everest, and to say that it 'simply' exists as a large rock protrusion is to show that any encounter with this rocky protrusion is mediated through a discourse.

So, in other words, discourses are not representations of reality in the way that Searle means; they do not represent something *else* or *other*. Discourses are the *only* means by which 'reality' is experienced.

This discussion foregrounds a number of important on-going discourses centred on educational research. The researchers' underlying assumptions, together with the socio-political, economic and even theological contexts within which research is undertaken, give rise to complex bilateral interactions between theory and practice. Some attempts to taxonomise such positions can have the effect of ossifying the debates rather than developing them. The adoption of onto-epistemological standpoints which stand outside the paradigm binary may serve to liberate some of the debates that are currently imprisoned by the insufficiency of the frameworks within they are played out.

Secondly, my positioning has an effect on the choice of methods; it is to this that I shall now turn.

1.3.3   Statement Archaeology

The methodological limitations associated with the existing historiographies of English RE have been rehearsed briefly above. To address these limitations, and in accordance with my post-structural positioning, I have drawn on the historical methods utilized by Michel Foucault in his exploration of the history of ideas, his tracing of how certain practices became possible, and ultimately his 'diagnosis of the present'.[160]

Foucault proposed that phenomena relating to social and institutional processes and power are not pre-existent, but are 'constructed' through language, an idea perhaps seen most clearly in his work *Madness and Civilization*. As a historian, Foucault's work shows

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[160] Michel Foucault, *Archaeology of knowledge*, (London: Routledge, 2002); *History of Madness*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2009); *Birth of the Clinic.* (Abingdon: Routledge 2012).

continuity with and development of previous historical theories.[161] However, in contrast to these earlier historical traditions, Foucault sets out to ask a different type of question. He rejects questions based on 'what happened?' and instead concentrates on the question 'how did the adoption of a particular practice become possible?'.[162]

This 'General History' which Foucault insists on, being problem rather than period based, comprehends 'History' as present (and on-going), studied not as a way of ascertaining 'how the present has emerged from the past', but as way of diagnosing the present.[163] As such, Foucault's 'General History', being perpetual in nature, does not lend itself to being broken down into neat chronological compartments which are in some way separated one from another.[164]

Based on a detailed analysis of Foucault's historical work, I have developed a systematic operationalization of his historical methodology, which I have called Statement Archaeology. This approach emphasizes the 'statement', considering the circumstances of its production, its novelty, and where statements are repeated, considering their origins, and the rules under which the repetition occurs. This concentration on the statement, by highlighting 'discontinuities', enables the search for the 'relative beginnings' of particular practices.[165]

Archaeologists examine the clues left behind by people in the past, and consider the background of the artefacts they find. Who produced them? When? For what reason? They ask whether the items are novel (not seen before in that period of history), or whether they are commonplace, everyday items. Perhaps the things they find are slightly different from other objects; what are the differences and why might they have occurred? What was the original item on which the new one is based? Further, they consider artefacts of different sorts, found in the same strata; for example they might find bones, pottery, building materials and weapons at the same level. They then attempt to understand how these different items relate and fit together.[166]

In the same way as the archaeologist does this with objects, my method does this with statements. Thus I have examined statements from range of previously unutilized

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[161] Foucault explicates clear links to, and development of ideas from, both the Annales school and the Histoire des Mentalités (Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge*).

[162] A more detailed discussion follows later, see Section 3.2 starting on page 131 below.

[163] Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge*, 9-10; *The Order of Things,* 68ff; N. Rose, 'Of Madness Itself: *Histoire de la folie* and the Object of Psychiatric History', *History of the Human Sciences* 3, no.3 (1990): 373-380.

[164] Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge*, 8ff.

[165] Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge,* 8ff.

[166] See Fendler, *Michel Foucault,* 37ff, for a more detailed discussion.

primary sources, including: legislative documents (laws, records of debates, both public and private, about their introduction), national policy documents (including minutes from meetings, memos and letters, and published Working Papers) and church documents (including published and unpublished materials from World Council of Churches, British Council of Churches, and The Vatican), and I have attempted to understand how the different statements relate and fit together.

In relation to these statements, I have applied a series of guiding questions, focusing on their:

> **Formation and origins:** What were the circumstances under which the statement was produced? What is the authority of the source? Is the statement designed to be programmatic? (Programmatic statements being those that 'try to impose a vision or spell out most clearly a new way of conceptualizing a problem'.)

> **Novelty**: Is the statement new? How does it relate to other statements? Does the statement represent a point at which the practice can be considered different from earlier practices, and therefore 'new'? Is it a relative beginning of a practice? How does the new statement relate to the existing statements?

> **Repetition and non-repetition**: If the statement is repeated, where is it repeated from? What are the rules of repetition? Are the repetitions full or partial? Is there an absence or silencing of particular statements?

The statements that are subjected to this analysis are carefully selected from the domain of discourse under examination. A guiding principle is that, as far as possible, everything available within the specific domain of discourse under scrutiny is read. Some items may then be removed from further consideration on the basis that they are not relevant to the problem or are not part of the domain of discourse. Where this is the case, decisions are made based on conscious and considered removal rather than conscious and considered inclusion. Thus the process is akin to the fingertip search of the undergrowth around a crime scene; every possible item is examined, and those that have no relevance are subjected to no further investigation.

Using Statement Archaeology in this way has allowed a detailed analysis of how certain curriculum changes became possible. In particular, by focusing on statements, discontinuity and the relative beginning of certain practices, it has been possible to expose, describe and contextualize the multiple and complex mechanisms by which theological developments created circumstances in which the study of world religions, including the teaching of non-Christian worldviews, became possible in English RE.

1.4   A Roadmap of the Thesis

In this chapter, I have set out some necessary contextualization regarding English Religious Education. In briefly setting out some of the historical background, I have demonstrated the contribution that the study makes, by highlighting areas of investigation that are currently neglected, particularly emphasizing the need for a rigorous investigation from an ecumenical perspective of how the adoption of SWR in English RE became possible.

In doing this, I have set the scene in preparation for a review of contemporary and contemporaneous literature that follows (in Chapter 2). There I will investigate the extent to which the existing literature enriches understandings of *how* the changes in English RE during the 1960s and 1970s became possible. I focus particularly on the work of Philip Barnes, and his detailed historio-theoretical critique of what he calls the 'ruling paradigm' of English RE,[167] (from where I develop the term 'ruling' historiography). Barnes' claims are assessed and his 'ruling' historiography problematized. An appraisal of current methodological practice, including the domainance of a 'Confessional' framework, is discussed. Finally, these different strands are drawn together, and the implications for this particular study are considered.

In the next chapter (Chapter 3), I describe, define and discuss the development of Statement Archaeology, the methodology that I have developed for use in this study. Starting with a justification for a historical approach, I set out key post-structural approaches to historical enquiry, particularly those used by Michel Foucault in his exploration of the *history of ideas*. The chapter continues with an analysis of how Foucault's methods have been operationalized by other researchers, before setting out in detail the way in which Statement Archaeology seeks to faithfully adhere to Foucaultian principles and underpinning theories. Ethical considerations, and the selection of sourses are also deliberated.

Chapter 4 focuses on Schools Council Working Paper 36. Employing Statement Archaeology, I explore the circumstances of production of the Working Paper, before problematizing its positioning as the 'initiator' of SWR. There is then a detailed analysis of the distinct contribution that the Working Paper makes to the normalization of SWR, considering issues of pluralism, immigration and the 'religious other'. The chapter ends with the discussion of two key statements in Working Paper 36 which are drawn from

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[167] Barnes, *The Misrepresentation of Religion*, 406; Barnes, *Developing a new post-liberal paradigm*, 17.

supranational and national ecumenical discourses. These ecumenical statements are the basis of chapters 5 and 6 respectively.

Taking a repeated statement from Nostra Aetate as its starting point, Chapter 5 explores supranational ecumenical discourses (as exemplified in the discourses of the World Council of Churches and its predecessor organisations), focusing firstly on the discursive reconstruction of the religious other from 'Enemy' to 'Ally', and then on the (re)-positioning of education within the supranational ecumenical discourse in the period following 1968. Chapter 6 examines repeated statements from the discourse of the British Council of Churches, foregrounding the ways in which encouragement to study world religions elided with the resurgence of non-proselytizational RE during the 1960s.

The findings from these chapters are brought together in Chapter 7, to show that developments in supranational ecumenical discourses create 'historical conditions of possibility' which lift constraints on national ecumenical discourses, allowing the study of non-Christian religions and non-proselytizing RE to be encouraged. When these two practices in the national ecumenical discourse elide, their combination performs as a relative beginning of SWR. The chapter also highlights enriched methodological understandings, and summarises a number of contributions to knowledge, revealing a much higher level of complexity relating to the adoption of SWR than has been hitherto recognized, identifying that the 'relative beginnings' of SWR are located – to some extent - in the national ecumenical discourse, thus foregrounding the importance of being attentive to ecumenical discourses and ideas, and problematizing some assertions which have become characteristic of the existing historical narrative. The chapter concludes with a discussion of implications and limitations of the study, and the identification of potential areas for further research.

Chapter 2

The Adoption of the Study of World Religions in English Religious Education
An Evaluation of the current historiography

A first step towards engaging with the main research question at the centre of this study is to consider what the existing historiography of English Religious Education reveals about how the adoption of the Study of World Religions (hereafter SWR) became possible in England during the 1960s and 1970s. Rob Freathy and Stephen Parker have argued that, whilst there has been a great deal of historical analysis of the changes described, it has mostly been undertaken through the lenses of pedagogy, curriculum theory and policy.[1] They also conclude that there is a 'scarcity of rigorous historical inquiry in RE research',[2] highlighting a general 'neglect of the utilization of historical methods and a lack of historical consciousness amongst RE researchers.'[3] Perhaps as a consequence of this, the literature relating to the adoption of SWR is limited.

Although this chapter focuses on surveying the literature that relates to the adoption of SWR, it is emphatically not an attempt to narrate a history of RE in England; neither is it a 'traditional' literature review. Rather it sets out to investigate a 'ruling' historiography of RE in England as it is constructed in recent publications. Thus, the second section of the chapter focuses especially on materials authored by Phillip Barnes in his detailed historio-theoretical critique of what he calls the 'ruling paradigm' of English RE,[4] (from where I develop the term 'ruling' historiography). The third section of the chapter assesses the claims that Barnes makes by drawing on a wider literature, including sources that, in hindsight, detail the changes in the 1960s, and sources that were produced

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[1] Rob Freathy and Stephen Parker, 'The Necessity of Historical Enquiry in Educational Research: The Case of Religious Education', *British Journal of Religious Education* 32, no.3 (Sept 2010): 229-243. See also Dennis Bates, 'Christianity, Culture and Other Religions (Part 2): F H Hilliard, Ninian Smart and the 1988 Education Reform Act.' *British Journal of Religious Education* 18, no. 2 (1996): 85-102; Penny Thompson, *Whatever Happened to Religious Education?* (Cambridge: The Lutterworth Press, 2004); L.P. Barnes and A. Wright, 'Romanticism, representations of religion and critical religious education', *British Journal of Religious Education* 28, no.1, (2006): 65-77; Terence Copley, *Teaching Religion.* (Exeter: Exeter University Press, 2008).

[2] Freathy and Parker, *The necessity of historical inquiry*, 230.

[3] Freathy and Parker, *The necessity of historical inquiry*, 232.

[4] Barnes, *The Misrepresentation of Religion*, 406; Barnes, *Developing a new post-liberal paradigm*, 17.

as those changes were underway. (In addition to key texts published in this period, a detailed analysis of articles in the professional journal, *Learning for Living,* has been undertaken, tracing the development of SWR from September 1961 (Vol.1 no.1) to May 1974 (Vol. 13, no.5)). As well as problematizing the 'ruling' historiography associated with Barnes, this comparison raises questions about the methods that have been used in the construction of these historiographies. This theme is taken up in the fourth section, forming an appraisal of current methodological practice. One aspect of current methodology which demands special attention is the domainance of a 'Confessional' framework, which is problematized in the fifth section of the chapter. The sixth and final section draws together these different strands of the literature, and considers the implications for this particular study. Prior to these sections, there is—in the next section—a brief discussion of the development of non-denominationally differentiated RE.

2.1   Non-denominationally Differentiated RE

The key role of the Christian Churches in providing education has long been acknowledged. For example, a 1929 Commission on Religious Education opens with a historical summary showing the pioneer work done by the Churches in providing Elementary Education prior to the Education Act of 1870,[5] and the introductions to two key reports of the early 1970s emphasize this.[6] The Nonconformist Christian *'British and Foreign School Society',* and the Church of England's *'National Society for the Education of the Children of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church'* (The National Society), were both established (in 1808 and 1811 respectively) to provide 'more extensive educational provision'.[7]

Many commentators trace the historiography of RE from the 1944 Education Act, the point at which religious education became compulsory.[8] However, as a consequence, the period prior is overlooked, and a series of key developments are left unexplored.

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[5] The National Archive (hereafter TNA), ED 24/1519 - *Papers re Archbishop of Canterbury and Archbishop of York commission on RE*: 1929 Commission on Religious Education, Chapter 4.

[6] Schools Council, *Working Paper* 36, Introduction; Ian Ramsey, (ed). *The fourth R. The Durham Report on Religious Education*, (London: National Society and SPCK, 1970)*,* Introduction.

[7] Ramsey, *The Fourth R.* §5.

[8] See Section 1.1.1 above. Some commentators adopt 1870 as the starting point for their narrations, however, the role of charitable groups, including the above mentioned Church sponsored organisations, and Sunday schools, is overlooked when 1870 is taken as the starting point. Further, to adopt 1870 as a starting point, overlooks earlier developments, including the debates over education in the first half of the Nineteenth Century, the Newcastle Commission (1858-61), and Report (1861), which lead to the 1870 Act. (See Eric E. Rich, *The Education Act 1870*, (London: Longmans, 1970).

Significant amounts of archive material describing the development of the 1944 Act exist (including Butler's own notes, minutes of meetings between Government and key stakeholders, and so on). However, these materials, which describe the period *before* the 1944 Act, are often overlooked, with preference given to material that describes the period *after* the Act. There is some discussion of the significant role played by the Church of England in the development of the 1944 Education Act's provisions on Religious Education,[9] the political machinations related to the transfer of Church schools to the state,[10] and the role of the Churches more recently has been relatively well accounted for, including the development of the Education Reform Act of 1988, which was punctuated by Christian comment and debate,[11] resulting in strengthened provisions on RE, and making explicit the primacy of Christianity amongst faith communities in England.[12] However, the circumstances of production of the provisions pertaining to RE in the 1944 Act remain inadequately investigated.

A number of key provisions of the 1944 Act find their origin in the Education Act of 1870;[13] one specific example being the Cowper-Temple clause.[14] The clause was adopted in the 1870 Act, and is retained in both the 1944 Act,[15] and the legislation that governs the

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[9] For example, M. Cruickshank, *Church and State in English Education. 1870 to the present day,* (London: Macmillan and Co. Ltd, 1963); A.G. Wedderspoon, (ed), *Religious Education 1944-1984,* First ed. (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 1966); S.J.D. Green, 'The 1944 Education Act: A Church-State Perspective', *Parliamentary History* 19, no.1 (2000): 148-164; Thompson, *Whatever Happened to Religious Education?*

[10] For example, S.J.D. Green, 'The 1944 Education Act: A Church-State Perspective', *Parliamentary History* 19, no.1, (2000): 148-164. The provisions of the 1902 Education Act are also overlooked (Great Britain, *Education Act,* 2. Edw. 7 c.42, (1902).

[11] For example, Thompson, *Whatever Happened to Religious Education*; Dennis James Bates. 'The Nature and Place of Religion in English State Education c.1900 – c.1944 with Special Reference to Conceptions of the Relation of Religion to Education and the Development of Christian Education c.1920 – c.1944.' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Lancaster, September, 1976).

[12] ERA 1988: Section 8 (3).

[13] This Act made the provision of education for all children between 5 and 13 years of age a legal duty, and established a series of local School Boards who were required to ensure that sufficient schools were available. (Great Britain, *The Elementary Education Act,* 33 & 34, Vict. c. 75, (1870)). The Act also authorised these School Boards to pass local laws making attendance compulsory, but only if they so chose, (Great Britain, *The Elementary Education Act,* 33 & 34, Vict. c. 75, (1870), Section 74.) although it was not until 1880 that school attendance became uniformly compulsory. (Great Britain, *The Elementary Education Act,* 43 & 44, Vict. c. 23, (1880)). It was a further ten years before the cost of elementary education was met by the state with a *per capita* grant of ten shillings per year (Great Britain, *The Elementary Education Act,* 54 & 55, Vict. c. 56, (1891)); prior to this parents had been liable to a charge, although a number of exemptions were in place, especially for those with low incomes. (Great Britain, *The Elementary Education Act,* 33 & 34, Vict. c. 75, (1870)).

[14] For a brief historical account, and implications for contemporary RE, of the Cowper-Temple Clause see, for example, Louis Louden, 'The conscience clause in religious education and collective worship: conscientious objection or curriculum choice?', *British Journal of Religious Education* 26, vol.3 (2004): 273-284.

[15] Priestley, *Agreed Syllabuses: Their history and development*; see also Brian Gates, *Transforming Religious Education: Beliefs and Values Under Scrutiny.* (London: Contiuum, 2007).

current situation.[16] It applies to Local Authority Schools (previously Board Schools) that do not have a religious affiliation.

According to Parliamentary records, its introduction was a pragmatic solution to what is euphemistically referred to as 'The religious question'. The 1870 Act was, in essence, centred on the provision of good quality education; to ensure this aspiration was met, inspection of the system to maintain standards was an important consideration. Concern was expressed that '[h]itherto the inspection has been denominational; we propose that should no longer be so'[17]; in actuality, The Church of England was the only denomination that was given power to inspect religious teaching.[18] To maintain such a differential practice was considered to be 'inconvenient and costly, and … most injurious to the cause of education'.[19] Further, it was seen as

> most mischevious, because it tends to keep the schools divided from one another by denominational differences, and because it prevents schoolmasters themselves from agreeing together as they otherwise would do.[20]

There was an assumption that 'an enormous majority of the parents in this country prefer that there should be a Christian teaching for their children – that they should be taught to read the Bible'.[21] Initially, the Government was minded to allow freedom to local School Boards to 'regulate the religious instruction' that they provided; however, fear grew that such freedom would 'have led to a degree of controversy … [and been] productive of very great evil'.[22] According to Cowper-Temple

> Under the measure before them, the Churchman [Church of England], Dissenter [Nonconformist Christian], and the Secularist could all work in union; those who believed that religious education was the only basis for morality, and those who believed religious teaching of less importance to mental culture, would under this system be able to carry out their views.[23].

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[16] Great Britain, *Education Reform Act,* Elizabeth II. c. 40, (1988) hereafter ERA 1988; Great Britain, *Education Act,* Elizabeth II. c. 56, (1996); Great Britain, *Academies Act,* Elizabeth II. c. 32, (2010); Great Britain, *Education Act,* Elizabeth II. c. 21, (2011).

[17] House of Lords Debate, Hansard (HL) 25 July 1870 vol. 203, cc821-65.

[18] 'It is only in the Church of England that Inspectors have any power to examine with respect to religious doctrine' (House of Lords Debate, Hansard (HL) 25 July 1870, vol. 203, cc821-65).

[19] House of Lords Debate, Hansard (HL) 25 July 1870, vol. 203, cc821-65.

[20] House of Lords Debate, Hansard (HL) 25 July 1870, vol. 203, cc821-65.

[21] House of Lords Debate, Hansard (HL) 25 July 1870, vol. 203, cc821-65.

[22] House of Lords Debate, Hansard (HL) 25 July 1870, vol. 203, cc821-65.

[23] House of Lords Debate, Hansard (HL) 25 July 1870, vol. 203, cc821-65.

The Cowper-Temple clause was thus introduced, avoiding the risk of giving 'rise to needless, mischievous, and injurious disputes',[24] by stating that 'No religious catechism or religious formulary which is distinctive of any particular denomination shall be taught in the school'.[25]

This very brief survey highlights an important phenomenon in the development of RE in England; although denominationally discrete Christian groups played a key role in the subject's development, the content of teaching in RE was constrained, by law, to be a non-denominational. Consequently, when Christianity is mentioned in relation to RE in such settings, it is not limited to one specific denomination, such as the Anglican Church or the Catholic Church. Because of the history of Christianity in England, there are complex relations between different elements of Protestantism, and a historic positioning of Catholicism as distinct from Christianity. Consequently, when the term Christianity is used in the context of English RE, it tends to mean a mosaic form of Protestantism.

Further, the survey highlights the dominance of Christianity in the development of RE policy. A similar dominance has been evident in the development of RE curricula. Since the earliest days of RE syllabus development, clergy have sat with educationalists,[26] an arrangement that continued well into the 1960s, when the Schools Council reported that many Agreed Syllabuses 'remain Christian documents written by Christians and aiming at Christian education. Moreover their content is still predominantly biblical'.[27] Finally, the survey highlights the importance of being attentive to chronological starting points, foregrounding the significance of the circumstances of production of key documents.

2.2   Philip Barnes and a 'Ruling' Historiography

The lack of an exhaustive assessment of Barnes' historical claims has already been mentioned;[28] and whilst the need for such an assessment has been identified,[29] it remains unclear how Barnes' narrative relates to either accounts generated at the time of the

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[24] House of Lords Debate, Hansard (HL) 25 July 1870, vol. 203, cc821-65.

[25] Great Britain, *The Elementary Education Act,* (1870), Section 14.

[26] See, for example, B. Yeaxlee, 'Editorial', *Religious Education* 1, no.1 (Jan 1934): 1-3; Hull, *Agreed Syllabuses Past, Present and Future*; Bates, *The Nature and Place of Religion in English State Education.*

[27] Schools Council, *Working Paper 36,* 32.

[28] See page 27 above.

[29] For example, Rob Freathy and Stephen Parker highlight the way in which 'Barnes and Wright's historical accounts leave too many questions unanswered' ('The Necessity of Historical Enquiry in Educational Research: The Case of Religious Education', *British Journal of Religious Education* 32, no.3 (Sept 2010): 237).

changes, or to primary source materials. An in-depth survey of Barnes' historical work is therefore necessary, considering Barnes' recent publications in relation to a wider literature, both contemporary publications and those that form a contemporaneous corpus, setting out the unfolding narrative of the time.

The first issue to consider is how Barnes positions himself as an author. He sends the reader inconsistent messages in relation to his motivation, raising a question as to whether he sees himself providing a history of RE. The vast majority of his work is centered on a critique of the changes that happened in the 1960s and 1970s, and their impact – and, ultimately, redress - *in the contemporary period*. He argues that '[e]ach generation has to rethink the role of religion in public education',[30] and that therefore, the debates of earlier generations, including those played out in the 1960s and 1970s, 'are as relevant today as they were then'.[31] In this regard, he states quite clearly that he is avoiding a rigorous historical inquiry:

> Some degree of historical reconstruction of the period [1960s-1970s] is needed to gain an answer. However, rather than pursue these issues in relation to the social situation that obtained in seventies Britain it is more important to ask the same question of today's society... The matter of the nature of British society in the nineteen-sixties and seventies may simply be overlooked.[32]

However, elsewhere he explicitly claims to be undertaking a historical analysis,[33] and the reader might conclude that, to some extent, Barnes is attempting to position himself as a historian of religious education. For example, in response to a F*estschrift* to Professor John Hull,[34] Barnes sets out to contest 'the "official" history of modern British religious education'.[35] In another paper, Barnes promises to discuss 'the historical role and legal status of agreed syllabuses within English and Welsh education'.[36] Yet, on these, and other occasions, he fails to undertake any kind of robust historical analysis. In the former paper, he undertakes a critique, not primarily of the history of RE, but of the lack of robust debate about the subject's nature and purpose, suggesting that the controversial status of

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[30] Barnes, *Ninian Smart and the Phenomenological Approach*, 316.

[31] Barnes, *Ninian Smart and the Phenomenological Approach*, 316.

[32] Barnes, *Working Paper 36*, 68.

[33] For example, see L.P. Barnes and William Kay. 'Developments in Religious Education in England and Wales (Part 2): Methodology, Politics, Citizenship and School Performance.' *Themelios* 25, no. 3 (2000): 5-19.

[34] P. Chadwick, M. Parker-Jenkins and I Reid, 'Review Symposium', *British Journal of Religious Education* 28, no. 4, (2007); 519-528.

[35] L.P. Barnes, 'An alternative reading of modern religious education in England and Wales', *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, vol. 30, no.5, (2009): 608.

[36] Barnes, *The 2007 Birmingham Agreed Syllabus*, 75.

RE results in a 'reluctance to engage in "public" criticism'.[37] In the second, he undertakes a very limited historical analysis (a few sentences on the provisions of the 1944 Act regarding Agreed Syllabuses), and focuses very much on the contemporary scene.[38] Many of the examples on which he draws are from contemporary projects, including a 2004 questionnaire study on 'pupils' attitudes toward religious education'.[39] Regardless of his motivation, and the inconsistency of the way in which he positions himself in relation to historical analysis, Barnes' work has become accepted, by some, as providing historical insight into the history of English RE in the 1960s, thus rendering it of significant interest to this study.

In describing and commenting on the changes in English RE, Barnes constructs a narrative of rapid revolution.[40] He describes a collapse in confessional and neo-confessional models of RE,[41] claiming that confessional RE was not working,[42] and that '[s]upport for Christian confessional education in state-maintained schools declined throughout the 1960s'.[43] He links this to changes in Theology,[44] and 'diminishing numerical support for institutional religion, widespread questioning of traditional Christian beliefs and values',[45] suggesting that the questioning had been 'initiated in considerable part by Christian theologians themselves'.[46] In particular, he focuses on the publication of a Working Paper by the Schools Council in 1971 as being a key locus of the transformation that he sets out. Further, Barnes foregrounds immigration as a significant issue,[47] claiming that the 'radical reassessment of the aims of … religious education'[48] was 'chiefly as a result of post-war

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[37] Barnes, *An alternative reading of modern religious education*, 608.

[38] Barnes, *The 2007 Birmingham Agreed Syllabus.*

[39] Barnes. *An alternative reading of modern religious education*, 610 (citing Jennings 2005).

[40] For example; Barnes, *Working Paper 36.*

[41] Barnes, *What is wrong with the Phenomenological approach*, 451. Barnes states that 'following the perceived collapse of confessional and neoconfessional models'... Grimmit's 1973 *What Can I do in RE?* 'became a standard text for teachers and student-teachers of religious education throughout the 1970s and into the 1980s.' (p 451) but no evidence is presented to support this claim.

[42] Barnes, *Ninian Smart and the Phenomenological Approach*, 317, citing ICE 1957 and Loukes 1961; Barnes, *Working Paper 36*, 63.

[43] Barnes, *Working Paper 36*, 63.

[44] L.P. Barnes, **'**Religion, Religionism and religious education, fostering tolerance & truth in schools', *Journal of Education and Christian Belief* 1, no.1, (1997): 7-23; Barnes, *Ninian Smart and the Phenomenological Approach to Religious Education*, 316-7.

[45] Barnes, *Working Paper 36*, 63; see also Barnes, *Ninian Smart and the Phenomenological Approach to Religious Education*:316.

[46] Barnes, *Working Paper 36*, 63.

[47] Barnes, *Ninian Smart and the Phenomenological Approach*, 316-7.

[48] Barnes, *Working Paper 36*, 63.

immigration from former colonies, a growing awareness of the multi-faith nature of modern Britain'.[49]

In what follows, I will discuss in more depth a number of these themes that are frequently returned to by Barnes, and are of particular interest in relation to what they might reveal about how the adoption of SWR became possible during the 1960s and 1970s: (i) confessionalism giving way to neutrality; (ii) Schools Council *Working Paper 36* (hereafter WP36); and (iii) the influence of Liberal Protestant Theology. Each of these areas will now be considered in turn.

2.2.1 *'Confessionalism giving way to neutrality'*

In Barnes' narrative of the change in English RE, one particular statement stands out, being re-used on a number of occasions:

> In Britain the commonly recited story is of confessionalism giving way to neutrality, commitment to professionalism, and indoctrination to education. It is a tale of progression and the triumph of reason over unreason.[50]

It is the first of these oppositions that Barnes develops most fully in his writing,[51] (much of which focuses on the issue of confessional RE) which is of most interest here. Before exploring this in more detail, it is useful to flag the rhetorical technique used here (and elsewhere in his writing). Barnes frames discussions as polarized binary oppositions. It is important to note that O'Grady, who Barnes cites as a source for this commonly recited story, does not set out these themes in such a polarised way,[52] but rather describes a complex melange that Barnes fails to acknowledge. There is perhaps a hint at this complexity in Barnes' attempt to differentiate confessional from indoctrinatory RE,[53] but this is somewhat militated against in the irony of Barnes' claim that the use of such binary

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[49] Barnes, *Working Paper 36*, 63.

[50] Barnes, *The Misrepresentation of Religion*, 395; Barnes, *An alternative reading of modern religious education in England and Wales*, 610; Barnes and Wright, *Romanticism, representations of religion*, 66.

[51] Barnes (*The Misrepresentation of Religion*, 395) cites Dennis Bates, 'Religious Education in England 1953-1992', *Word in Life: Journal of Religious Education* 40, no.3, (1992): 5-15 and Kevin O'Grady, 'Professor Ninian Smart, phenomenology and religious education', *British Journal of Religious Education* 27, no. 3, (2005): 227-37.

[52] O'Grady, *Professor Ninian Smart, phenomenology and religious education*.

[53] 'there is no reason why confessional religious education or religious schools must of necessity be indoctrinatory' (Barnes, *Working Paper 36*, 66)

oppositions is symptomatic of the 'extent to which debates in Religious Education in Britain have become polarized'.[54]

Barnes claims that prior to the mid-1960s, RE in English schools was of a confessional nature, claiming that Agreed Syllabuses 'underline the confessional nature of the subject' in the post-war years, that the 'syllabus content was exclusively Christian', and that 'pupils were expected to adopt Christian beliefs and values'.[55] He also makes similar claims elsewhere, appealing to a variety of Agreed Syllabuses for support, including the Cambridge Agreed Syllabus of 1949,[56] and the Surrey Syllabus of 1947.[57]

Against the 'commonly recited story', which he himself repeats, Barnes argues that the story is not so straightforward. He highlights the fact that it 'is more controversial, contested, convoluted and ideological, resulting in educational losses as well as educational gains'.[58] Further, he problematizes this 'commonly recited story', suggesting that the new 'ruling paradigm' of Religious Education is not as neutral as was being claimed:[59]

> One of the most serious criticisms to emerge in the last few years is the allegation that despite claims to neutrality the form of religious education that followed the collapse of Christian confessionalism in education in the late 1960s was in some respects just as partisan and uncritical as that which it succeeded: if not Christian confessionalism it was confessionalism of a sort - albeit more moderate, liberal and ecumenical.[60]

In short, Barnes is claiming that one confessionalism was replaced by another,[61] suggesting that the multi-faith/phenomenological type of RE (that supposedly replaced the confessional approach) was built on the foundation of Liberal Protestant Christian Theology;[62] this issue will be returned to in due course.[63]

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[54] Barnes, *What is wrong with the Phenomenological approach*, 447.

[55] Barnes, *Ninian Smart and the Phenomenological Approach*, 316.

[56] Barnes, *Ninian Smart and the Phenomenological Approach,* 316.

[57] Barnes, *Working Paper 36*, 63.

[58] Barnes, *The Misrepresentation of Religion*, 395; Barnes, *An alternative reading of modern religious education*, 610; Barnes and Wright, *Romanticism, representations of religion*, 66.

[59] Barnes, *Developing a new post-liberal paradigm*, 17.

[60] Barnes, *The Misrepresentation of Religion*, 369.

[61] Barnes, *An alternative reading of modern religious education*, 609.

[62] Barnes, *Ninian Smart and the Phenomenological Approach*, 326; Barnes, *What is wrong with the Phenomenological approach*; Barnes, *The Misrepresentation of Religion*, 395. See also O'Grady, *Professor Ninian Smart, phenomenology and religious education*.

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2.2.2   Schools Council Working Paper 36, Ninian Smart, and Phenomenology

The second area of Philip Barnes' work that is of particular relevance to this study is his extensive discussion and analysis of the 1971 Schools Council Working Paper 36 '*Religious Education in Secondary Schools*' (hereafter WP36). He situates WP36 as an authoritative document, claiming, 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'.[64] He claims that WP36 'has enjoyed an influence far beyond the strength of its arguments and the persuasiveness of its conclusions',[65] demonstrating this influence by linking the ideas presented within WP36 to the Swann Report, published in 1985.[66] Swann

> concluded that a non-dogmatic, non-denominational, phenomenological approach to religious education provided the 'best and only means of enabling all pupils, from whatever religious background, to understand the nature of religious belief, the religious dimension of human experience and the plurality of faiths in contemporary Britain.[67]

Further, Barnes claims that WP36 'is widely regarded as heralding the demise of Christian confessionalism in state-maintained schools in England and Wales',[68] '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'.[69] By framing the discussion in polarized terms, Barnes suggests to the reader that there were only two options available.

Despite so many claims based on WP36, Barnes consistently fails to undertake any type of detailed analysis of the document. He promises 'to say something about the historical and educational context within which *Working Paper 36* is set', [70] and whilst there is some, very limited, historical analysis (centering on the confessional nature of Agreed Syllabuses and the general identification of British society with Christianity[71]), many of the

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[64] Barnes, *Working Paper 36*, 62.

[65] Barnes, *Working Paper 36*, 75.

[66] 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).

[67] Barnes, *Ninian Smart and the Phenomenological Approach*, 321, citing Swann 1985: 518.

[68] Barnes, *Working Paper 36*, 61, citing Copley, 1997.

[69] Barnes, *Working Paper 36*, 36.

[70] Barnes, *Working Paper 36,* 62.

[71] Barnes, *Working Paper 36*.

claims made are not substantiated or they are inadequately referenced.[72] This is illustrated by an assertion that

> Much has been written on the phenomenological approach to religious education of late and the importance of *Working Paper 36* in establishing the appropriateness and propriety of this approach is widely recognised.[73]

an assertion that lacks any reference to the material written. Further, a number of the claims made are inaccurate. For example, Barnes provides a summary of Professor Ninian Smart's involvement with the Schools Council project, from which WP36 emerged.[74] However, rather than recording Smart's role as instigator of the Schools Council project,[75] Barnes reports that 'Smart was appointed to the Directorship of the Schools Council Project on Religious Education',[76] constructing this supposed appointment as 'semi-official support for Smart's interpretation of the nature of religious education'.[77] This inaccuracy is surprising bearing in mind the degree to which Barnes discusses Smart and his work. Barnes discusses Smart in some detail, foregrounding him as one of first to distinguish Theology and Religious Studies at University level,[78] and suggesting that his 'contribution in calling for a comparison of religions and non-religious worldviews is neglected but remains important'.[79] Further, Barnes asserts that Smart 'shows convincingly that some forms of confessionalism are inappropriate in a pluralist, secular society. He argues convincingly that there should be a multi-faith content for religious education.'[80]

By emphasising the role of Smart in the development of multi-faith RE, and suggesting strong links between Smart and WP36 (asserting, for example, that WP36 'was produced under [Smart's] direction'[81]), Barnes firstly positions Smart as a significant actor in the adoption of SWR, and secondly conflates WP36 with phenomenological approaches

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[72] For example, Barnes claims that 'up until the nineteen fifties, the vast majority of the population, formally at least, claimed allegiance to these same churches' (62-3) suggesting that the thinking of the time was that 'Britain was a Christian country' (63) 'support for Christian confessional education in state-maintained schools declined throughout the 1960s' (63) (Barnes, *Working Paper 36*).

[73] Barnes, *Working Paper 36*, 70.

[74] Barnes, *Working Paper 36*, 64.

[75] For more detail, see Section 4.1.3 on page 174 below.

[76] Barnes, *Working Paper 36*, 64.

[77] Barnes, *Ninian Smart and the Phenomenological Approach,* 321.

[78] Barnes, *Working Paper 36*.

[79] Barnes, *Ninian Smart and the Phenomenological Approach*.

[80] Barnes, *Ninian Smart and the Phenomenological Approach*, 327.

[81] Barnes, *Ninian Smart and the Phenomenological Approach*, 321.

to RE, claiming that *'Working Paper 36's* equation of non-confessional religious education with a phenomenological approach has been influential in this country and elsewhere'.[82]

It is generally acknowledged that phenomenology was one of the first of the new approaches to take hold within the delivery of RE,[83] focusing on attempts to 'describe religion independently of theological assumptions'.[84] However, there are some acknowledged weaknesses. It requires pupils to detach themselves to some extent; to remove the socio-cultural 'lens' through which they usually see. Furthermore the search for commonality between religious traditions that is a key feature of the approach, can devalue those individual religions.[85] Barnes suggests that the popularity was rooted in the belief that the approach 'is believed to promote religious tolerance and to contribute positively to preparing pupils for life in a multi-cultural, multi-racial society',[86] and its dominance as an approach was achieved through the construction of phenomenology as an 'an undogmatic approach' set against the construction of 'confessional religious education [as] 'a dogmatic approach'.[87]

Barnes undertakes an extended critique of phenomenology, much of which is framed around Ninian Smart, who – according to Barnes:

> was able to show quite convincingly that the historical and biblical orientation of confessional religious education misrepresented the character of religion. ... Yet he failed to appreciate fully that his own identification of non-confessional religious education with the phenomenology of religion committed him to an alternative account of religion that is equally problematic.[88]

Within this discussion, Barnes reports that

> the professed aim of phenomenology of religion is to provide a relatively straightforward account of religious phenomena along descriptive lines, uncolored by conscious apologetic or polemical assumptions. Quite

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[82] Barnes, *Working Paper 36*, 61-2. See also 'The alternatives were clear: either confessional religious education or non-confessional, phenomenological religious education. Such a set of oppositions, while faithful to Working Paper 36's distinctions, is unwarranted and has served only to frustrate genuine concerns about the educational appropriateness of a phenomenological approach'. (Barnes, *Working Paper 36*, 71 also Barnes, *Ninian Smart and the Phenomenological Approach*, 321).

[83] M. Grimmitt, 'Contemporary Pedagogies of Religious Education: What Are They?'. In *Pedagogies of Religious Education: Case Studies in the Research and Development of Good Pedagogic Practice in RE*. (Great Wakering: McCrimmons, 2000); O'Grady, *Professor Ninian Smart, phenomenology and religious education*; Engebretson, *Phenomenology and Religious Education Theory*.

[84] O'Grady, *Professor Ninian Smart, phenomenology and religious education*, 230.

[85] Engebretson, *Phenomenology and Religious Education Theory*, 663-4.

[86] Barnes, *Working Paper 36*, 71.

[87] Barnes, *Working Paper 36,* 70.

[88] Barnes, *Ninian Smart and the Phenomenological Approach*, 325.

simply, the deliberate intention is to allow religious believers to speak for themselves and to record and categorize what they say.[89]

However, he differentiates between phenomenology as 'it was originally conceived', phenomenology 'as it has developed', and phenomenology 'as it has come to be applied in religious education',[90] particularly identifying the 'implicit religious confessionalism' of phenomenology as problematic.[91] Moreover, Barnes critiques phenomenology on the basis that the approach 'gives insufficient attention to the issue of religious truth'.[92] 'By refusing to countenance any questioning of religion, the self-understanding of the different religions as avenues to truth is subtly endorsed. More exactly, the implicit message is that the different religions are all valid expressions of the Sacred'.[93]

Such is Barnes' dissatisfaction, that he goes so far as suggesting that phenomenological approaches to RE are so 'deeply flawed' that they should be abandoned; 'not because it confuses pupils or adopts a secularist standpoint, as some have suggested … but simply because it embodies certain fundamental assumptions and procedures that are no longer tenable.'[94]

A clue to the nature of these fundamental assumptions can be found in an argument presented by Barnes about the replacement of the term 'phenomenological' with the term 'multi-faith', which he claims are used synonymously. Having set out this argument, Barnes continues, suggesting that

> The theological commitments, however, remained the same: the different religions are regarded as equally valid expressions of the Sacred. The ecumenical thesis that all religions mediate salvation offers the prospect of religious and social harmony.[95]

The theological assumptions that Barnes associates with the Phenomenological approach, and by extension, with Ninian Smart, and with WP36, require further scrutiny.

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[89] Barnes, *What is wrong with the Phenomenological approach*, 449.

[90] Barnes, *What is wrong with the Phenomenological approach*, 453.

[91] Barnes, *Ninian Smart and the Phenomenological Approach,* 325.

[92] Barnes, *Working Paper 36,* 73.

[93] Barnes, *Working Paper 36,* 73.

[94] Barnes, *What is wrong with the Phenomenological approach*, 458, which continues: 'I conclude that the phenomenological approach to religious education is deeply flawed and consequently should be abandoned. This is not because it confuses pupils or adopts a secularist standpoint, as some have suggested (Association of Christian Teachers 1990) but simply because it embodies certain fundamental assumptions and procedures that are no longer tenable.'

[95] Barnes, *The Misrepresentation of Religion*, 401. Note here too, the suggestion of synonymity between 'multi-faith' and 'phenomenology' in Barnes *The Misrepresentation of Religion*: 'the term *phenomenological* religious education gradually fell into disuse to be replaced by *multi-faith* religious education. The theological commitments, however, remained the same: the different religions are regarded as equally valid expressions of the Sacred. The ecumenical thesis that all religions mediate salvation offers the prospect of religious and social harmony.' (p401).

2.2.3   The influence of Liberal Protestantism

As established earlier in this chapter, the development of RE in England has been heavily influenced by the Church. However, many of the explorations within the extant literature are inappropriately subsumed under the heading 'Theology'. Deirdre Raftery suggests that there is a requirement for those engaged in the history of the interface of education and matters theological to be 'familiar with the specialist "language" used over centuries of religious life'.[96] With such a nuanced understanding of theological language, it becomes possible to show that much that is presented under the heading 'Theology' should be described differently. Much that is presented as theological assessment is more appropriately seen as an ecclesiological assessment, focusing not on Theology, but on the Church. It cannot therefore be appropriately seen as a rigorous assessment of the theological context.

However, in contrast to many other writers, Philip Barnes does engage with theological issues. He asserts that the Phenomenological roots of the 'ruling' approach to English RE are grounded in a Liberal Protestantism, which in turn is heavily centred on the radical Theology of Friedrich Schleiermacher.[97] Under the influence of developing Enlightenment thought, Schleiermacher called for a concentration on the 'experience of God through our experience of the world',[98] suggesting that it was this experience that was the essence of faith, rather than doctrinal study or ecclesiastical life.[99]

However, Barnes appears to significantly oversimplify Schleiermacher's Theology here. He shows that the roots of phenomenology are indeed connected, to some extent, with aspects of Protestantism. However, this is very different from asserting, as he does, that the Phenomenological approach has 'definite theological commitments'. He overstates the case, and in doing so, Barnes inappropriately homogenizes this 'Liberal Protestantism', against his own criticism of those who attempt to homogenize religion.[100]

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[96] Deirdre Raftery, 'Religions and the history of education: a historiography', *History of Education* 41, no.1, (2012): 55.

[97] Barnes, *The Misrepresentation of Religion*; *Developing a new post-liberal paradigm for British religious education*; *An alternative reading of modern religious education*. See also Keith Clements, *Frederich Schleiermacher: Pioneer of Modern Theology*, (London: Collins Liturgical Publications, 1987); O'Grady, *Professor Ninian Smart, phenomenology and religious education*; G. Teece, 'Traversing the Gap: Andrew Wright, John Hick and Critical Religious Education.' *British Journal of Religious Education* 27, no. 1 (2005): 29-40.

[98] W.A. Hoffecker, 'Schleiermacher, Friedrich Daniel Ernst.' In Walter A Elwell, (ed) *Evangelical Dictionary of Theology*. (Carlisle: Paternoster, 1984).

[99] For example, Clements *Frederich Schleiermacher*; K. Barth, *Protestant Theology in the Nineteenth Century: Its Background and History*, trans. B. Cozens and J. Bowden, (London: SCM 1972).

[100] Barnes, *The Misrepresentation of Religion*; *Developing a new post-liberal paradigm*; *An alternative reading of modern religious education*.

The misunderstanding, oversimplification and inappropriate homogenization is demonstrated most clearly in claims by Barnes that there is a direct link between Liberal Protestantism and religious unity,[101] particularly the idea that 'The phenomenological approach provides the means by which the Liberal Protestant thesis of the unity of religion can be inculcated in the young'.[102] Furthermore, Barnes appears to conflate such multi-faith approaches with ecumenism:

> The theological commitments, however, remained the same: the different religions are regarded as equally valid expressions of the Sacred. The ecumenical thesis that all religions mediate salvation offers the prospect of religious and social harmony.[103]

This 'ecumenical thesis' requires some comment. At best, Barnes demonstrates a significant misunderstanding of the soteriological basis of the ecumenical movement (soteriology being the aspect of Christian Theology relating to 'salvation' as effected by the person and work of Jesus Christ), and at worst, he deliberately misrepresents it. For example, by claiming that 'the ecumenical thesis that all religions mediate salvation offers the prospect of religious and social harmony',[104] he ignores the extent to which the ecumenical movement has been motivated by Christian missionary zeal.[105]

2.2.4   Summary

In summary, Barnes focuses on the mid-1960s to the mid-1970s, constructing a narrative of rapid change, claiming there to be a significant shift in the nature and purpose of RE from confessional Christian teaching, with a proselytizational aim, to a neo-confessional

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[101] Barnes claims that: 'We have already noted that the phenomenology of religion has definite theological commitments, those of Liberal Protestantism, and that accordingly it has come to espouse the view that the different religions are equally valid expressions of the Sacred and thus there is a universal Theology (Barnes, *Ninian Smart and the Phenomenological Approach,* 326). He also suggests that 'it is inappropriate to use publicly funded schools, which are by intention and design open to all, to further one particular religious creed, in this case the liberal Protestant creed of the unity of religions.' (Barnes, *The Misrepresentation of Religion*, 403) and that 'By attempting to press on pupils the liberal theological principle that all religions are equal British multi-faith religious education has failed to inculcate true respect for difference.' (Barnes, *The Misrepresentation of Religion*, 408).

[102] Barnes, *The Misrepresentation of Religion*, 399.

[103] Barnes, *The Misrepresentation of Religion*, 401. This paper also contains the suggestion of synonymity between 'multi-faith' and 'phenomenology', see especially page 401: 'the term *phenomenological* religious education gradually fell into disuse to be replaced by *multi-faith* religious education'.

[104] Barnes, *The Misrepresentation of Religion*, 401, emphasis added.

[105] For example, Christopher Ellis, *Together on The Way: A Theology of Ecumenism*, (London: Churches Together in Britain and Ireland, 1990); D. Palmer, *Strangers no longer.* (London: Hodder and Stougton, 1990); Raiser, K. *Ecumenism in transition: a paradigm shift in the ecumenical movement?* (Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1991); Christopher Oldstone-Moore, 'The Forgotten Origins of the Ecumenical Movement in England: The Grindelwald Conferences, 1892-95', *Church History* 70, no. 1 (2001): 73-79.

'liberal' confessional approach, which focuses on the development of tolerance through the phenomenological study of World Religions. He situates Ninian Smart as a key actor in this development, and claims that WP36 is the locus of change, it being an authoritative document. He raises, but does not adequately respond to, a complex relationship between RE, immigration and national identity. His work lacks a primary source basis, and it is heavily reliant on a small selection of documents, primarily a handful of published Agreed Syllabuses. Moreover, there are unhelpful conflations of terms and frameworks, and misunderstandings of the ecumenical movement are evident. Further, the lack of a detailed analysis of the 'ruling' historiography has allowed it to become used as an historical shorthand, something for which Barnes cannot be held responsible.

Finally, attempts by Barnes to construct his work as 'historical' are undermined, not only by these short comings, but by his motivation: to provide a pseudo-historical justification for an alternative to the ruling paradigm of RE. Consequently, this version of the existing historiography of English RE reveals very little about how the adoption of SWR became possible during the 1960s and 1970s.

2.3   Assessing the 'Ruling' Historiography

The narrative of a rapid change from confessional RE to a phenomenological study of World Religions upon which the 'ruling' historiography rests requires a more detailed assessment. This assessment is based on a survey of both contemporary, and contemporaneous, literature,[106] which problematizes the 'ruling' historiography, and suggests an alternative narrative of complex change.

2.3.1   *A rapid shift from Confessional approaches…*

Barnes' narrative of a rapid change occurring in during the 1960s, with RE undergoing a rapid shift from confessionalism to the study of World Religions compares favourably with some accounts of the developments constructed by others. Penny Thompson, for example, sets out a very similar thesis, albeit built on different foundations. She claims that there was 'A sudden and dramatic rupture occurred in the thinking of those responsible for leading the RE profession in 1963',[107] a claim that seems extraordinarily specific. She refers to a

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[106] Including materials published in *Learning for Living* between September 1961 (Vol.1 no.1) and May 1974 (Vol. 13, no.5).
[107] Thompson, *Whatever Happened to Religious Education*, 20.

number of events which took place in that year, including the publication of *Honest to God*,[108] an accusation 'by the Ethical Union' which was printed in *Learning For Living* in 1963 that 'Christians are proud people, incapable of seeing other points of view and convinced that they have a monopoly of truth',[109] and to a general uncertainty over the basis of RE which, Thompson claims, is evident in the Journal from March of that year onwards.[110] However, she does not specify which of these events of 1963 is at the epicentre of the supposed rupture.

Material produced during the period of change suggests that the expansion of the study of non-Christian religions was also seen, at the time, as rapid,[111] but more recent work shows that this narrative of swift change has begun to be more widely questioned. Parker and Freathy, for example, suggest a more evolutionary development,[112] and their in-depth analysis of primary source material certainly supports this view, demonstrating a process, rather than a moment, of change.[113] A critical reading of those who claim rapidity also supports such a view.

Articles drawn from *Learning for Living* appear to form the foundation of many of Thompson's claims;[114] in order to evaluate them, it is essential to examine the material on which she draws. Where her claims are compared to the material in *Learning for Living,* it becomes clear that Thompson has neither consistently, nor accurately, used this corpus. For example, despite her argument for a very specific dating, Thompson demonstrates that discussions and debates about the nature and purpose of RE stretched over a period of some years.[115] Whilst such dissonance may be interpreted as contradiction, I suggest that it is more constructively seen as a differentiation between the beginning of a change (an identifiable moment after which things are not as they were), and the process of change. Perhaps then, what Barnes characterises as *a* change, is more appropriately seen as a *process of change*, or even a *series of changes occurring concurrently.*

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[108] John A.T. Robinson, *Honest to God,* (London: SCM Press, 1963); Thompson, *Whatever Happened to Religious Education,* 14.

[109] Thompson, *Whatever Happened to Religious Education*, 12; see also Harold Loukes, 'Editorial', *Learning for Living* 2, no. 4 (March 1963): 4.

[110] Thompson, *Whatever Happened to Religious Education*, 13.

[111] For example Sharpe, *The One and The Many*, 192; Brian Gates, *Transforming Religious Education: Beliefs and Values Under Scrutiny.* (London: Contiuum, 2007).

[112] Stephen Parker and Rob Freathy, 'Context, complexity and contestation: Birmingham's Agreed Syllabuses for Religious Education since the 1970s', *Journal of Beliefs & Values* 32, no.2 (2011): 247-63.

[113] Parker and Freathy, *Context, complexity and contestation.*

[114] See, for example, Thompson, *Whatever Happened to Religious Education,* chapter 1.

[115] Thompson, *Whatever Happened to Religious Education.*

Reading the materials against this possibility of multiple concurrent changes is illuminating. Thompson suggests that in the early 1960s, RE was (as Barnes suggests) dominated by a Christian confessional approach, with 'the purpose of RE in schools [being] seen as close to, but not identical to, that of teachers in Sunday school'.[116] Such a view would appear to be supported by material published in the early editions of *Learning for Living*, where there are articles on '*The Schools as a Christian Community*';[117] interpreting the Bible;[118] and editorials, which set out in no uncertain terms the centrality of confessional Christianity.[119]

However, alongside such articles, there are others, which paint a different picture; one of disruption, problematization, and complexity. From 1962 onwards there are a number of submissions which centre on challenges to RE from the Humanist movement.[120] Further, there are articles that suggest that the dominance of Christianity was being questioned. Thompson suggests that the publication of *Honest to God* led to the view that the 'Christian Faith was in trouble';[121] that Goldman's research led to the view that the Bible was not considered suitable for primary children;[122] that Loukes' research suggested that RE was failing;[123] that society in general was secular;[124] and that some proposed that Religion had no place in the curriculum of maintained schools on the basis that it was 'not a form of knowledge'.[125]

Certainly, a series of identifiable changes can be traced across the editions of *Learning for Living*, such that by the mid-1960s it is reasonable to conclude, as Thompson

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[116] Thompson, *Whatever Happened to Religious Education*, 8.

[117] Mary Bray, 'The School as a Christian Community', *Learning for Living* 1 no1. (Sept 1961): 14-15; also Jack W.G. Hogbin, 'The School as a Christian Community', *Learning for Living* 4 no.3, (Jan 1965): 21-23.

[118] For example, amongst many: J.W.D. Smith, 'Adam and Eve', *Learning for Living* 1 no.2, (Nov 1961): 18-19; David L. Edwards, 'The Prophets', *Learning for Living* 1, no. 2, (Nov. 1961): 20-21; M.E. Rose, 'Elijah's Despair', *Learning for Living* 1, no. 4, (March 1962): 11-12; Peter Ackroyd, 'Understanding Amos', *Learning for Living* 2, no. 1, (Sept 1962): 6-9; T. Handley, 'Teaching Amos', *Learning for Living* 2, no. 1, (Sept 1962): 9-13.

[119] For example, David Ayerst, 'Editoral', *Learning for Living 5*, no.2, (Nov 1965): 4-5; David Ayerst, 'Editoral', *Learning for Living* 6, no.2, (Nov 1966): 4-5; Catherine Fletcher, 'Editorial', *Learning for Living 8*, no.1, (Sept 1968): 4-5.

[120] For example, Harold Blackham, 'A Humanist View of Religious Education', *Learning for Living* 4, no.2, (Nov 1964): 19-22; Anon, 'Religious and Moral Education in County Schools', *Learning for Living* 5, no.2 (Nov 1965): 6-10; Anon, 'The Christian – Humanist Memorandum', *Learning for Living* 5, no.3 (Jan 1966):16-18.

[121] Thompson, *Whatever Happened to Religious Education*. The publication of *Honest To God* was the subject of many articles in *Learning For Living*, including a whole edition devoted to discussion of the matter (*Learning for Living* 3, no.4, (May 1964)).

[122] Thompson, *Whatever Happened to Religious Education*, 14; Gordon Hewitt, 'IV – Implications for the Church', *Learning for Living* 2, no.5, (May 1963): 15-17.

[123] Thompson, *Whatever Happened to Religious Education*, 15

[124] Thompson, *Whatever Happened to Religious Education*, 15.

[125] Thompson, *Whatever Happened to Religious Education*, 16.

does, that 'a major rethink of RE was underway'.[126] There were open discussions about different approaches, including an 'Open' approach,[127] and an approach, discussed by Edwin Cox in '*Changing Aims in Religious Education*',[128] which later became labelled as a 'neo-confessional' approach.[129] There were also two '*Open Letters to LEA Religious Education Advisory Committees*',[130] written by different groups with different viewpoints, but which in combination epitomize the extent of the contested nature of the discussion. 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 clauses of the 1944 Education Act,[131] suggests that developments in Theology and research (such as that carried out by Goldman),[132] and the questioning of RE's purpose as proselytizational, all combine to demonstrate that the subject was reconsidering its nature and purpose. Other publications of the time, including H.F. Mathews' *Revolution in Religious Education*,[133] and the later published '*New Movements in Religious Education*',[134] make very similar claims.

Thus to claim, as Thompson and Barnes amongst others try to, that there is a 'before' and an 'after' in this process of change in English RE, with clear lines of differentiation, is not easy to support from the available contemporaneous materials. In combination, they suggest that there was indeed a *series of changes occurring concurrently*.[135]

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[126] Thompson, *Whatever Happened to Religious Education*, 13.

[127] Discussed in *Learning for Living* 5, no.2 (Nov 1965): 6-10, based on a paper, *Religious and Moral Education in County Schools,* produced by a group of Humanists and Christians who were in dialogue about the nature and purpose of RE.

[128] Edwin Cox, *Changing Aims in Religious Education,* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd, 1966).

[129] See Schools Council, *Working Paper 36*, chapter 3.

[130] Anon. 'An Open Letter to LEA Religious Education Advisory Committees', *Learning for Living* 5 no.1 (Sept 1965): 16; Anon. 'Another Open Letter to LEA Religious Education Advisory Committees', *Learning for Living* 5, no.3 (Jan 1966): 18-19.

[131] Cox suggests that assumptions included: RE was seen as equivalent to Christian Instruction; that all children are Christian and come from Christian homes; that 'the view of the nature of theological truth which was acceptable before the rise of scientific thought is still valid' (17); That the Bible is 'the unquestioned source book of Christian belief' (17); and 'That children of all ages think about religion in the same way' (18). (Cox, *Changing Aims in Religious Education*, 16-18).

[132] Cox, *Changing Aims in Religious Education*, 28ff (Theology); 38ff (Goldman's research) and 61ff (RE as conversion).

[133] H.F. Mathews, *Revolution in Religious Education,* (London: The Religious Education Press, 1966).

[134] Ninian Smart and Donald Horder (eds), *New Movements in Religious Education*, (London: Temple Smith, 1975).

[135] For example, in his obituary of Donald Horder, Ninian Smart attributes the term 'New R.E.' to Horder, in relation to the Schools Council project (Ninian Smart, 'Obituary: Donald Horder', *Learning for Living* 16, no.2 (Winter 1976): 53. See also Jean Holm, 'How Religious is the New RE?', *Learning for Living* 10, no.3 (Jan 1971): 29-32.

2.3.2 …To the adoption of SWR

The construction of a narrative where SWR in RE made a sudden and unexpected appearance in English schools in the 1960s is key to Barnes' argument.[136] However the wider discourses and primary evidence undermine this claim.[137] Rather, it is from within the complex web of concurrent changes (arising from the debates and discussions over what RE might be, and what it should grow into, which arise from the series of events which shake the foundations of what RE had become since the 1944 Education Act) that the study of World Religions (including non-Christian worldviews) emerges, gains an acceptance, and eventually, becomes a dominant approach to RE. But this is not a straightforward process of change.

In her discussion of material from *Learning for Living*, Thompson traces changes in Editorial staff (and their stances) from 1961 onwards,[138] suggesting that John Hull's editorship of *Learning for Living* (starting March 1971)[139] was in stark contrast to his predecessors, being marked by a rejection of 'the idea that RE should continue to be the positive teaching of Christianity'.[140] Thompson also highlights that, in the first edition under Hull's editorial hand, a paper by Cox was published which made a similar argument, albeit with a different foundation.[141] It is clear that Hull is expanding the horizons of RE to include non-Christian groups, although in doing so, he foregrounds an equality of provision:

> If the State accepts responsibility through its schools for the religious education of children it must do so on behalf of all its children. No part of the curriculum should be devised so as to cater for one groups and to exclude others. The religious education offered by the State to children and young people today must be offered to the Christian family, the Muslim family, the humanist family, and to all members of all other traditions without favour and without discrimination.[142]

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[136] For example: Barnes, *Ninian Smart and the Phenomenological Approach.*

[137] Dennis Bates, 'Christianity, Culture and Other Religions (Part 2): F H Hilliard, Ninian Smart and the 1988 Education Reform Act.' *British Journal of Religious Education* 18, no. 2 (1996): 85-102; see also Copley, *Teaching Religion.*

[138] *Learning for Living* 1, no 1, (Sept 1961). See also Stephen Parker, Rob Freathy and Jonathan Doney, 'Professionalizing Religious Education in England', (in preparation) for a historical account of the journal.

[139] John Hull, 'Editorial', *Learning for Living* 10, no. 4, (March 1971): 2; Parker, Freathy and Doney, *Professionalizing Religious Education in England.*

[140] Hull, *Editorial: March 1971*, 2; Thompson, *Whatever Happened to Religious Education*, 47. Hull's argument appears to be that Religious Education as religious nurture and socialization was no longer appropriate in state-funded schools without a religious affiliation.

[141] Edwin Cox, 'Educational Religious Education', *Learning for Living* 10, no. 4, (March 1971): 3-5.

[142] Hull, *Editorial: March 1971*, 2.

However, the construction (by Thompson) of Hull as the (editorial) catalyst of a change of content in *Learning for Living*, from Christian to non-Christian, at this point, fails to reflect material included in earlier editions, where there was clearly some editorial sympathy for the teaching of non-Christian positions. The third edition of *Learning for Living* (1962), for example, includes an article by Smart on the relationship between Christianity and other religions, offering a taxonomy of religions to an audience where 'neither Christians nor others can … afford to go on living in a culturally isolated world, … we are well aware that Eastern ideas are having an effect on the West'.[143] It also includes an advertisement for materials on '*The Christian Approach to….The Hindu, The Jew, The Buddhist, The Communist, The Muslim'* and '*The Animist';* the list is preceded by the statement 'Each book gives a summary of the beliefs and faith under discussion and then outlines what the Christian has to say to a member of that faith'.[144]

Here, then, the teaching of other worldviews is seen in comparison to Christianity, but there is, over time, a gradual change of emphasis within the materials. In 1965 the Journal includes a centre section on '*Christians in Vietnam'*,[145] which presents some very basic information, framed against a discussion of '*Buddhists in Vietnam'*.[146] A few editions later, the centre section is devoted to the issue of '*Muslims in Britain'*.[147] This takes a similar form to the material on Christians in Vietnam, but focuses very much on the educational issues, and in particular, issues of RE, posing the question in regard to separated teaching for different faiths 'What is the right solution – for Christians and for Muslims?'.[148] Further reading material is suggested. Ignorance of the 'other' is evident; the editors were forced to issue an apology in the following edition of the Journal regarding a photograph used to illustrate the centre section:

> unfortunately the children in the picture were Sikhs and not Muslims.
> We are sorry for the mis-information we gave – this correction draws
> attention to yet another difficulty in the way of finding the right thing to
> do when there are non-Christian minorities to be made at home.[149]

Thus, despite the errors, there is an apparent expansion of material deemed suitable for inclusion in *Learning for Living*, something which is also evident in the expansion of the

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143 Ninian Smart, 'The Christian and other religions', *Learning for Living* 1, no.3, (Jan 1962): 21.
144 Advertisement for Edinburgh House Press, *Learning for Living* 1, no.3, (Jan 1962): 19.
145 Anon, 'Christians in Vietnam', *Learning for Living* 5, no. 1, (Sept 1965): centre spread.
146 Anon, 'Buddhists in Vietnam', *Learning for Living* 5, no. 1, (Sept 1965): 30.
147 Anon, 'Muslims in Britain', *Learning for Living* 5, no.3, (Jan 1966): centre spread.
148 Anon, *Muslims in Britain,* centre spread.
149 David Ayerst, 'Editorial', *Learning for Living* 5, no.4, (March 1966): 5.

Book Reviews section of the Journal, which in January 1966 includes, for the first time, a separate section on '*Religions of the World*'.[150] This expansion extends over the following years, with numerous articles being included in *Learning for Living*,[151] on religions of the world (including; Parsi Zoroastrianism,[152] Islam,[153] and Sikhism[154]) and materials discussing the teaching of non-Christian traditions in the primary school,[155] and secondary school.[156] In addition, there is an emphatic statement of this being editorial policy by the early 1970s: 'In the last two or three years a major emphasis in religious education in Britain has been placed on teaching world religions. This Journal has supported this emphasis'.[157]

Developments of the period meant that, according to Brian Gates, 'prospects for this World Religions variety of RE have taken a tremendous leap forward',[158] with similar claims being made by Sharpe and Hull.[159] These leaps forward were such that by the mid- to late-1970s such an approach has been widely accepted,[160] with Gates, for example, writing in the early 1970s about six varieties of Religious Education, listing the World Religions type alongside Catechetical, topic based, vacuum type, ethics type and Christian

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[150] *Learning for Living* 5, no.3, (Jan 1966): 32. Later still, there is a further Normalization of the teaching of world religions, shown through the inclusion of 'World Religions Notebook' (*Learning for Living* 13, no.5, (May 1974)) together with the longer running 'Primary' and 'Secondary' notebooks.

[151] Thompson reports that CEM began to promote the teaching of World Religions in 1970: 'It was common practice to introduce something of other religions at the top end of the school, often as a comparison with Christianity … What was different in 1970 was that CEM wanted to bring these religions into the teaching of RE at all stages and with no priority given to Christianity. In September that year they brought out a series of working papers on the teaching of world religions produced by the CEM teachers' committee: world religions in the primary school, world religions at 13 plus and others … May 1972 saw the fourth primary mailing and was entitled 'RE in a Multi-Faith Society'' (Thompson, *Whatever Happened to Religious Education?*, 56-7).

[152] Robin Davies, 'Teaching about Parsis-Zoroastrianism', *Learning for Living* 13, no.1, (Sept 1973): 10-15.

[153] *Learning for Living* 11, no.3 (Jan 1972) was a special edition devoted to Islam, and included articles such as: John Taylor, 'Islam in Britain' (11-14); John Taylor, 'Muhammed: His life, work and teaching' (15-18); Geoffrey Parrinder, 'Islamic Doctrine' (19-22); Robin Davies, 'Islam in the Secondary School' (30-36) and Elizabeth Wilson, 'Islam in the Primary School' (40-43).

[154] Although not a special edition as such, a group of articles about Sikhism were included in *Learning for Living* 12, no.5 (May 1973), including, Owen Cole, 'The Sikh Religion, an introduction', (18-21); Donald Butler, 'Teaching about Sikhs', (23-25). The issue is also mentioned in John Hull's 'Editorial' (2, 37-38).

[155] Elizabeth Wilson, 'A Multi-Racial Infant School', *Learning for Living* 10, no.3 (Jan 1971): 19-22. Also Wilson, *Islam in the Primary School*.

[156] Including: Margaret Nash, 'Teaching RE in a Multi-racial comprehensive', *Learning for Living* 8, no.5, (May 1969): 14-16; Robert Minney, 'The Multi-Faith Situation in the Secondary School', *Learning for Living* 13, no.1 (Sept 1973): 23-26.

[157] John Hull, 'Editorial', *Learning for Living* 12, no.5, (May 1973): 2.

[158] Gates, *Transforming Religious Education*, 11. Original written in 1973, Gates states that 'during the last five years, prospects for this World Religions variety of RE have taken a tremendous leap forward'.

[159] For example, 'I wonder sometimes whether we realise just how recently popular opinion has swung in its favour' (Eric J. Sharpe, 'The One and The Many'. In Ninian Smart and Donald Horder (eds), *New Movements in Religious Education*, (London: Maurice Temple Smith Ltd, 1975): 192).

[160] For example: 'Less than ten years ago the place of world religions in education was marginal. At the time of writing the situation has dramatically changed to such an extent that a 'world religions' approach to religious education has apparently become accepted as normative' (Gates, *Transforming Religious Education*, 30).

type (which is concerned with 'initiation into the cumulative religious tradition that has brought the Churches to where they are today').[161] The extent to which the approach was accepted is also apparent in the extension of exam syllabuses to include World Religions.[162]

That this expansion takes place at all is interesting, that its starting point appears to coincide with an Editorial in which the progress on inter-religious dialogue at the Second Vatican Council is discussed in relation to English RE only adds to the interest in the context of this study. David Ayerst describes the existing demand for the comparative study of religion, problematizing the approach, and suggesting that the approach, supported by the Vatican documents, opened up the possibility of 'a courteous interchange', and noting that 'more may be done in English schools in this respect with Judaism and, as the inset this month shows, with Islam.'[163] The link expressed here between English RE and the Vatican Council requires further scrutiny in light of the ecumenical nature of this study.

Also requiring further scrutiny is the issue of terminology. The gradual, and non-linear, development of the Study of World Religions is not described consistently. For example, Ayerst draws a distinction between the Comparative Study of Religions (CSR), and the 'new' approach suggested by the Vatican documents, which might imply a differentiation between them. However, writing some ten years later, Eric Sharpe, in discussing the way in which the study of religions other than Christianity had become normalized claims that 'Twenty years ago, the student of comparative religion was still regarded, as he had been regarded sixty years ago, as an oddity at best, and a dangerous heretic at worst'.[164] Likewise, writing earlier, Sharpe discusses, under the heading of CSR, the development of the Study of World Religions, suggesting that differentiation between

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[161] Brian Gates, 'Varieties of Religious Education', in Brian Gates, (ed), *Transforming Religious Education,* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2007): 5-10.

[162] Gates makes this claim in *Transforming Religious Education*, 11. However, an assessment of relevant GCE (O and A level) exam papers from 1960-1972 for Joint Matriculation Board and Oxbridge Boards suggests that Religious education/Scriptural Knowledge papers for GCE did not reflect a movement towards world religious content during this period (partially catalogued Exam paper series held at Newsam Library, IOE, London). Discussion of exam content in Learning for Living suggests that CSE boards made the move more quickly. See also The National Archive (TNA), ED 147/656 – *Religious Knowledge CSE*, and ED 147/773 – *Experimental Examinations Religious Knowledge.*

[163] David Ayerst, 'Editorial', *Learning for Living* 5, no.3 (Jan 1966), 6.

[164] Sharpe, *The One and The Many*, 192.

the terms was weak.[165] This publication resulted from the conference, held in 1969 at the Shap Wells Hotel, held under the title '*Comparative Religion in Education*', during which it was decided that a more accurate title might be '*world religions in education*'.[166] Materials arising from the second meeting of this group continued the interchange of terms.[167]

An insight from Richard Rummery is pertinent here; he suggests that 'changes in language are often a reflection of a changed way of viewing something'.[168] Perhaps this shift from *Comparative Religion in Education*' to '*world religions in education*' is a reflection of a different understanding, moving from a comparative approach, with an assumption, perhaps, that Christianity, as the religion to which other religions were compared had some degree of supremacy, to a more equalitarian approach, where all religions under scrutiny were treated – in theory at least – on equal terms.[169] This possibility is exemplified by discussions at the first Shap conference, where there seems to be an attempt to find a balance between Christian teaching and the Study of World Religions; Hilliard stresses that the study of Christianity 'must continue to be the task of RE … but stressed that no young person should leave school without some knowledge of the other great religions'.[170] If this conjecture has any foundation, it would go some way to explain Hull's comments on equality of opportunity discussed above. Perhaps what Thompson is constructing as the introduction of a new approach, is just one step in development.

This suggestion brings into focus the work of Dennis Bates, who positions the teaching of non-Christian religions much earlier than has so far been discussed.[171] Bates demonstrated that the inclusion of teaching about faiths other than Christianity can be

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[165] Eric Sharpe, 'The Comparative Study of Religion in Historical Perspective'. In John Hinnells (ed), *Comparative Religion in Education,* (Newcastle: Oriel Press, 1970): 1-19. See also John Hinnells, Gordon Smith and Donald Butler, 'Letter: Why Comparative Religion', *Learning for Living* 9, no.2, (Nov 1969): 29, and response, *ibid.*, 30.

[166] Raymond Johnston, 'Comparative Religion', *Learning for Living* 9, no.1 (Sept 1969): 21. See also Thompson, who records that the aim of the conference was to 'broaden the curriculum of schools and colleges to include the study of religions other than (but not excluding) Christianity. At first its focus was on the study of comparative religion, sometimes known as CSR, but this was dropped in favour of world religions'. (Thompson, *Whatever Happened to Religious Education*, 55.)

[167] Anon. 'The Shap Working Party Report September 1971 World Religions in Education', *Learning for Living* 11, no.3 (Jan 1972): 6-11.

[168] Richard Rummery, 'Catechesis and Religious Education'. In Ninian Smart and Donald Horder (eds), *New Movements in Religious Education,* (London: Temple Smith, 1975): 150.

[169] See, for example, Brian Gates, *Transforming Religious Education*, 40.

[170] Johnston, *Comparative Religion*, 21.

[171] Bates, *The Nature and Place of Religion in English State Education c.1900 – c.1944*; 'Ecumenism and Religious Education between the Wars: The Work of J.H.Oldham'*, British Journal of Religious Education* 8, no.3, (1986): 130-9; 'Religious Education in England 1953-1992', *Word in Life: Journal of Religious Education* 40, no.3, (1992): 5-15; 'Christianity, Culture and Other Religions (Part 1): The Origins of the Study of World Religions in English Education.' *British Journal of Religious Education* 17, no. 1 (1994): 5-18; 'Christianity, Culture and Other Religions (Part 2): F H Hilliard, Ninian Smart and the 1988 Education Reform Act.' *British Journal of Religious Education* 18, no. 2 (1996): 85-102.

traced back at least as far as the Nineteenth Century.[172] His survey of inter-war Agreed Syllabuses reveals that some included materials on non-Christian worldviews, but this tended to be within the broad heading of missionary study, with the material appearing as 'The Message of Christianity to…', 'Primitive Peoples', 'Muslims', 'Buddhism' and so on.[173] This positioning resonates with the construction of comparative religion discussed above, including the assumption that Christianity was considered as the supreme religion.[174] Bates notes that such material is most obvious in syllabuses from the early 1920s, and that as the 1930s progress, references to such matters become fewer, with 'most syllabuses of the 1930s [being] almost wholly biblical in content [with] no reference to the study of other faiths.'[175] Terence Copley, in surveying a series of articles in the forerunner to *Learning for Living*,[176] suggests that such material was available during the immediate pre-war period. In an analysis of *Religion in Education Quarterly* from 1934 to 1939, he found that from a total of 126 articles, 4 (3%) were about 'teaching world religions'.[177] Copley discusses the extent to which these articles discuss the comparative study of religions, suggesting that there was an attempt to present a balanced perspective: '[Phillips] did not wish teaching of different religions to be 'competitive', and argued that a point in favour of the 'other religion' is not a point subtracted from Christianity'.[178] Within his account there are examples of each religion being treated discretely.[179] Sadly, such work, focusing as it does on the period prior to the 1944 Education Act, tends to be marginalized and overlooked in the construction of the current historiographies of English RE. These two examples illustrate the importance of having open chronological parameters when exploring how practices become possible.

The more recent accounts given of the changes in English RE during the 1960s and 1970s might lead to the impression that they were accepted without opposition, but the examination of contemporaneous material suggests that this was not the case. There have always been those who felt that 'Confessional' RE was not a responsibility of the school,

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[172] Bates, *Christianity, Culture and Other Religions (Part 2)*, 97-8.

[173] Bates, *Christianity, Culture and Other Religions (Part 1)*, 9.

[174] The topic of Christian supremacy will be taken up later, including on page 248 below.

[175] Bates specifically mentions the West Riding syllabus of 1922, the Macmillan's syllabus of 1923, and the West Riding syllabus of 1937 (Bates, *Christianity, Culture and Other Religions (Part 1)*, 10-11).

[176] See Parker, Freathy and Doney, *Professionalizing Religious Education in England*, for an account of the relationship between these two publications.

[177] Terence Copley, 'Rediscovering the Past: Writings on Religious Education in Religion in Education Quarterly, 1934-39, Raise Some Questions for Today's Religious Educators', *British Journal of Religious Education* 20, no.2, (1998) 80-9.

[178] Copley, *Rediscovering the Past*, 83. See also G.E. Phillips, 'The study of other religions in schools'. *Religion in Education* 6, no. 4, (1939): 221-226.

[179] A. Mayhew, 'The Comparative Study of Religions in Schools', *Religion in Education Quarterly* 4, no.1. (1937), cited in Copley, *Rediscovering the Past*, 83.

but rather was a matter for the home and family, together with the church or faith community. The contemporaneous material suggests that some of those who did accept the adoption of SWR in RE, believed that comparison with other religions would demonstrate the supremacy of Christianity. For example, a number of respondents to a survey in the mid-1960s suggested that the study of other religions would benefit students' understanding of Christianity; with some suggesting that such an approach would in fact 'illuminate the merits of Christianity *vis-a-viz* the other religions' and 'show the superior value, standards and power of real Christianity'.[180] However, others felt that the opposite would be the case. One head-teacher was fearful: 'Insofar as [the Study of World Religions] draws attention to other ways of religious thought I consider it might be dangerous for children of too tender years'; another wrote 'Other religions could easily appear more attractive than the version of Christianity that the pupil has grown up with [and he may then] adopt a lesser faith'.[181]

The expression of such views was not confined to surveys. A series of letters sent from individuals, which has been found in one particular Government archive, express frustration and anger at the state of RE in schools. One asks for the Minister of Education 'issue a directive to teachers of secular subjects … not to deny or ridicule the belief held by Christians [with regard to the creation of the World]'.[182] The response is revealing; 'I am directed by the Minister of Education to state that it would not be possible for him to give a directive as you suggest'.[183] The matter did not end there, and further letters were exchanged, although such a directive was never issued. Another letter, in the same month, expressed the view that 'it is of no use building palatial schools if one of the main subjects is being left out'.[184] The view that RE was being left out was based on the writer having been told by 'a young man that they could read a comic if they liked during the half an hour when they should have been having religious instruction'.[185] Other examples exist, being sent not only to the Government, but also to professional organizations, such as the

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[180] John Hinnells, '*The Comparative Study of Religion in West Riding Schools*'. In John Hinnells, (ed) *Comparative Religion in Education,* (Newcastle-Upon-Tyne: Oriel Press Limited, 1970): 37.

[181] Hinnells, *The Comparative Study of Religion in West Riding Schools*, 41.

[182] The National Archive (TNA), ED 147/544 - *Religious Instruction 1959-66*: letter from Mrs E.G. Gale to The Minister of Education, 11 April 1959.

[183] TNA, ED 147/544: letter from K.A. Kennedy (Ministry of Education) to Mrs E.G. Gale, 30 April 1959.

[184] TNA, ED 147/544: letter from Mrs Butler to Home Secretary (R.A. Butler), 25 April 1959.

[185] TNA, ED 147/544: letter from Mrs Butler to Home Secretary (R.A. Butler), 25 April 1959.

Christian Education Movement.[186] These individuals were not alone in expressing their frustration, anger and fear; documentary sources provide evidence of the formation of pressure groups, including the National Association of Teachers of Religious Knowledge (NATORK).[187]

It appears that these voices of opposition are evident in the contemporaneous materials, and archive sources, but have generally been written out of the 'ruling' narrative. However, these voices are being de-marginalized through more recent work.[188]

2.3.3   SWR, policy documents and immigration

Barnes' foregrounding of WP36 as a key locus of change has not yet been discussed, yet it must be considered in relation to the wider literature. The reception of WP36 at the time of its publication appears muted. One article shortly before its publication appears in the professional journal *Learning for Living*,[189] in comparison to a number of articles about Agreed Syllabuses and non-Christian religions, and a brief review of the document immediately after publication is mostly critical, highlighting that 'it does not make significant additions to the questions already familiar to many'.[190] In *Learning for Living*, for example, the *Working Paper* is mentioned infrequently, and even then, generally in passing;[191] John Hull mentions it in an editorial, but only in the shadow of the Durham Report (1970),[192] and there are a number of articles in which one might expect it to be

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[186] See, for example, Rob Freathy, Stephen Parker and Jonathan Doney. 'Raiders of the Lost Archives: Searching for the Hidden History of Religious Education in England', in *History, Remembrance and Religious Education*, eds. S. G. Parker, R. Freathy and L. J. Francis (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2014): 105-138.

[187] A detailed account of the founding of this group, in 1968, can be found in Parker, Freathy and Doney, *Professionalizing Religious Education in England*. See also Freathy, et al, *Raiders of the Lost Archives*; 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.

[188] For example, R. Freathy and S. Parker, S. 'Secularists, Humanists and religious education: religious crisis and curriculum change in England, 1963–1975', *History of Education* 42, no.2, (2013): 222-256; Freathy, et al, *Raiders of the Lost Archives*.

[189] Donald Horder, 'Religious Education in Secondary Schools', *Learning for Living* 10, no. 4 (1971): 10-14.

[190] Paul King and Kenneth Hyde, 'Review Article: What are we trying to do in the Secondary School?', *Learning for Living* 11, no.2 (Nov 1971): 30-33. 32.

[191] For example, Mohammed Iqbal, 'Education and Islam in Britain - a Muslim View', *Learning for Living* 13, no.5 (May 1974): 198-199; John Marvell, 'The Formation of Religious Belief in a Multi-Racial Community', *Learning for Living* 15, no.1 (Autumn 1975): 17-23; John Marvell, 'Phenomenology and the Future of Religious Education', *Learning for Living* 16, no.1, (Autumn 1976): 4-8.

[192] John Hull, 'Editorial', *Learning for Living* 14, no.1, (Sept 1974): 2-4.

mentioned, where it is not.[193] Further, within the literature produced around the time of WP36's publication, there is very little mention of it; the publication, and associated commentary on, the Durham Report and the Birmingham Agreed Syllabus of 1975 apparently overshadowing it.[194] This might suggest that WP36 is of little consequence, but Barnes' situating of it as *the* locus of change, and the references to it in the 1985 Swann report,[195] means that this speculation must be assessed in detail, rather than accepted unquestioningly.

The exploration so far has revealed a great deal. In particular, it shows very clearly that the adoption of SWR was not driven by a policy in the same way as, for example, the 1944 Education Act resulted in the introduction of Agreed Syllabuses. Rather, the literature suggests that there is a movement towards the Study of World Religions, starting much earlier than is claimed, developing especially during the 1960s, and being generally accepted by the early to mid-1970s, at which the approach is legitimized through policy documents. The Church of England sponsored Durham Report, published in 1970, offers a rationale for the Study of World Religions, calling for pupils to study, 'where appropriate…other religions and belief systems';[196] a little later, Memo 3/75 (issued by Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools in a sequence of 'Memoranda to Inspectors') specifically permits the 'inclusion of non-Christian religions as objects of study in their own right'.[197] The importance attributed to WP36 by Barnes is apparently unsupported by the contemporaneous literature.

Within the discussions and debates, some suggestions are made as to the reasons for the change, revealing a little about why they might have taken place. Immigration is raised by a number of writers. Edward Short, then Secretary of State for Education and Science, starts the Foreword to *Comparative Religion in Education*, with a clear link to the issue, commenting that 'we enter schools in many of our cities and are surrounded by

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[193] For example: W.J.H. Earl 'The Place of Christianity in Religious Education', *Learning for Living* 13, no.4, (March 1974): 132-135 which discusses the change in RE in relation to expansion of teaching SWR; Shap and the Durham report are mentioned, WP36 is not (134). See also Eric Sharpe, 'The Phenomenology of religion', *Learning for Living* 15, no.1 (Autumn 1975): 4-9; Daniel W. Hardy, 'The Implications of Pluralism for Religious Education', *Learning for Living* 15, no.2 (Winter 1976): 55-62.

[194] For example, there is a 'symposium' on BAS 1975 (*Learning for Living* 14, no.4 (March 1975) and a group of papers published in response to the Durham Report (*Learning for Living* 10, no.1, (Sept 1970), but no such obvious response to the publication of Working Paper 36, beyond those already mentioned, for example Donald Horder, 'Religious Education in Secondary Schools', *Learning for Living* 10, no. 4 (March 1971): 10-14.

[195] *Swann Report* 1985: 470ff.

[196] Ramsey, *The Fourth R*, §264; §216.

[197] The National Archive (TNA), ED 135/35 – *HMI Memos 1975*: Memo 3/75. Note, this advice is contrary to legal advice received earlier by Birmingham LEA.

children of a dozen races, cultures and creeds'.[198] Gates discusses the wider context of immigration, detailing the changes to the legal situation,[199] whilst Sharpe positions immigration as 'the commonest motivation for comparative religion in schools', suggesting that the approach is being used as 'an instrument of race relations', and citing 'the undeniable fact that we have in our midst sizable immigrant communities', which interestingly, he categorises by religion, rather than geographical origin.[200] Peter Woodward also discusses the relationship between 'the teaching of non-Christian faiths [and] the presence of 'immigrant' groups', suggesting that multi-faith RE had become 'justifiable when there are immigrants present - and not justifiable in other situations'.[201] He critiques such a position, going on to say 'the study of world religions 'is aided and modified by the presence of immigrant groups, but is not dependent on them'.[202] The debates and discussions are also played out in the pages of *Learning for Living*; a special edition was devoted to the matter in early 1969,[203] with a *Foreword* by Alice Bacon (Minister of State for Education and Science).[204] More recently, Parker and Freathy, as part of their detailed studies on the Hidden History of RE, attest to the importance of immigration as 'highly significant stimuli for reconsidering the aims and content of RE' during the later 1960s.[205] They particularly identify the link between changing RE and the immigrant 'problem',[206] as well as highlighting the link between immigration and the development of the Shap Working Party.[207] The issue of immigration as a *justification* for SWR in RE requires further exploration, and will be taken up later.[208]

Other reasons for the changes in RE during the 1960s and 1970s are also discussed, including secularization,[209] (a notion which Gates suggests to be contested),[210] which is discussed in more refined terms by some; Julian Frost talks about 'post-Christian' and

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[198] Edward Short, 'Foreword'. In John Hinnells (ed), *Comparative Religion in Education*, (Newcastle: Oriel Press, 1970): vii.

[199] Brian Gates, 'Teaching World Religions.' In *Transforming Religious Education: Beliefs and Values Under Scrutiny.* (London: Contiuum, 2007): 34.

[200] Sharpe, *The One and the Many*, 199-200.

[201] Peter Woodward, 'World Religions: Practical Considerations'. In Ninian Smart and Donald Horder (eds), *New Movements in Religious Education,* (London: Temple Smith, 1975): 208.

[202] Woodward, *World Religions: Practical Considerations*, 208.

[203] *Learning For Living* 8, no.3 (Jan 1969), including: Anon, 'An Immigrant Neighbourhood and its children' (15-18); Douglas Tilbe, 'The Immigrants's Contribution to the Community', (18-19), and Teresina Havens, 'Encountering Our Religious Miniorities', (31-34).

[204] Alice Bacon, 'Foreword', *Learning for Living* 8, no.3, (Jan 1969): 4-5.

[205] Parker and Freathy, *Ethic Diversity, Christian Hegemony*, 383.

[206] Parker and Freathy, *Ethic Diversity, Christian Hegemony*, 383.

[207] Parker and Freathy, *Ethic Diversity, Christian Hegemony*, 386.

[208] See, for example, Section 4.3.1 starting on page 198 below.

[209] For example: H.F. Mathews, *Revolution in Religious Education,* (London: The Religious Education Press, 1966): 4; Wedderspoon, *Religious Education 1944-1984,* 119.

[210] See Gates, *Teaching World Religions,* 33.

'post-ecclesiastical' understandings.[211] Parker and Freathy adopt, to my mind, a more useful term in their work, discussing the notion of 'dechristianization'.[212] Educational changes are also discussed, as are theological changes,[213] including the previously mentioned publication of '*Honest to God',*[214] emergence of 'new' theologies,[215] and developments in the ecumenical movement. This latter issue requires more detailed consideration bearing in mind the focus of this study.

2.3.4   *The lack of an ecumenical contextualisation*

The centrality to this study of an ecumenical contextualisation to the historiography of RE has already been set out (in Chapter 1 above), however the literature under scrutiny here provides an underpinning justification. The narrowing of divisions between groups within Christianity, and developments in the ecumenical movement are all discussed.[216] Some suggest that the co-operation of Christian groups in the educational context furthered the ecumenical movement,[217] whilst others discuss the links between early ecumenical meetings and the emergence of professional groups within RE.[218] The World Council of Churches and the British Council of Churches are mentioned,[219] although not discussed at any length.

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[211] Julian Frost, 'Learning about Christianity'. In Ninian Smart and Donald Horder, (eds), *New Movements in Religious Education*, (London: Temple Smith, 1975): 219-233.

[212] Parker and Freathy, *Ethnic Diversity, Christian Hegemony*.

[213] For example, Cox, *Changing Aims in Religious Education*; Patrick Millar, 'Recent Trends in Christian Theology'. In Ninian Smart and Donald Horder (eds), *New Movements in Religious Education*, (London: Temple Smith, 1975): 248-266. Mathews, *Revolution in Religious Education,* 4ff. For a more detailed account of the theological changes of this period, see, Hugh McLeod, *The Religious Crisis of the 1960s,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

[214] See, for example, *Learning for Living* 3, no.5 (May 1964), an edition devoted to discussion and response to *Honest to God*.

[215] For example, Cox, *Changing Aims in Religious Education*, 28ff; see also Mathews, *Revolution in Religious Education*. Theologians such as Tillich, Bonhoeffer and Bultmann are mentioned in other documents, but their influence or positioning is not discussed.

[216] McLeod, *The Religious Crisis of the 1960s*, 3.

[217] 'The introduction of legally required religious instruction in all state schools would have been impossible in the early part of the twentieth century because of the bitter denominational rivalries and suspicion that then existed. But by the time the [1944] Act was drafted the Churches had grown sufficiently close together for them to be able to co-operate in the drafting of such syllabuses, and to welcome their use in schools as imparting a useful background of common knowledge without doing damage to any denominational interest.' (Cox, *Changing Aims in Religious Education,* 14); 'The friendliness and frankness … common thought and action on Educational affairs have in their turn assisted greatly in the growth of ecumenical relations' (Stopford in Wedderspoon, pp unknown). It is true that we have come to realise that the few tenets which hold the denominations apart were much less significant than the great truths which all Christians held in common (Mathews, *Revolution in Religious Education,* 8-9).

[218] Copley, for example, sets out links between the Institute of Christian Education (ICE), the International Missionary Conference in Edinburgh in 1910, and the 1928 IMC at Jerusalem (Copley, *Rediscovering the Past*, 81). Such links are also exposed in Parker, Freathy and Doney, *Professionalizing Religious Education in England*, where the roles played by different individuals in these processes are explored.

[219] For example, Alan Wainright, 'The Tide of Unity: Standing Water', *Learning for Living* 2 no.2, (Nov 1962): 16-17; Mathews, *Revolution in Religious Education*, 147.

The Second Vatican Council is considered in more detail, as has been mentioned above.[220] Whilst Dennis Bates specifically highlights strong connections between the ecumenical movement and Agreed Syllabuses during the inter-war period,[221] and discusses—in some depth—the work of particular 'ecumenical' activists,[222] the ecumenical background to the changes in RE during the 1960s and 1970s has, thus far, been overlooked.[223] As already mentioned, Barnes does discuss an 'ecumenical thesis' of sorts, but he does not relate it in any meaningful way to the ecumenical movement, or to developments therein. Rather, as has been shown, it demonstrates significant misunderstandings.[224]

Deirdre Raftery suggests that 'it remains for more work to be done on faiths, religions and education in the twentieth century'.[225] In assessing the way in which theological history has been discussed, Raftery concludes that 'overwhelmingly historians of education have concentrated on the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries', in their engagement with matters theological and ecclesiastical, and that 'it remains for more work to be done on faiths, religions and education in the twentieth century'.[226] As yet, in relation to the developments in English Religious Education, such work remains undone.

2.3.5   Summary

This survey of both contemporary and contemporaneous literature has problematized the 'ruling' historiography quite considerably; in contrast to the 'ruling' historiography, the wider literature demonstrates that the adoption of SWR in English Schools became possible as a result of a series of complex, concurrent, changes which took place over a long period of time. There is an identifiable movement away from Christian Confessional teaching as the dominant approach to RE during the 1960s, but it starts earlier than the 'ruling' historiography suggests, is less clear cut, and continues over quite a time.

The changes are driven by a complex interaction between a combination of educational, theological, socio-political, and globalizing changes. In particular, the

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[220] See discussion on Ayerst's Editorial, page 76 above.

[221] Bates, *Christianity, Culture and Other Religions (Part 1)*, 15; see also Parker, Freathy and Doney, *Professionalizing Religious Education in England*.

[222] For example, Bates, *Ecumenism and Religious Education between the Wars*; *Christianity, Culture and Other Religions (Part 1)*; *Christianity, Culture and Other Religions (Part 2)*.

[223] Some examples include: Copley, *Teaching Religion*; Freathy and Parker, *The Necessity of Historical Enquiry*; Teece, *A religious approach to religious education*. See also Richardson, *Historians and educationalists Part I and II*; *British Historiography of Education in the International Context*.

[224] See Section 2.2.3, 'The influence of Liberal Protestantism', on page 66 above.

[225] Raftery, *Religions and the history of education*, 52.

[226] Raftery, *Religions and the history of education*, 52.

strengthening of secular and de-christianising influences are key, as is the dominance of Christianity within the context of rising immigration, especially of 'other' faiths, which is extensively questioned. Structures of authority, especially those connected to Agreed Syllabuses, are also questioned.

The literature suggests that movement towards SWR is not driven by policy directive, rather, it comes about through a non-linear series of complicated concurrent and overlapping changes. SWR as a comparative act (with Christianity being situated as supreme) can be traced back to the early years of the Twentieth century, but during the 1960s there is a palpable change to a more equal treatment of religious groups, with an associated change in language from CSR to SWR or World Religions in Education. By the early to mid-1970s, the practice is seen as 'normal' by many, although this is not without controversy and opposition from individuals and from organised groups. It is at around this point that the practices, to some degree, find legitimacy in policy documents.

The process of adopting SWR is linked explicitly to ecumenical developments, including the Second Vatican Council, but no rigorous account of the role of the ecumenical movement in these processes of change has been undertaken hitherto. Despite the detailed coverage of what happened in RE during the 1960s and 1970s, and the nascent discussions about possible causes, there remains lacking any rigorous account of how SWR in English schools during the 1960s and 1970s *became possible*.

2.4   Appraising Current Methodological Practice

The historiographies set out above continue to highlight - yet not answer - the question 'how did it become possible for the change to happen?'. To assess the extent to which the existing historiography can provide answers to this question, it is necessary now to examine the ways in which the existing narrative has been constructed. Here I will consider the methodological practices relating to the current historiographies, focusing on the choice of source material, specific methods used, and the limitations imposed by nationally bound studies.

2.4.1   *Building on shaky foundations – sources*

One of the major difficulties presented by the current historiographies is the restricted array of documents upon which it is predicated, which gives rise to oversimplified accounts, leading to problematic assumptions of a linear causality. This is exacerbated by the lack of analysis of primary source material. Rob Freathy and Stephen Parker discuss

this lack in some detail, promoting 'rigorous historical studies that are more substantially grounded in the appropriate sources'.[227] They particularly mention the historical work of Barnes and Wright, suggesting that answers to their questions,[228] 'can only be derived from rigorous historical studies that … utilise a wide range of documentary sources (including non-published archive material)'.[229]

However, many writers depend heavily on published Agreed Syllabus documents in their narrations of the historiography of English RE.[230] This results, in the main, from writers adopting the passing of the 1944 Education Act as their starting point; the introduction of compulsory Agreed Syllabuses under this Act provides some framework for discussion of the developing subject, but I suggest that this approach is flawed for two significant reasons.

Firstly, by focusing on published Agreed Syllabus documents produced after 1944, there is a lack of historical analysis of the Agreed Syllabus settlement itself. Such an approach overlooks, for example, the discussions about Agreed Syllabuses by the Archbishop's Commission on Religious Education in 1929, and the discussion of Agreed Syllabuses in the period prior to the 1944 Act.[231] Moreover, by ignoring the context out of which the Agreed Syllabus settlement arose, ecumenical influences are marginalized.

This is illustrated by the requirement, laid down by the 1944 Education Act, that the body responsible for agreeing an appropriate RE syllabus for an area (Agreed Syllabus Committee) should reach a unanimous agreement.[232] Against the context of a developing liberal democracy in the face of totalitarian regimes elsewhere, this requirement for unanimity appears incongruous.[233] However, an awareness of developments within the ecumenical movement can illuminate an otherwise neglected development. In discussing

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[227] Freathy and Parker, *The Necessity of Historical Enquiry*, 229. See also Bråten, *Towards a Methodology for Comparative Studies in Religious Education.*

[228] See Freathy and Parker, *The Necessity of Historical Enquiry*, 237.

[229] Freathy and Parker, *The Necessity of Historical Enquiry*, 238.

[230] This is evident in many of the sources already discussed, including Barnes (*passim.*), Bell (*Agreed Syllabuses of Religious Education Since 1944*), Parker and Freathy (*passim.*) and Priestly (*Agreed Syllabuses: Their history and development in England and Wales 1944-2004*). Gates foregrounds the importance of Agreed Syllabuses in the narrative he sets out; referring to referring to the normative nature of SWR, he says 'This can most easily be illustrated by reference to two Agreed Syllabuses …' (Gates, *Teaching World Religions*, 30); Thompson also predicates much of her historical account on Agreed Syllabuses (Thompson, *Whatever happened to Religious Education*, esp p94ff, and 106ff).

[231] The National Archive (TNA), ED 24/1519 - *Papers re ABC & ABY commission on RE*: 'Summary of the Report of the Archbishop's Commission on Religious Education, 1929'. See, for example, discussions of the *Green Book*, discussed on page 306 below; also Copley, *Teaching Religion.*

[232] Great Britain, *Education Act*, 7&8 Geo.6 c.31, (1944), 5th Schedule.

[233] See S.J.D. Green, 'The 1944 Education Act: A Church-State Perspective', *Parliamentary History* 19, no.1, (2000): 148-164.

guiding protocols, the *First World Conference on Faith and Order*, at Lausanne, 1927, introduced a requirement of unanimity; they 'agreed that the findings of the sections should only be "accepted" by the conference if accepted unanimously or *nemine contradicente*'.[234] It seems probable that this idea of unanimity was transmitted from the ecumenical movement to English educational policy by William Temple, who was 'prominent at the Lausanne Conference',[235] and, being Archbishop of Canterbury at the time that the 1944 Education Act was being drafted, was keenly involved in the shaping of the RE clauses.[236] However, as far as I have been able to tell, this link has not previously been made.

Furthermore, dependence on published Agreed Syllabuses overlooks the extent to which the very notion of Agreed Syllabuses has been a focus of debate and contestation. There have been, and continue to be, debates about whether Agreed Syllabuses should be locally or nationally agreed, and there is a wealth of literature about the basic nature of the Agreed Syllabus as a framework, in the professional journals, in wider literature, and in official publications.[237]

Secondly, the dependence on published Agreed Syllabus documents overlooks the extent to which they are *prescriptive* documents, prescribing what *should be* done rather than descriptive documents, recording *what is* done. Yet, they have been widely used as if they were describing practice; Adrian Bell claims that such documents 'constitute an historical

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[234] K-C Epting, 'Lausanne 1927. The First World Conference on Faith and Order', *The Ecumenical Review* 29, no. 2 (1977): 167-81.

[235] J. Kent, *William Temple: Church, State and Society in Britain 1880-1950*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992): 148.

[236] See, for example, Green, The 1944 Education Act; Behenna, M.R. '*The Significance of Canon E.F. Hall as General Secretary of the National Society in the Negotiations between the Church of England and the Government on the Clauses of the 1944 Education Act concerning Denominational Religious Education and Church Schools.*' (University of Exeter; Unpublished MPhil Thesis, 2000). Also, The National Archive (TNA), ED 136 series.

[237] As an indication of the wealth of literature devoted to the issue, see: Harold Loukes, 'Editorial', *Learning for Living* 1, no.3, (Jan 1962): 4-6; Gordon Hewitt, 'Implications for the Church', *Learning for Living* 2, no.5, (May 1963): 15-17; George Whitfield, 'Editorial', *Learning for Living* 4, no.1, (Sept 1964): 4; Basil Yeaxlee, 'Aims and Syllabuses', *Learning for Living* 4, no.1, (Sept 1964): 33-36; Anon. 'An Open Letter to LEA Religious Education Advisory Committees', *Learning for Living* 5 no.1 (Sept 1965): 16; Anon. 'Another Open Letter to LEA Religious Education Advisory Committees', *Learning for Living* 5 no.3 (Jan 1966): 18-19; K.E.Hyde, 'Syllabus Making, 1968', *Learning for Living* 8, no.2, (Nov 1968): 15-16; Catherine Fletcher, 'Editorial', *Learning for Living* 8, no.5 (May 1969): 4-6 (Note, this edition includes a number of papers from an Agreed Syllabus Symposium); Wyatt Rawson, 'Is There a Basis for Agreement?', *Learning for Living* 9, no.1 (Sept 1969): 7-10; John Pryor, 'Symposium: The New Agreed Syllabuses: Training the Teachers', *Learning for Living* 9, no.1, (Sept 1969): 27-28; *Learning for Living* 11, no.1 (Sept 1971) is a special edition on 'The Agreed Syllabus today'; John Hull, 'Editorial', *Learning for Living* 13, no.2, (Nov 1973): 42-43; W. Owen Cole, 'School Worship: A Reconsideration', *Learning for Living* 14, no.1 (Sept 1974): 10. Also, Cox, *Changing Aims in Religious Education*; Hull, *Agreed Syllabuses, Past, Present and Future*.
In terms of 'official' publications, see Ministry of Education, '*Half our Future' Report of the Central Advisory Council for Education (England),* (The Newsom Report), (London: HMSO, 1963), and Ramsey, *The Fourth R.*

record of views on teaching of considerable clarity and temporal precision',[238] and John Hull, contends that, although the publication of other guidance documents, such as Schools Council *Working Paper 36* and output from the Shap Working Party and Christian Education Movement (CEM), diluted the influence and authority of Agreed Syllabuses, 'they continue to 'give official approval and recognition to trends already well established'.[239] Further, Hull claims that 'Agreed Syllabuses retain a certain moral and professional weight which no other document has'.[240] In contrast, Parker and Freathy, for example, demonstrate, in their investigation of the implementation of the 1975 Birmingham Agreed Syllabus, that Agreed Syllabus documents are not always adopted with the vigour and enthusiasm that Committees might hope; there is a difference between the curriculum as imagined and the curriculum as enacted.[241] This is not a novel suggestion relating only to one Agreed Syllabus. A study undertaken in the late 1950s compared Agreed Syllabus documents to teachers' schemes of work; The 'main conclusion appeared to be a recognition of the fact that what the teacher was teaching and what the Agreed Syllabus provided were often far apart'.[242] The report also claimed that a 'large proportion of teachers' were ignoring their 'Education Authority's Syllabus of Religious Education' altogether,[243] and more recent research shows that reluctance to engage with Agreed Syllabuses was also evident in some Local Education Authorities.[244] Materials published elsewhere also foreground this issue.[245]

Hull claims that the most significant feature of the Agreed Syllabus is 'not merely what they say, but how they came to say it',[246] yet, by focusing on published Agreed Syllabus documents, this background is overlooked. Further work is required in this regard. In particular, a detailed analysis of the changing nature of Agreed Syllabus Committees is

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[238] Adrian Bell, 'Agreed Syllabuses of Religious Education Since 1944'. In I. Goodson (ed) *Social Histories of the Secondary Curriculum: Subjects for Study*. (Lewes: Falmer Press, 1995): 177.

[239] Hull, *Agreed Syllabuses Past, Present and Future*, 118.

[240] Hull, *Agreed Syllabuses Past, Present and Future*, 118.

[241] Parker and Freathy, *Context, complexity and contestation*.

[242] University of Sheffield Institute of Education. *Religious Education in Secondary Schools*. (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd, 1961): 13.

[243] University of Sheffield Institute of Education, *Religious Education in Secondary Schools*, 13.

[244] This issue is discussed in depth in Jonathan Doney, Stephen Parker and Rob Freathy, 'Enriching the Historiography of Education with Oral Life Histories: The case of Religious Education', (in preparation).

[245] Many examples in articles in *Learning for Living*; see list of articles in footnote 237, this chapter, above. See also Cox, *Changing Aims in Religious Education*, 15, 'The London Agreed Syllabus of Religious Instruction (1947) states that "It cannot be overstressed that the syllabus is intended to be suggestive rather than compulsory" (p29). The Introduction to the Surrey County Council Syllabus of Religious Instruction (1947) contains this advice: "It remains for the teacher to select and arrange such courses as will be suitable for the organisation and other conditions in the individual school" (p.7).'

[246] Hull, *Agreed Syllabuses Past, Present and Future*, 118.

absent. There is anecdotal evidence of a change in the make up of these groups, with teachers taking a more prominent role, and lay Christians and leaders from other faith communities being included. The Birmingham Agreed Syllabus Committee (ASC) exemplifies this. Not only were World Religions to be included in the classroom in a more structured manner, these religions began to be represented at the Agreed Syllabus level.[247] The Birmingham committee had pushed the definition of 'other denominations',[248] with the Standing Advisory Committee on Religious Education (SACRE) giving in to lobbying pressure from the British Humanist Association and co-opting Dr. Harry Stopes-Roe to the co-ordinating Working Party,[249] although he was not accorded the status of being a full member of the Committee.[250] However, the inclusion of representatives from other religious groups seems to have caused less controversy, suggesting that it was not a novel practice.

Upon this inappropriate positioning of Agreed Syllabuses as descriptive, much has been built. For example, published Agreed Syllabuses have been used inappropriately, and inconsistently, to taxonomize changes in RE. Bell divides the history from 1944 into three periods demarcated by Agreed Syllabuses,[251] and adopting the same schema, Jack Priestley uses them to sub-divide the period from 1944 to the present into four.[252] Within such frameworks, certain documents become constructed as key points of transition, and their importance becomes elevated.

In this way, the existing historiographies often have focused on the publication of the West Riding Agreed Syllabus in 1966 and the Birmingham Agreed Syllabus in 1975,[253] with some undertaking a bilateral comparison between them to illustrate the changes in RE during the 1960s and 1970s.[254] However the comparison is frequently undertaken as if there

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[247] This was also the case in the development of the Inner London Education Authority's Agreed Syllabus of 1968.

[248] Parker and Freathy, *Context, complexity and contestation.*

[249] Parker and Freathy, Context, complexity and contestation.; see also Doney, Parker and Freathy, *Enriching the Historiography of Education with Oral Life Histories.*

[250] Thompson, *Whatever Happened to Religious Education*; see also Doney, Parker and Freathy, *Enriching the Historiography of Education with Oral Life Histories.*

[251] Bell, *Agreed Syllabuses of Religious Education*, 177.

[252] Priestley, *Agreed Syllabuses*, 1007.

[253] West Riding Education Committee (WREC), *Suggestions for Religious Education: West Riding Agreed Syllabus,* (Wakefield, County Council of the West Riding of Yorkshire, 1966); City of Birmingham District Council Education Committee, *Agreed Syllabus for Religious Education* (Birmingham: City of Birmingham District Council Education Committee, 1975). See, for example, John Hull, 'Agreed Syllabuses Past, Present and Future'. In Ninian Smart and Donald Horder (eds), *New Movements in Religious Education,* (London: Temple Smith, 1975): 97-119; Bell, *Agreed Syllabuses*; Priestley, *Agreed Syllabuses*; Copley, *Teaching Religion.*

[254] For example, Gates, *Transforming Religious Education*; Hull, *Agreed Syllabuses Past, Present and Future*; Barnes, *The Misrepresentation of Religion.*

was no temporal or ideological distance between the two documents. To compare the two Syllabuses and claim that one represents the 'old' order and the other the 'new' is misleading. As set out above, such a binary is inappropriate. They might be more appropriately seen as snapshots along the journey of transition.

The *West Riding Agreed Syllabus* was seen as revolutionary when it was first released.[255] Building on the work of Religious Educators Harold Loukes and Ronald Goldman,[256] who were very much influenced by Piaget,[257] the *West Riding Agreed Syllabus* contrasted with earlier Syllabuses by placing the child at the centre of enquiry, and breaking the content down in terms of periods of childhood rather than school years.[258] The preface makes it clear that the Syllabus is different from those that have gone before, and in the context of its period could be considered to be somewhat subversive:

> The main difference perhaps is that [the syllabus] emphasises much more
> the kind of things that children can be expected to understand and enjoy
> at each stage of their development *rather than the things that their elders and
> supposed betters think they ought to know.*[259]

However, the document retained a strong emphasis on Christian nurture,[260] with a strong emphasis on promoting Christianity as a living present reality rather than as an historic religion of the past especially evident in the section for 11+.[261] The study of 'World Religions' is included, mostly as a comparative endeavour. Aspects of Judaism were to be introduced to 'pre-adolescents' (10-11 years), alongside corresponding Christian teaching; so for example,

> The Jews celebrate the Feast of Hanukkah in winter, but apart from the
> fact that they are both celebrated at about the same season, Hanukkah
> and Christmas have no other connection.[262]

Hinduism, Buddhism and Islam are mentioned in the material for 13-16 year olds,[263] but engagement is clearly suggested to be undertaken from a Christian perspective, as

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255 Schools Council, *Working Paper 36*; Priestley, *Agreed Syllabuses*; also WREC, *Suggestions for Religious Education*, 1.

256 For example: Harold Loukes, *Teenage Religion*, (London: SCM Press, 1961); Harold Loukes, *New Ground in Christian Education*, (London: SCM Press, 1965); R.J. Goldman, *Religious Thinking from Childhood to Adolescence*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 1952); R.J. Goldman, *Readiness for Religion*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 1952). See also Mathews, *Revolution in Religious Education*.

257 For example, Hull, *Agreed Syllabuses Past, Present and Future.*

258 WREC, *Suggestions for Religious Education*; Hull, *Agreed Syllabuses Past, Present and Future.*

259 WREC, *Suggestions for Religious Education*: vii, emphasis added.

260 WREC, *Suggestions for Religious Education*; Schools Council, *Working Paper 36*; Copley, *Teaching Religion.*

261 WREC, *Suggestions for Religious Education*, 37ff.

262 WREC, *Suggestions for Religious Education,* 31.

263 WREC, *Suggestions for Religious Education,* 84.

evidenced by the strong reliance on materials produced by organisations with specifically Christian aims and ethos,[264] such as The Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge (SPCK, established 1698) and The Christian Education Movement (CEM, established 1964).[265] In a similar way, Sixth formers were to be introduced to 'alternatives to the Christian faith', including Communism, Marxism and Humanism, through materials produced by SPCK and CEM.[266] Furthermore, under the heading '*Immigrant children and their religion*', the vast majority of suggested materials come from the series '*The Christian Approach to...*', with titles covering Hindu, Buddhist, Muslim, Sikh and Animist.[267] A supplement to the 1966 Syllabus, under the title *Religious Education in the Multi-faith community* was published in 1974,[268] greeted by Hull as being 'the first recognition through an agreed syllabus that in a religiously mixed society religious education in the county schools cannot commend one faith and simply refer in passing to others',[269] although it must be noted that this is an erroneous claim as the supplement did not hold the same legal position as the Agreed Syllabus.[270]

In a similar way to the West Riding Agreed Syllabus, the 1975 Birmingham Agreed Syllabus was heralded as revolutionary when it was first released, being greeted as a 'major breakthrough',[271] and bringing about 'a totally new orthodoxy',[272] although a little more controversial than the earlier document.[273] The controversy has been described in detail elsewhere,[274] relating predominantly to the inclusion of non-religious stances for living. The inclusion of such teaching *per se* does not seem to be the issue. As demonstrated above, the West Riding Agreed Syllabus included such approaches,[275] as did other Agreed Syllabuses

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[264] WREC, *Suggestions for Religious Education,* 88.

[265] CEM was established in 1964 on the amalgamation of Institute of Christian Education (established 1934) and the Student Christian Movement, established (1943). See Parker, Freathy and Doney, *Professionalizing Religious Education in England,* for more information on this.

[266] WREC, *Suggestions for Religious Education*, 88. See also, Hull, *Editorial - Sept 1974*.

[267] WREC, *Suggestions for Religious Education*, 105. Incidentally, much of the material suggested has been mentioned earlier in this chapter, footnote 144 above.

[268] Hull, *Agreed Syllabuses Past, Present and Future*. Also Thompson, *Whatever Happened to Religious Education*.

[269] Hull, *Agreed Syllabuses Past, Present and Future*, 114.

[270] The supplement did not pass through the recognised procedure for the accepting of an Agreed Syllabus, as set out in the 1944 Education Act.

[271] J. Hull, *Studies in Religion & Education*. (Lewes: The Falmer Press, 1984): 29.

[272] Priestley, *Agreed Syllabuses,* 1012; see also L. Phillip Barnes, 'The 2007 Birmingham Agreed Syllabus for Religious Education: A New Direction for Statutory Religious Education in England and Wales.' *Journal of Beliefs and Values* 29, no. 1 (2008): 75-83.

[273] For example, Priestley, *Agreed Syllabuses*; Hull, *Studies in Religion & Education*; John Hick, *John Hick : An Autobiography,* (Oxford: Oneworld, 2005).

[274] Hull, *Agreed Syllabuses Past, Present and Future*; Hick, *Autobiography*; Parker and Freathy, *Ethnic Diversity, Christian Hegemony*.

[275] WREC, *Suggestions for Religious Education*, 88.

of the period. Hull cites those produced by Lancashire (1968),[276] Inner London (1968),[277] and Bath (1970),[278] as 'tentative steps' in the direction of including non-religious worldviews,[279] noting that these approach subject matter from a Christian perspective:

> even the Wiltshire syllabus (1967), the most explicitly confessional of all the new syllabuses, allows fourth- and fifth- formers to become acquainted with scientific Humanism and Marxism - but under the heading "The world's challenge to the Church.[280]

What was revolutionary then, was not the inclusion of such material, but the change in *how* it was taught; no longer presented as a 'challenge to the church' or as a 'Christian perspective on…'. Rather, the Birmingham Agreed Syllabus, through the adoption of a more phenomenological approach to the study of religion, aimed no longer to 'indoctrinate', but to 'develop an authentic understanding of religion'.[281] It appears to be on this that Barnes bases his claim that Birmingham's was 'the first syllabus to abandon the aim of Christian nurture'.[282]

Another development highlighted as revolutionary in the Birmingham document was the study of 'World Religions' from the commencement of a student's school days,[283] although a comparison to the 1968 ILEA syllabus shows that this was not as revolutionary as some would claim.[284]

There is little doubt that the Birmingham Syllabus was revolutionary, but this was less to do with any one change, most of which had already been introduced elsewhere, and more to do with the combination of changes in one Agreed Syllabus. Thus the idea that the publication of the Syllabus was, as reported, a 'major breakthrough',[285] and bringing about 'a totally new orthodoxy',[286] may be considered to be inappropriate.

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[276] Lancashire Education Committee, *Religion and Life: Agreed Syllabus,* (Lancaster: Lancashire Education Committee, 1968).

[277] Inner London Education Authority (ILEA), *Learning for Life: Agree Syllabus,* (London: Inner London Education Authority, 1968).

[278] City of Bath, *Agreed Syllabus of Religious Education,* (Bath; 1970). See also Copley, Teaching Religion, 10.

[279] Hull, *Editorial - Sept 1974*, 2.

[280] Schools Council, *Working Paper 36,* 33.

[281] City of Birmingham, *Agreed Syllabus for Religious Education,* 9-10; Barnes, *The 2007 Birmingham Agreed Syllabus.*

[282] Barnes, *The 2007 Birmingham Agreed Syllabus*, 75.

[283] WREC, *Suggestions for Religious Education*; Barnes, *The 2007 Birmingham Agreed Syllabus.*

[284] ILEA, *Learning for Life: Agree Syllabus*; Schools Council, *Working Paper 36.*; see also John Hull, 'Editorial', *Learning for Living* 11, no.3 (Jan 1972): 4.

[285] Hull, *Studies in Religion & Education*, 29.

[286] Priestley, *Agreed Syllabuses,* 1012; see also Barnes, *The 2007 Birmingham Agreed Syllabus.*

This brief discussion of the use of published Agreed Syllabuses as a source for rigorous historical analysis concurs with the conclusions set out by Freathy and Parker; work in this area should look at a much 'wider range of documentary sources (including non-published archive material)'.[287] In particular, in order to explore how practices become possible, it is necessary to look at primary sources that lie behind published documents.

2.4.2   *Building with shaky tools – methods*

In addition to the lack of ecumenical contextualisation and the issue of source selection,[288] the current historiographies are vulnerable to three further criticisms: a tendancy towards presentism and historical revisionism; a dependence on binary oppositions; and a reliance on 'character studies'. Each of these will now be discussed in turn.

Gary McCulloch and William Richardson warn of the danger of 'presentism' in educational history,[289] whereby 'the past is judged using present conceptions or notions',[290] and current debates are introduced into portrayals of the past in order to validate a specific ideological position.[291] The emphasis on building a narrative reconstruction of what happened in pedagogical and curriculum developments, often in order to provide a 'basis' for a contemporary theoretical debate rather than assessing how these issues relate to wider contexts, results in the historiographical becoming subservient to the ideological. Further, as Freathy and Parker highlight, such an approach 'makes past or present RE policies, theories and practices normative and impervious to criticism because they are no longer understood in relation to their historical contexts'.[292]

The ruling historiography associated with Barnes is an exemplification of this 'presentism'. It is instructive to reconsider Barnes' suggestion that the development of teaching about 'other' faiths in RE was rooted in the 1960s.[293] As set out above, the wider literature and primary evidence suggests this claim to be erroneous.[294] In making this claim it appears that, whilst Barnes is positioning himself as a historian of religious education

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287 Freathy and Parker, *The Necessity of Historical Enquiry*, 238.

288 Set out in Sections 2.3.4, and 2.4.1 above.

289 Gary McCulloch and William Richardson, *Historical Research in Educational Settings*, (Buckingham: Open University Press, 2000).

290 T.Christou, 'Gone but not forgotten: The Decline of History of an Educational Foundation', *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 41, no.5, (2009): 576.

291 See Richardson, *Historians and educationalists – Part I*; also P. Smeyers, and M. Depaepe, 'A method has been found? On educational research and its methodological preoccupations', *Paedagogica Historica* 44, no.6, (2008): 625-33.

292 Freathy and Parker, *The Necessity of Historical Enquiry*, 229.

293 Barnes, *What is wrong with the Phenomenological approach*.

294 Bates, *Christianity, Culture and Other Religions (Part 2)*. See also Copley, *Teaching Religion*.

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setting out to contest 'the "official" history of modern British religious education',[295] the real purpose of the paper is to promote the 'new' RE that he and Wright propose, something clearly revealed in the paper's final statement:

> A new non-theological disciplinary paradigm is needed both to direct teaching and learning in religious education and to re-orientate the subject to methodologies and practices that offer a more realistic hope of contributing to the social aims of education (see Barnes 2007b).[296]

Further examples can be located in Barnes' discussion of phenomenology,[297] especially in reference to the Swann Report of 1985.[298]

As already discussed, Freathy and Parker highlight the importance of foregrounding historical enquiry. Their work on the socio-historical background to the changes in English RE during the late 1960s and early 1970s serves as a counter-example here, revealing the extent to which rigorous historical enquiry is possible in RE, without a 'presentist' agenda. Moreover, their work has demonstrated that the development of English RE is far from the simplistic one set out in the ruling historiography. As part of a longer-term project to create a portrait of the history of RE in this period from multiple, previously neglected, perspectives and using novel primary sources, Freathy and Parker's work demonstrates the complexity of the context. They assess the contribution that secularist and humanist groups made to the on-going discussions about RE, and also discuss the extent to which the inclusion of 'post-confessional' SWR in RE during the 1960s and 1970s grew from a political and public response to rising immigration, corresponding with the Schools Council acknowledgement at the time, that pupils had a desire to be introduced to other religions.[299]

The effect of narrating history in order to suit the aims of the present is that questions about how practices became possible become obsolete and irrelevant, and therefore tend to be written out of the historical account. Consequently such approaches are deleterious to the aims of this study.

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[295] Barnes, *An alternative reading of modern religious education*, 608.

[296] Barnes, *An alternative reading of modern religious education*, 617. See also L.P. Barnes, 'Developing a new post-liberal paradigm for British Religious Education', *Journal of Beliefs and Values,* 28, no.1, (2007): 17-32.

[297] Barnes, *Working Paper 36.*

[298] Barnes, *What is Wrong with the Phenomenological Approach*, 446. See also *The Swann Report.*

[299] Schools Council, *Working Paper 36*, 61. See: Parker and Freathy, *Context, complexity and contestation*; *Ethnic diversity, Christian hegemony*; Freathy and Parker, *Secularists, Humanists and religious education*. Also, Eric J. Sharpe, 'The One and The Many'. In Ninian Smart and Donald Horder (eds), *New Movements in Religious Education*, (London: Maurice Temple Smith Ltd, 1975): 191-203; Grosvenor, *Assimilating Identities*. On immigration, and a series of HMI Memos which relate, (HMI Memo 1/65, Memo 2/69 and Memo 8/72), see Section 4.3.3 on page 202 below.

Secondly, the existing historiographies demonstrate a reliance on polarized binary oppositions. The way in which Barnes uses binary oppositions as a rhetorical tool has already been flagged;[300] at times, he characterizes 'the contemporary debate on the nature of Religious Education' as being between 'liberals' on the one hand and 'conservatives' on the other.[301] He highlights the way in which Dennis Bates polarizes a particular debate to demonstrate the 'extent to which debates in religious education in Britain have become polarized and ideological in nature',[302] but then continues to develop his discussion of phenomenology around the two poles of 'liberal' and 'conservative'.[303] The criticism is not levelled at Barnes alone. Bates, for example, uses the same technique, arguing that the ruling historiography incorrectly interprets the inclusion of multi-faith RE as victory for the 'liberal secularists' over the 'pro-Christian group'.[304] He suggests that this is based on a misunderstanding of the context, and an inaccurate binary opposition.[305] However, he counters the interpretation with a further binary opposition, suggesting instead that the polarity was between 'theologically liberal Christians' and 'theologically conservative Christians'.[306] Others also use this device, with the technique being deployed both in the setting out of the historiography, and in its analysis.[307] As has been demonstrated above, the discussion of Agreed Syllabuses, is often undertaken through a binary comparison, whether it be between the West Riding and Birmingham Agreed Syllabuses, or any other pairing, and the wider historical narrative has been set out in a binary framework of 'old' and 'new'.

Such an approach to historical enquiry where the narrative is structured in polarised terms with 'winners' set in binary opposition to 'losers',[308] is the focus of growing criticism in other quarters of educational historiography.[309] This categorical approach, by reducing discussions and debates to 'either/or' polarities, risks ignoring the subtleties and nuances which lie at the core of contrasting perspectives, thus marginalizing the complexity of the

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[300] See Section 2.2.1, on page 60 above.

[301] Barnes, *What is wrong with the Phenomenological approach*, 445.

[302] Barnes, *What is wrong with the Phenomenological approach*, 447.

[303] Barnes, *What is wrong with the Phenomenological approach*, 447.

[304] Bates, *Christianity, Culture and Other Religions (Part 1)*, 6.

[305] Bates, *Christianity, Culture and Other Religions (Part 1)* 5; *(Part 2)*, 85.

[306] Bates *Christianity, Culture and Other Religions (Part 1)*: 7. See also Barnes, *What is wrong with the Phenomenological approach*.

[307] For example, Thompson, *Whatever Happened to Religious Education*.

[308] For example, E. Lagemann, 'Plural Worlds of Educational Research', *History of Education Quarterly* 29, no.2, (1989): 185-214; also Gilroy 1993 cited in D. Epstein, J. Elwood, V. Hey, and J. Maw, (eds) *Failing Boys? Issues in Gender and Acheivement.* (Buckingham: Open University, 1988).

[309] Shown in, for example, P.M. Hendry, *Engendering Curriculum History.* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2011), also Smeyers and Depaepe, *A method has been found.*

ideas and discourses which made significant biographical or institutional events meaningful in their historical context. Furthermore, by polarizing debates in this way, attempts to reach behind 'what happened and why' questions to 'how did this practice become possible?' are frustrated.

As set out above, Parker and Freathy contribute much to the demonstration of complexity within the development of English RE;[310] by employing a series of overlaid factorial analyses, they allow a *more* detailed and nuanced analysis to be undertaken. Such complexity has been long acknowledged. An Editorial in *Learning for Living* in 1963, in which divided views over compulsory RE are scrutinized, states:

> it is 'assumed that the dividing lines in the controversy are between 'Christian' and 'non-Christian'; the one believing that the present situation is entirely satisfactory, the other believing it is wicked. But it is more complex than that: for there is a Christian case against it, as there is a non-Christian case for it.[311]

By moving away from such binary oppositions,[312] a new type of critical evaluation is possible whereby previously constrained conceptions of 'history' are emancipated,[313] setting free previously 'fixed' conceptions of the past and opening them up to new understandings. Such an approach to historical enquiry acknowledges complexity, both in terms of experiences of the historical 'event', and interpretations of it. This is expressly the case when studying unifying movements such as the ecumenical movement; using a polarising historical methodology when exploring the 'bringing together' of views is counterproductive and fails to allow multiple discourses to be uncovered.

Finally, much of the existing description of, and engagement with, existing historiographies has been carried out by concentrating on individual character studies.[314] For example, Barnes focuses heavily on Smart,[315] Bates undertakes detailed studies of a range of ecumenical actors, including J.H.Oldham,[316] K.J.Saunders,[317] and F.H.Hillard,[318]

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[310] Parker and Freathy, *Context, complexity and contestation*.

[311] Harold Loukes, 'Editorial', *Learning for Living* 3, no. 2, (Nov 1963): 4.

[312] For a more detailed discussion, see Alun Munslow, *Deconstructing History*, Second Ed. (London: Routledge, 2006); Foucault, *The Order of Things*.

[313] For an example, see Shurlee Swain, 'Negotiating Poverty: Women and Charity in nineteenth-century Melbourne.' *Women's History Review* 16, no. 1 (2007): 99-112.

[314] This preoccupation is not peculiar to histories of RE; see, for example, Gordon Baker, 'The Romantic and radical nature of the 1870 Education Act', *History of Education* 30, no.3, (2001): 211-232.

[315] As discussed in Section 2.2.2 on page 62 above.

[316] Bates, *Ecumenism and Religious Education between the Wars*.

[317] Bates, *Christianity, Culture and Other Religions (Part 1)*.

[318] Bates, *Christianity, Culture and Other Religions (Part 1); (Part 2)*.

and Thompson,[319] as well as considering Smart,[319] also scrutinises John Hull,[320] and Edwin Cox.[321]

Paul Smeyers and Marc Depaepe critique such an approach, highlighting that

> Such figures seem to be the crystallisation and accumulation points of diverse and even supra-historical ideas that, admittedly, could have derived their inspiration in time and space from "somewhere" else, but who have precipitated new and authentic syntheses.[322]

By focusing a spotlight on the 'great men of history' (and it generally is men), eyes adapt to the intense brightness and it becomes harder to see the details that lie in the shadows. However, by extinguishing the spotlight, and turning up the house lights, these individuals can be seen more clearly in the wider context both of the other players on the stage, and the assembled audience; thus they can be better understood.

There is no doubt that these character studies are informative and instructive, and an argument can be made for the inclusion of individual character studies *within* a wider survey of the field - perhaps exemplifying specific points through a mini-biography of a particular personality.[323] Nonetheless, certain dangers remain. Primary amongst these is that the focus on individuals tends to generate simplistic causal explanations; assumptions are made about the transmission of ideas which significantly complicate work that attempts to trace the history and transmission of ideas particular those of networks, like the ecumenical movement, that transcend national boundaries. Further, the concentration on individuals tends to push to the margins any rigorous discussion of the wider context, and the circumstances in which materials were produced. Thus the exploration of these individuals' roles within their wider intellectual and theological contexts and networks is avoided or overlooked, resulting in the failure to adequately allow the emergence of new ideas and practices to be traced. Further, such individualized studies complicate the undertaking of comparative work.[324] In short, the approach tends to produce a simplified narrative, with a focus on what happened. Further, the categorization of certain actors as 'important' is fraught with difficulty. Perhaps the characters who are constructed as most important only seem that way when looking back on events; their importance could have been elevated

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[319] Thompson, *Whatever Happened to Religious Education*, 38 ff

[320] Thompson, *Whatever Happened to Religious Education*, 47.

[321] Thompson, *Whatever Happened to Religious Education*, 47.

[322] Smeyers and Depaepe, *A method has been found,* 629.

[323] For an example, see Parker, Freathy and Doney, *Professionalizing Religious Education in England*.

[324] For a more detailed discussion, see Fredrich Schweitzer, 'The 1960s - Watershed for Religious Education in the UK and Germany? - Introductory Thoughts', *Seminar on Comparative History of Religious Education, University of Worcester* (Oct 2010).

since the events being explored. The assessment of importance may be undertaken in terms of what happened, but this focus hides from view the broader complex interconnected discourses that made it possible.

A theme common to these three issues is the way in which their use militates against the search for how the adoption of certain practices becomes possible. That the existing historiographies rely so heavily on such approaches may go some way in explaining a preoccupation with what happened, and why.

2.4.3   *Failing to look across national borders*

Overall, the existing literature demonstrates a national isolationism. Much of the existing literature demonstrates that histories of RE, in common with many other types of history, both within and beyond education, are generally written from within national boundaries,[325] allowing us to locate histories of RE in England,[326] Norway,[327] Germany,[328] Finland,[329]

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[325] Daniel Tröhler, 'Truffle Pigs, Research Questions, and the History of Education'. In Thomas S Popkewitz (ed), *Rethinking the History of Education*, (Basingtoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013): 75-92 also discusses national isolationism in the context of key journals pertaining to History of Education, stating: 'The pertinent journals in Canada, the United States, Great Britain or France reveal how histories of education not only deal with topics of their own country, but are also conducted by editorial boards composed mostly of national members'. (80)

[326] As discussed in detail in Chapter 2, above.

[327] For example: Rune Skottene, *Den konfesijonalle skole: debatten om den konfesjonelle profil i kristendomsundervisningen og grunnskolen i Norge fra 1870-årene til 1990 åarene*, [The Confessional School: The debate over the confessional profile of Christian and the Primary School in Norway, 1870-1990] (Unpublished PhD thesis, MF, The Norwegian School of Theology, Oslo, Norway, 1994); Elisabet Haakedal, 'From Lutheran Catechism to World Religions and Humanism: Dilemmas and Middle Ways through the Story of Norwegian Religious Education', *British Journal of Religious Education* 23, no.2, (2001): 88-97; Geir Skeie, 'An Overview of Religious Education Research in Norway'. In Rune Larsson and C. Gustavsson (eds), *Towards a European Perspective on Religious Education*, (Skellefteå, Sweden: Artos & Norma, 2004): 317-31.

[328] T. Knauth, 'Religious Education in Germany: Contribution to Dialogue or Source of Conflict? A Historical and Contextual Analysis of its Development Since the 1960s', in R. Jackson (ed), *Religion and Education in Europe: developments, contexts and debates*, (Munster: Waxmann, 2007): 243-65; Moschner, S. 'The 1960s - Watershed for Religious Education in the UK and Germany? - The Protestant Development', Seminar on Comparative History of Religious Education, University of Worcester (Oct 2010); Simojoki, H. 'Out of School - into University. The 1960s as a watershed in terms of academization', Seminar on Comparative History of Religious Education, University of Worcester (Oct 2010); Müller, M. 'The 1960s - Watershed for Religious Education in the UK and Germany? - The Catholic Development', Seminar on Comparative History of Religious Education, University of Worcester (Oct 2010).

[329] Martin Ubani and Kirsi Tirri, 'Religious Education at Schools in Finland'. In Martin Rothgangel, Geir Skeie and Martin Jäggle (eds). *Religious Education at Schools In Europe, Part 3: Northern Europe,* (Vienna: Vienna University Press, 2014): 105-126; Arto Kallioniemi and Martin Ubani. 'Religious Education'. In Hannele Niemi, Auli Toom and Arto Kallioniemi (eds) *Miracle of Education: The Principles and Practices of Teaching and Learning in Finnish Schools.* (Rotterdam: Sense Publishers, 2012): 176-187; Saila Poulter. 'From citizenship of God's Kingdom to liberal individualism? A critical historical analysis of Finnish religious education', *British Journal of Religious Education* (forthcoming);

Denmark,[330] Estonia,[331] and so on. Increasingly, there is an interest in studies which are constructed as 'comparative', whereby the historiography of two or more nationally-bounded spaces are 'compared'.[332] Examples include work by Elisabet Hakedaal on England and Sweden,[333] by Oddrun Bråten on England and Norway,[334] and by Rob Freathy, Stephen Parker, Friedrich Schweitzer, and Henrik Simojoki on England and Germany.[335] Whether undertaken as single country studies, or as comparative studies from the outset, these kinds of study allow for some discussion of similarities and differences between different national sites.

The Case of Norway

A very brief survey of such studies is revealing; it appears that many developments in Norwegian RE mirror developments in England. Historically Norwegian RE has been openly confessional in nature;[336] according to Oddrun Bråten the 'purpose of the first school law in Norway was to ensure the nurture of children into the state religion'.[337] Norwegian education has remained firmly associated with 'a Christian and moral upbringing' through the '*formålsparagrafen*' (the preamble to the Education Act),[338] until

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[330] Mette Buchardt, 'Religious Education at Schools in Denmark'. In Martin Rothgangel, Geir Skeie and Martin Jäggle (eds). *Religious Education at Schools In Europe, Part 3: Northern Europe,* (Vienna: Vienna University Press, 2014): 45-74.

[331] Olga Schihalejev, 'Religious Education at Schools in Estonia'. In Martin Rothgangel, Geir Skeie and Martin Jäggle (eds). *Religious Education at Schools In Europe, Part 3: Northern Europe,* (Vienna: Vienna University Press, 2014): 75-104.

[332] For example, R. Freathy, S.G. Parker, F. Schweitzer and H. Simojoki, 'Towards international comparative research on the professionalization of Religious Education', *Journal of Beliefs & Values* 35, no.2 (2014): 225-241.

[333] Elisabet Haakedal, 'Kristendomsundervisning, religionsundervisning, livssynsundervisning? En systematisk drøfting på grunnlag av problemer innen engelsk religionspedagogikk i sammenligning med svensk religionspedagogikk. [Christian Education, Religious Education, World View Education? A Systematic Discussion of Problems in Research on English Religious Education compared with research on Swedish Religious Education.] (Unpublished Masters Thesis, MF: The Norwegian School of Theology', Oslo, 1983).

[334] Oddrun Bråten, *Towards a Methodology for Comparative Studies in Religious Education: A Study of England and Norway.* (Münster: Waxmann, 2013).

[335] For example, Freathy et al., *Towards international comparative research on the professionalization of Religious Education.*

[336] See Haakedal, *From Lutheran Catechism to World Religions and Humanism*; Geir Skeie, 'Religion and Education in Norway', in Robert Jackson (ed), *Religion and Education in Europe: developments, contexts and debates*, (Munster: Waxmann, 2007): 221-42.

[337] Bråten, *Towards a Methodology for Comparative Studies in Religious Education,* 78.

[338] Norway, *Education Act 2000*, §1.1. URL: http://www.ub.uio.no/ujur/ulovdata/lov-19980717-061-eng.pdf, last accessed 25-07-2012.

comparatively recently; only in 2008 the preamble was changed to state: 'Education shall be founded on fundamental values in Christian and Humanistic heritage and traditions'.[339]

Compulsory schooling was introduced in 1739, whilst Norway was part of a multi-nation-state with Denmark,[340] primarily in order to support the introduction of compulsory Confirmation into the Lutheran Church in 1736.[341] (From its introduction until 1912, Confirmation was considered as entry to adulthood, and was a requirement for entering military service, getting married or giving evidence in court.) Thus in Norway, elementary education itself was, initially, confined to 'the basics of religion and reading',[342] and until 1889 the school leaving exam in Norway was Confirmation into the Lutheran Church.[343] During the 1930s, a right of exemption was introduced for those children who were not baptized members of the Lutheran Church, but it was not until the 1969 Education Act that the complete separation of RE in Schools from the Christian nurture of children baptized into the Lutheran Church was formalized.[344]

Elisabet Hakedaal suggests that prior to the 1969 Education Act, there had been some scope for the inclusion of SWR, but only from the perspective of Christian supremacy;[345] and from 1974 world religions were removed from Religious Education altogether, with teaching about them undertaken—if at all—in a 'lower secondary school

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[339] In Norwegian: 'Opplæringa skal byggje på grunnleggjande verdiar i kristen og humanistisk arv og tradisjon' (Formålet med opplæringa), Lov om grunnskolen og den vidaregåande opplæringa (opplæringslova), LOV-1998-07-17-61, (Norway, *Education Act 2008*, §1.1) modified 2000 and 2008). Also see Bråten, *Towards a Methodology for Comparative Studies*, 215-218.

[340] Haakedal, *From Lutheran Catechism to World Religions*, 89; Dag Thoskildsen, 'Religious Identity and Nordic Identity'. In, Ø. Sørenson and B. Stråth (Eds), *The Cultural Construction of* Norden, (Oslo: Scandinavian University Press, 1997): 138-9; Lars Laird Iversen, *Learning to be Norwegian: A case study of identity management in Religious Education in Norway.* (Münster: Waxmann, 2012): 91.

[341] For example, Sidsel Lied, 'The Norwegian Christianity, Religion and Philosophy Subject KRL in Strasbourg', *British Journal of Religious Education* 31, no. 3 (2009): 263-275.

[342] Geirr Wiggen, 'A Sociolinguistic Profile of the Nordic Languages in the 19th Century'. In Oskar Bandle, Kurt Braunmuller, Ernst Hakon Jahr, Allan Karker, Hans-Peter Naumann, Ulf Teleman (Editors), *The Nordic Languages 2: An International Handbook of the History of the North German Languages, Vol.2.* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2005): 1524.

[343] Skeie, *Religion and Education in Norway*, 221.

[344] Norway, *Education Act 1969*. According to Haakedal, the Ministry of Church and Education stated this, and teaching of the subject was open to any qualified teacher (*From Lutheran Catechism to World Religions*). See also Hallis Breidlid and Tove Nicolaisen, 'Multi-Faith Religious Education in a Religiously Mixed Context: Some Norwegian Perspektives'. In Rune Larsson & Caroline Gustavsson (Eds), *Towards a European Perspective on Religious Education*, (Skellefteå, Sweden: Artos & Norma, 2004): 69-79; Geir Skeie, 'An Overview of Religious Education Research in Norway', in Rune Larsson & C. Gustavsson (eds), *Towards a European Perspective on Religious Education*, (Skellefteå, Sweden: Artos & Norma, 2004): 317-31; Skeie, *Religion and Education in Norway*.
Although the link was formally broken in 1969, in peoples' minds and in practise it was probably not. Even now, sometimes trainee teachers report that the priest or other church representatives had used school RE lessons in year 8 for confirmation lessons. There is some suggestion that this practice persists even now, albeit not very often. The extent is unknown. (Bråten, *pers. Comm.*)

[345] Similar claims are made by Breidlid and Nicolaisen, *Multi-Faith Religious Education in a Religiously Mixed Context*, 69.

subject called civics'.[346] World Religions was included in RE in 1987,[347] and during the intervening period, an alternative (*Livssynskunnskap*, or *Lifeview Orientation*,[348]) was provided for those excepted from confessional RE. In addition, there was an opportunity for 'minority' RE.[349] Later still, in 1997, *Kristendomsundervisning med Religions – og Livissynsorientering* (KRL: Knowledge about Christianity with orientation about Religions and Life-views) was introduced as a combination of the alternatives,[350] which was non-confessional but heavily Christian, with over 50% of time devoted to Christianity.[351] More recently still, in 2008, in response to a ruling by the European court of Human Rights in Strasbourg,[352] RE in Norway was re-constructed again, this time as *Religion, Livsyn og Etikk* (RLE; Religion, Life-views and Ethics) whereby the name of the subject changed, even though the content remained much the same. Under the 2008 Education Act, religious education had to be 'critical, objective and pluralistic'.[353]

In a similar way to in England, developments were shaped by various pressure groups, including Christian groups,[354] and Humanist and Secularist groups.[355] In Norway for example, there is a strong and influential humanist movement in the form of *Human-Etisk Forbund* (HEF; Norwegian Humanist Association, established 1956); since the 1950s HEF has offered *humanistisk konfirmasjon* (Humanist Confirmation) as an alternative to Confirmation into the Lutheran Church. In relation to RE, HEF argued, particularly during the 1960s, for an alternative to the established *Kristendomskunnskap* [knowledge of

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[346] Haakedal, *From Lutheran Catechism to World Religions,* 92.

[347] Haakedal, *From Lutheran Catechism to World Religions,* 92.

[348] KUF 1995, 39-42 cited in Haakedal, *From Lutheran Catechism to World Religions,* 92. See Iversen, *Learning to be Norwegian,* 92.

[349] See Chapter 37 of M87 (Mønsterplan for grunnskolen [National Guidelines for Compulsory School] Kirke – og undervisningsdepartmentet [Oslo], Aschehoug, 1987).

[350] Iversen, *Learning to be Norwegian,* 102; also Breidlid and Nicolaisen, *Multi-Faith Religious Education in a Religiously Mixed Context.*

[351] See Iversen, *Learning to be Norwegian,* 96, citing Andreassen 2008 & 2009.
The exact wording of the 2002 curriculum is: "55% av timetallet knyttet til det sentralt fastsatte lærestoffet knyttes til kristendommen, om lag 25% til andre religioner og Livssyn og om lag 20% til etikk og filosofi.' Interpretation of this is complex. Firstly, because, 'om lag', means 'about/circa'. Secondly it refers to centrally decided 'learning material', which relates to a principle that some of the content should be locally decided. This is further complicated when looking at the level of practice, as some evidence suggests that, although this was the policy, it was not implemented uniformly, meaning that in some places, this was not the practice.

[352] See Lied, *The Norwegian Christianity* and Bråten, *Towards a Methodology*: 88ff, for a more detailed account of the case, and its consequences in Norway. See Iversen, *Learning to be Norwegian,* 105ff for a detailed discussion of the legal changes.

[353] Iversen, *Learning to be Norwegian,* 106, citing Stortinget 2008.

[354] The role of Christian pressure groups in the development of 1993 Core and l97 revisions to curriculum, with multi-faith, but Christianity heavy subject is discussed by Iversen, *Learning to be Norwegian,* 96, citing Andreassen 2008 & 2009.

[355] Rob Freathy and Stephen Parker discuss in depth the effect of such groups on English RE (Freathy and Parker, *Secularists, Humanists and religious education.*

Christianity],[356] and are currently campaigning against proposals, tabled by the KRF party (Christian Democrats) to rename RLE as KRLE (thus re-introducing the term 'Christian' into the title of the subject), and to ensure that 55% of the time spent on the subject focuses on Christianity.[357] HEF retain a voice in the discussion of curriculum content for RE.

Further, there is some evidence of the transmission of ideas from the English context to the Norwegian context. This is illustrated in the translation into Norwegian of Ninian Smart's dimensions of religion,[358] which were later widely used in various RE publications in Norway.[359]

The Case of Finland

An examination of Finnish RE is also fascinating. Prior to 1866, the Lutheran Church had taught basic literacy skills and during the period as an autonomous Grand Duchy of the Russian Empire (from 1809 until 1917), the Finnish State took over responsibility for education.[360] At the start of the Twentieth Century, RE was of a Christian confessional nature,[361] with compulsory education being introduced in 1921. Shortly after, in 1923, 'the Religious Freedom Act finally gave non-Christian religions equal rights with Christian denominations. Soon after RE was defined a confessional subject of the majority religion.'[362] As in England, some changes occurred around the 1960s, with tolerance of the other being a key issue. [363] Arto Kallioniemi and Martin Ubani claim that the current pattern of RE in Finland is unique in comparison to other European Countries.[364] Finnish RE is based on the teaching of 'a student's own religion',[365] (as long as that religion is

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[356] Skeie, *Religion and Education in Norway,* 223.

[357] Fakta og historie om religionsfaget i skolen (Facts and History about the study of Religion in Schools), from HEF website, URL: http://www.human.no/Skolesider/KRLE/KRL---RLE---KRLE/ last accessed 9th June 2015.

[358] D. Rian and P. Kværne, *Religionshistorie og religionsundervisning: Noen fagdidaktiske synspunkter [History of religion and teaching of religion: some perspectives on subject didactics].* (Trondheim: Tapir, 1983). See also D. Rian, *Verdensreligioner I undervisningen [World Religions in Teaching]* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1999).

[359] See Bråten, *Towards a Methodology for Comparative Studies in Religious Education,* 59 for a more detailed discussion.

[360] Poulter, *From citizenship of God's Kingdom to liberal individualism,* 6.

[361] Poulter, *From citizenship of God's Kingdom to liberal individualism,* 7. See also Tapio Puolimatka and Kirsi Tirri. 'Religious Education in Finland: Promoting Intelligent Belief?' *British Journal of Religious Education* 23, no. 1 (2000): 38-44.

[362] Poulter, *From citizenship of God's Kingdom to liberal individualism,* 7.

[363] Poulter, *From citizenship of God's Kingdom to liberal individualism,* 8, citing Kähkönen 1976, 172-173, Launonen 2000, 232-234.

[364] 'The Finnish solution for RE in public education is a unique model if we compare it to the solutions used in other European countries.' (Kallioniemi and Ubani, *Religious Education*, 177).

[365] Kallioniemi and Ubani, *Religious Education,* 177.

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recognized by the Finnish State), with the provision of '"life question and ethics" (secular ethics) for those pupils who do not belong to any religious communities'.[366] Consequently, there are 13 different curricula for RE and secular ethics (which is the option for those who don't want teaching from a certain religious standpoint).[367] Although RE is supposedly non-confessional it can, especially in the teaching of minority religions, be quite confessional by nature. This Finnish pattern was adopted much later than the changes in England;[368] the introduction of their current model of RE began in the 1990s, and was formalised in 2006.[369] As in England, RE syllabuses in Finland are, and have been, a result of co-operation between the state and the religious communities,[370] although the balance of power is different. Most Christians in Finland belong to the *Suomen evankelis-luterilainen kirkko* (Evangelical Lutheran Church) with a small handful belonging to the Russian Orthodox tradition.[371] Catholicism accounts for less than 0.2% of the population, and non-Christian religious traditions about 1%. De-Christianisation, humanist and secular influences and changing priorities in education are all evident in the development of RE in Finland.

Immigration is also cited as an important factor, although in both Norway and Finland this has been of a different scale to England, and with a later peak, but still it has affected the development of RE.[372] However, by being attentive to a wider constituency than simply one's own nation state, different responses to similar issues are revealed. Rising immigration was responded to in different ways. As has been shown, in Norway for

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[366] Kallioniemi and Ubani, *Religious Education,* 179.

[367] Although if you are a member of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland, you are compelled to study that form of RE. RE is supposedly non-confessional but, especially in the teaching of minority religions, I understand that it can be quite confessional (Saila Poulter, *pers. comm*). See Finnish National Board of Education, '7.11 Religion'. In *Core Curriculum for Basic Education 2004*, (Suomen Yliopistopaino Oy. 2004 Tampere): 201-212.

[368] Kallioniemi and Ubani, *Religious Education,* 178, note that the renewal of RE in Sweden took place in 1962 (citing Larsson 1996: 70-71) and in Norway in 1997 (citing Haakedal).

[369] Formalized by the Framework for Comprehensive Curriculum for Other Religions, 2006. See Kallioniemi and Ubani, *Religious Education,* for more detail.

[370] 'In Finland the religious education syllabuses are made as a co-operation between the National Board of Education and religious communities – but the instruction is controlled and enforced by the State' (Kallioniemi & Ubani, *Religious Education,* 179).

[371] Approximately 1% of the population are Orthodox, with a similar number of Muslims.

[372] The effects on RE are discussed extensively; see, for example, Haakedal, *From Lutheran Catechism to World Religions*; Geir Afdal, *Tolerance and Curriculum,* (Münster: Waxmann, 2006); Skeie, *Religion and Education in Norway*; Lied The Norwegian Christianity, Religion and Philosophy Subject (also Lied, S. 'Norsk religionspedagogisk forskning 1985-2005' [Norwegian Religious Education Research, 1985-2005] *Norsk Teologisk Tidskrift* 3 (2006): 163-195); Bråten, *Towards a Methodology for Comparative Studies*; Iversen, *Learning to be Norwegian*; see also Thoskildsen, *Religious Identity and Nordic Identity*; Slagstad, *De nasjonale strateger*.

example, RE retained a Christian Confessional approach and SWR was carried out in social sciences classes.[373]

Furthermore, by being attentive to the constraints of national boundaries, and the differing situations within them, it is possible to avoid the trap of overlooking the considerable differences in religious education in different contexts. Barnes falls into this trap in respect to English RE, including some examples from Northern Ireland as if the situation there is immediately comparable with other parts of Britain.[374] It is clear elsewhere that Barnes is indeed aware of the different structures and systems for RE in the different areas of Britain; for example, limiting his discussion to England and Wales in a 2008 paper.[375]

This very brief survey demonstrates that changes in RE were not, and are not, limited to England. However, with such nationally bound studies there is a risk that the emphasis placed on national contexts, and the ways in which ideas play out within those contexts, will frame (and potentially limit) the discussion of the ideas. The consequence is that ideas which operate beyond, or outside of, nationally bounded spaces, (such as those relating to the ecumenical movement), become constrained by the national boundaries, and supranational ideas and systems of thought become underplayed, marginalized, or silenced completely. Thus, it is important that this study gives due consideration to these issues.

2.4.4   Summary

An appraisal of the methodological practice which underpins the 'ruling' historiography exposes a number of things. Firstly, the predominance of 'presentism', polarized discussions through binary oppositions, and 'character studies' results in a simplified narrative of what happened, with limited scope for any investigation of how these things became possible. Secondly, the reliance on small samples of published materials has been discussed at some length, with the inappropriate weight given to published Agreed Syllabus documents being critiqued. In particular the comparison of pairs of such documents produces a simplistic narrative that fails to adequately reflect the complex context of wider changes. Thirdly the parochial nature of many historical studies of RE, whether originating in England, or elsewhere, limits their potential to inform studies in other national contexts.

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[373] Haakedal, *From Lutheran Catechism to World Religions*; Skeie, *Religion and Education in Norway*.
[374] Barnes, *An alternative reading of modern religious education*, 609. See also, Section 1.1.2 on page 25 above.
[375] Barnes, *The 2007 Birmingham Agreed Syllabus*.

Likewise, nationally bound studies risk confining the discussion by marginalizing or silencing supranational ideas and systems of thought, the exploration of which might expose how things become possible. In combination, this serves to further underline the importance of a historiographical methodology that facilitates an engagement with the key research question at the centre of this study.

2.5   Problematizing a Confessional Framework

One final issue demands attention; as set out above, the existing historical narratives of RE generally characterise the developments of the 1960s and 1970s in 'confessional' terms.[376] Whilst this existing 'confessional' analysis may be revealing in terms of motivation, there are two major difficulties with it.

There is an inadequate differentiation between terms, especially between 'confessional', and 'proselytizational', which gives rise to a lack of shared understanding of terms.[377] There is also a semantic dependence of 'confessional' on 'confessions of faith, systems of formulated Theology, or a certain system of dogmas or beliefs' restricts the discourse to those same areas, and consequently restricts the analysis of the changes in RE to a theological analysis.[378] This is inappropriate. Moreover, whilst such a binary opposition might record what happened, it does not allow for a detailed exploration of how it became possible. Further, by emphasising the 'confessional', the current analysis obscures the role that ideology plays in the shaping of RE.

The notion of ideology is taken up by Barnes, who highlights 'the powerful role of ideology in shaping educational policy in relation to religious education'.[379] However, he does not appear to fully develop this line of thinking. He does express concern over the 'extent to which debates in religious education in Britain (particularly those relating to the strengths and weaknesses of the 'ruling' paradigm) have become polarized and ideological in nature'.[380] Yet, this notion of ideology seemed a potentially useful framework, allowing an exploration of the changes in English RE without the restrictions that 'confessionalism' implies.

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[376] See especially Sections 2.2.1 (page 60) and 2.3.1 (page 69).
[377] See Section 1.3.1, starting on page 35 above for a more detailed discussion.
[378] "confessional", *The Oxford English Dictionary,* online. URL: www.oed.com. Last accessed 20-04-2014.
[379] Barnes, *The 2007 Birmingham Agreed Syllabus*, 82.
[380] Barnes, *What is wrong with the Phenomenological approach*, 447.

An exploration of the backdrop to the 1944 Education Act suggests that compulsory RE was introduced, to some extent at least, for ideological reasons; to create 'good' citizens.[381] Using an ideological rather than confessional framework might also be beneficial in understanding the motivation behind the changes in English RE in the 1960s and 1970s. Perhaps the ideological principle (that RE takes a key role in the process of creating 'good' citizens) does not change, but what it means to be a good citizen does; Saila Poulter shows how this is the case in regard to RE in Finland,[382] but such an analysis for English RE remains overdue.

In his analysis, Barnes emphasises the ways in which the 'new' confessionalism appears to promote religious harmony, the focus on religious similarity over and against religious diversity,[383] and the role of RE in developing tolerance and social cohesion, the latter becoming a repeated theme in his writing.[384] Moreover, in response to John Hull, he raises issues of nationalism

> I agree with [Hull's] contention that religion should not be used to underline and reinforce nationalistic or tribalistic solidarity; thus resulting in the view that those of another religious persuasion are to be regarded as unpatriotic, disloyal and trustworthy.[385]

and later in the same paper touches on the relationship between RE and national identity.[386] Such issues, and the related shift in the perceived aim of RE that Barnes sets out (from being 'Christian' to being 'tolerant') is overlooked in a 'confessional' analysis. Consequently,

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[381] See, for example, Board of Education, *Educational Reconstruction,* (London: HMSO, 1943). See also Rob Freathy, 'The Triumph of Religious Education for Citizenship in English Schools, 1935-1949.' *History of Education* 37, no. 2 (2008): 295-316, and as a comparison in another national context, Poulter, *From citizenship of God's Kingdom to liberal individualism* .

[382] Poulter, *From citizenship of God's Kingdom to liberal individualism.*

[383] For example, 'pupils should be taught that all religions are equal, in the sense that no one religion should be regarded *or regard itself* as superior to others.' (Barnes, L.P. 'Religion, Religionism and religious education, fostering tolerance & truth in schools', *Journal of Education and Christian Belief* 1, no.1, (1997): 11). 'Claims to exclusive truth and strong emotional involvement in a group create hostility toward those who do not share in the group's beliefs' (19); 'Hull's proposals commit him to a similar [to Hick] revisionist policy towards Christian belief and doctrine, though he is hesitant to admit this. One of the strengths of his position, as he presents it, is its neutral character. In truth, however, his position contains a particular ideological commitment to the idea that all religions are equal. (22).

[384] Barnes, *Religion, Religionism and religious education,* 8; *Working Paper 36*, 74, where Barnes states: 'Clearly schools have a role to play in combating racism and religious intolerance in society ... and *Working Paper 36* is clearly attentive to this issue.'

[385] Barnes *Religion, Religionism and religious education,* 10.

[386] Barnes claims that 'The ideological commitments are clear: thematic teaching accentuates the similarities among religions and thus appeals to those educators who believe that social harmony is best achieved when differences among individuals and groups are diminished; systematic teaching accentuates differences and thus appeals to those politicians and educational administrators who believe that social harmony is best achieved through a growing sense of national identity, which historically has included the identification of Britishness with Christianity.' Barnes, *Ninian Smart and the Phenomenological Approach*, 322.

I suggest that an exploration of how ideologies affect the development of RE policy and practice facilitates engagement with the question of how certain practices became adopted.

2.5.1 *Althusser and Ideology*

In exploring the question of how ideologies shape practice, an engagement with the writings of Louis Althusser offers potential, opening up new possibilities and shifting the direction of thinking.[387] Building on Marx's conception of State Apparatus, whereby 'states' exert repressive control over populations through institutions such as the judicial system (police, courts, prisons) and the military, Althusser argues that society is also subject to 'ideological modes of control'.[388] He asserts that Ideological State Apparatuses (ISAs) work through, family, media and religion.[389] Through 'interpellation', individuals are encouraged to reproduce particular attitudes and values; this not only results in ideology being imposed on society, but at the same time it causes subjects to willingly replicate it.[390]

Althusser discusses in some depth the role of the educational system within this structure. Contemporary issues such as the development of a culture of presentism (e.g. through punitive measures to combat absence), conformity (e.g. through school uniform), and submission to authority (e.g. teaching that 'success' results from conformity to rules) can all be seen as contributing to the construction of an educational ISA.[391] However, in terms of education specifically, Althusser fails to satisfactorily distinguish between terms 'education' and 'school'; he constructs the 'school' [the institution] as the dominant mechanism of ISA, but undertakes the discussion in terms of 'education' [the process].[392] Further, he homogenizes school as institution, making no allowance for different types of school structure and context.

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[387] Louis Althusser, 'Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses (Notes Towards An Investigation).' In: *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays*. Translated by Ben Brewster. (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1971): 127-186. See also S. Hall, 'Signification, representation, ideology: Althusser and the post-structural debates'. *Critical Studies in Mass Communication*, 2(2) (1985): 91-114.

[388] Althusser, *Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses*.

[389] Karl Marx, and Frederick Engels, Manifesto of the Communist Party, 1848. (URL http://www.anu.edu.au/polsci/marx/classics/manifesto.html, last accessed 10-07-2012); Althusser, *Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses*; William E. Deal and Timothy K Beal, 'Louis Althusser'. In *Theory for Religious Studies*, (New York: Routledge, 2004): 29.

[390] Althusser, *Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses*. For a detailed discussion of 'Interpellation' see: R.D. Wolff, Working Paper 2004-07: *Ideological State Apparatuses, Consumerism, and U.S. Capitalism: Lessons for the Left*, (Massachusetts: University of Massachusetts Department of Economics, 2004).

[391] See, for example, Liam Gearon, *Religious Education and Citizenship, A report on Research and Pedagogy, with Curriculum Guidance for Initial Teacher Training*. (unpublished report, University of Plymouth, 2009).

[392] L.W. Benadé, 'Is the Althusserian Notion of Education Adequate?', *Educational Philosophy and Theory* 16, no.1, (1984): 43-51.

Whilst Althusser acknowledges the plurality of ISAs, he attributes them to a simple, monolithic understanding of 'state'.[393] His analysis fails to account for the multiple intersections between them, thus circumstances in which they sometimes compete and sometimes collaborate, with each other and with the 'state', are overlooked. Althusser highlights one transition, that between the Church and the School. However, even here, the intersectionality is disregarded; Althusser's claim, that 'the church has been replaced today in its role as the dominant ideological state apparatus by the school' (a claim that *prima face* seems relevant to this study), overlooks the complex intersections between Church, school and state, which are central to the question of how RE has developed. [394]

The framework that Althusser describes is useful in as much as it facilitates an engagement with the questions of who controls education, why and through what means. However there are difficulties. In addition to the issue of what constitutes 'state', one of the key difficulties with Althusser's ISA as it stands is that it is inherently linked to a Marxist analysis. In fact, the structures that support the ISA 'floors of [the] Superstructure' are only able to remain in place as long as the lower floors (RSA) and ultimately, the foundation – the 'economic' base remain in place.[395] Likewise, 'Althusser depends on an "epistemological break" in connection with Marx'; Foucault questions the validity of the dependence and asserts to the contrary that Marx does not represent an epistemological break.[396]

More generally, Althusser's model is both static and deterministic; his approach

> turned out to be functionalist and reductionist, presupposing that every aspect of the school system, religion, and cultural artifacts operated to maintain the existing social order.[397]

The model also fails to deal with the issue of individual agency;[398] this is seen particularly in relation to the issue of 'resistance'. Althusser foregrounds the way in which 'the School relies on a clientele placed there *against its collective will*, compelled to attend to a full-time curriculum over a period of ten to twelve years',[399] yet pays no attention to the potential for

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[393] Althusser, *Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses*, 144.

[394] Althusser, *Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses*, 157; Benadé, *Is the Althusserian Notion of Education Adequate?*

[395] Althusser, *Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses*.

[396] Michel Foucault, 'On the Ways of Writing History' In: James D. Faubion (Ed) *Michel Foucault Essential Works of Foucault 1954-184, Volume 2 – Aesthetics*, (London: Penguin, 1998): 281.

[397] N. Rose, P. O'Malley, and M. Valverde, 'Governmentality', *Annual Review of Law and Social Science* 2, no. 1, (2006): 85.

[398] Benadé, *Is the Althusserian Notion of Education Adequate*? See also Deborah Youdell, 'Subjectivation and Performance Politics - Butler Thinking Althusser and Foucault: Intelligibility, Agency and the Raced-Nationed-Religioned Subjects of Education', *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 27, no.4, (2006): 511-528.

[399] Benadé, *Is the Althusserian Notion of Education Adequate*, 46, emphasis added.

resistance or rebellion. In a discussion of Althusser, Slavoj Žižek engages with this issue.[400] Describing one of Vaclav Havel's characters from *The Power of Powerlessness,* Žižek suggests that the 'greengrocer's behaviour is the result of a "supreme example of how Ideological State Apparatuses function"'.[401] There is a paradox, according to Slavoj Žižek, between 'belief' and 'external conformity'. Whilst the greengrocer 'conforms' to the demands of the official ideology by following the rituals and attending mass gatherings, he offers resistance through private complaint; he does not believe in the ideology.[402] In other words, for Žižek, if ISA works at all, it works only externally, changing 'behaviours' but not the heart.[403] This issue of resistance is important in the historiography of RE.[404]

Michel Foucault, a student of Althusser at the *École Normale Superieure* (ENS) during the late 1940s, offers some defence of Althusser's approach, albeit very guarded:

> Having been his student and owing him a great deal, I may have a tendency to credit to his influence an effort that he might question…But I would still say: Open the books of Althusser and see what he says.[405]

This said, one aspect of Althusser's framework is particularly useful for this study; the proposition that ideology is at the same time imposed *and* (ostensibly) willingly replicated. It is this proposition that I take as a point of departure from his work, and as the starting point for a discussion of the selection of appropriate frameworks of understanding for this study.

It is notable that the term 'ideology' is almost absent from Foucault's writing, however, two Foucaultian notions resonate with, and offer opportunity to augment, the Althusserian framework; 'Governmentality' facilitates an engagement with the issue of 'imposition', and 'Normalization' facilitates an engagement with the issues of both 'imposition' and 'willing replication'. Each of these notions offers a potential framework of understanding by which the discourses revealed by deploying Foucault's historical methods could be examined.

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[400] Slavoj Žižek, *Did Someone Say Totalitarianism?* Five Interventions in the (Mis)use of a Notion. (London: Versobooks, 2011). Žižek also tackles the issue in other places, including *The Sublime Object of Ideology* (London: Versobooks, 2009).

[401] Zizek, *Did Someone Say Totalitarianism*, 90.

[402] Vaclav Havel, 'The Power of the Powerless'. In, Jan Vladislov (Ed.) *Living in Truth, Vaclav Havel*, (London: Faber and Faber, 1986).

[403] Žižek, *Did Someone Say Totalitarianism*, 90-93.

[404] See discussion on page 79 above.

[405] Foucault, *On the Ways of Writing History*, 284.

2.5.2 The Foucaultian notion of Governmentality

'Governmentality' is a relatively late development in Foucault's writing.[406] The notion is developed primarily in response to Foucault's critics, who complain that his extensive discussion of power 'lacked an elaborate theory of the state'.[407] There is a degree of equivocation in Foucault's positioning; on the one hand he suggests that he has avoided the issue 'in the sense that one abstains from an indigestible meal', on the other he states 'The problem of state formation is at the centre of the questions that I want to pose.'[408] Perhaps because of these circumstances of its production, Governmentality does not appear as well developed as some of Foucault's other theories.[409]

Starting from the position that government is concerned with 'the conduct of conduct' in relation to a population with the aim of securing the 'welfare of the population, the improvement of its condition, the increase of its wealth, longevity, health', Foucault argues that Governmentality relates to the 'rationalisation of governmental practice in the exercise of political sovereignty'.[410] Essential in understanding how Foucault's Governmentality differs from historico-sociological studies of government is the transition from questions about what happened and why to questions about 'what authorities of various sorts wanted to happen, in relation to problems defined how, in pursuit of what objectives?'.[411] Foucault describes in some detail the history of the notion, highlighting a transformation in the eighteenth century from government as an 'art' to a 'political science', focusing on the intersection of 'The Pastoral, the new diplomatico-military technics and finally the police'.[412] Further, he attempts to demonstrate how the parallel development of the modern nation-state and the modern 'individual' 'determine each other's emergence'.[413]

The notion is useful here in a number of ways. As well as facilitating an engagement with issues relating to the imposition of 'practices', Governmentality moves beyond the

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[406] For example, Michel Foucault, 'Governmentality', trans. Rosi Braidotti and revised by Colin Gordon. In Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon and Peter Miller (eds) *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality*, (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1991): 87–104, was first presented as part of a course on "Security, Territory and Population", College de France, 1977-78.

[407] Thomas Lemke, 'An Indigestible Meal? Foucault, Governmentality and State Theory.' *Distinktion: Scandinavian Journal of Social Theory* 8, no. 2 (2007): 43.

[408] Michel Foucault, 'The Subject and Power'. In James D. Faubion (Ed) *Michel Foucault Essential Works of Foucault 1954-184, Volume 3 – Power*, (London: Penguin. 1994): 78; *Naissance de la biopolitique. Cours au Collège de France. 1978-1979*. (Paris: Gallimard/Seuil, 2004): 79.

[409] For further discussion of this see, for example, Lemke *An Indigestible Meal?*. Also Clare O'Farrell, 'Michel Foucault: The Unconscious of History and Culture'. In Nancy Partner and Sarah Foot (eds), *The Sage Handbook of Historical Theory,* (London: SAGE, 2013): 162-182.

[410] Foucault, *Governmentality*; Foucault, *Naissance de la biopolitique*, 4.

[411] N.Rose, *Powers of Freedom: reframing political thought*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

[412] Foucault, *Governmentality*, 220; 222.

[413] Lemke, *An Indigestible Meal*, 1.

limitations of the Althusserian framework in that is neither static nor deterministic; Governmentality is not constrained to hierarchical, 'top-down' understandings of power. Further, it is expansive, covering '[g]overnment of children, government of souls and consciences, government of a household, of a state, or of oneself'.[414] This expansive nature allows the notion to be applied to organizations and institutions beyond the self/family/state triad that Althusser establishes; in this respect Foucault's notion of Governmentality is more nuanced than Althusser's ISA, extending its scope beyond the nation state alone and thus enabling engagement with institutions beyond and within nation-state boundaries. In this respect it is particularly useful for the current study; here I follow the example of Nikolas Rose and colleagues who suggest that Governmentality is most usefully operationalized as a series of questions addressed to the processes of governance, 'which are amenable to precise answers through empirical enquiry'.[415] I will therefore adopt the questions that Foucault raises: 'how to be ruled, how strictly, by whom, to what end, by what methods'.[416] Thus, of the discourses exposed through the use of Foucault's historical methods, I will engage with the issue of 'imposition' by exploring motivation behind the changes that are exposed, considering 'who is governing, to what ends, and through what means?'. This relates particularly to structures of authority, something which is important to consider in relation to the adoption of SWR *prior* to it becoming a prescribed practice.

However, there are weaknesses inherent in the notion. As highlighted above, Governmentality is not as well developed as many other Foucaultian notions; therefore it is difficult to find many detailed discussions of the notion being employed in relation to specific examples within the Foucaultian corpus. Governmentality is, in some respects, a loosely defined theory without a detailed practice. Beyond the Foucaultian literature there is a wide variety of application, which frequently departs from Foucault's stated positions, and often taking the 'territorially sovereign nation state' as a frame of reference; consequently, issues of supranational Governmentality are overlooked.[417] Furthermore, the emphasis in Foucault's writings on Governmentality centres on the issues of who is

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[414] Michel Foucault, 'On the Government of the Living'. In Paul Rabinow (ed) *Ethics: Subjectivity and Truth. Essential Works of Michel Foucault, 1954-1984. Vol. 1.* (London: Penguin, 1994): 81. See also Michel Foucault, 'The Subject and Power'. In James D. Faubion (Ed) *Michel Foucault Essential Works of Foucault 1954-184, Volume 3 – Power*, (London: Penguin. 1994): 326-348.

[415] Rose et al., *Governmentality*.

[416] Foucault, *Governmentality*, 202; see also Rose et al, *Governmentality*.

[417] On Governmentality see Gavin Kendall and Gary Wickham,'The Foucaultian Framework'. In G. Seale, G. Gobo, J.F. Gubrium and D. Silverman (eds), *Qualitative Research Practice*, (London: SAGE, 2004): 129-37. On nation states, see Lemke, *An Indigestible Meal?*.

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governing and their intended outcomes, often at the expense of the issue of their means and methods. To develop an optical analogy, this shortcoming could be considered an 'aberration' of the lens through which Foucault looks.

2.5.3   *The Foucaultian notion of Normalization*

The Foucaultian notion of 'Normalization' offers a potential remedy to this 'aberration'.[418] By focusing on processes and procedures through which particular practices become accepted as 'normal' and thus become taken-for-granted in everyday life, the notion of Normalization offers a way of interrogating discourses in terms of the means and methods being used to achieve the particular ends highlighted by Governmentality.[419] Whilst being a significant and central strand in Foucault's on-going project, the notion of Normalization is set out most transparently in *Discipline and Punish*.[420] Here Foucault traces the way in Western penal systems changed radically during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries, from the 'chaos' of torture and public executions to the highly regimented way in which prisoners lived; the key focus of Foucault's interest was how did this change become possible.[421] He suggests that the change is predicated, in part, on a change of aim. The goal in later penal techniques is not revenge, as in torture and execution, but reform; specifically reform to 'normality', that is a transition in behaviour such that it falls within society's standards, or norms.[422] Thus the categorization changes from 'guilty' / 'not guilty', to 'normal' / 'abnormal' with the possibility of restoration of the 'abnormal' to 'normality'.[423] The notion or Normalization is also evident in Foucault's work on madness. In *Histoire de la folie*, he sets out the way in which madness becomes constructed as 'illness', through processes that normalize this construction. [424]

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[418] Note: where the term is used in relation to the Foucaultian notion of Normalization, the word is given an initial capital. Where the term is used in relation to ongoing processes of normalization, the initial capital is dropped. This is an attempt to differentiate between the different meanings of the same term.

[419] See, for example, P. Triantafillou, *Conceiving "Network Governance": The Potential of the Concepts of Governmentality and Normalization,* (Roskilde, Denmark: Centre for Democratic Network Governance, Roskilde University, 2004): 9.

[420] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish;* Foucault ends the book with the statement 'At this point I end a book that must serve as a historical background to various studies of the power of normalization and the formation of knowledge in society' (p308). See also four of his Collège de France courses: Michel Foucault, *Psychiatric Power*; *The Abnormals*; *Society Must be Defended*; *Security, Territory, Population*; *Truth and Juridicial forms*.

[421] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish.*

[422] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish.*

[423] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish.*

[424] Foucault, *Histoire de la folie.* See also Nikolas Rose, 'Of Madness Itself: *Histoire de la folie* and the Object of Psychiatric History', *History of the Human Sciences* 3, no.3 (1990): 373-380.

In both of these cases, it is clear that the process of normalization is *separate from, but related to,* the differentiation of the practice.[425] The notion of Normalization relates to the way in which a differentiated practice becomes 'normal', especially through *repeated programmatic* statements. Prior to this stage, the practice must first be differentiated, or the subject of a *novel* statement.

Foucault suggests that Normalization is associated with the rise of modernity, arguing that in this epoch sovereign patterns of power become insufficient for the increasingly complex society, and so social power, previously limited to religious contexts, become ubiquitous.[426] In order for practices to become 'normalized', there is not a direct enforcement, such as the introduction of a new law or policy. Rather, disciplinary power is exercised through the social power structures of 'reward' for conformity to the norm and 'punishment' for deviation from it.[427] Because the power is exercised by social rather than sovereign means, it is simpler for practices to be willingly replicated. Within *Discipline and Punish*, the emphasis is on external pressures to conform, however in *History of Sexuality part 1*, where Foucault applies the notion to sex rather than crime, he demonstrates that individuals also internalise the norms, freely monitoring themselves in an effort to conform.[428] As Rose suggests,

> 'those who wish to achieve normality will do so by working on themselves, controlling their impulses in everyday conduct and habits, and inculcating norms of conduct into their children, under the guidance of others'.[429]

By examining discourses through this lens, it becomes possible to investigate the *processes* by which a particular practice becomes adopted. Thus, in regard to this study, where practices relating to SWR in RE were willingly replicated through 'informal' means, before they were later adopted into policy and law (as discussed earlier in this Chapter), this notion offers to illuminate how the practice became adopted.

There are, however, 'aberrations' evident with this 'lens' too. The possibility exists for 'norms' to become *so* 'normalized', or 'embedded', that they become 'immune to critical analysis'; Dianna Taylor illustrates this potential in the context of gender studies:

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[425] On the differentiation of a new practice, see discussion on page 154 below.

[426] Dianna Taylor, 'Normativity and Normalization.' *Foucault Studies* 7 (2009): 49.

[427] Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, for example.

[428] Foucault, *History of Sexuality vol 1.*

[429] Nikolas Rose, *Powers of Freedom: reframing political thought*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999): 73.

> while the specific character of acceptable gender roles may change over time, the idea persists that women and men are different in some fundamental ways that simply must be accepted.[430]

A further difficulty with the notion of Normalization is that, by focussing on the *how*, it tends to overlook the *why*; essentially the contrary aberration to that identified with Governmentality above. To extend the on-going optical analogy a little further, the usual optical solution to the problem of 'simple' lenses suffering from aberrations such as distortion, chromatic aberration, and so on is to construct a 'compound lens' made up of a combination of simple lenses in such a way that the aberrations of one complement the aberration(s) of the others.

Thus, the Foucaultian notions of Governmentality and Normalization, when combined into a 'compound' framework, offer a potential solution to the problems inherent in the existing Confessional framework. In particular, I suggest that reading the changes in English RE seen in the 1960s and 1970s against the nexus of the Foucaultian notions of Governmentality and Normalization has the potential to make a significant contribution to the question of how certain practices became adopted in English RE. By digging beneath the current confessional 'intersection' and examining the motivations for changes, a wider range of overlaid intersections becomes observable. The context of the changes in English RE is complex, and is akin to the Mandelbrot set within fractal geometry; the closer we look, the more complexity is visible to us.[431] Thus, we begin to see intersections between domains of discourse, as well as multiple intersections within each of those domains, all of which contributes to our understandings RE. Consequently, armed with alternative understandings of the subject's historical background, contributions to present, on-going, debates regarding RE are enriched.

2.6   Conclusion and Implications for the Study

This exploration of the extant literature has shown that a 'ruling' historiography of the adoption of SWR in English RE, which constructs a narrative of rapid change in the nature and purpose of RE (from confessional Christian teaching, with a proselytizational aim, to a neo-confessional 'liberal' confessional approach, which focuses on the development of tolerance through phenomenological SWR), with Ninian Smart situated as a key actor and

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[430] Taylor, *Normativity and Normalization*, 47.
[431] On the Mandelbrot set see, for example: *Introduction to the Mandelbrot Set* (on-line) URL: http://www.ddewey.net/mandelbrot/ last accessed 25-04-2014.

WP36 situated as the locus of the change, has been developed, promoted, and discussed, becoming used – to some extent - as a historical shorthand.

In contrast, the wider literature demonstrates that the adoption of SWR in English schools became possible as a result of a series of complex, concurrent, interlinked, and networked, changes which took place over a long period of time, driven by a complex combination of educational, theological, socio-political, and globalizing changes, with immigration being highlighted by many. There is an identifiable movement away from Christian Confessional teaching as the dominant approach to RE during the 1960s, but it starts earlier than the 'ruling' historiography suggests, is less clear cut, and continues over a longer period.

Alongside this, there is a movement towards the SWR. Rather than being driven by policy directive, it manifests as a non-linear series of complicated concurrent and overlapping changes. Examples of SWR as a comparative act can be found in the inter-war period, but during the 1960s there is a tangible transformation from the teaching of World Religions as a comparison to Christianity to a more equal treatment of religious groups, with an associated change in terminology. By the middle of the next decade, the practice is widely seen as 'normal' with legitimacy being conferred through policy documents.

Overall, this 'ruling' historiography records a significant change of direction, not just in terms of *what* was being taught (from Christianity to World Religions), but also *why* (from initiation to information) and *how* (from didactic catechesis to phenomenological pedagogy) as well as *who* decided what was taught (from a predominance of ordained ministers from the Christian tradition to members of church communities combined with leaders of other faith communities).

The analysis here has revealed that the methods which have been used in the construction of existing historiographies of English RE tend to foreground narrative reconstructions, (looking at what happened, and why), overemphasising the importance of certain types of documentary source (especially published Agreed Syllabus documents), whilst, with one or two notable exceptions, underemphasising a raft of primary sources. Further, the methods used tend to produce over-simplified narratives, which fail to adequately reflect the complexity of the wider contexts, and which limit scope for any investigation of how changes became possible. In addition, the geographical parameters of many such studies limit the potential to identify the contribution of supranational ideas and systems of thought to national historiographies.

The analysis has also problematized the dominant 'Confessional' framework of understanding, suggesting that whilst an ideological framework is potentially beneficial,

Althusser's ISA is inadequate, but that a 'compound' framework of understanding achieved by working at the nexus of Governmentality and Normalization is potentially illuminating.

However, there remains lacking any rigorous account of how the adoption of SWR in English schools during the 1960s and 1970s *became possible*. Furthermore, although the process of adopting SWR is linked explicitly to ecumenical developments (at both national and supranational levels), there remains no rigorous investigation of the key research question at the centre of this study.

This review of literature, by focusing on the first subsidiary research question (what does the existing historiography of English Religious Education reveal about how the adoption of SWR became possible in England during the 1960s and 1970s?) enables the key research question to be broken down into further subsidiary questions.

Firstly, to undertake such an analysis requires an alternative methodology that can interrogate a broader range of historical evidence in order to explore these routes of transmission in more detail. This serves to further underline the importance of identifying a historiographical methodology that facilitates an engagement with the key research question, and gives rise to the next subsidiary research question:

> [RQ2] 'What historical method places sufficient emphasis on how practices become adopted and would therefore be appropriate in assessing how the adoption of SWR became possible in English RE during the 1960s and 1970s?'

Secondly, the review has shown that whilst some aspects of the 'ruling' historiography associated with Barnes find some support in the wider literature, there is an emphasis placed on Schools Council Working Paper 36 that is unsubstantiated by the contemporaneous materials. However, there does seem to be an importance attributed to the document at a later date. Thus, it is important to explore why the document appears to occupy such a central role in the historiography; this gives rise to another question:

> [RQ3] 'What is the role of Schools Council Working Paper 36 in the adoption of World Religions Teaching in English RE during the 1960s and 1970s?'

Thirdly, as has been identified, the process of adopting SWR has been linked explicitly to ecumenical developments, at both national and at supranational levels. This gives rise to two further research questions:

> [RQ4] In what ways does an exploration of the supranational ecumenical discourse enrich understandings of how the adoption of SWR became possible?

[RQ5] In what ways does an exploration of the national ecumenical discourse enrich understandings of how the adoption of SWR became possible in England during the 1960s and 1970?

Finally, the parochial nature of many historical studies of RE, whether originating in England, or elsewhere, limits their potential to inform studies in other national contexts. Likewise, nationally bound studies risk confining the discussion by marginalizing or silencing supranational ideas and systems of thought, the exploration of which might expose how things become possible. This gives rise to the final subsidiary research question:

[RQ6] How does the exploration of supranational ecumenical discourses inform understandings of developments in Religious Education in other national contexts where the Study of World Religions has been adopted?

By bringing together the answers to these subsidiary research questions, it will be possible to answer the overarching research question for this study. These questions, together with an indication of where the findings are located, are shown together in **Table 1** overleaf.

Table 1 - Research Questions

Main Research Question	Subsidiary Research Question	Chapter in which Research Question is discussed
In what ways does an exploration of ecumenical discourses enrich understandings of how the adoption of the Study of World Religions became possible in English Religious Education during the 1960s and 1970s?	RQ1 What does the existing historiography of English Religious Education reveal about how the adoption of the Study of World Religions became possible in England during the 1960s and 1970s?	Chapter 2 - The Adoption of The Study of World Religions in English Religious Education:*An Evaluation of the current historiography*.
	RQ2 What historical method places sufficient emphasis on how practices become adopted and would therefore be appropriate in assessing how the adoption of the Study of World Religions became possible in English RE during the 1960s and 1970s?	Chapter 3 – How do Certain 'Practices' Become Possible? The Development of 'Statement Archaeology'.
	RQ3 What is the role of Schools Council Working Paper 36 in the adoption of the Study of World Religions in English RE during the 1960s and 1970s?	Chapter 4 – Schools Council Working Paper 36 and the Adoption of the Study of World Religions in England.
	RQ4 In what ways does an exploration of the supranational ecumenical discourse enrich understandings of how the adoption of the Study of World Religions became possible	Chapter 5 – Shifting Understandings of the 'Religious Other' and the (Re) positioning of 'Education' in the Supranational Ecumenical Discourse.
	RQ5 In what ways does an exploration of the national ecumenical discourse enrich understandings of how the adoption of the Study of World Religions became possible in England during the 1960s and 1970?	Chapter 6 – 'Radical Rethinking of Religious Education' in the National Ecumenical Discourse.
	RQ6 How does the exploration of supranational ecumenical discourses inform understandings of developments in Religious Education in other nationally bound sites where the Study of World Religions has been adopted?	Chapter 7 – Enriched Understandings of How the Adoption of the Study of World Religions Became Possible in English Religious Education in the 1960s and 1970s. *Discussion and Conclusions*.

Chapter 3

How do Certain 'Practices' Become Possible? *The Development of 'Statement Archaeology'*

With the research question at the heart of this study being 'In what ways does an exploration of ecumenical discourses enrich understandings of how the adoption of SWR became possible in English Religious Education during the 1960s and 1970s?', and the conclusion that the methodology underpinning the current historiography of English RE is inappropriate when asking such questions, the focus of this chapter will be methodological, centering on answering the subsidiary research question: 'What historical method places sufficient emphasis on how practices become adopted and would therefore be appropriate in assessing how the adoption of SWR became possible in English RE during the 1960s and 1970s?'. I will describe and discuss the development of Statement Archaeology, an alternative methodology which systematically operationalizes Michel Foucault's historical methods, particularly those associated with his exploration of *the history of ideas* and *systems of thought*, and which responds to this subsidiary research question. Through the development of Statement Archaeology, a further three of the subsidiary research questions identified earlier can be addressed:[1]

> [RQ3]   What is the role of Schools Council Working Paper 36 in the adoption of the Study of World Religions in English RE in the 1960s and 1970s.
> [RQ4]   In what ways does an exploration of the supranational ecumenical discourse enrich understandings of how the adoption of SWR became possible?
> [RQ5]   In what ways does an exploration of the national ecumenical discourse enrich understandings of how the adoption of SWR became possible in England during the 1960s and 1970?

In what follows, I will firstly justify the choice of a historical enquiry and then justify the use of Foucault's historical methods, describing in some detail his foundations and principles and developing ways in which they can appropriately be operationalized in this study. I will include a discussion of ethical issues, and then set out the initial selection of sources (starting points) for the study. Finally, I will set out two 'problematics', the

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[1] See Table 1 - Research Questions, on page 121 above.

discussion of which leads to the development of a 'compound' interpretative lens through which 'findings' will be viewed.

3.1   A Historical Approach

This study is, by the nature of its key research question, already situated as 'historical'; it asks questions about the past. However, to construct the enquiry as solely 'backward looking' would be erroneous. Historical enquiry is considered to have great potential to contribute to contemporary discussions and debates orientated towards the future. Thucydides, arguably the first 'historian', records the Peloponnesian wars between Athens and Sparta (431-404 b.c.e) not to provide 'an essay which is to win the applause of the moment', but in order that lessons from the past might be learnt, affecting not just the present but also the future.[2] This motivation for historical enquiry has not changed over the intervening centuries; Winston Churchill is credited with saying 'Those who fail to learn from history are doomed to repeat it'.[3] By enabling an understanding of what *has* happened, we can more fully understand how the past affects the present, thereby giving a fuller and more comprehensive picture of *what is happening.*[4] This more comprehensive picture of the present, then informs 'how we might live better in the present and the future'.[5] Such a 'rear-view mirror' approach can prevent 'avoidable errors, not least in the re-invention of the wheel (a potentially flawed wheel) by educational reformers ignorant of the fate of previous similar schemes'.[6]

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[2] Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War,* (London: Penguin, 1974): Book 1 1.22-[4]; and Book 1, 1.123-[1]. Kagan discusses Thucydides as a 'historian', comparing him especially to Herodotus (Donald Kagan, *The Peloponnesian War: Athens and Sparta in Savage Conflict,* (London: Harper Perrenial, 2005).

[3] Although the phrase is often attributed to Winston Churchill, it appears to originate with George Santayana in *The Life of Reason*, (1905). There is a brief discussion of the phrase's origin on the National Churchill Museum Blog (URL: https://www.nationalchurchillmuseum.org/blog/churchill-quote-history/, last accessed 15th October 2014).

[4] John Tosh, *The Pursuit of History - Aims, methods and new directions in the study of modern history*, Second ed. (London: Longman, 1991): 15.

[5] Richard Aldrich, *Lessons from history of education*, (London: Routledge, 2006): 2.

[6] Aldrich, *Lessons from history of education*, 2-3; see also J. Gorman, 'Historians and Their Duties', *History and Theory* 43, no.4, (2004): 103-17.

3.1.1 The relationship between 'past' and 'present'

The 'present' is a difficult concept to pin down. As Penny Tinkler and Carolyn Jackson suggest, "the present' is … a slippery moment that is impossible to separate from 'the past'"[7]. They go on to suggest that there are three main ways in which historians relate 'the past' and 'the present', citing Carol Dyhouse as an example of one who favours an approach whereby 'the present' is constructed as a single moment in a 'long view'.[8] Secondly, Tinkler and Jackson describe an 'applied approach' which is exemplified in Richard Aldrich's work. This tends to emphasize approaches that compare what happened 'then' with what is happening 'now', and it 'maintains that historians of education have a duty to employ evidence from the past to facilitate greater understanding of the present'[9]. They also describe a third approach:

> The 'embedded approach' stresses the importance of historicising the present and of recognising how traces of the past are embedded in contemporary practices, discourses and experiences: the past is approached as inextricably woven into the present.[10]

The latter of these three approaches seems to me to offer the most satisfactory description of the inseparability of past and present.[11] I suggest that this is somewhat different from the idea of the 'useable past', described by Gary McCulloch.[12] McCulloch suggests that an accurate historical map is essential for the development of an 'historical framework in which to locate and judge current educational policies' and thus to be in a position to 'address contemporary educational problems'.[13]

Whilst it is the case that current debates must be informed by history, the implicit construction of the past as an entity that is discrete and separable from the present is unhelpful. The notion of 'history as present' offers a useful counterpoint,[14] with the recognition that history is written in, and for, the present (even if a present in the past), and

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[7] Penny Tinkler and Carolyn Jackson, 'The past in the present: historicising contemporary debates about gender and education'. *Gender and Education* 26, no.1 (2014): 70.

[8] Tinkler and Jackson, *The past in the present*, 71, citing Carol Dyhouse, *Girl trouble: Panic and progress on the history of young women.* (London: Zed books, 2013): 7.

[9] Tinkler and Jackson, *The past in the present*, 71-2.

[10] Tinkler and Jackson, *The past in the present*, 72.

[11] For a detailed, and informative, discussion on the nature of time, see Ilya Prigogine, *The End of Certainty,* (New York: Free Press, 1997).

[12] Gary McCulloch, *The struggle for the history of education*, (London: Routledge, 2011): 58. McCulloch's approach does not find universal support; see for example W. Robinson, 'The struggle for the history of education, by Gary McCulloch - review 3'. *History of Education* 41, no.5 (Sept 2012): 706-7.

[13] McCulloch, *The struggle for the history of education*, 59.

[14] See, for example, Walter Benjamin, *Theses on the Philosophy of History.* (New York: Illuminations, 1968); Ian Iyne, *The Temporality of Language: Kant's Legacy in the Work of Martin Heidegger and Walter Benjamin.* (Unpublished PhD Thesis, Warwick University, 1995).

adoption of this approach facilitates a breaking down of the perceptual division between past and present that is evident in McCulloch's framework. The difference between these approaches is, to some degree, linked to the contrast that Tinkler makes between the 'applied' and the 'embedded' approaches described above

With an understanding of history as present and orientated towards 'the future', I defend a historical enquiry in order to enrich understandings of how the adoption of SWR became possible in English RE during the 1960s and 1970s. This is undertaken in order to illuminate current discussions relating to Religious Education, including those highlighted in the Chapter 1 above. Each of the current issues has a historical background and context, an accurate understanding of which enriches present discussions. Recent historical work, such as that which explores the early years of the *English Movement for Christian Education,* demonstrates the importance of such a historical approach in contributing to the on-going contemporary debates.[15] Furthermore, by enriching understandings of *how* the practice of SWR became possible, there is potential to contribute to present and future debates about *how* policy changes arising from the contemporary debates might be implemented.

3.1.2   *The status of historical enquiry*

Despite the contribution that historical enquiry can make to current debates, the position of historical enquiry in educational research appears somewhat hard-pressed, both nationally and internationally.[16] William Richardson concludes that historians of education have been supplanted by academic historians, and he argues strongly for a robust academic historical study of education.[17] Elsewhere, there is debate over whether history of education is a legitimate discipline.[18] In the midst of these debates there is a growing call for the

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[15] Stephen Parker, Rob Freathy and Jonathan Doney, 'Professionalizing Religious Education in England', (in preparation).

[16] On the national situation see McCulloch, *struggle for the history of education*, also Joyce Goodman and Ian Grosvenor, 'Educational research - History of education: a curious case?', *Oxford Review of Education* 35, no.5, (2009): 601-16, and Robinson, *Review: Struggle for Education*, also T. Christou, 'Gone but not forgotten: The Decline of History of an Educational Foundation', *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 41(5), 2009: 569-83. On the international situation see, for example, Geir Skeie, 'An Overview of Religious Education Research in Norway', in Rune Larsson & C. Gustavsson (eds), *Towards a European Perspective on Religious Education*, (Skellefteå, Sweden: Artos & Norma, 2004): 317-31 and Geir Skeie, 'Religion and Education in Norway', in Robert Jackson (ed), *Religion and Education in Europe: developments, contexts and debates*, (Munster: Waxmann, 2007): 221-42.

[17] William Richardson, 'Historians and educationalists: the history of education as a field of study in post-war England Part I: 1945-72', *History of Education* 28, no. 1, 1999: 1-30; William Richardson, 'Historians and educationalists: the history of education as a field of study in post-war England Part II: 1972-96', *History of Education* 28, no. 2, 1999: 136; William Richardson, 'British Historiography of Education in the International Context at the Turn of the Century, 1996-2006', *History of Education* 36, no. 4-5, September 2007: 571.

[18] Goodman and Grosvenor, *Educational Research*.

history of education to be taken seriously with some emphasising a specific focus on the role of religion in the development of education.[19] When discussing the 'theological' aspects of educational history, Richardson notes an ascendency of 'political and social' aspects in the historical development of education and a move 'toward anthropology and studies centred on the social ascription of meaning, individual and collective' highlighting the diminishing historical analysis of the 'role of the churches'.[20] Similarly, as discussed earlier, Deirdre Raftery suggests that there has been too much concentration on the period leading up to the twentieth century, with a consequential neglect of the more recent period.[21] Furthermore, she detects a generally 'critical position towards the involvement of the Churches in education, with the result that it has become unpopular ... to find anything noteworthy in Church interference in learning.'[22] However, despite this, theological issues in the history of RE are poorly accounted for and a lack of robust theological analysis remains a significant omission against the need identified above.[23]

3.1.3 The 'linguistic turn'

There is a suggestion that 'traditional' qualitative methods, which have been used to explore and analyse the historiography of English RE, offer more insights to the *meaning* of events than to the circumstances of their *production*.[24] As I have already set out (in Chapter 2 above), the methods currently employed in the construction of the current historiography of the adoption of SWR are unable to engage fully with the question I am asking. For this study, with its focus on the processes by which SWR became adopted during the 1960s, different approaches are consequently necessary.

Following the *linguistic turn* of the 1960s and 1970s, and the emerging idea that language constructs reality rather than simply describing it, a debate began within the

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[19] On general need see, for example, Ian Grosvenor, 'From the 'Eye of History' to 'a Second Gaze': The Visual Archive and the Marginalized in the History of Education', *History of Education,* 36(4-5), 2007: 607-22; Christou, *Gone but not forgotten*; McCulloch, S*truggle for the history of education*. On the role of religion, see: Goodman and Grosvenor, *Educational Research*; James Arthur, 'Christian Commentary and Education 1930-1960', *History of Education* 41, no.3, (2012): 339-359; Deirdre Raftery, 'Religions and the history of education: a historiography', *History of Education* 41, no.1, (2012): 41-56.

[20] Richardson, *Historians and Educationists II*, 136; Richardson, *British Historiography of Education*, 571.

[21] Raftery, *Religions and the history of education*.

[22] Raftery, *Religions and the history of education*, 43.

[23] Terence Copley, *Teaching Religion*. (Exeter: Exeter University Press, 2008); Rob Freathy and Stephen Parker, 'The necessity of historical inquiry in educational research: The case of Religious Education', *British Journal of Religious Education*, *32*(3), 2010: 229-243; Geoff Teece, *A religious approach to religious education: the implications of John Hick's religious interpretation of religion for religious education.* (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Birmingham, 2010). See also Richardson, *Historians and Educationists I and II; British Historiography of Education.*

[24] N. Phillips and C. Hardy, *Discourse analysis: investigating processes of social construction*, (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2002).

historical community over whether any of the diverse interpretations of the 'new' (post-structural) approaches, had a valid contribution to make to historical enquiry.[25] For some, the approaches facilitate departure from the ossified approaches of the past and allow the development of a more comprehensive and sophisticated understanding of sequences of and causes of events, uncovering previously silent voices and hidden patterns and aiding understanding the effect of the past on the present.[26] For others the approaches are - at best - an uninteresting, irrelevant, insoluble irritation to be ignored and left aside, and - at worst - an 'epistemological crisis' associated with huge dangers.[27] Whilst such post-structural approaches are somewhat controversial, they do offer a great deal to studies such as this, emerging - in part - from the failure of previous approaches that were considered to provide inadequate explanations for the relationship between what happened and why.[28] This is perhaps exemplified in the failure of classical Marxist history to account for the events in Paris in 1968; it was not that existing approaches gave inadequate answers, they failed to recognise the questions.[29]

Post-structural approaches have been shown to challenge a number of historical orthodoxies. They specifically challenge established understandings of truth, certainty and objectivity, and allow practitioners to move beyond the constraints that Modernism places

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[25] Such approaches are exemplified in, for example: Judith R. Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives Of Sexual Danger In Late-Victorian London,* (London: Virago Press, 1992) and Alexei Yurchak, *Everything Was Forever Until It Was No More,* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005). On the Linguistic turn see, for example, R.M. Rorty, *The Linguistic Turn: Essays in Philosophical Method*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992). On the wider debate, compare, for example, Alun Munslow, *Deconstructing History* (Second Ed. London: Routledge, 2006), who adopts a generally positive view with G.R. Elton, *Return to Essentials - Some Reflections on the Present State of Historical Study.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991). For a more detailed analysis, see Perez Zagorin, 'History, the Referent, and Narrative: Reflections on Postmodernism Now.' *History and Theory,* 38, 1999: 1-24. Both Patterson and Joyce suggest that many historians do not want to face up to the reality of post-structuralism (Thomas Patterson, 'Post-Structuralism, Post-Modernism: Implications for Historians.' *Social History* 14:1 (Jan 1989): 83-88, esp 86; P. Joyce, 'The Return of History: Postmodernism and the Politics of Academic History in Britain', *Past & Present*, 158 (Feb 1998): 207-35, esp. 208).

[26] For example: Jill Fardon, and Sonja Schoeman. 'A Feminist Post-Structuralist Analysis of An Exemplar South African School History Text', *South African Journal of Education*, 30 (2010): 307-323. Also C.G. Brown, *Postmodernism for Historians*, First ed. (Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2005): Chapter 4. Passmore warns that 'we should not assume too sharp an opposition between poststructuralism and 'conventional history'. (K. Passmore, 'Postructuralism and history'. In S. Berger, H. Feldner and K. Passmore (eds), *Writing History: Theory and Practice*, (London: Hodder Education, 2003): 119). See also Michel Foucault, 'What is an Author', in D.F. Bouchard (ed), *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews*, (New York: Cornell University Press, 1977): 113-38; John Tosh, *The Pursuit of History - Aims, methods and new directions in the study of modern history*, Second ed. (London: Longman, 1991); D. Carr, 'Narrative Explanation and its Malcontents', *History and Theory*, 47 (February 2008): 19-30; Elton, *Return to Essentials.*

[27] Anthony Easthope, 'Romancing the Stone: History-Writing and Rhetoric', *Social History*, 18(2), 1993: 235-49; Patterson, *Post-Structuralism, Post-Modernism*; Joyce, *The Return of History*; Fitzhugh & Leckie, *Agency, Postmodernism, and the Causes of Change.*

[28] For example, Goodman and Grosvenor, *Educational research.*

[29] See J. Weeks, 'Foucault for Historians', *History Workshop*, 14 (Autumn 1982): 106-19; G. Gutting, *Foucault - A Very Short Introduction*, First ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); Brown *Postmodernism for Historians.*

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upon these concepts.[30] The focus on narrative and discourse has the potential to liberate previously stifled discussions, as well as allowing previously hidden voices to be heard.[31] By dismantling the texts, the role of narrative, the role of the reader as primary interpreter, together with the shift in understanding of the historian's role from 'reconstruction' to 'representation', hidden, often multiple, meanings are revealed.[32] Further, complexity is embraced, in terms of both experiences of the historical 'event', and interpretations of it. Single events do not affect people uniformly; the combination of a whole host of contextual, social, economic, geno- and pheno-typical factors, both in the short and long term, act as filters on the event, giving rise to a diverse set of experiences.

Additionally, existing structures are disturbed; some of the hierarchies that convey prejudice and propagate hegemonic oppression are challenged, and attempts are made to bring justice in their place.[33] Concepts of power are reconstructed; rather than being comprehended as negative, monolithic, mono-directional influences exerted by one group over another, as the possession of class or gender, power is framed as something that is positive, dynamic and fluid.[34] Consequently, previously 'fixed' conceptions of the past can be set free and opened up to new understandings, particularly in areas of social history.[35]

Such new approaches have shown themselves to be very useful in asking new questions, and providing new answers to some old questions, especially *how* questions, such as how 'class' or 'gender' are constructed and how they contribute to the construction of society.[36] Thus, by emphasizing the study of both the 'object' and the underlying structures

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[30] For example, Weeks, *Foucault for Historians*; Michel Foucault, *Archaeology of knowledge*, (London: Routledge, 2002); Brown *Postmodernism for Historians*.

[31] For example, G. Speigel, Presidential Address, American Historical Association -'The Task of the Historian', *American Historical Review*, (Feb 2009): 1-15.

[32] Roland Barthes, *Death of the Author*, (1968). On-line text, URL http://www.tbook.constantvzw.org/wp-content/death_authorbarthes.pdf, last accessed 15-04-2011. See also: Richard Evans, *In Defence of History,* Revised ed. (London: Granta, 2000); Penny Summerfield, *Reconstructing Women's Wartime Lives*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998); J.R. Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight - Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late-Victorian London*, First ed. (London: Virago, 1992). On multiple interpretations, see for example: Passmore, *Postructuralism and history*.

[33] On 'disturbance' see, for example, Brown, *Postmodernism for Historians*, 80-1. On challenging prejudice see, for example, Jacques Derrida, 'Force of Law: The 'Mystical Foundation of Authority', *Cardozo Law Review*, 11, 1990: 919-1045.

[34] For example, Weeks, *Foucault for Historians*, 115. See also Brown, *Postmodernism for Historians*, 89. See also Deborah Youdell, 'Subjectivation and Performance Politics - Butler Thinking Althusser and Foucault: Intelligibility, Agency and the Raced-Nationed-Religioned Subjects of Education', *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 27, no.4, (2006): 511-528.

[35] For example, K.J. Mumford, 'City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late-Victorian London by Judith Walkowitz - Review', *History and Theory* 32, no.3, (1993): 356-63; Alexei Yurchak, *Everything Was Forever*.

[36] For example, Evans, *In Defence of History*; Speigel, *The Task of the Historian*.

and systems of knowledge that come together to produce the 'object', the approaches allow a study of how knowledge is produced.[37]

There are detractors from a post-structural approach to historical enquiry. Objections are often predicated on a desire for causal explanations, [38] which are not always possible; further, objections are frequently based on misunderstandings of the approaches. The issue of agency is sometimes raised as an inherent 'flaw' in post-structural approaches; for example Fitzhugh and Leckie attempt to show that such approaches are inconsistent with any concept of agency.[39] In short, they argue that post-structural analyses imply that people cannot change things.[40] In response, Shaw sets out a very different - and to my mind, more satisfying – analysis of post-structural approaches to 'agency'. He argues that agency is executed through narratives and discourses, although the process is not simple.[41] Post-structural approaches to history must therefore not be understood as militating against agency, but must rather be understood in terms consistent with the interpretational framework being used.[42]

Post-structural approaches to educational history have similarly attracted sceptical responses. For example, in a special edition of *Paedagogica Historica*, Sol Cohen and Marc Depaepe report on the 'fundamental scepticism' observed by Augustin Escolano, in which post-structural approaches are presented as a threat to the 'epistemological stature of our discipline'.[43] Elsewhere, Beverley Skeggs describes the approach as 'an attempt by disillusioned male academics, who feel they are no longer at the "centre" or have authority or control over knowledge' to win back credibility and influence.[44] Some writers suggest that 'the study and writing of history were already under threat' before the *linguistic* turn and its consequences.[45] For example, some consider that Francis Fukuyama's later statements regarding 'the end of history', are suggestive of a marginalization of the discipline.[46]

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[37] Summerfield, *Reconstructing Women's Wartime Lives*; Carr, *Narrative Explanation and its Malcontents*.

[38] On simple causal explanations see: Foucault, *Order of Things*; J. Appleby, 'The Power of History', *American Historical Review*, (February 1998):1-14; Munslow, *Deconstructing History*.

[39] Fitzhugh and Leckie, *Agency, Postmodernism, and the Causes of Change*.

[40] Fitzhugh and Leckie, *Agency, Postmodernism, and the Causes of Change*.

[41] D.G. Shaw, 'Happy in our Chains? Agency and Language in the Postmodern Age', *History and Theory*, (Theme Issue 40), 2001: 1-9.

[42] See, for example, Foucault, *What is an Author*; *Archaeology of knowledge*; Michel Foucault, 2003, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2003). As an example of this, see also Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delights*.

[43] S. Cohen and Marc Dapaepe, 'History of Education in the Postmodern Era - Introduction to special edition', *Paedagogica Historica* 32, no.2, (1996): 301-5.

[44] B. Skeggs, 'Postmodernism: what is all the Fuss about', *British Journal of Sociology of Education* XII, no.2, (1991): 255-267.

[45] Lowe, *Postmodernity and Historians of Education*.

[46] Francis Fukuyama, *The End of History and the Last Man,* (New York: Free Press, 1992). See also Mumford, *'City of dreadful delight' – Review*, 357.

Supporters of post-structural approaches hold that the 'new' history has 'multiplied the forms of curiosity',[47] whilst others argue that the issues raised in reaction to post-structuralism open up spaces within which the nature and purpose of the discipline can be reconsidered and renegotiated, thus emancipating previously constrained conceptions of 'history'.[48] Amongst other things, Lowe suggests that these discussions serve as a reminder 'that there are issues around the methodologies used by historians of education as well as their research agendas which must be kept in mind.'[49]

3.2   Using Foucault's Historical Methods

Bearing these arguments in mind, together with Kevin Passmore's observation that 'we should not assume too sharp an opposition between post-structuralism and "conventional history"', I have adopted a post-structural approach to the history of education in the present study.[50] More specifically, I turn to the work of Michel Foucault to develop this approach with regard to the adoption of SWR in English RE.

Foucault is often cited as a principal figure in the development of post-structural historical enquiry, proposing that phenomena relating to social and institutional processes and power are not pre-existent, but are 'constructed' through language, a schema perhaps seen most clearly in *Madness and Civilization*.[51] As a historian, Foucault's work shows continuity with and development of previous historical theories; for example, there are clear links to and development of ideas from both the *Annales* school and the *Histoire des Mentalités.*[52] However, in contrast to these earlier historical traditions, Foucault sets out to ask a different type of question. He seeks to reject the questions *'what happened?'* combined with '*how did the present as we see it, emerge from the past?'*, which are frequently associated with

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[47] Cohen and Dapaepe, *History of Education in the Postmodern Era*.

[48] Evans, *In Defence of History*, esp. 95.

[49] Lowe, *Postmodernity and Historians of Education*, 322.

[50] Passmore, *Poststructuralism and history*, 119.

[51] For example: Fitzhugh and Leckie, *Agency, Postmodernism, and the Causes of Change*; Allan Megill, 'Foucault, Structuralism, and the Ends of History.' *The Journal of Modern History* 51, no. 3 (1979): 451-503; Zagorin, *History, the Referent, and Narrative*; Michel Foucault, Madness and Civilization, (London: Routledge, 2001).

[52] Foucault was 'professor of the history of systems of thought' at the Collège de France, Paris from 1970 until his death in 1984 (Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge*; Gutting Foucault - A Very Short Introduction). On Foucault's development of earlier movements, see: Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge*, Introduction (where he reflects on the influence of the Annales school on the development of his historical approach). See also R. Chartier, *Cultural History: Between Practices and Representations*, Translated by L.G. Cochrane. (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1981); P.H. Hutton, 'The History of Mentalites: The New Map of Cultural History', *History and Theory* 20, no.3, (1981): 237-59); Peter Burke, 'Strengths and Weaknesses of the History of Mentalities', *History of European Ideas* 7, no.5 (1986): 439-451. On the Annales school's defence of the *longue durée*, see Lowe, *Postmodernity and Historians of Education*.

'traditional' Whig approaches to historical enquiry.[53] Rather, his enquiries centre on the question '*how did a particular practice become possible?*' For example the research question at the heart of *The History of Sexuality Vol. 1* is 'How did it become possible for sexuality to become *the* crucial practice for defining the truth of the modern self?'.[54] Similar questions regarding how particular practices became possible are at the heart of *The History of Madness* and *Discipline and Punish*.[55] These questions are asked, not for their own sake, but in order to 'diagnose' the present. So, for example, Foucault constructs a history of madness in the Classical Age in order to more fully understand the nature of contemporary psychiatry.[56]

Foucault focuses on the change in thinking that is necessary for the 'new' practice to become possible: 'every mode of thinking involves implicit rules that materially restrict the range of thought', in other words 'there are substantial constraints on how people are able to think',[57] which confine some things to a category of 'the unthinkable' until such a moment that the constraints change and the unthinkable becomes thinkable. Thus, by revealing these rules we can, as Gutting suggests, 'see how an apparently arbitrary constraint actually makes total sense in the framework defined by those rules'.[58] Further, in understanding the *changes in the rules* we can begin to understand how something that was 'unthinkable' becomes 'thinkable'. Thus, in Foucault's work the underlying structures that form the context *in which things are thought* become at least as important as *what the thoughts are;* 'We will not be so much interested in, say, Hume or Darwin as in what made Hume or Darwin possible'.[59]

In exploring how the adoption of SWR became possible in English RE during the 1960s and 1970s, this emphasis on the changing constraints on thinking, and the way in which they allow particular practices to became possible is illuminating.

3.2.1   *Foucault's foundations*

Foucault's historical method is built on a series of 'foundations' comprising an overall aim and three consequent 'shifts' which are expounded in *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, and seen in practice in Foucault's historical works including *The Order of Things, Madness and*

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[53] See, for example, Gavin Kendall and Gary Wickham, 'The Foucaultian Framework'. In G. Seale, G. Gobo, J.F. Gubrium and D. Silverman (eds), *Qualitative Research Practice*, (London: SAGE, 2004): 129-37.

[54] Kendall and Wickham, *The Foucaultian Framework*, 134; Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality, Volume 1: Introduction*, (New York, Pantheon Books, 1978).

[55] Foucault, *Madness and Civilization*; *History of Madness*; *Discipline and Punish*. See also Kendal and Wickham, *The Foucaultian Framework*, 40.

[56] Foucault, *History of Madness*; also Gutting, *Foucault and the History of Madness*, 60.

[57] Gutting, *Foucault - A Very Short Introduction*, 33.

[58] Gutting, *Foucault - A Very Short Introduction*, 33

[59] Gutting, *Foucault - A Very Short Introduction*, 33

Civilization and *Birth of The Clinic.*[60] These foundations are entirely consistent with the construction of the relationship between past and present described above. Furthermore, they allow many of the criticisms of the 'ruling' methodology that I have raised in the previous chapter to be addressed, including the dominance of 'causal' explanations, investigations that are chronologically and spatially bound, and the emphasis on character studies.[61]

In asking a different type of question, Foucault reaches towards his aim of producing a different 'type' of history. Rejecting the aspiration to produce what he calls a 'Total History', he instead insists on the development of a 'General History'.[62] Foucault describes 'Total History' as being built around the view that historical study serves to describe how the present has gradually emerged from the past. It is predicated on the notion of teleological progress 'towards a better finality' and the ability to 'totalise' long sequences of, and large numbers of, coterminous events into a single history.[63] Being based on a network of causal relationships and leading towards '*a*' (more often '*the*') reconstruction of the past in the present, 'Total History' 'seeks to reconstitute the overall form of a civilization' and reconstruct the 'overarching principles which govern the development of an epoch'.[64] This is achieved through the study of an 'homogenous network of relations and causality across a clearly defined set of spatial and temporal co-ordinates'.[65] In other words, 'Total History' claims that:

> between all the events of a well-defined spatio-temporal area, between all
> the phenomena of which traces have been found, it must be possible to
> establish a system of homogenous relations… that shows how … they
> all express the same central core.[66]

In 'Total History', a series of notions are inappropriately privileged, primarily in order to maintain a narrative of continuity, even where this devalues the events themselves.[67] Foucault critiques this, declaring that these 'traditional explanations – spirit of the time, technological or social influences of various kinds – struck me for the most part

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[60] Foucault, *The Order of Things; Madness and Civilization; Birth of the Clinic.*

[61] As set out in Section 2.4.2, starting on page 94 above.

[62] Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge*, 10ff. See also Gavin Kendall and Gary Wickham, *Using Foucault's Methods.* (London; Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1999).

[63] Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge,* 4ff. For a detailed critique of 'teleological' progress, see Michel Foucault, 'What is Englightenment?'. In, Paul Rabinow (ed), *The Foucault Reader*, (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984): 32-50.

[64] Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge*, 10; Kendall and Wickham, *Using Foucault's Methods*, 24.

[65] M. Dean, *Critial and Effective Histories: Foucault's Methods and Historical Sociology*, (London: Routledge, 1994).

[66] Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge*, 10.

[67] See, for example, James. D. Faubion. 'Introduction'. In: James D. Faubion (Ed) *Michel Foucault Essential Works of Foucault 1954-184, Volume 2 – Aesthetics*, (London: Penguin. 1998).

as being more magical than effective' and suggesting that such an approach 'enacts a Hegelian totalization of the past and the present'.[68]

In contrast to this 'Total History', Foucault calls for a 'General History' which is rooted in his understanding that history is continuous and never-ending, and in his own understanding of what history is *for*; never being an end in itself, but an analytic tool which serves as a means to a different end.[69] In contrast to earlier historians, especially those associated with 'Total History' such as Marx, who might be characterised as 'prophet' on the basis that they were preoccupied with declaring how the story will end, Foucault acts a 'diagnostician'.[70] He takes time to look over the patient, describing the symptoms and taking a full and detailed case history. Even where such a history appears to be tangential or irrelevant to the presenting issue, Foucault follows; focusing on a diagnosis of the present requires that the investigation be free to travel as far as necessary, rather than be constrained to a particular period or place. In short, Foucault's 'General History' is concerned with helping 'us see that the present is just as strange as the past, not to help us see that a sensible or desirable present has emerged, or might emerge'.[71]

Another way in which Foucault differs in his approach from other historians is illustrated in his treatment of, and understanding of, 'evidence'. Foucault does not present 'facts' as evidence supporting a particular argument. Rather he presents facts as *illustrations* or *examples*. So, in a chapter on 'Confinement', Foucault discusses the issue in some depth in relation to France, but on the basis of one paragraph each for England and Europe more widely (each of which is more or less a list of houses and confinement and their dates of foundation), Foucault claims that the notion had 'European dimensions'.[72]

In a sense, Foucault is not setting out to prove 'beyond reasonable doubt' that something is so; rather he is adopting a 'balance of probabilities' approach, showing by the use of examples that certain things are happening in certain places at certain times. His inclusion of lists of houses of confinement in England and across wider Europe is simply to illustrate that they exist, not to establish that they are the only ways in which the 'mad' are dealt with in those places and at those times. In many ways, this approach might be

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[68] Mark Poster, *Foucault, Marxism and History*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1984): 76; Foucault, *Order of Things*; C. O'Farrell, 'Discontinuity and Discourse'. In: *Michel Foucault*, (London: SAGE, 2005): 75.

[69] Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, 10ff; Weeks, *Foucault for Historians*. Foucault's historical approach is used to develop understandings of madness (*History of Madness; Madness and Civilization; Birth of the Clinic*), sexuality (*The History of Sexuality vols 1-3*) or punishment (*Discipline and Punish*).

[70] For Foucault on Marx, see *Archaeology of Knowledge*, 14ff; see also Kendall and Wickham *Using Foucault's Methods*, 4.

[71] Kendall and Wickham, *Using Foucault's Methods*, 4.

[72] Michel Foucualt, *Madness and Civilization*, (London: Routledge, 2001):43 ff; (On France, 59-64).

considered a 'black swan' approach; through the use of illustrations and examples, Foucault is demonstrating that some swans are non-white; the number of these other swans, and their colouring is immaterial to Foucault's history, therefore he does not concern himself with those questions.

Following from his aim to produce 'General History' of the type described above, Foucault's work expounds three shifts; from 'period' to 'problem', from 'causation' to 'contingency' and from 'hermeneutic' to 'descriptive'. Each of these will now be considered.

In the development of 'General History', Foucault expounds a shift from 'period' to 'problem' as the basis for analysis. Firstly, his construction of historical enquiry as a diagnosis of the present (as discussed above) implies a problem-based approach. Secondly, 'General History', being perpetual in nature, does not lend itself to being broken down into neat chronological compartments, which are in some way separated one from another; for Foucault, 'periods' of history cannot be treated as discrete and separate.[73] Foucault justifies this rejection on the basis that the historian's task is to show how a particular period divulges

> several pasts, several forms of connexion, several hierarchies of importance, several networks of determination, several teleologies, for one and the same science, as its present undergoes change: thus historical descriptions are necessarily ordered by the present state of knowledge, they increase with every transformation and never cease, in turn, to break with themselves.[74]

From a superficial reading of Foucault, it may appear that his historical methods are period based; he refers frequently to different 'periods', such as the 'Classical period' or periodized events, such as 'The Great Confinement'.[75] However, a careful study of the Foucaultian corpus demonstrates this to be an erroneous interpretation.

The reasoning behind focusing on 'problem' over 'period' has implications for spatial as well as temporal frameworks. However, Foucault does not explicitly discuss a

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[73] Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge*, 8ff; Kendall and Wickham, *Using Foucault's Methods*, 23.

[74] Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge*, 5.

[75] Rather than using 'periods' in the way the term is used by many historians, whereby the Classical Period is a discrete period of time, and distinct from The Early Modern Period, or the Renaissance, Foucault refers to 'Epochs', a notion that is less clearly circumscribed and arguably not a chronological taxonomy. See, for example, Michel Foucault, 'Of Other Spaces: Utopias and Heterotopias', *Architecture, Mouvement, Continuité* 5, (1984): 46-49.See also Foucault, *The Order of Things*, *passim*.

framework of spatiality.[76] Yet, he does not allow the division of 'space' into nation-states to restrict his exploration, any more than he is restricted by the division of time into 'periods'. For example in *History of Madness* he draws on examples from France, England, Germany, Italy and Spain.[77] In this way Foucault is not undertaking an 'inter-national' study, comparing events in one nation-state to events in another, but somehow is transcending the very notion of nation-state itself:

> Maybe, after all, the state is no more than a composite reality and a mythicised abstraction, whose importance is a lot more limited than many of us think.[78]

The review of literature in the previous chapter highlights the fact that histories of RE, in common with many other types of history, are generally written from within national boundaries.[79] Educational ideas are often explored within a given geographical context; this is frequently the nation-state. Thus the notion of 'national boundaries' is often taken for granted as the default geographical parameter, and is seldom questioned within the history of curriculum development. There is a tendency for them to be constructed as stable, and therefore as an 'independent variable',[80] yet, we see from the world around us that national boundaries are far from stable.[81]

This is not to suggest that historians have operated within national boundaries simply because they didn't realise that those boundaries were arbitrary or unstable; as most educational systems are determined by the governments of nation-states, there are good (although not arbitrary) reasons for taking national boundaries seriously.

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[76] For example, Foucault, *Governmentality,* 220.

[77] Foucault, *History of Madness.*

[78] Michel Foucault, 'Governmentality'. In: James D. Faubion (Ed) *Michel Foucault Essential Works of Foucault 1954-184, Volume 3 – Power*, (London: Penguin. 1994): 220. See also Michel Foucault, 'Governmentality', trans. Rosi Braidotti and revised by Colin Gordon. In Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon and Peter Miller (eds) *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality*, (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1991): 87–104.

[79] Page 99 above. See also R. Bin Wong, 'Causation'. In Ulinka Rublack (ed), *A Concise Companion to History*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012): 46.

[80] Lynn Fendler, 'There Are No Independent Variables in History'. In Thomas S Pokewewitz (ed), *Rethinking the History of Education: Transnational Perspectives on its Questions, Methods, and Knowledge,* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013): 223-244.

[81] Two examples from Europe support this claim. Firstly, in the past 100 years, the area around Prague and Bratislava has been known as Bohemia, Moravia, Slovakia (as parts of the Austro-Hungarian Empire) up until 1918, as Czechoslovakia (1918-1992) and, since 1993 the Czech Republic and Slovakia. Secondly, its near neighbour Yugoslavia, formed in 1918, was previously known as State of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs and the Kingdom of Serbia; since 1992 various component states have declared independence, resulting in the formation of seven separate nation-states. The phenomena is not confined to Europe; the national borders of states in Africa are redrawn; French Equatorial Africa has disappeared from our atlases, along with other African states, and as recently as 2011 South Sudan separated from Sudan to become an independent nation-state.

Whilst many ideas and systems of thought operate 'across' nation-state boundaries (inter-national), others operate outside them altogether.[82] If the geographical parameters of historical studies were to remain more permeable, or if closed, only with specific and deliberate intention, then historical studies might end up looking very different, taking us on intellectual journeys that not just cross national boundaries, but potentially transcend them altogether. For as long as nationally-bound sites are taken for granted, the discussion of ideas and the ways in which those ideas play out within those contexts, will be framed (and potentially constrained), by the notion of national boundaries; with a consequence that the supranational nature of those ideas is underplayed.[83]

Consequently, I suggest that nationally bounded historiographies run the risk of being impoverished, particularly in terms of understanding how certain practices become possible. This study serves as an example of this, showing that where histories of education have been constrained by national boundaries, supranational ideas and systems of thought tend to become either marginalized, or, as has been the case in English RE, silenced completely.

It is important to highlight the contribution that post-structural approaches can make when discussing concepts and theories that transcend national boundaries; as Roy Lowe points out

> In a … world in which the transience and arbitrariness of local and national boundaries is constantly made clear, then new definitions of social and national groupings may be appropriate.[84]

However, I am not as confident as Lowe that the transience and arbitrariness *are* constantly being made clear. I fear that the issue is pushed under the carpet. Here I concur with Lynn Fendler, who suggests that the notion of nation-state needs to be considered as a historical problem, rather than an independent variable.[85]

The notion of nation-state is complex, and it is important to recognise that the notion is relatively recent. C.A. Bayly claims that the period of 1890-1940 is the age of 'hyperactive nationalism', a period which corresponds with significant expansion in national systems of education, and the structuralization of the Worldwide ecumenical

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[82] See, for example, Thomas Lemke, 'An Indigestible Meal? Foucault, Governmentality and State Theory.' *Distinktion: Scandinavian Journal of Social Theory* 8, no. 2 (2007): 43-64.

[83] Oddrun Bråten, *Towards a Methodology for Comparative Studies in Religious Education : A Study of England and Norway.* (Münster: Waxmann, 2013).

[84] R. Lowe, 'Postmodernity and Historians of Education', *Paedagogica Historica* 32, no2, (1996): 319.

[85] Fendler, *There are no Independent Variables in History*, 228.

movement.[86] It is also instructive to remember that this is the period in which RE in England was developing, and the time during which which discussions about the introduction of compulsory RE in England was taking place; however, as already highlighted, this period is frequently overlooked.

In his work on the history of ideas and systems of thought, Foucault argues, at points, that nation-states are not pre-existent objects, rather they are a "transactional reality".[87] This suggests an instability of national boundaries and, one only needs to look at the maps of the Balfour Agreement, and the Sykes - Picot lines, to see the extent to which nation-state boundaries are a human construction.

Furthermore, the discussion of the inter-national transfer of ideas is problematic, not just for the reasons already mentioned. As Noah Sobe points out, 'transfer' itself is a problematic notion, it tends to *'postulate fixed points of departure and arrival',[88]* and imply a mono-directional encounter. Sobe suggests that this 'risks obscuring the complexity of the connections and intercrossings that engender certain cultural forms and social patterns and not others'.[89]

Like Sobe, I reject the transfer paradigm, which overlooks the often dense, webs of relationships, is tied to a diachronic analysis, which suggests a process which takes place in discrete steps (so departure and arrival moments take on a special significance), and marginalizes the complexity of contextual details.[90] Further, whilst inter-national studies might attempt, as Sobe puts it 'to disrupt the insularity of nation-centric research',[91] they can also act to reinforce such national-ness.

As a corrective to these issues, Sobe offers the notion of *entangled histories*, an approach that focuses on the 'the tangling together of disparate actors, devices, discourses

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[86] Bayly, *The Birth of the Modern World*, 462. On the expansion of education systems see, for example: Andy Green, *Education and State Formation: The Rise of Education Systems in England, France and the USA.* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1990); Gerd Baumann, 'Introduction: Nation-state, Schools and Civil Enculturation.' In *Civil Enculturation: Nation-state, School and Ethnic Difference in the Netherlands, Britain, Germany and France.* Edited by Werner Schiffauer, Gerd Baumann, Riva Kastoryano and Steven Vertovec. (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2004): 1-20.

[87] Michel Foucault, *Naissance de la biopolitique. Cours au Collège de France. 1978-1979.* (Paris: Gallimard/Seuil, 2004): 301. For a detailed discussion on debates around the notion of 'nation-state' see, for example, Andy Green, *Education and State Formation: The Rise of Education Systems in England, France and the USA.* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1990): 76-110; Gerd Baumann, "Introduction: Nation-state, Schools and Civil Enculturation." In *Civil Enculturation : Nation-state, School and Ethnic Difference in the Netherlands, Britain, Germany and France.* Edited by Werner Schiffauer, Gerd Baumann, Riva Kastoryano and Steven Vertovec. (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2004): 1.

[88] Noah W. Sobe, 'Entanglement and Transnationalism in the History of American Education'. In Thomas S. Popkewitz (ed), *Rethinking the History of Education: Transnational Perspectives on its Questions, Methods, and Knowledge,* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013): 96.

[89] Sobe, *Entanglement and Transnationalism*, 96.

[90] Sobe, *Entanglement and Transnationalism*.

[91] Sobe, *Entanglement and Transnationalism*, 99.

and practices'.[92] It is here that I depart from him, and set on a slightly different path. My focus is solely on the discourses, and the practices which arise from, and constitute those discourses, rather than on the actors.

To liberate ideas and systems of thought from taken-for-granted geographic parameters requires an appropriate spatial framework that facilitates exploration and discussion of ideas, influences, and 'systems of thought' that operate 'beyond borders'. Thus I draw on work by Oddrun Bråten. In undertaking a comparative study of Religious Education in England with that in Norway, Bråten adopts a three level spatial framework, distinguishing 'supranational' processes from 'national' and 'subnational' processes.[93] For the purposes of this study, I will use the first two levels. Rather than undertaking a comparative inter-national study, I will examine the ways in which supranational processes and discourses were taken up in national contexts, predominantly in England, although later in the thesis, I will briefly examine how the ideas relate to other national contexts.[94] Consequently, the question shifts away from 'what happens in country X' towards how is an idea, which has a supranational sphere of influence, that operates independently of and beyond the constraints of national boundaries, manifested in that particularity of a nationally bound site.

By moving away from periodization, Foucault's methods are characterized by the description of dissimilarities and discontinuities (the discussion of which will be extended later in this chapter); in fact many of the 'discontinuities' that are so central to Foucault's approach 'disappear into the gaps' when a period based approach is espoused.[95]

Similarly, Foucault expounds a shift away from the type of 'causation' set out above, towards 'contingency', a concept which is central to his work.[96] Foucault reminds his readers that many things that are considered to be 'advances' have come about as a

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[92] Sobe, *Entanglement and Transnationalism*, 100.

[93] Oddrun Bråten, 'A Comparative Study of Religious Education in State Schools in England and Norway.' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Warwick, 2010), published as: Oddrun Bråten, *Towards a Methodology for Comparative Studies in Religious Education : A Study of England and Norway.* (Münster: Waxmann, 2013). See also Oddrun Bråten, 'Comparative Studies in Religious Education: The Issue of Methodology.' *Religion & Education* 40, no. 1 (2013): 107-121.

[94] See Section 7.5.1 starting on page 370 below.

[95] Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge*, 9-10. For a more detailed discussion of 'discontinuity' see page 155 below.

[96] *Discipline and Punish* shows 'Foucault's work consisted for the most part in rich historical accounts of the formation of disciplinary power in terms of the intersection of a wide range of practical matters that need never have come together: punitive techniques, juridico-legal discourses, breakthroughs in medical and psychiatric knowledges, inheritances of temporal ritual from monastic orders, military techniques of managing space, pressing state exigencies, conditions of factory labor, capital availability, and the list goes on.' (C. Koopman, 'Foucault across the disciplines: introductory notes on contingency in critical inquiry', *History of the Human Sciences* 24, no.4, (2011): 5).

result of some other, often unrelated, changes.[97] In 'contingent' analyses, event A does not *inevitably cause* event B to happen; rather, the fact that event A has happened, creates circumstances in which it becomes possible for event B to take place, although event B is only ever one possible outcome; event C or D *could* have happened,[98] however, it is acknowledged that the *probability* of any particular outcome is a different issue.

For example, it is commonly held that smoking *causes* lung cancer, yet many smokers do not develop lung cancer, and many cases of lung cancer are in those who have never smoked. Here a contingent argument is more appropriate; smoking *creates circumstances* in which lung cancer is more likely to develop. The important thing to note is that the outcome is not *inevitable*. In addition, the circumstances of possibility in which lung cancer can develop can be created by other factors, such as high doses of ionizing radiation, or high levels of red meat consumption.

According to Foucault, the problem with historical approaches that emphasise linear inevitable causality is that they 'imply a whole host of 'metaphysical' and unprovable assumptions about history and experience, assumptions which ultimately entrench existing systems of power and injustice.'[99] Further, the shift from 'causation' is underpinned by the recognition that *what caused* an event is not the same question as *what created circumstances in which* an event became possible.[100] For example, it is commonly held that the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand by Gavrilo Princip was the critical event in triggering the Great War; however, the creation of circumstances in which the Great War became possible is a much more complex affair, as is the creation of circumstances in which it became possible for Princip to assassinate the Archduke.

Finally, in setting out a 'General History', Foucault expounds a shift from 'hermeneutic' to 'descriptive'; his approach is to *describe*. That is to say, it 'avoids making judgements'; for Foucault, there is no 'hidden' or 'deeper' meaning that lies, somehow hidden, beneath the text.[101] By concentrating on *what* is said and seen (through emphasis on the sayable and the visible), there is a shift of attention away from *who* is saying and seeing; in this way the approach is essentially non-interpretative and non-anthropological.[102] According to Kendal and Wickham, 'the principle exhorts us to concentrate on the appearances of statements and by implication to avoid the habit of seeking to source

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[97] For a more detailed discussion of Foucault's contingency, see Koopman, *Foucault across the disciplines.*
[98] See, for example, Kendal and Wickham *Using Foucault's Methods*, 5.
[99] O'Farrell, *Discontinuity and Discourse*, 74.
[100] A detailed discussion of Causation is set out in: Bin Wong, *Causation.*
[101] Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge*; see also Kendal and Wickham, *Using Foucault's Methods,* 26.
[102] For a more in-depth discussion see, for example, Kendal and Wickham, *Using Foucault's Methods*, 25ff.

meaning in human beings.[103] The construction of 'the person' in Foucault's work is complex, especially when expressed in terms of 'body'; it is sufficient to say here that whilst bodies are non-discursive, they are subject to discourses, and that 'body' itself is a discursive production.[104] Likewise, the construction of 'subject', which for Foucault is a response to the term 'individual' (a term itself rooted in the nineteenth century) is subject to and constructed by discourses.[105]

This emphasis on description is especially clear in Foucault's work on the recomprehension of power, concentrating as much on what power creates as what it destroys. Whilst it is important to note that Foucault's theories of power develop throughout his writing, he claims an inextricable link between 'power' and knowledge: 'It is the power-knowledge nexus that renders the Foucaultian approach to history unique'.[106] For him, power is the link between what is 'sayable' and what is 'visible'.[107] Whilst these two poles are always in tension, the tension can be a creative one, giving rise to a (generally undervalued) concept of positive power. Thus, it becomes preferable to consider 'power', not as an 'attribute' (i.e. what *is* it?), but rather as an 'exercise' (i.e. *how* does it work?).[108] Consequently, the role of the analyst is not to 'promote or oppose' power and resistance to it, rather it is to *describe* the way in which it operates.[109] For the reasons set out above, these foundations suggest that the method is appropriate for this study.

3.2.2   *Transparent methodological description*

Whilst there is some agreement that the above characteristics are present in Foucault's work, there is a variety of positions on whether these constitute a transparent description of a method. Some writers are dismissive of the very notion of a 'Foucaultian

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[103] Kendal and Wickham, *Using Foucault's Methods,* 26.

[104] Kendal and Wickham, *Using Foucault's Methods,* 39.

[105] Michel Foucault, 'The Subject and Power'. In H.L. Dreyfus and P. Rabinow, *Michel Foucault, Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics,* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1982): 208; Kendal and Wickham, *Using Foucault's Methods,* 52ff.

[106] Kendal and Wickham, *Using Foucault's Methods,* 47. Michel Foucault, 'The Subject and Power' and 'Space, Knowledge and Power'. In In: James D. Faubion (Ed) *Michel Foucault Essential Works of Foucault 1954-184, Volume 3 – Power,* (London: Penguin. 1994): 326-348 and 349-364 respectively. See also: Gutting, *Foucault - A Very Short Introduction,* and R. Rogers, E. Malancharuvil-Berkes, M. Mosley, D. Hui, and G. Joseph, 'Critical Discourse Analysis in Education: A Review of the Literature', *Review of Educational Research*, 75(3), 2005: 365-416. Reference. On the development of Foucault's position on power, compare particularly Foucault's earlier works (*Madness and Civilization*, *Birth Of the Clinic* and *Discipline and Punish*) with his later work on sexuality (*History of Sexuality, Vol 1: Introduction;* Michel Foucault, *History of Sexuality, Vol 2: The Use of Pleasure,* (London: Penguin, 1998); Michel Foucault, *History of Sexuality, Vol 3: The Care of The Self,* (London: Penguin, 1990)).

[107] Kendal and Wickham, *Using Foucault's Methods,* 42ff.

[108] Kendal and Wickham, *Using Foucault's Methods*, 50. Foucault, *passim.*

[109] Kendal and Wickham, *Using Foucault's Methods*: 50-1; Foucault, *passim.*

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methodology'; for example, Megill, suggests that there is no such thing, arguing that 'Foucault's approach was so "unmethodological" that his only methodological text, *The Archaeology of Knowledge* was really a spoof'.[110] There are many others who do not accept such a view, but even within this group there is a wide variety of responses to Foucault's methods. However, as set out above, a careful reading of Foucault, particularly *The Archaeology of Knowledge* and *The Order of Things* demonstrates a precise and specific methodological description, albeit not prescriptive.[111]

The issue of methodological description is important across the spectrum of historical enquiry. It is seen especially in the nature of the response of some historians to the linguistic turn which often demonstrate a general reluctance to discuss and debate matters of methodology.[112] Whilst the emergence of post-structural approaches to history have exposed key issues, many of these are pre-existing.[113] For example, Philip Gardner suggests that whilst historical enquiry has a strong methodological foundation, the connection between this and contemporary historical research has been lost.[114] There is an implicit, and often unacknowledged, tension between 'a realistic epistemology [and] an interpretative methodology' seen most clearly in the use of the categorical terms 'truth' and

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[110] Megill, *Foucault, Structuralism, and the Ends of History*. Archaeology of Knowledge was written as a methodological commentary on *Madness and Civilization*, *Birth of the Clinic* and *The Order of Things*; see Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge*, 16.

[111] Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge*; Foucault, *The Order of Things*. Increasingly, Foucault's methods are being adopted; see, for example: Sylvia Lässig, 'Aspects of the constitution of the pre-disciplinary concept of education'. Paper given at EERA Summer School, University of Lisbon, Portugal, June 2012; Graham, *Discourse analysis and the critical use of Foucault*; Kendall and Wickham, *Using Foucault's Methods and The Foucaultian Framework*. However yet such attempts to be methodologically prescriptive stand counter to Foucaultian onto-epistemological assumptions and Foucault's own practice (e.g. Phillips & Hardy, *Discourse analysis: investigating processes of social construction;* Leona English, 2012, 'The British North America Society for Educating the Poor: A Critical Discourse Analysis of Religious Education in Newfoundland 1823-1850.' Collegial paper presented at ISREV, Turku, Finland, August 2012; Graham, Discourse analysis and the critical use of Foucault; Foucault *Archaeology of knowledge*; *The Order of Things*; G. Gutting, 'Foucault and the history of madness', in G Gutting (ed), *The Cambridge Companion to Foucault*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003): 47-70; Gutting, *Foucault - A Very Short Introduction*.

[112] Fitzhugh and Leckie recount a debate between Zagorin and Jenkins, through the pages of *History and Theory*; they agreeing only on the one point 'most historians generally ignore theoretical matters' (Fitzhugh, Michael L, and William H Leckie Jr.. 'Agency, Postmodernism, and the Causes of Change.' History and Theory, Theme Issue 40, (2000): 59-81).

[112] See also, Philip Gardner, *Hermeneutics, History and Memory*, (London: Routledge, 2010). 'Practicing historians have often eschewed the methodology of their discipline in favour of faithfully garnering historical intelligence', 11.

[112] Also, Gardner highlights the lack of specialized vocabulary amongst historians, compared with, for example, literary theory or social sciences (*Hermeneutics, History and Memory*, 16), which, he claims, evidences a lack of methodological vigour.

[113] Gardner, *Hermeneutics, History and Memory*, 4.

[114] Gardner, *Hermeneutics, History and Memory*.

'interpretation'.[115] It is at this intersection, Gardner suggests, that we find the necessity of methodological transparency; it is no longer tenable to hold to the status quo, whereby

> the largely untheorized strategic union of interpretation and truth [which] has been and remains a remarkable achievement, somewhat akin to the pragmatic success of an unwritten constitution.[116]

Therefore, transparent methodological description is a necessity rather than an option. Thus Gardner calls historians to 'attend better to their own methodological business. They might pay more attention to clarifying the processes of interpretation rather than simply implementing them.'[117] Smeyers and Depaepe suggest a resurgence in methodological interest over the early years of the twenty-first century in the field of history of education, highlighting particularly the centrality of 'philosophical reflection and argumentation', the growth in 'methodological pluralism' and the inseparability of 'the world' and 'the language used to describe the world'.[118]

Within a context where 'evidence based paradigms' and particular types of knowledge are privileged, there is often pressure to answer this call to methodological description in particular terms.[119] Such a position affects the value placed on quantitative historical data; 'facts and figures' (especially in terms of demographic and economic data) are considered by some to be the building blocks of historical evidence.[120] Foucault takes up a discussion of constraints that are placed on discourses, and the fact that

> even in the order of discourse that is published and free from all ritual, there are still forms of appropriation of secrets, and non-interchangeable roles.[121]

Some researchers therefore perceive themselves to be under growing pressure to describe their methodology within particular paradigmatic frames. Linda Graham, for

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[115] Gardner, *Hermeneutics, History and Memory*, 11.

[116] Gardner, *Hermeneutics, History and Memory*, 11.

[117] Gardner, *Hermeneutics, History and Memory*, 13.

[118] P. Smeyers, and M. Depaepe, 'A method has been found? On educational research and its methodological preoccupations', *Paedagogica Historica* 44, no.6, (2008): 626-7.

[119] For example, P. Lather, 'This IS your Father's paradigm: Government Intrusion and the case of Qualitative Research in Education.' *Qualitative Inquiry* 10, no. 1, (2004): 15-34.

[120] On the importance of quantitative data, see as examples: John Tosh, 'History by Numbers'. In John Tosh (ed) *The Pursuit of History - Aims, methods and new directions in the study of modern history*, Second ed. (London: Longman, 1991); Pat Hudson, 'The Prospects and the Pitfalls of History by Numbers (Ch 1).' In, *History by Numbers*, (London: Arnold, 2000). On the questioning of this approach, Carr, reporting work by Stone, demonstrates that a numerical pre-occupation leads to neglect of 'the values, customs, culture and actions of groups and individuals'. (Carr, *Narrative Explanation and its Malcontents*, 26). Rather than polarise in this way, Brown suggests that where a synthesis is possible, the outcome is more positive (Brown, *Postmodernism for Historians*.)

[121] Foucault, Michel. 'The Order of Discourse.' In *Untying the Text: A Post-Structuralist Reader*. Edited by Robert Young. (Boston, Mass: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd, 1981): 63.

example, develops this dialogue, suggesting that many writers attempt to squeeze non-positivistic approaches into a positivistic framework in order to justify their methodology.[122] Daniel Tröhler discusses the matter at some length, claiming that 'dominant research paradigms always exert pressure on the other patterns of research'.[123] Tröhler demonstrates that the field of history of education has been as vulnerable to this as any other field by citing a number of scholars who have 'started to collect data and publish data-driven accounts and historical statistics of the educational field'.[124] He goes on to suggest that, rather than giving in to this pressure, historians of education should 'historicize its genesis'.[125]

Consistent with Tröhler, and my earlier rejection of a paradigmatic polarization I reject the calls for a positivistic approach to methodological description. However, I suggest that the call made by Gardner, and others, can be answered effectively without the imposition of such a prescriptive framework through the adoption of a *rigorous, transparent, methodological description*.[126] I now explore and critique two approaches that claim such an approach built on a 'Foucaultian' foundation: Critical Discourse Analysis, and Discourse Analysis.

3.2.3   *Critical Discourse Analysis.*

One way in which the balance between Foucault's approach and the demand for rigorous methodological description has been attempted is through the development of Critical Discourse Analysis (hereafter CDA). This group of approaches emerges from the theoretical background of post-structuralism, generally being described as 'informed by Foucault' and is particularly developed through the work of Norman Fairclough, Ruth Wodak and Teun Van Dijk.[127] Setting out to synthesise different forms of analysis in order to better understand ideologies and power dynamics involved in discourse, CDA centres

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[122] Graham, *Discourse analysis and the critical use of Foucault*.
[123] Daniel Tröhler, 'Truffle Pigs, Research Questions, and the History of Education'. In Thomas S Popkewitz (ed), *Rethinking the History of Education*, (Basingtoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013): 76.
[124] Tröhler, *Truffle pigs, Research Questions*, 77.
[125] Tröhler, *Truffle pigs, Research Questions*, 77.
[126] 'Postmodernism does not really force us to do anything new: but it does oblige us to do it well, and be seen to do it well.' (Lowe, *Postmodernity and Historians of Education*, 323).
[127] The discussion over whether CDA is an approach, or a group of approaches is ongoing. See: Rogers, et al., *Critical Discourse Analysis in Education*, 375; Graham, *Discourse Analysis and the Critical Use of Foucault*, 3; Norman Fairclough. *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language*. (London: Longman, 1995), see also Ruth Wodak and Michael Meyer, *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis,* (London; Thousand Oaks [Calif.]: SAGE, 2001) and Ruth Wodak, 'Critical Discourse Analysis'. In: G. Seale, G. Gobo, J.F. Gubrium & D. Silverman (eds), *Qualitative Research Practice*, (London: SAGE, 2004): 186-98.
[127] Rogers et al., *Critical Discourse Analysis in Education*.

on the 'object' (the text as written or spoken), the 'processes' or wider practice of the discourse (how the text was produced, distributed and 'consumed' - although the whole concept of consumption is contested) and the 'socio-historical conditions that govern these processes' which involves a wider analysis of the 'discursive events as moments of socio-cultural practice'.[128]

CDA approaches are growing in popularity in the social sciences, particularly in educational studies.[129] However, there is significant discussion over how the methodology should be practised, and many debates within the CDA community appear to divorce the approach ever further from its Foucaultian roots; for example, Gee sets out a detailed and prescriptive framework of 26 questions with which to interrogate the text under scrutiny.[130]

There are limitations to the approach, which render it unsuitable for the present study. CDA is often characterised by the detailed analysis of a small selection of texts; in the light of the critique of the existing historiography's concentration on a limited selection of sources,[131] such an approach appears inappropriate here.[132] Furthermore, behind much of the debate about the operationalization of the theory in CDA is a variety of understandings of objectivity that stand counter to a Foucaultian comprehension of 'truth' and a tendency towards the positivisitic, both in terms of the certainty of the 'truth found in the text' and, as set out above, demands for a precise description of the methodology.[133]

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[128] For example, Rogers *et al.*, *Critical Discourse Analysis in Education*; Hillary Janks, 'Critical Discourse Analysis As a Research Tool', *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education* 18, no. 3 (1997): 329. Note, the concept of consumption in terms of the text is a contested notion, see D. Graeber, 'Consumption', *Current Anthropology* 52, no.4, (2011): 489-511.

[129] On the expansion of use of CDA in educational research, see: *Discourse: Studies in the cultural politics of education,* special edition on CDA in educational research (Vol 18, no.3, 1997), also Graham, *Discourse Analysis*; S. Taylor, 'Researching Educational Policy and change in 'new times': using critical discourse analysis', *Journal of Educational Policy*, 19 (4), 2004: 433-451; Rebecca Rogers and June Christian. '"What Could I Say?" A Critical Discourse Analysis of the Construction of Race in Children's Literature.' *Race, Ethnicity and Education*, 10, no. 1, (2007): 21-46.

[129] For example, Taylor, *Researching Educational Policy and change*; Graham, *Discourse analysis and the critical use of Foucault*; Rogers & Christian, *'What could I say?'* C.J. Irving and L.M. English, 'Partnering for research: A critical discourse analysis', *Studies in Continuing Education*, 30, no.2, (2008): 107-18; English, *The British North America Society for Educating the Poor*; Konstantina Papakosta, 'The contribution of primary and secondary school textbooks of ancient history in the shaping of national consciousness in Greece (1952-2010)'. Paper given at EERA Summer School, University of Lisbon, Portugal, June 2012; N. Papanastasiou, 'The History of Comparative Knowledge in England's Educational Policy reforms and the impact on Policy Narratives.' Paper given at EERA Summer School, University of Lisbon, Portugal, June 2012.

[130] For example, Phillips & Hardy, *Discourse analysis: investigating processes of social construction*; J.P. Gee, *An introduction to discourse analysis: theory and method*, (London: Routledge, 2005); Rogers et al., *Critical Discourse Analysis in Education*.

[131] See Section 2.4.1 on page 86 above.

[132] For a discussion of this in relation to CDA, see English, *The British North America Society for Educating the Poor*.

[133] Graham, *Discourse analysis and the critical use of Foucault*.

Taking up this desire for rigorous methodological description is illuminating. In part CDA appears to have developed because Foucault is considered to be methodologically vague, yet as already stated, a careful reading of Foucault's *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, or *The Order of Things* demonstrates a precise and specific method, albeit not *prescriptive.*[134] Graham suggests that many writers end up adopting a *Foucaultianistic*, as opposed to Foucaultian, position - moving away from Foucault's principles in order to be methodologically descriptive in a way that is considered to be coherent with a positivistic position.[135] For Graham, the issue is no longer the balance between Foucaultian foundations and positivistic methodological rigour, but the quest for a 'post-structural respect for uncertainty ... without appearing vague'.[136] In part, this fear of appearing vague is rooted in a fear of claiming to be Foucaultian, but being dismissed if 'one doesn't get it right'.[137] For her the resolution is 'not that I dogmatically follow someone else's model for doing discourse analysis but that I ground my work in careful scholarship and engage in a respectful conversation with Foucault.'[138]

3.2.4   Discourse Analysis

As we have seen, the operationalization of a Foucaultian approach is not straightforward.[139] However the work of Gillian Rose offers some useful insights into how this might be accomplished in the current study. Concentrating on the themes of *specific meaning, intertexuality* and *discursive formation*, Rose sets out a two-part scaffolding through which texts can be explored in a structured way that appears, at first, quite consistent with Foucault. The first of these, '*Text, Intertextuality and Context*', appears to offer the most immediate contribution to this study; the investigative approach begins with questions of source, identifying *starting points* rather than complete selections and being open to the 'widening range of archives and sites', with an openness to synthesizing 'material that has previously been seen as quite unrelated'.[140] Within this continuous selective process, the emphasis is

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134 Foucault, *The Order of Things.* See also Kendall and Wickham, *Using Foucault's Methods;* Lässig, *Aspects of the constitution of the pre-disciplinary concept of education*; Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*; Graham, *Discourse analysis and the critical use of Foucault.*

135 Graham, *Discourse analysis and the critical use of Foucault.*

136 Graham, *Discourse analysis and the critical use of Foucault*, 6.

137 Graham, *Discourse analysis and the critical use of Foucault*, 1.

138 Graham, *Discourse analysis and the critical use of Foucault*, 6.

139 For example, H. McLaren, 'Using 'Foucault's toolbox': the challenge with feminist post-structuralist discourse analysis', Paper presented at '*Foucault: 25 Years on'*; Online Conference Proceedings, June 2009, Hawke Research Institute, University of South Australia, Adelaide, Australia.

140 Gillian Rose, *Visual Methodologies. An Introduction to the Interpretation of Visual Materials*, Second ed. (London: Sage, 2007), 149.

on quality of text rather than quantity.[141] Rose further sub-divides analysis of materials; firstly 'the structure of the discursive statements' and secondly 'a concern for the social context of those statements; who is saying them, and in what circumstances'.[142] The second part of the scaffolding, '*Institutions and ways of seeing*', foregrounds attentiveness to *institutional location*.[143]

Whilst Rose's approach offers some balance between methodological rigour and faithfulness to Foucault, two issues appear to stand counter to Foucault's 'descriptive' foundation. Firstly, the emphasis in this approach on institutional location, and secondly the emphasis on *who* is making the statements, both of which shift the focus away from the statements themselves.

The way in which Jean Carabine has operationalized Foucault's ideas offers some remedies to these difficulties. Carabine develops a single framework of 11 queries, with a major emphasis on the importance of familiarity with the data.[144] Further, it prioritizes the absences and silences together with the resistances and counter-discourses. Thus, Carabine's approach appears slightly more consistent with my reading of Foucault, maintaining an apparent priority on Foucault's methods and ideas whilst being sufficiently rigorous. This indicates that it might be a more suitable choice for the current study. However, when compared to the methodology that Foucault himself sets out, there are a number of departures in the approach; for example, Carabine completely overlooks Foucault's emphasis on discontinuity.[145]

3.3   Statement Archaeology

The discussion of these two examples, both of which appear to be significant departures from the methods that Foucault himself uses, raises the question of why, if researchers claim to undertake a 'Foucaultian' analysis, they choose not to use Foucault's own method as set out in *Archaeology of Knowledge* and *The Order of Things*. This difficulty of operationalization of Foucault's historical method in ways consistent with his onto-epistemological positioning appears to be rooted in the misconception, discussed above,

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[141] Phillips and Hardy, *Discourse analysis: investigating processes of social construction*; F. Tonkiss, 'Analysing Discourse'. In: C. Searle (Ed), *Researching Society and Culture*, (London: SAGE, 1998): 245-60.

[142] Rose, *Visual Methodologies*, 156, drawing on Tonkiss, *Analysing Discourse*.

[143] Rose, *Visual Methodologies*, 141ff.

[144] J. Carabine, 'Unmarried Motherhood 1830-1990: A Genealogical Analysis'. In: Margaret Wetherall, Stephanie Taylor and Simeon J. Yates (eds) *Discourse as Data, a guide for analysis*, (London: SAGE, 2001): 267-310.

[145] Seen especially in Foucault, *Discipline and Punish;* Foucault, *History of Madness*, see also discussion on page 155 below.

that his work is methodologically vague. As I have argued already, Foucault's method is both precise and specific, and he does, albeit distributed throughout his writing, provide a transparent, rigorous, methodological description. However, the systematization of this has hitherto been overlooked. Such a systemization is both necessary, and possible, and can be achieved by setting out very clearly the processes and guidelines within which Foucault worked, whilst resisting the prescription of 'a model that serves to discipline others'.[146] This systematization of Foucault's historical method is at the core of the remainder of this section. Although there is a growing interest in the application of Foucault's theories to educational research, exemplified in the work of Stephen Ball,[147] there does not appear—as far as I have been able to tell—a systematic operationalization of Foucault's *historical methods* in the way that I set out here.

In what follows, I will begin with a discussion of Foucault's methodological principles, including the relationship between 'archaeology' and 'genealogy'. This is followed by a detailed description of the methods I have applied to this study, under the title 'Statement Archaeology'.[148] There will be a discussion of ethical considerations, and finally a discussion of sources selected.

Foucault's 'archaeology' and 'genealogy' are sometimes treated as if they were two separate methods;[149] some commentators construct the latter as a development of the former that somehow supersedes, and consequently replaces it.[150] Whilst it is arguable that one is successor to the other in temporal terms, Foucault appears to consider genealogy to be a way in which his archaeological method is put to work; it is 'the strategic development

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[146] Graham, *Discourse analysis and the critical use of Foucault,* 6. See also discussion on page 143, above.

[147] Especially, Stephen Ball, *Foucault, Power and Education,* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013).

[148] The term has been inspired by the term *policy archaeology*, coined by James Joseph Scheurich ('Policy Archaeology: a new policy studies method', *Journal of Education Policy* 9 no 4 (1994): 297-316). His emphasis is on *his* interaction with Foucault, rather than Foucault's work itself, adding 'while I openly acknowledge my significant debt to Foucault, I do not want to be captured by his work; I do not want to be held in thrall, as I have sometimes been, by the formidable power of his social theory' (297). This distancing from Foucault is evident throughout Scheurich's paper, but is explicit at particular points, for example where he paraphrases, rather than cites, Foucault (e.g. 300); in doing so, he interpolates his terms into Foucault's narrative, thus changing the meaning (301).

[149] For example, Arnold Davidson, 'Archaeology, Genealogy and Ethics'. In D.C. Hoy (Ed) *Foucault, A Critical Reader*, (Oxford: Blackwell, 1986): 221-234. See also Lynn Fendler, *Michel Foucault,* (London: Bloomsbury, 2010).

[150] See discussion in Kendall and Wickham, *Using Foucault's Methods,* 31ff. See also, for example, P.T. Trussell, 'The Gift of Power: Foucault, Derrida, and Normalization.' (Unpublished PhD Thesis, Villanova University, 2009); Gutting, *Very short introduction*; A.W. Neal, 'Foucault in Guantanamo: Towards and Archaeology of the Exception'. *Security Dialogue* 37, no.1 (2006): 31-46; L. Shiner, 'Reading Foucault: Anti-Method and the Genealogy of Power-Knowledge'. *History and Theory* 21, no. 3 (Oct., 1982): 382-398.

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of archaeological research'.[151] Central to this development was Foucault's attempt to 'develop methodological weapons to help him with his account of power'.[152] The key difference between the two approaches is centred on the contrast between archaeology's emphasis on the historic snapshot, or 'slice through the discursive nexus', and genealogy's emphasis on the 'processural aspects of the web of discourse'.[153] A useful analogy that has been proposed to explain this distinction is the comparison between photographs and stop-frame animation; photographs capture a moment, but when a series of photographs, each capturing a separate moment, are shown in succession, a moving image is perceived. So, when insights from a series of *archaeological* explorations are synthesized, a *genealogy* is produced. However this illustration does not adequately illustrate the interactions within webs of discourse that are at the heart of this study.

Consistent with the non-interpretive foundation set out above, Foucault suggests that the objects of study should not be 'interpreted', but should be treated as an archaeologist treats a monument, with the primary focus being on the configuration of the site in which the specific 'monument' is found.[154] This is summarised in Kendal and Wickham's statement: 'Archaeology helps us to explore the networks of what is said, and what can be seen in a set of social arrangements'.[155] Thus, power dynamics are exposed, rather than critiqued or judged.[156] On the basis of this understanding of the relationship between archaeology and genealogy, the next part of this chapter will set out Foucault's methodological principles that are generally described as *archaeological*, with the recognition that it is the application of these principles across a series of statements/contexts that results in a *genealogical* study.

3.3.1   *Operationalizing Foucault's methodological principles*

I have discussed already the underlying foundations of Foucault's method with emphasis on history as present and on-going; the primacy of contingency over causality; a problem rather than period based framing and a non-interpretative and non-anthropological basis.

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[151] Michel Foucault, 'Two Lectures'. In Gordon, C. (ed.) *Michel Foucault. Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977.* (Brighton: Harvester, 1980): 85; Kendal and Wickham, *Using Foucault's Methods*, 31; see also Michel Foucault, 'Questions of Method'. In: James D. Faubion (Ed) *Michel Foucault Essential Works of Foucault 1954-184, Volume 3 – Power,* (London: Penguin. 1994): 223-238.

[152] Kendal and Wickham, *Using Foucault's Methods*, 29.

[153] Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge*; Kendal and Wickham, *Using Foucault's Methods*, 31. Foucault, *The Order of Discourse*; *Questions of Method.*

[154] Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge*, 7-8.

[155] Kendal and Wickham, *Using Foucault's Methods*, 25.

[156] See Michel Foucault, 'The Masked Philosopher'. In L.D. Kritzman, (ed.) *Michel Foucault. Politics, Philosophy, Culture: Interviews and Other Writings of Michel Foucault 1977-1984.* (New York: Routledge, 1988).

These foundations have been identified through a detailed reading of Foucault's historical work, an exercise which has also exposed three identifiable and interdependent principles used by Foucault. He places significant importance on: (i) the production and proliferation of 'statements', (ii) the search for the 'relative beginning' of a practice and (iii) searching for moments of 'discontinuity'. Each is explored in more detail below.

(i) The production and proliferation of 'statements': Vital to Foucault's work is the complex notion of discourse, although by his own admission, he does not use the term consistently.[157] There is, however, some consistency in Foucault's use of the term as a description of groups of statements 'that belong to a single system of formation [of knowledge]' and 'where organisation is regular and systematic'.[158] The 'statement' (*énoncé* in the original) then, is the basic, irreducible, element of discourse; Foucault defines it as 'an ultimate, undecomposable element that can be isolated and introduced into a set of relations with other similar elements.'[159] He asks 'how is it that one particular statement appeared, rather than other'.[160] Thus the investigation of statements is at the heart of Foucault's historical methods.[161] His explanation of what is meant by 'statement' is lengthy, complicated and inconclusive; it is based on a long exposition of what 'statement' is not, being neither 'logical propositions', 'sentences' nor 'speech acts'.[162] What is clear from his extended deliberations is that statements are rooted in particular time-space localities, and function to 'reveal';[163] in particular, the study of statements reveals the network of rules by which discourses are formed, and propagated. Further, Foucault states that '[t]he analysis of statements is a historical analysis, but one that avoids all interpretations'.[164] Based on these discussions, Foucault's subsequent descriptions of how to treat them, and his later development of 'discourse' as 'traces left by history', I suggest that a useful working definition of the term 'statement' *for this study* is a 'written record of an utterance (being the smallest discernible unit of a particular discourse, as discussed earlier in this paragraph)

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[157] Foucault, *The Order of Discourse*. See also O'Farrell, *Discontinuity and Discourse*, 77. On the varied use of the term see Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge,* 107-8, 193.

[158] Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge*, 115; 117. For a range of examples of this regular, systematic, organisation of knowledge and ideas, see Foucault, *The Order of Things, passim.*

[159] Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge*, 90; see also Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge,* Introduction, and Part 3.

[160] Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge*, 27.

[161] See, for example, Giles Deleuze, *Foucault,* (London: Continuum, 2006), especially Chapter 1: A New Archivist. Here Deleuze engages with the ways in which Foucault foregrounds 'statements'.

[162] See Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge* part III, 87.

[163] Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge*, 101.

[164] Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge*, 109.

which is characteristic of a particular domain of discourse'.[165] As discussed above, discourses are comprised of the regular and systematic organisation[166] of those 'statements which structure the way a thing is thought, and the way in which we act on the basis of that thinking'.[167]

This notion of *statement* informs the development of Statement Archaeology as an operationalization of Foucault's historical methods in a number of ways. In his writing on engagement with discourse, Foucault highlights three criteria that can usefully be applied to the analysis of statements; the 'criteria of formation', the 'criteria of transformation', or 'threshold', and the 'criteria of correlation'.[168] Thus, there is an imperative to investigate the circumstances of production of statements: where, when, and by whom were the statements produced? (including the description of institutions which acquire authority and provide limits within which discursive objects may act or exist); issues of authorship are important only in so far as understanding the circumstances of the statement's production. What are the rules that relate to 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'?[169] All these relate to the criterion of formation. The criteria of transformation relates particularly to 'novel' and 'programmatic' statements (programmatic statements are those 'writings that try to impose a vision or spell out most clearly a new way of conceptualizing a problem').[170] In what ways does the statement attempt to persuade?[171] How does the statement seek to 'reconcile conflicting ideas, to cope with contradictions or uncertainty, or to counter alternatives?'.[172]

This concentration of the novel and programmatic statements, as found in Foucault's work on mental illness, the criminal, and so on,[173] is key to the deployment of this method in relation to the historiography of English RE. Kendal and Wickham highlight the need for open-mindedness here, the 'new' is frequently 'based on quite public

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[165] See especially, Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge,* Part 3. On the later development of 'discourse' as traces left by history see O'Farrell, *Discontinuity and Discourse*, 78; Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge*. Note: the emphasis here on 'written' materials is specific to this particular study, where written materials comprise the majority of available examples; other studies might use a broader definition of 'statement'.

[166] Kendall and Wickham, *Using Foucault's methods,* 40ff.

[167] Rose, *Visual Methods*, 142.

[168] 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, *Archaeology of Knowledge,* 23-132.

[169] Kendal and Wickham, *Using Foucault's Methods,* 41ff.

[170] Kendal and Wickham, *The Foucaultian Framework*, 133.

[171] Gillian Rose, *Visual Methodologies.* 161ff

[172] F. Tonkiss, 'Analysing Discourse', in C.Searle, (ed) *Researching Society and Culture.* (London: Sage, 1998): 225.

[173] Foucault, *Birth of the Clinic*; *History of Madness*; *Discipline and Punish*. See also Kendal and Wickham, *Using Foucault's Methods,* 45.

apparatus like schools, hospitals and prisons, not on some private operations of 'great minds".[174] Finally, the criteria of correlation is located in an understanding of the relationship between one statement and others, together with an understanding of the 'rules for the repeatability of statements' all of which leads to an appreciation of how the relative positioning of subjects occurs.[175] In particular, Foucault suggests that the repetition of statements is part of the process of normalizing the practices which they refer to, and help to constitute;[176] recurrent repetition of statements therefore tends to confer an authoritative status.

Further, Foucault's emphasis on statements is underpinned by a degree of equality in how they are treated; he rejects the concept of hierarchical ordering of his source material such that no statement within the discourse is disregarded as insignificant. Similarly, he places on the researcher the responsibility 'to read everything, to know all the institutions and all the practices'.[177] For example, it is claimed that 'For *The Birth of the Clinic'*, Foucault read 'every medical work of importance for the methodology of the period 1780-1820.'[178] This requirement is balanced with the 'establishment of a principle of choice'; Foucault suggests elsewhere that 'sampling a coherent and homogenous *corpora* of documents' can be legitimate, providing there is openness about the sampling approach employed.[179] The discussion of source selection for this study is taken up later in this chapter (on page 153 below), but there are some principles that require elucidation. Foucault's focus on problem rather than period helps here.[180] The approach requires a different choice of material; Statement Archaeology requires, in following Foucault, the gathering of those statements that are related to and relevant to the problem under examination, focusing particularly (as set out a little earlier) on programmatic and novel statements,[181] rather than focusing on a specific period.[182] This said, it remains clear that by not being period-bound, a historical enquiry based on Foucault's methods must be free to travel far and wide in its search, stopping only when the relative beginning of a practice is found.

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[174] Kendal and Wickham, *Using Foucault's Methods*, 45.

[175] Kendal and Wickham, *Using Foucault's Methods*, 27.

[176] Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge*, 206ff.

[177] Michel Foucault, 'The Order of Things - Interview'. In: James D. Faubion (Ed) *Michel Foucault Essential Works of Foucault 1954-184, Volume 2 – Aesthetics*, (London: Penguin. 1998): 263; O'Farrell, *Discontinuity and Discourse*, 77.

[178] Foucault, *The Order of Things – Interview*, 263.

[179] Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge*, 11.

[180] O'Farrell, *Discontinuity and Discourse*, 77.

[181] O'Farrell, *Discontinuity and Discourse*, 77

[182] So, in *Discipline and Punish*, Foucault studies texts relating to prisons, punishment, schools and discipline. Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*.

(ii) The search for the 'relative beginning' of a practice: Whilst Foucault is on record as saying 'It's always the relative beginnings that I am searching for', unlike the other two principles discussed here, this is more implicit in Foucault's writing than explicit.[183] The practice of searching for the relative beginning of the practice under scrutiny is evident in his major historical works; for example, in the *Preface* to *Madness and Civilization,* Foucault discusses briefly his attempt to 'return, in history, to that zero point in the course of madness at which madness is an undifferentiated experience' advocating a description 'from the start of its trajectory'.[184] Such a search, focusing on the point at which the practice becomes *differentiated*, facilitates an engagement with the context in which the *caesura*, or discontinuity, occurs by which the practice becomes possible.[185] 'What is found at the historical beginning of things is not the inviolable identity of their origin; it is the dissension of other things. It is disparity'.[186]

(iii) Searching for moments of 'discontinuity': It is difficult to overemphasize the importance of 'discontinuity' in Foucault's work; it is 'one of the essential characteristics' which he never abandons.[187] However, the emphasis is not espoused lightly; some are dismissive of his emphasis, and Foucault himself foregrounds it as difficult.[188] Further, the notion is paradoxical:

> because it is both an instrument and an object of research; because it
> divides up the field of which it is the effect; because it enables the
> historian to individualize different domains but can be established only
> by comparing those domains.[189]

Despite these issues, Foucault calls for an engagement with moments of discontinuity as key to a rejection of 'Total History's dependence on continuity, with its associated "metaphysical" and unprovable assumptions about history'.[190] Discontinuity for Foucault,

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[183] Michel Foucault, *Foucault Live: Interviews, 1961-1984*. Semiotext(E) Double Agents Series. Ed. Lotringer, Sylvère. (New York: Semiotext(e), Columbia U., 1996): 46. See also Foucault, *Madness and Civilization,* 46.

[184] Foucault, *Madness and Civilization*, xi. See also Kendall and Wickham, *The Foucaultian Framework*.

[185] Foucault, *Madness and Civilization*, xii.

[186] Michel Foucault, 'Neitzche, Genealogy, History'. In: James D. Faubion (Ed) *Michel Foucault Essential Works of Foucault 1954-184, Volume 2 – Aesthetics*, (London: Penguin, 1998): 371-2.

[187] For example, Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge*; *Order of Things*; Foucault and Nazzaro, *History Discourse and Discontinuity*. See also O'Farrell, *Discontinuity and Discourse*, 74.

[188] Kendal and Wickham are dismissive: 'it is important to mention that while Foucault looks for discontinuities, it is interesting to note that he does not find too many of them, and is often forced back through thousands of years to find two or three paradigm shifts' (*The Foucaultian Framework*, 5); Foucault, *Order of Things*, 55.

[189] Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge*, 10.

[190] Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge*, 10; 15; O'Farrell, *Discontinuity and Discourse*, 74.

centres on the points at which discourses are reconfigured during transitions, he defines it thus:

> the fact that within the space of a few years a culture sometimes ceases to think as it had been thinking up until then and begins to think other things in a new way.[191]

It is at such moments that practices become *differentiated* from other practices. For example, the separation of psychiatry from general medicine is, for Foucault, the point at which psychiatry becomes a *differentiated* practice.[192] Prior to this point, 'diseases of the head', and 'nervous diseases' were dealt with alongside other diseases.

The way in which some discourses become silent in these transitional changes is also important; if an idea is being discussed and then not discussed, what interests are being served?

Such a comprehension of discontinuity is not in conflict with the 'event', on which much historical analysis has been traditionally based.[193] Events can be considered an embodied discontinuity; an event has a 'beginning and end, both of which can be constructed as moments of discontinuity'.[194] However, discontinuity is more nuanced. It is not only 'significant' events such as 'battles, dynasties and governments' that are moments of discontinuity; according to Foucault 'change and discontinuity exist at every level'.[195]

The emphasis on discontinuity is, to some extent, rooted in Foucault's challenge to the 'existing' ways of writing history, which tend to presume that certain groupings and conceptualisations (including the concept of 'human nature') remain constant throughout history.[196] Consequently within 'Total History' discontinuities are often ignored, or attempts are made to 'explain them away'.[197] In Foucault's work, through foregrounding moments of discontinuity the historiography moves away from reconstruction and towards representation, facilitating the move away from a period based comprehension of history towards a problem-based approach.

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[191] Foucault, *Order of Things*, 56.
[192] Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge*, 197; Foucault, *Madness and Civilization*.
[193] See Slavoj Žižek, *Event: Philosophy in Transit,* (London: Penguin, 2014).
[194] O'Farrell, *Discontinuity and Discourse*, 74.
[195] Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge*, 7-8.
[196] O'Farrell, *Discontinuity and Discourse*, 75.
[197] See O'Farrell, *Discontinuity and Discourse*, 76.

3.3.2 Operationalizing Statement Archaeology

As I have shown, Foucault sets out to produce a 'General History', diagnosing a situation in the present, by focusing on the question of how a particular practice became possible. In order to do this the *problem* becomes the guiding principle. He focuses on contingencies that create circumstances in which practices become possible rather than on cause and effect analyses, and he is careful to describe what he discovers, elevating *what* is said over *who* is doing the saying. In engaging with the question of how a particular practice became possible, as articulated above, Foucault searches for three things: statements, relative beginnings of the practice and moments of discontinuity.

Through the development of Statement Archaeology, I have set out a systematic operationalization of Foucault's historical methods previously described. Statement Archaeology is centred on a series of guiding principles, derived from the three principles set out above, which have been applied to the gathering of statements, and on a number of questions asked of the statements so gathered.

In both cases, the lists shown in Table 2 and 3 below are indicative rather than exhaustive.

Table 2 - Guiding principles for Statement Archaeology

To carefully and in a transparent way select appropriate source material (see section 3.3.4, p153 below).
To gather those statements which are relevant to the guiding question.
To read, as far as possible, everything available for the domain of discourse under scrutiny. So for example always reading all of the items within a 'corpus'. Some statements may then be removed from further consideration on the basis that they are not relevant to the problem or are not part of the domain of discourse. Consistently, for this study, decisions were made based on conscious and considered *removal* rather than conscious and considered *inclusion*.
To resist periodization.
To adopt a contingency based viewpoint; looking for the ways in which practices became possible, and to reject causal analysis.
To adopt a descriptive rather than an interpretative/anthropological stance.
To search for the relative beginnings of a practice.
To search for moments of discontinuity.
To be aware of spatio-temporal constraints, and to work beyond them.
To treat statements equally; not privileging statements because of who wrote them, for example.

Table 3 - Questions relating to statements gathered

What are the circumstances under which statements were produced? Where, when, 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).
How does this statement relate to others? Is there a correlation? Is there discontinuity?
Is the statement repeated, if so, what are the rules within which its repetition occurs?
What is the nature of the statement? In particular, is it novel or programmatic?
Where a statement is novel, does it suggest a changed structure of rules in terms of what is thinkable and unthinkable?
Does the statement represent a point at which a practice becomes differentiated, and consequently qualify as 'the relative beginning' of a practice?
Is there a silencing/absence of a discourse evident through the lack of or marginalization of statements?

3.3.3   *Ethical considerations*

A brief discussion of ethical considerations is necessary in order to be comprehensive in regard to methodological transparency and faithful to the Foucaultian corpus. Although Foucault wrote at length on ethical issues, and is considered by some to be 'one of the major ethical thinkers of modernity', much of what he writes centres on the ethics (or 'Technologies') of self and expresses some doubt that it is possible, in the present, to have a grounded ethics at all.[198] However the playing out of these debates in Foucault's writings foregrounds the importance of considering ethical issues. This stands counter to the potential, highlighted by Gary McCulloch, for archival researchers to overlook ethical issues altogether, on the grounds that they are at a distance from those being researched.[199] In recent years the ethical responsibilities associated with historical enquiry have been more openly discussed. For example, Brian Fay raises the question 'do historians have an ethical responsibility, and if so, to whom?', eliciting a variety of responses, both positive and negative.[200] And more recently, Marek Tesar has set out, in some detail, the complexities of the ethical considerations relating to archive research.[201]

I argue that the historian *does* have an ethical responsibility, and as a consequence of adopting that position, there are a number of considerations that arise in this study. Firstly, there is an ethical responsibility to protect fragile historical materials in order to conserve them for the use of those who come after us. In addition there is, as Foucault highlights, a need to avoid the danger of 'projecting modern notions back into cultures where they had no role or "reality"'.[202] There is also an implicit ethical responsibility to 'those whose activities and relations' are described.[203] Institutional ethical guidelines rightly place a high priority on protecting 'participants'.[204] This protection generally includes the safeguarding of those involved through Voluntary Informed Consent (hereafter VIC) in order to

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[198] Paul Rabinow, 'Introduction: The History of Systems of Thought' in Paul Rabinow (ed) *Ethics: Subjectivity and Truth. Essential Works of Foucault 1954-1984 vol. 1*, (London: Penguin Books, 1994): xxvi. See also, Foucault, *History of Sexuality vol 2 The Use of Pleasure; Vol 3, The Care of the Self*; P. Veyne, 'The Final Foucault and His Ethics', *Critical Inquiry* 20, no.1, (1993): 1-9.

[199] Gary McCulloch, 'Historical and Documentary Research in Education', in Cohen, L., Manion, L. & Morrison, K.(eds), *Research Methods in Education*, 7th ed. (Abingdon: Routledge, 2011): 248-255; B. Fay, Introduction: Historians and Ethics: A Short Introduction to the Theme Issue, *History and Theory* 43, no.4, (2004): 1.

[200] Fay, *Introduction: Historians and Ethics*, 1. For responses to Fay's question see, for example J. Gorman, 'Historians and Their Duties', *History and Theory* 43, no.4, (2004): 103-17; E.D. Ermarth, 'Ethics and Method', *History and Theory* 43, no.4, (2004): 61-83; K. Jenkins, 'Ethical Responsibility and the Historian: On the Possible End of a History "Of a Certain Kind"', *History and Theory* 43, no.4, (2004): 43-60.

[201] Marek Tesar, 'Ethics and Truth in Archival Research', *History of Education* 44, no.1, (2015):101-114.

[202] Ermarth, *Ethics and Method*, 65.

[203] McCulloch, *Historical and Documentary Research in Education*; Fay, *Introduction: Historians and Ethics*: 1.

[204] For example, British Educational Research Association (BERA), *Ethical Guidelines for Educational Research*. (London: BERA, 2011).

prevent unknowing participation in work that may cause harm at some level.[205] Likewise, anonymity is stressed.[206]

Both these issues present significant difficulties for historians. To what extent the individuals who are encountered in historical enquiry can be considered 'participants' is a significant issue. Historians are often dealing with those from whom VIC can no longer be elicited. Further, anonymization can often stand counter to the development of historiography, especially where *who* does something is crucial in understanding context, event or statement. In addition, the ethical consequences of selection and transcription policies are as relevant to historical enquiry as to interview based interpretational approaches, yet historians are not able to liaise with participants in the same way as other researchers.

There is further danger in historical work where it might be seen as an attempt to 'speak for others'. As such, researchers run the risk of marginalizing their participants, performing acts of misguided ventriloquism or, as bel hooks suggests, engaging in a 'form of colonization'.[207] Along these lines, Gert Biesta suggests that many well-intentioned acts of emancipation, are in fact acts of oppression.[208] There is no doubt that hearing the voice of the marginalized is important; however, it is important to consider whether the marginalized need someone to speak for them.[209] Ultimately, therefore, regardless of the timeframe within which they work, researchers cannot speak for others, 'we can only tell *our* story about *their* lives'.[210]

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[205] For example, Tina Miller and Linda Bell. 'Consenting to What? Issues of Access, Gate-Keeping and 'Informed' Consent.' In *Ethics in Qualitative Research*. Edited by Melanie Mauthner, Maxine Birch, Julie Jessop and Tina Miller (London: Sage, 2002); Susan Malone, 'Ethics at Home: Informed Consent in Your Own 'Backyard.'" *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education* 16, no. 6 (2003): 797-815; Cohen, Louis, Lawrence Manion, and Keith Morrison, 'The Ethics of Educational and Social Research'. In *Research Methods in Education*. 7th ed. (Abingdon: Routledge, 2011): 75-104; M. David, R. Edwards, and P. Alldred, 'Children and School-based Research: 'informed consent' or 'educated consent'?' *British Education Research Journal* 27, no.3, (2001): 347-65. See also Edwards, Rosalind, and Melanie Mauthner. 'Ethics and Feminist Research: Theory and Practice.' In *Ethics in Qualitative Research*. Edited by Melanie Mauthner, Maxine Birch, Julie Jessop and Tina Miller. (London: Sage, 2002): 14-32.

[206] Andrew Clark, *Working Paper: Anonymising Research Data* (London: ESRC Series, Real Life Methods, Working Paper, 2006): 4; BERA, *Ethical Guidelines for Educational Research*, 7. See also Caitríona Ní Laoire, 'To name or not to name: reflections on the use of anonymity in an oral archive of migrant life narratives', *Social & Cultural Geography* 8, no. 3 (2007): 373-90.

[207] bel hooks 1990, cited by Pam Alldred and Val Gillies, 'The Ethics of Intention: Research as a Political Tool'. In *Ethics in Qualitative Research* eds. M. Mauther, M. Birch, J. Jessop and J. Miller (London: SAGE, 2002): 40.

[208] Gert Biesta, A New Logic of Emancipation: The Methodology of Jacques Ranciere, *Educational Theory* 60, no.1, (2010): 39-59.

[209] For example, Nadine Schäfer and Richard Yarwood, 'Involving Young People as Researchers: Uncovering Multiple Power Relations Among Youths', *Children's Geographies* 6, no. 2, (2008): 121-35.

[210] Griffin 1996, cited in Alldred and Gillies, *The Ethics of Intention*, 41.

Whilst these problems cannot be overcome completely, awareness of them is important. Resulting from the discussion engendered by Fay's question,[211] a suggested *Code of Ethics for Historians* was developed proposing that historians should, amongst other things, 'respect the dignity of the living and the dead that they study' (article 9), be transparent over their methods, impartiality and objectivity (article 13) and 'be sensitive to their implicit moral evaluations' (article 15).[212] I have been guided by these suggestions, together with the view that rather than being seen as simply a checklist to be completed as a precursor to the research, ethical considerations should be a practical and reflexive outworking of the relevant guidelines that permeate every stage of the research.[213]

3.3.4   Selection of sources

As highlighted in the previous chapter, much of the existing historiography of English RE is predicated on a very limited selection of, generally, secondary sources, with sparse reference to unpublished primary sources and archival materials.[214] In contrast, Statement Archaeology, as outlined above, establishes the need to examine a wide range of materials, although this has to be balanced with the management of the data collected.[215] Earlier work on a number of projects demonstrates the existence of vast quantities of previously unutilised documentary archive material relating to the history of RE; more specifically, material that relates to the interface of RE development and the ecumenical movement is significant in both quantity and quality. For example, there are materials arising from a number of key organisations that are relevant to the development of English RE and the adoption of SWR, including the Department for Education and Science (DES); The National Society; Institute of Christian Education (ICE) and Student Christian Movement in Schools (SCMS), (later combining into Christian Education Movement (CEM)). However, a complete and detailed investigation of each of these sources would have been beyond the scope of this study.

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[211] See page 159 above.

[212] De Baets, Antoon. 'A Code of Ethics for Historians.' In *Responsible History.* (Oxford: Berghahn, 2008): 192-4.

[213] Alexandra Allan, 'Struggling for Success: An Ethnographic Exploration of the Construction of Young Femininities in a Selective, Single-Sex School', (Unpublished PhD Thesis, Cardiff University, 2006): 60. See also K.R. Howe and M.S. Moses, 'Ethics in Educational Research', *Review of Research in Education*, 24,1999: 21-59.

[214] See Section 2.4.1 on page 86 above.

[215] L.L. Putnam and G. Fairhurst, 'Discourse Analysis in Organizations: Issues and Concerns'. In F.M. Jablin and L.L. Putnam (Eds.) *The new handbook of organizational communication: Advances in theory, research and methods,* (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE, 2001): 235-268.

However, the archive is not, as some might suggest, simply a collection of data.[216] Rose warns against viewing archives as 'transparent windows onto source materials'.[217] Andrew McDonald warns that archives are not necessarily a 'full and neutral source', but represent the accumulation of material over a period of time that may or may not have been selectively edited before being stored.[218] However, this warning does not sufficiently emphasize the Foucaultian understanding of the Archive.

> Archives are not neutral: they embody power inherent in accumulation, collection and hoarding as well as that power inherent in the command of the lexicon and rules of a language…any photographic archive, no matter how small, appeals indirectly to these institutions for its authority.[219]

They are institutions with 'practices of classification that affect meanings';[220] they 'work in quite particular ways that have effects on what is stored within them, and on those who use them'.[221] So, for example, the way that archive collections are catalogued (or not), the nature and detail of those catalogues are all relevant considerations, as are questions of access.[222] Tesar usefully contributes here, highlighting the way in which the archival researcher can be seen as a 'docile body, subjected and colonized to self-discipline and self-governance'.[223]

With these ethical issues in mind, and because it was impossible at the outset to predict where the investigation would lead, a series of sources were selected as *starting points* for the study, based on Foucault's guidance to 'try to determine in advance which are the most representative elements'.[224] I have thus focused on documentary materials from the 1960s and 1970s that were most 'likely to be particularly productive, particularly interesting or provide theoretically relevant results' for the study.[225] As a result, I identified three particular starting points:

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[216] Tonkiss, *Analysing Discourse*; see also Tröhler, *Truffle Pigs, Research Questions, and Histories of Education*.

[217] Rose, *Visual Methodologies*, 173.

[218] Andrew McDonald, 'Public Records and the Modern Historian', *Twentieth Century British History* 1, no.3, (1990): 341-52.

[219] Alan Sekula 'Reading and archive: Photography between labour and capital. In P.Holland, J Spence and S Watney (eds) *Photographic Politics: 2* (London: Comedia, 1986): 155.

[220] Sekula, *Reading and archive*; Alan Sekula, 'The Body and The Archive' in R. Bolton (ed) *The Contest of Meaning: Critical Histories of Photography* (London: MIT Press, 1989); 342-88)

[221] Rose, *Visual Methodologies*, 173.

[222] Tesar, *Ethics and truth in archival research*.

[223] Tesar, *Ethics and truth in archival research*.

[224] Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge*, 11; Carabine, *Unmarried Motherhood 1830-1990*; Rose, *Visual Methodologies*.

[225] Rose, *Visual Methodologies*, 149.

i) The Schools Council: The review of literature in the previous chapter identifies Schools Council Working Paper 36 (WP36) as a key locus of transition.[226] Therefore I have taken as the first starting point the materials of The Schools Council, which are easily accessible through the Newnham Library and Archive at The Institute of Education, University College London, and The National Archives, Kew. Whilst focusing on the Religious Education Committee and the research project that led to the production of WP36, including records of meetings at which the project was discussed, correspondence, and the papers of the sub-committee formed to manage the research project, I have also considered other working papers produced by the Schools Council.

ii) Supranational ecumenical discourses: As I shall discuss in more detail in the next chapter, WP36 draws on particular national and supranational ecumenical statements for both justification and endorsement of SWR.[227] The nature and origins of these statements lead to the second and third starting points. To engage with supranational ecumenical discourses, I have taken as my starting point *Nostrae Aetate*, a document from the Second Vatican Council that is cited in WP36.[228] In order to contextualise this document and understand the circumstances of its production, it has been necessary to appraise a wide range of documents relating to the Second Vatican Council and the World Council of Churches (est. 1946) and its predecessors. These have included for example, *The Ecumenical Review,* which is the official journal of the World Council of Churches. Running from 1948 to the present, it includes commentary papers as well as records of official discussions, often providing detailed contextualisation of policy documents and providing insights into 'behind the scenes' discussions. Key conference documents published before meetings in draft form and subsequently as adopted reports, together with details of discussion and responses have also been explored.[229] Finally authorised histories of the ecumenical movement have been consulted.[230]

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[226] Schools Council, *Schools Council Working Paper 36: Religious Education in Secondary Schools*, (London: Methuen Educational, 1971). See Section 2.2.2 on page 62 above, and Chapter 4 below.

[227] See Chapter 4 below.

[228] Nostra Aetate*, Declaration on the Relation of the Church to Non-Christian Religions.* Proclaimed by His Holiness Pope Paul VI on October 28, 1965, cited in Schools Council, *Working Paper 36*, 65-6.

[229] Norman Goodall, *Uppsala Speaks: Reports of the Sections*, (Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1968).

[230] Ruth Rouse and Stephen Charles Neill, (eds), *A History of the Ecumenical Movement 1517-1948,* (London: SPCK, 1954); Harold E Fey (ed), *The Ecumenical Advance - A History of the Ecumenical Movement Volume 2, 1948-1968*, (London: SPCK, 1970).

iii) National ecumenical discourses: Thirdly, to engage with the national ecumenical discourses, I have similarly taken as my starting point a statement cited in WP36 that originates with the British Council of Churches Education Committee.[231] Again, in order to understand the circumstances under which this statement was produced, I have explored a large number of items including the Committee's minutes, papers and correspondence, the papers of subsidiary and related groups and committees, including the Durham Commission (1967-1971) and The Institute for Christian Education (ICE), established in 1935 and which became Christian Education Movement (CEM) in 1965.[232] Access to the latter sources (ICE and CEM) was easy to arrange through the Cadbury Library and Archive at The University of Birmingham. However, to access relevant material from the British Council of Churches Education Committee, and materials relating to the Durham Commission, I had to apply for written permission from the General Secretary of Churches Together in Britain and Ireland.

In addition to these starting points, a range of other materials have also been examined, including papers relating to Mass Observation reports, legislation, parliamentary proceedings, Board/Ministry of Education research projects, materials from national examination boards and a series of 'Memoranda to Inspectors' issued to Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools. A complete list of primary sources consulted is included as Appendix 1, and throughout each of the subsequent chapters there will be transparency over sources used.

3.4   Conclusion

In this chapter I have described, defined and justified the methodology that I have developed for use in this study. Based on post-structural approaches to historical enquiry, particularly those used by Michel Foucault in his exploration of the *history of ideas*, Statement Archaeology facilitates an engagement with the question of how certain practices become possible, and as such it stands as an alternative to that which underpins the current historiography.

I have examined how others who claim a Foucaultian foundation to their methodology have attempted to operationalize his methods, particularly through Critical Discourse Analysis and Discourse Analysis. In doing so, I have exposed that many who claim to use Foucault's methods use variations on them, which are often in conflict with

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[231] Schools Council, *Working Paper 36*, 17-18.
[232] Parker, Freathy, and Doney, *Professionalizing Religious Education in England.*

his underlying onto-epistemological positioning. This appears—in part—to be driven by a perceived pressure to describe methods in a particular way. Rather than subscribe to a specific paradigmatic framework, which tends to elevate particular approaches to methodology, I follow others in espousing a methodological anarchy whereby emphasis is placed on *rigorous methodological description.*

In contrast to claims that Foucault's method is vague, I have demonstrated that it is precise and specific, although not prescriptive. I have shown how Foucault's methodological foundations and principles can be systematically operationalized to form the basis of Statement Archaeology, and have developed an indicative list of both 'guiding principles' and 'questions relating to statements gathered' which are related to, emerge out of, and have been developed from Foucault's historical works.

Finally, I have discussed related ethical issues, and have shown how I have used Foucault's guidance in the selection of appropriate sources, specifying three particular 'starting points'.

Statement Archaeology, when applied to the sources identified, practised within the reflexive ethical framework advocated, and undertaken at the nexus of Governmentality and Normalization, addresses some of the difficulties identified with the existing historiographical method and enables a full engagement with the key research question:

> In what ways does an exploration of ecumenical discourses enrich understandings of how the adoption of the Study of World Religions became possible in English Religious Education during the 1960s and 1970s?

This enables consideration of a number of the subsidiary research questions. Firstly, an evaluation of the method later in the thesis responds to the research question: 'How would the deployment of Foucault's historical methods allow for engagement with the question of how the changes became possible? Moreover, over the next three chapters, the methodology will be deployed in order to address a further three subsidiary research questions. In Chapter 4 I will use the method to explore the role of Schools Council Working Paper 36 (WP36) in the adoption of SWR in English RE in the 1960s and 1970s. In Chapters 5 and 6 I will consider the ways in which an exploration of the supranational and national ecumenical discourses respectively enriches understandings of how the adoption of SWR became possible. It is to the first of these three chapters that I now turn.

Chapter 4

Schools Council Working Paper 36 and the Adoption of the Study of World Religions in England

The 1971 Schools Council '*Working Paper 36 - Religious Education in Secondary Schools*'[1] has been foregrounded within the existing historiography as a key moment in the transition from Christian Confessionalism to the Study of World Religions (SWR) during the 1960s and 1970s, as described in the review of extant literature above.[2] Such a positioning has allowed the document to gain a certain 'mythical' status. This is due especially to two particular issues; firstly, a heavy emphasis has been placed on WP36 as an initiatory document; for example Philip Barnes claims that

> [WP36] is commonly regarded as 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.[3]

Terence Copley also constructs WP36 as initiatory in some respects, highlighting the ways in which it 'sought to break with the past.'[4] Secondly, WP36 has been constructed as 'significant'; Barnes for example, claims it to be 'one of the most important working papers produced by the Council'.[5] 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. This repetition, through frequent citation of WP36 and the statements within it, without a critical engagement with the nature, novelty, origin, context and authorship of

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

[2] See Section 2.2.2, on page 62 above.

[3] Phillip Barnes, 'Working Paper 36, Christian Confessionalism and phenomenological religious education', *Journal of Education and Christian Belief* 6, no.1, (2002): 62.

[4] Terence Copley, *Teaching Religion: Fifty Years of Religious Education in England and Wales* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2008): 102.

[5] Barnes, *Working Paper 36*, 61. Barnes suggests that WP36 'has enjoyed an influence far beyond the strength of its arguments and the persuasiveness of its conclusions; that this should be the case tells us as much about the evolving nature of British society and the ideological character of educational debates as it does about the developments in British Religious Education over the last three decades.' (Barnes, *Working Paper 36,* 75)

those statements, leads to the perpetuation of this mythical status. Questions have been raised about this positioning of WP36,[6] and the need to understand the document in its own historical context.[7] However, these questions have hitherto been side-stepped.

This chapter will focus on the role played by WP36 in the adoption of SWR in English RE during the 1960s and 1970s.[8] Using Statement Archaeology, I will firstly undertake a comprehensive investigation of the circumstances of the paper's production. Secondly, I will undertake a detailed dissection of the document, examining the statements included in WP36, accentuating novelty and repetition, and searching for the relative beginnings of SWR through a foregrounding of moments of discontinuity. In doing so, I will unsettle the role of WP36 perpetuated by the existing historiography. Thirdly, focusing once more on the statements used in WP36, I will investigate the distinct contribution that it makes to the adoption of SWR in English RE during the 1960s and 1970s.

4.1 WP36, its Context and the Circumstances of its Production

It is essential to establish the context (both generally, and in terms of the institutional context) within which WP36 was produced and to explore the issues of authorship and authority. Thus, in what follows, I will very briefly set out enough of the politico-educational scene to enable an engagement with the statements made in WP36,[9] then I will give an account of the establishment of the Schools Council, and set out the production, authorship and authority of WP36.

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[6] For example, Barnes suggests 'that the time is right for a fresh reading of the arguments and conclusions of *Working Paper 36*, as they are expressed and qualified in the document itself, rather than as recast from later perspectives for apologetic or polemic purposes. It is only when a proper and responsible interpretation of *Working Paper 36* is gained that the equally exacting task of evaluation and assessment can begin.' (Barnes, *Working Paper 36*, 62).

[7] Barnes states: 'Some degree of historical reconstruction of the period [1960s-1970s] is needed to gain an answer [regarding the extent to which Britain was a multi-cultural society in the late 1960s and early 1970s]. However, rather than pursue these issues in relation to the social situation that obtained in seventies Britain it is more important to ask the same question of today's society…The matter of the nature of British society in the nineteen-sixties and seventies may simply be overlooked' (Barnes, *Working Paper 36*, 68).

[8] See Table 1 - Research Questions, on page 121 above.

[9] This is not an attempt to provide a full description of the socio-political description of the 1960s. Books, such as Dominic Sandbrook, *Never Had It So Good. A History of Britain From Suez to the Beatles*, (London: Abacus, 2005) and *White Heat. A History of Britain in the Swinging Sixties*, (London: Abacus, 2007), offer more detail than can be included here.

4.1.1   The context of WP36: The 'White heat of revolution'

In October 1963 the then recently elected leader Harold Wilson, delivered a speech at the Labour Party Conference in Scarborough under the title *'The White Heat of Revolution'*.[10] Wilson focused on the need to respond to the rapid and far-reaching, changes, which were permeating the whole of society, accentuating particularly the themes of education and globalization.[11]

The changes that Wilson identified were evident. The early 1960s were a period of significant change after a time of relative stability,[12] symbolized by changes in leadership in both main parliamentary parties.[13] There was a growth in the 'permissive society', technological revolution, a growing demand for civil rights, increased contact with the 'global other', and the beginnings of educational transformation, all set within a context of a tangible fear of war with the Soviets.[14]

Encounters with the 'global other' were increasing. There was a rise in interest in Eastern religions and their practices, perhaps influenced by the Beatles phenomenon and the growing influence of teachers such Marahashi Yogi, all this against a backdrop of reduced interest in institutional Christianity.[15] Technological developments in communication and world-wide travel made it possible to learn about and experience other cultures and countries in ways previously unimaginable. Such encounters were not just happening overseas. Immigration was a significant political and social issue in the 1960s. Racially motivated riots in Nottingham and Notting Hill in 1958, where 'large

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[10] Harold Wilson, *'Labour's Plan for Science'*, Speech given at Labour Party Conference, Scarborough, October 1st 1963.

[11] Wilson, *Labour's Plan for Science.*

[12] The years that followed Conservative victory at the 1951 General Election were marked by a relatively stable period, both in education policy specifically, and in government more generally; 'Between 1945 and 1964 the differences expressed between the two major political parties on educational policy and the curriculum were comparatively small.' (P. Gordon, 'Curriculum' in Lowe, R. and Aldrich, R. (eds) *A Century of Education.* (London: RoutledgeFarmer, 2002):199).

[13] Due to ill health, Conservative Prime Minister Harold MacMillan decided to step down, resulting in Sir Alec Douglas-Home being chosen as his successor, whilst the sudden death of Labour leader Hugh Gateskill in January 1963 led to Harold Wilson taking up the leadership.

[14] A full account can be found in Sandbrook, *Never Had It So Good* and *White Heat* which cover in some detail issues such as the Profumo affair, the Duchess of Argyll divorce, the introduction of the Pill, the Abortion Act, and the technological developments leading to the space race. A very brief summary of the most significant legislative developments of the 1960s can be found in Freathy, Rob, and Stephen Parker. 'Secularists, Humanists and Religious Education: Religious Crisis and Curriculum Change in England, 1963-1975.' *History of Education* 42, no. 2 (2013): 222-256.

[15] See, for example, Terence Thomas, *The British: Their Religious Beliefs and Practices,* (London: Routledge, 1988). See also Freathy and Parker, *Secularists, Humanists and Religious Education,* where the authors make a robust argument for using the term 'de-Christianization' rather than 'secularisation'.

crowds of white people … massed against black residents, mostly West Indians',[16] triggered a national debate over immigration control.[17] Immigration controls were brought in in 1962, through a voucher scheme, which allowed entry only to those who had specifically required skills, and their families.[18] Whilst this may have reduced numbers,[19] it did not reduce tensions. The controversial election of Peter Griffiths as MP for Smethwick in 1964, the formation of the National Front in 1967 and Enoch Powell's *Rivers of Blood* speech, given at Birmingham in 1968 all attest to the continuing prominence of immigration.[20]

With regard to education, Wilson had criticized what he labelled 'educational apartheid', declaring that 'as a nation we cannot afford to force segregation on our children at the 11-plus stage',[21] and that 'We cannot afford to cut off three-quarters or more of our children from virtually any chance of higher education….nor can we afford segregation at 18-plus'.[22]

Wilson spoke of a 'revolution in our attitude to education, not only higher education, but at every level'.[23] The establishment of the Department of Education and Science in April 1964,[24] and the extension of comprehensivization, led by the Labour

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[16] R. Karapin, 'The Politics of Immigration Control in Britain and Germany: Subnational Politicians and Social Movements', *Comparative Politics*, 31(4) (1999): 429. Note that similarly motivated riots took place in Middleborough (1961) St Helens (1963) and Birmingham. (Sandbrook, *White Heat*, 665).

[17] Note that the simplicity of this causal link is contested, as is the supposed role of the 'Teddy Boys' as protagonists in the riots (See, for example, Karapin, *Politics of Immigration Control;* Sandbrook, *White Heat*). Economic factors were already moderating immigration, with immigration rising and falling in line with the British economy, with a 3 month time lag (Paul Rich, 'Black People in Britain: Response and Reaction, 1945-62.' *History Today*, 36 (1) (1986)). Further, socio-economic factors are overlooked in the simple causal analysis. See Karapin, *Politics of Immigration Control* for a detailed discussion; note however, that Karapin erroneously claims that the 1958 riots 'put the issue of immigration control on the political agenda for the first time since World War II' (p429). This overlooks a House of Commons debate of 5th November 1954 (HANSARD, Commons Vol 532, cc 821-32); see also Grosvenor, *Assimilating Identities*, 19).

[18] Great Britain, *The Commonwealth Immigrants Act*, Elizabeth II, ch. 21, (1962).

[19] Karapin, asserts: 'Black immigration dropped from 85,000 per year in 1960-62 to 40,000 per year in 1963-66; Zig Layton-Henry, *The Politics of Immigration* (Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell, 1992): 13.

[20] On the election of Griffiths, the formation of the National Front, and Powell's speech, see Sandbrook, *White Heat*.

[21] Wilson, *Labour's Plan for Science,* 3.

[22] Wilson, *Labour's Plan for Science*, 7.

[23] Wilson, *Labour's Plan for Science,* 3.

[24] In April 1964, the Conservative administration amalgamated the Ministries of Education and of Science to form the Department of Education and Science; the then Minister of Education, Quentin Hogg, took on the new role of Secretary of State for Education, which replaced the two previous Ministerial roles. When at the General Election in October that same year, Labour were returned to power with a very small majority, Michael Stewart became Secretary of State, but was swiftly replaced by Anthony Crosland in January 1965.

Secretary of State Anthony Crosland,[25] together with a plethora of other developments in the period are suggestive of, if not a revolution, an elevation of the importance of education in the work of Government. For example, a sequence of reports were published each of which, in some way, made suggestions that would develop pupil participation and inclusion,[26] whether by extending the period of compulsory schooling,[27] arguing for better education for those of below average ability,[28] or opening up examination opportunities to those who had an 'ability at a level somewhat below that of G.C.E. O level'.[29]

4.1.2   The establishment of the Schools Council

It was from within this crucible of social, political and educational change that *The Schools Curricula and Examination Council* would emerge.

In order to regulate the newly proposed *Certificate of Secondary Education* (CSE),[30] Sir David Eccles, (Minister of Education) formed 'The Curriculum Study Group' (CSG), in March 1962 under the leadership of Derek Morrell.[31] This was controversial, and provoked a hostile response from professional educators.[32] The manner in which CSG had been

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[25] Gordon, *Curriculum,* 199. Whilst the Education Act 1944 made provision for primary, secondary and further education, it did not explicitly mention the 11+ exam or the tripartite system (Grammar, Technical and Modern schools). The inadequacy of the tripartite system had already been identified, and since the mid 1950s, under the Conservative administration, the tri-partite system was being replaced by a bi-partite system of Grammar and Secondary Modern schools. (See Gary McCulloch, 'Secondary Education'. In Aldrich, R. (ed) *A Century of Education.* (London: RoutledgeFarmer, 2002): 31-53.; see also C. Chitty and J. Dunford (eds), *State schools: New Labour and the Conservative legacy* (London: Woburn Press, 1999): 21)

[26] See, R. Rogers, *Crowther to Warnock: how fourteen reports tried to change children's lives* (London: Heinemann, 1980).

[27] Ministry of Education*, '15 to 18', Report of the Central Advisory Council for Education (England)* (The Crowther Report), (London: HMSO, 1959).

[28] Ministry of Education, '*Half our Future', Report of the Central Advisory Council for Education (England),* (The Newsom Report), (London: HMSO, 1963).

[29] Ministry of Education, *'Secondary School Examinations other than the GCE', Report of a Committee appointed by the Secondary School Examinations Council in July 1958*, (The Beloe Report), (London: HMSO, 1960): §109.

[30] The Beloe Report (Ministry of Education, *Secondary School Examinations other than the GCE*) suggested the introduction of a new qualification to run alongside the General Certificate of Education 'Ordinary' level (GCE 'O' Level), which had for nearly a decade been the main 'external' examination in English schools. This suggestion was partly to regularise the 'rapid growth of external examinations outside the G.C.E framework', which had arisen from 'a mounting demand from teachers, parents and pupils alike for examinations of a different and less exacting standard.' In effect, however, the Certificate of Secondary Education or CSE, which was introduced in 1965, initiated a further division in education separating 'academic' pupils (GCE) from 'non-academic' pupils (CSE).

[31] R. Manzer, 'The Political Origins of the Schools Council', *Secondary Education* 4, no.2, (1974): 47-50; P. Gordon, 'The Schools Council and Curriculum: Developments in Secondary Education' in Lowe, R. (ed) *The Changing Secondary School.* (London: Falmer Press, 1989): 52-71. Note that the origins of the group are contested, see, for example, Manzer, *Political Origins* and 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.

[32] Manzer describes Eccles' aspiration that the group would act 'as a relatively small, commando-unit', making raids into the curriculum.' (Manzer, *Political Origins*, 48).

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established, comprising mainly departmental officials and HMIs with only one 'outsider', entirely without the involvement of LEAs or teachers, and with scant regard for the 'usual consultative machinery' left these groups fearing that 'the Ministry was seeking the control and direction of the curriculum',[33] which, previously (with the exception of RE) had been non-prescribed.[34] Such fears were fuelled by Morrell's statement at the AGM of the National Foundation for Educational Research in October 1962:[35]

> the work of curriculum development now requires the active participation in some form or other of agencies other than the teachers, *including central and local government.*[36]

In response to the disquiet, *The Schools Curricula and Examination Council* (Schools Council), was launched in March 1964, as a representative body to monitor curriculum and examinations in England taking over responsibility from the Secondary Schools Examinations Council (SSEC, formed 1958) and the CSG.[37] A consultation in May 1963 under the chairmanship of Dr. J. Lockwood, between Morell (for CSG), Sir William Alexander (for LEAs) and Sir Ronald Gould (for teachers),[38] had agreed a structure whereby representation would be included from the Ministry of Education, LEAs and Teacher groups,[39] with teachers being assured a majority on the Council.[40] Such was the importance of gaining full agreement of teachers that the venue of the launch changed

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[33] Manzer, *Political Origins*, 48. See also Gordon, *Schools Council and Curriculum* and Gordon, *Curriculum*, 199.

[34] Since 1944, with the exception of Religious Instruction, there had been no national prescription over the subjects to be taught, nor over the content of curricula. (1944 Education Act; see also Gordon, *Schools Council and Curriculum*; Gordon, *Curriculum.*) In the case of Religious Instruction, even though there was a statutory duty for maintained schools to provide the subject, there was no prescription by central Government over curriculum content, although the proposed introduction of the CSE did catalyse a discussion over the place of locally determined agreed syllabuses. The local basis of the CSE exam boards (known from 1962 until 1964 as Beloe Exam Boards) led to discussions over whether these 'could legally replace the [Agreed Syllabus] Committee' and the need to revise Agreed Syllabuses in light of the new examinations (The National Archive (TNA): ED 147/656 *'Religious Knowledge CSE'*: 'Beloe Examinations in Religious Knowledge', authorship unclear, but probably SI Ayerst, undated; a handwritten note reports 'Distributed to Examinations Team 29-10-62:). The Schools Council encouraged communication between Agreed Syllabus Committees and exam subject panels, 'No doubt coordination will usually be achieved by a measure of cross-membership between the Conferences and the subject panels'. (TNA, ED 147/656: Memorandum to Examining Boards No.7, Religious Education. §8 "Standing Advisory Conferences").

[35] Gordon, *Schools Council and Curriculum*; Fisher, *Curriculum Control in England and Wales*, 37.

[36] Statement included in speech given at Annual General Meeting of National Foundation for Educational Research, October 1962 (D.H.Morrell, 'The freedom of the teacher in relation to research and development work in the area of the curriculum and examinations', *Educational Research* 5, no.2, (1963): 88-9. Emphasis added).

[37] Manzer, *Political Origins*, 49ff; Fisher, *Curriculum Control in England and Wales*, 37ff.

[38] Gordon, *The Schools Council and Curriculum, 54*. See Also Fisher, *Birth of the Schools Council*; Manzer, *Political Origins.*

[39] Sir William Alexander was General Secretary of the Association of Education Committees, Sir Ronald Gould was General Secretary for the National Union of Teachers. Gordon, *Schools Council and Curriculum*, 53-4.

[40] Manzer, *Political Origins*, 49.

from the Curzon Street offices of the Ministry of Education, to the Headquarters of the NUT in Hamilton House.[41] Thus, the establishment of the Schools Council as 'non-directive', advising not only the Ministry of Education, but all member interests, and making available materials and suggestions, rather than prescribing curriculum content appears to have eased fears about centralised control of the curriculum, and pacified opponents.[42]

Once established, the Schools Council developed a very large and complex structure.[43] There were committees responsible for specific, overlapping, age groups (2-13, 11-16, 14-18), another responsible for matters of Welsh education,[44] and additional committees for examinations, finance, and 15 subject committees.[45] These each undertook a variety of research projects, focusing initially on six key areas, (the primary school curriculum, the curriculum for the early leaver, the sixth form, English, GCE and CSE examinations and the special needs of Wales').[46]

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[41] Fisher, *Curriculum Control in England and Wales*, 39.

[42] P. Gordon, 'Curriculum'. In Lowe, R. (ed) n Aldrich, R. (ed) *A Century of Education*. (London: RoutledgeFarmer. 2002): 185-205. This lack of prescription perhaps being revealed in the rejection by the Government of the Schools Council's proposals for a post-16 examination system that was built on a common curriculum leading to a common examination structure (Gordon, *Curriculum*, 200). However, the Schools Council was involved in the later development of *Curriculum 11-16*, (Gordon, *Curriculum,* 200. Manzer, *The Political Origins of the Schools Council*, and Fisher, *Curriculum Control in England and Wales* and Newsam Library and Archive (NLA), *Kitchen Archive*, Series 6 (The Collected Papers of H. Price Hill) and Series 9.6 (Curriculum Education): various papers relating to Curriculum 11-16.

[43] The size and complexity is attested to by Manzer, *The Political Origins of the Schools Council;* Colin Alves, 'The Role and Work of the Subject Committees', *Secondary Education* 4, no.2 (1974): 83-6*;* M. Stewart, 'The Growth of the Schools Council 1966-1973', *Secondary Education* 4, no.2, (1974): 51-3

[44] Gordon, *Schools Council and Curriculum*, 54. See also Stewart, *The Growth of the Schools Council*.

[45] Gordon, *Schools Council and Curriculum*. See also, Alves, *The Role and Work of the Subject Committees*.

[46] Gordon, *Schools Council and Curriculum,* 55; Schools Council for Curriculum and Examinations (1964-1984) 'Identity Statement', Ref Code GB/366/DC/SCC, Records of Organisations, Newnam Library and Archive, Institute of Education, University of London. URL: http://www.ioe.ac.uk/services/1008.html. Last Accessed 21st Feb 2013.

4.1.3 The Religious Education in Secondary Schools Project

The Religious Education Committee began regular meetings in 1965.[47] Focusing initially on RE in Primary schools and Sixth form, it carried 'out a general survey of the subject', considered 'examinations at all levels', and explored the effects of the proposed raising of the school leaving age.[48] In common with all the other committees (except for Finance), teachers were in the majority, and the general pattern of about ten teachers with about six other members representing 'universities and colleges of education, further education and local educational authorities' appears to have been adhered to.[49] In addition, the minutes suggest that a number of HMIs frequently attended meetings.[50]

During their twelfth meeting, in November 1968, the RE Committee discussed an initial proposal for a project on Religious Education in secondary schools received from Ninian Smart,[51] Professor in the newly established Religious Studies department at Lancaster University.[52] Although the committee felt that such a project might meet the need, already identified, for a secondary schools project that would complement the Committee's work on Religious Education in Primary schools and Sixth Form,[53] there were

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[47] The RE Committee was responsible for determining its own constitutional structure within given terms of reference: 'Under the general direction of the Co-ordinating Committee and within its terms of reference, to keep under review the area of the curriculum for which it is responsible, namely religious education, having regard mainly to the courses, aims, teaching methods and examinations in primary and secondary schools, but considering also higher education; to identify matters in its field of study which appear to merit investigation and to initiate proposals for research, development and associated in-service training, to evaluate and help to co-ordinate projects on research and development, including in-service training conducted elsewhere; to receive as required matters remitted from the main Schools Council Committees and Sub-Committees; on matters of general policy, staffing and finance, to refer with recommendations to the Co-ordinating Committee; on other matters to refer with recommendations to the appropriate Committees and Sub-Committees of the Schools Council.'. (The National Archives (TNA): EJ 1/210 *Schools Council for Curriculum and Examinations. Agenda and Minutes, RE Committee Meetings 1-44, 1 Oct 1965 to 11 Oct 1979*: Terms of Reference of Religious Education Committee, Inaugural Meeting, 1st October 1965; Minutes of First Meeting of the Religious Education Committee (1st Oct 1965); Papers 1-6.

[48] TNA, EJ 1/210: Minutes of meetings 1 (October 1st 1965) and 2 (December 6th 1965.

[49] Alves, *Role and Work of Subject Committees*, 83.

[50] Aside from HMIs, who are distinguished clearly by title, it is difficult from the minutes to identify the role of members (TNA, EJ 1/210).

[51] TNA, EJ 1/210: Minutes of 12th meeting of Religious Education Committee. 6th Nov 1968.

[52] Lancaster was one of the first Universities to open a Religious Studies department (rather than Theology). See, for example: Ninian Smart, 'A New Look at Religious Studies: The Lancaster Idea', *Learning for Living* 7, no.1, (Sept 1967): 27-29.

[53] Subcommittees B (Sixth form Courses and Examinations) and D (Religious Education in the Primary School) were set up by the Second Meeting of the Religious Education Committee, 6th December 1965 (TNA, EJ 1/210). The issue had earlier been a matter of discussion in Parliament. 'Mr. Christopher Price asked the Secretary of State for Education and Science what steps the Schools Council is taking to improve the religious studies curriculum in the schools.' Miss Bacon responded: 'A committee of the Council keeps religious education under review. The Council is mounting a project in primary schools and is considering the possibility of another in the secondary field. Several current projects also have a bearing on religious education.' (Hansard, House of Commons Vol 774. Col 1827, 5th Dec 1968).

'doubts and reservations'.[54] Consequently, Smart was invited to speak at the next meeting of the committee, the date of which was brought forward by almost a month.[55] In presenting a revised proposal he was successful in gaining their support.[56]

So crucial is the stated aim of the project in understanding the circumstances of production of WP36, it bears stating in full: [57]

> to evolve research and materials relevant to the construction of a satisfying programme of religious education in secondary schools, which would take into account the existence of voluntary schools and the presence of non-Christian populations in this country. The assumption is that the teaching of the Christian religion is the dominant motif in religious education in the country. This, if sensitively undertaken, need not attract some of the criticisms that religious education sometimes attracts at present, and there is not reason, in principle, why religious education in schools should not be so done that it would be acceptable to people of differing convictions. The task would be based on the following principles:
>
> 1) Insight should be given into the role of religion, and in particular the Christian religion, in the formation of British society.
>
> 2) Insight should be given into the nature, challenge and practical consequences of religious belief.
>
> 3) Religious education should reckon with the actual pluralism of people and practice in contemporary British society and the wider world.
>
> 4) Religious education should be open rather than dogmatic; and should require honesty of conviction, of whatever kind, in the teacher, without infringing the right to developed (*sic.*) freedom of choice in the pupil.
>
> 5) Religious education should be both relevant to the experience of the young and designed to broaden that experience towards an understanding of the religious dimension in human culture.[58]

The Committee appeared positively inclined towards the project, particularly the possibility that it

> might clarify the aims of religious education. It was important that pluralism should be recognised not only in our own society but in the

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[54] TNA, EJ 1/210: Minutes of Twelfth Meeting of Religious Education Committee, 6th November 1968.

[55] TNA, EJ 1/210: Minutes of Twelfth Meeting of Religious Education Committee, 6th November 1968.

[56] TNA, EJ 1/210: Minutes of Thirteenth Meeting of Religious Education Committee, 4th February 1969.

[57] TNA, EJ 1/210: Minutes of Thirteenth Meeting of Religious Education Committee, 4th February 1969.

[58] Newsam Library and Archive, Institute of Education, University of London (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.

world at large and the people should have freedom to explain their own
faith or religion.[59]

Once approved by the relevant Subject Committees, management of research projects was usually devolved to a consultative committee.[60] However, in contrast to the apparent rush by the RE Committee to agree the project, work began very slowly. Harold Loukes (Oxford University Department of Education) was approached by Philip Halsey (Schools Council RE Committee staff member) to chair the consultative committee, but due to other commitments he reluctantly declined.[61] Colin Alves (RE Department, Brighton College of Education) was approached, with Professor Hillard as a reserve.[62] Alves turned down the offer, citing, as Loukes had done, the extent of existing commitments, combined with the fact that he had conflicting interests; he was already acting as a commercial advisor to a firm of publishers who were producing curriculum materials for secondary schools.[63] Hilliard also turned down the position.[64] A handwritten note predicts this refusal;

> when this project was first discussed, Prof Hilliard was not particularly
> enthusiastic about it. This may, of course, be a good thing, and he may,
> of course, be more disposed towards the amended version.[65]

At length, Rev H. Trevor Hughes, (Principal of Westminster College of Education, Oxford until his retirement) was offered the chair;[66] he too, refused.[67] A Mr. A.R. Bielby, (former member of the RE Committee and Headmaster at Huddersfield New College) was then suggested, although it is unclear by whom exactly. It seems likely that his name was put forward by HMI Mr Beaver, who wrote 'Bielby is clearly the number one choice

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[59] TNA, EJ 1/210: Item SC 69/62, minutes of 13th Meeting of Religious Education Committee, 4th February 1969.

[60] Alves describes the relationship between committee and project: 'Once a project has been accepted and launched the subject committee has no direct responsibility for it. The project's director works with a consultative committee, on which two or three members of the relevant subject committee sit, but there is closer formal [link] between project and subject committee that this. However, most project directors are invited to come and [speak] to the subject committee from time to time, if only to help keep the members fully informed about the project's progress.' (Alves, *Role and Work of Subject Committees,* 84).

[61] NLA, SCC-318-440-117: Letter to Phillip Halsey from Harold Loukes, 7th June 1969.

[62] NLA, SCC-318-440-117: Letter to Prof Jefferys from Phillip Halsey, 26th June 1969, Letter to Colin Alves from Phillip Halsey 17th July 1969.

[63] NLA, SCC-318-440-117: Letter to Phillip Halsey from Colin Alves, August 4th 1969.

[64] NLA, SCC-318-440-117: Letter to Phillip Halsey from F.H. Hilliard, 10th July 1969.

[65] NLA, SCC-318-440-117: Handwritten addition to draft letter to Mr Rogers from Phillip Halsey, initials indistinguishable.

[66] NLA, SCC-318-440-117: Letter to Rev H.T.Hughes from Peter Halsey, undated.

[67] NLA, SCC-318-440-117: Letter to Ninian Smart from Peter Halsey, 15 Sept 1969.

because his actual experience is so valuable and his calibre so much greater.'[68] He was approached in October 1969.[69] He also rejected the offer, citing a 'lack of specialist knowledge of the subject matter' combined with the fact that he did not 'think that I have the personal qualities that chairmanship of this sort requires.'[70] Finally, in mid October 1969, Mrs Margaret Beeching, Head of Divinity at the Cheshire County College of Education, whose name was put forward by Smart, accepted the chair of the consultative committee.[71]

This long sequence of politely declined invitations to chair the consultative committee is notable. Beyond the reasons explicitly given by prospective chairs, it is only possible to speculate over the reasons for this; perhaps the project was seen as a 'poisoned chalice', perhaps it was seen as being marginal to the academe, being based as it was in Lancaster, rather than London or Oxbridge.

4.1.4   The production, authorship and authority of WP36

After these initial delays, the project quickly gained pace; at the first meeting of the Consultative Committee (eventually held in January 1970) it is recorded that 'the project team were anxious to write a document which can be published as a Working Paper by the Council.'[72] At the following meeting, in June 1970, a more formal discussion took place. 'It was proposed to produce, for general debate, a Working Paper indicating the major concerns of the project and the lines on which it was developing.'[73]

This haste to publish requires comment; the extent to which it might be explained by contemporaneous developments, is difficult to assess. Rob Freathy and Stephen Parker highlight the 'increased political interest' in RE in Parliament during the late 1960s, evidenced through a significant increase in the number of debates and parliamentary questions in the period, compared to previous years.[74] There was also the prospect of a new Education Act, revealed by Edward Short (Secretary of State for Education) in early 1969

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[68] NLA, SCC-318-440-117: Handwritten response to Peter Halsey from Mr Beaver, 29 Sept 1969. Bielby's name is not included in a letter of 19 September 1969 from Ninian Smart to Philip Halsey, which lists: 'Mrs M Beeching, Rev J.N.L Thompson and Mr H Taylor'. A later message (1 Oct 1969) records 'Professor Smart of Lancs phoned; he is happy with Mr Bielby as chairman'.

[69] NLA, SCC-318-440-117: Letter to A.R. Bielby from Phillip Halsey, 3rd October 1969.

[70] NLA, SCC-318-440-117: Letter to Phillip Halsey from A.R. Bielby, 8th October 1969.

[71] NLA, SCC-318-440-117: Letter to Phillip Halsey from Prof. Smart, 19th September 1969; Letter to Phillip Halsey from Mrs Beeching, 14th October 1969.

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

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

[74] 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.

through a speech at Alnwick Church of England Junior School, Northumberland.[75] Freathy and Parker's work de-marginalizes the development of this Act, and examines 'important insights into the policies of central Government and numerous other stakeholders' covering debates about the Act, both in Parliament and beyond.[76] Further, Parker and Freathy discuss the effects on RE arising from the activities of Secularists and Humanists during this time.[77] However, their work, in relation to both factors, fails to fully explore questions about the effect of these debates on existing work in RE, including the Secondary Schools Project. This wider complex and multi-factorial context requires further investigation.

Within the existing discussion of WP36, the issue of authorship is overlooked. Within the 'myth of WP36' there appears to be a tacit acceptance of a suggestion that Ninian Smart was the author.[78] However, an exploration of the primary sources suggests that this role was shared.[79] An unfinished draft of WP36 was presented to the Consultation Committee in September 1970, together with an apology from Smart 'for the fact that the whole of the Working Paper was not ready for perusal by the Committee'.[80] Due to pressure of meeting the various deadlines to gain approval for publication in 1970, a sub-committee was set up, comprising Mrs Beeching, Professor Smart, Miss Clayton, Miss Field, Mr Horder and Mr Halsey (ex officio). This group was given authority by the Consultation Committee to make the necessary editorial decisions to enable the paper to be submitted for approval.[81] However, once the paper reached the Religious Education Committee, progress remained complicated. There was an extended discussion, particularly over the inclusion of a section headed 'The Christian as R.E. Teacher', which some felt was outside the remit of the project. Mr. Alves clearly felt that the draft was inadequate in a number of respects:

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[75] The National Archive (TNA), ED 183/5 - *DES. Schools Branch. Registered Files. Correspondence on revised ed bill & provisions for RE in schools. 1969-70.* 1975: Speech by the Secretary of State for Education and Science At the Opening of Alnwick C.E. Junior School 4 p.m. - Friday 10th January 1969. See also Parker and Freathy, *Prospects and Problems for Religious Education.*

[76] Parker and Freathy, *Prospects and Problems for Religious Education.* The General Election was held on 18th June 1970, with the Conservatives winning a surprise victory under Heath. The pre-election polls suggested that Labour would remain in power. Note that 1970 election was the first General Election when 18 year olds could vote.

[77] Freathy and Parker, *Secularists, Humanists and Religious Education.*

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

[79] For example: NLA, SCC-318-440-117; TNA, EJ 1/210: Minutes of Eighteenth Meeting of RE Committee, 28th October 1970; Schools Council, *WP36*, 65.

[80] NLA, SCC-318-440-117: Minutes of Third Meeting of Consultation Committee, 25th Sept, 1970.

[81] NLA, SCC-318-440-117: Minutes of Third Meeting of Consultation Committee, 25th Sept, 1970.

First, the first three chapters in Part I needed much more correlating,
and considerable tightening up was necessary. Second, the paragraph on
Aims and Objectives was inadequate. The document must make it quite
clear what the educational aims were. These should be set out exactly in
order that the objectives might be quite clear. Third, on the question of
open-ended discussion the Durham Report had expounded a clear
statement. The document had stated the objections to Stenhouse but did
not say whether these were valid. It seemed clear that if the objection to
Stenhouse were valid for teachers than (sic) it ought to be made clear
whether they were valid for the school.[82]

Ultimately, the RE Committee agreed publication, subject to amendments being
referred to Mr. Alves for approval.[83] Consequently, final editorial control of WP36 rested in
the hands of one man, not Ninian Smart, but Colin Alves, who had earlier rejected an
invitation to chair the consultative committee on the grounds of the conflict of interest
arising from his role as a commercial advisor to a firm of publishers.[84]

4.1.5 Summary

The role of the Schools Council and the nature of its development suggest that it was seen
as being an authoritative body; it was looked to by Government at local and national levels,
as well as by individual teachers.[85] Consequently, publications under its banner were
considered as having some degree of authority, perhaps seen as having an 'official'
sanction.[86] Such was the standing of the Schools Council, the authors of WP36 were alert
to the risk that by being published under their imprint, the document might be positioned
as authoritative. Thus they state clearly: 'The views expressed in it must not be taken to be
those of the Schools Council; they represent the views of this project alone'.[87]

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[82] TNA, EJ 1/210: Minutes of Eighteenth Meeting of RE Committee, 28th October 1970.

[83] TNA, EJ 1/210: Minutes of Eighteenth Meeting of RE Committee, 28th October 1970.

[84] See footnote 63, this chapter, above. The files of neither the Consultative Committee, nor the Religious
Education Committee of the Schools Council include drafts of WP36, therefore it is currently impossible
to ascertain the nature and extent of Alves' editorial work.

[85] See Section 4.1.2, on page 171 above.

[86] Manzer states 'Almost everyone admitted that the bulletins and working papers which the Council's
secretariat soon began to produce were useful and even influential documents' (Manzer, *Political Origins*, 50)
See also discussions of the development of 'Teacher Centres' 'as a result of Schools Council, Working
Paper 10 - Teachers Centres (London: Schools Council, 1967), (Stewart, *The Growth of the Schools Council,*
52); Gordon, *The Schools Council and Curriculum: Developments*, 56-7; 68. Stewart highlights the influence of
Schools Council publications overseas, linking its influence and authoritorial standing to its role in regard
to examinations (see Stewart, *The Growth of the Schools Council 1966-1973*, 52-3). See also Gordon's
commentary; whilst some criticisms were levelled at Schools Council (too many projects being undertaken,
too London-centric, teachers being suspicious of the more innovative projects and poor dissemination of
some projects) 'achievements were impressive; … [Schools Council was] the first national forum for the
discussion, and implementation of, curriculum strategies in the light of current developments' (Gordon,
The Schools Council and Curriculum, 66-7).

[87] Schools Council, *Working Paper 36*, 5.

Similarly, the authors make it very clear that the document is not intended to be considered conclusive, but rather is presented as a discussion document. In contrast to some other Working Papers, which often (though not always) take the form of project reports,[88] WP36 was produced at the start of the research project, and as such it does not report on conclusive findings. The Preface to the document makes this clear:

> This is a working paper, not a report. Its intention is to raise questions for public discussion and to invite comments from those concerned with education, and particularly religious education, in schools.[89]

The apparently muted reception of WP36 within the RE community at the time of its publication has been explored earlier.[90] Beyond the sphere of Religious Education, the reception seems similarly low-key; in discussions of 'controversial' and 'notable' publications by the Schools Council, WP36 is not mentioned, whilst other Working Papers are. For example, Gordon notes that 'Working Paper 53 – The Whole Curriculum' included 'no final recommendations, but many controversial ideas'.[91] Likewise, Stewart discusses the influence of WP10 – *Teachers Centres* in their proliferation.[92] Similarly, 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.[93] However, mention of WP36, the RE subject committee, and its working parties is absent from each of these papers. Within the bounds of these discussions, I suggest that WP36 would have been included as an example, if it had been considered as particularly noteworthy or significant.

This then prompts a question regarding the dissonance between the original positioning of WP36 as a non-conclusive contribution, written and published to *engender* debate, and its more recent positioning as significant, arguably being attributed with an authority which would appear to stand contrary to its authors' stated intentions.

An analysis of the way in which WP36 has been cited is useful here. A brief survey of articles in *Learning for Living* between its publication in 1971 and 1974 reveals a very

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[88] For example, Schools Council, *Schools Council Working Paper 44, Religious Education in Primary Schools*, (London: Schools Council, 1972). Gordon cites Schools Council *Working Paper 33 - Choosing a Curriculum for the Young School Leaver* (London: Schools Council 1971) as being 'not conclusive in its recommendations' yet favouring a particular approach and WP53 (The Whole Curriculum) which 'included no final recommendations, but many controversial ideas' (Gordon, *The Schools Council and Curriculum*, 58; 60)

[89] Schools Council, *Working Paper 36*, 5. This point is emphasized by Donald Horder in his review (Donald Horder, 'Religious Education in Secondary Schools', *Learning for Living* 10, no.4, (March 1971): 10-14).

[90] This is discussed in more depth in Chapter 2. See page 80 above.

[91] Gordon, *The Schools Council and Curriculum*, 60.

[92] Stewart, *The Growth of the Schools Council*, 52.

[93] Alves, *The Role and Work of the Subject Committees*, 84-5

limited number of citations of WP36.[94] There are, for example, a number of articles that deal with SWR, yet fail to refer to WP36.[95] Even where the document is cited, it often is marginalized by an emphasis on other documents; for example in a discussion of recent trends in RE, one editorial includes WP36 only after discussion of the Durham Report.[96] In terms of the adoption of SWR, other (usually earlier) sources are often identified.[97]

Within a few years of its publication, citing WP36 appears to being used as a convenient shorthand, repeated without examination. For example, an author refers to a book 'which gives guidelines for teaching all immigrant religions and material for morning worship in assemblies', stating that it 'reflects the aims of the Schools Council project (Schools Council Working Paper 36)'.[98] However, nowhere in the article is any discussion or examination of what these aims are.

WP36 also is imbued with a certain authority by being cited, (alongside a variety of other documents, including the Durham Report) in the Swann report (*Education For All*, 1985).[99] Documenting the Government's Enquiry into the 'Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups', the Report considered the issue of RE in some depths, repeating a number of statements from WP36,[100] and concluding that

> We ourselves therefore share the view expressed in the 1971 Schools Council Report that:
> '... the "confessionalist" aim, though perfectly proper within a community of faith, is not appropriate within schools serving a multi-belief society. Moreover, it conflicts at several points with the principles on which education is based.'

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[94] Note that from 1975 the focus of attention shifted to the Birmingham Agreed Syllabus.

[95] For example: Geoffrey Parrinder, 'Teaching about Indian Religions', *Learning for Living* 10, no. 5 (May 1971): 5-9; W.J.H. Earl, 'The Place of Christianity in Religious Education', *Learning for Living* 13, no.4, (March 1974): 132-135 (Earl discusses the changes in RE, in relation to expansion of the study of World Religions, SHAP and the Durham Report are mentioned (p134), but not Working Paper 36); Eric Sharpe, 'Phenomenology of religion' *Learning for Living* 15, no.1, (Aut 1975): 4-9.

[96] John Hull, 'Editorial, *Learning for Living* 14, no.1, (Sept 1974): 2.

[97] For example, in discussion of religions and non-religions, the Agreed Syllabuses of Lancashire 1968 and ILEA 1968 are cited as 'tentative steps' in the direction of including non-religious worldviews, although these approach such from a Christian perspective, in contrast to WR 1966 which describes 'Communism and Humanism as Alternatives to Christianity'. WP36 is not mentioned. Hull, *Editorial Sept 1974*, 2.

[98] Mohammed Iqbal, 'Education and Islam in Britain - a Muslim View', *Learning for Living* 13, no.5, (May 1974): 199. Also, D.C Meakin cites the argument from public opinion used in WP36 demonstrating that the way in which WP36s claims have been accepted and repeated without examination is not solely a recent development. (D.C. Meakin, 'The Justification of Religious Education', *British Journal of Religious Education* 2, no.2 (1979): 50).

[99] 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). See also Section 2.2.2, page 62 above.

[100] So, for example, *The Swann Report*, cites *Working Paper 36* ('... the insights and accumulated wisdom of the great world religions cannot be ignored in any comprehensive scheme of moral education.'], §2.6, p470. Also, Swann Report §2.7, p470 cites *Working Paper 36*, p21 and §2.9, p472 cites *Working Paper 36*, p15.

> We find ourselves firmly in favour of the broader phenomenological approach to religious education as the best and indeed the only means of enhancing the understanding of all pupils, from whatever religious background, of the plurality of faiths in contemporary Britain, of bringing them to an understanding of the nature of belief and the religious dimension of human existence, and of helping them to appreciate the diverse and sometimes conflicting life stances which exist and thus enabling them to determine (and justify) their own religious position.[101]

This pattern of unexamined repetition is a characteristic of how WP36 is cited in more recent times. WP36 is still used representatively; that is to say a single document is used as a figurehead. However, historical processes are much more complex, and to locate WP36 in this way does three things. Firstly, it elevates WP36 above the broad and complex network of discourses within which it is situated. In doing so, WP36 is divorced from its original context, with a consequent risk of misapplication. Secondly, it imbues the document with a measure of authority that is inappropriate. Where one document is constantly held up as the representation of wider discourse, that document becomes constructed as more significant than the other documents. This in turn leads to the marginalization of other domains of discourse. Whilst WP36, together with the Birmingham Agreed Syllabus of 1975,[102] are frequently held up as 'representative',[103] other important statements, such as those contained in the Agreed Syllabuses of West Riding (1966), Wiltshire (1967), Inner London (1968), and Bath (1970), become marginalized.[104] Thirdly, the process of unexamined repetition becomes normalized, and consequently is seen as legitimate.

The way that claims about WP36 are presented is particularly notable in these respects. For example, Barnes, in discussing the initiatory nature of WP36, distances himself from making the substantive claim that WP36 *is* initiatory. He claims only that WP36 is '*commonly regarded*' as initiatory.[105] Barnes removes himself one step further from this claim, stating 'We have already noted that Working Paper 36…'. His earlier analysis centres on the way that WP36 'is widely regarded as heralding the demise of Christian confessionalism…'.[106] Here, there appears to be a degree of disingenuousness; Barnes

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[101] Swann Report, §2.11, 474-5, citing *Working Paper 36*, 43.

[102] City of Birmingham District Council Education Committee, *Agreed Syllabus for Religious Education* (Birmingham: City of Birmingham District Council Education Committee, 1975).

[103] See, for example, Section 2.4.1, starting on page 86 above.

[104] For a more detailed discussion of these Agreed Syllabuses, and their contribution, see Section 2.4.1, on page 86 above.

[105] Barnes, *Working Paper 36*, 62.

[106] Barnes, *Working Paper 36*, 61.

wants the reader to accept that WP36 is initiatory, and by operating in this way, he is suggesting that WP36 is seen by others as authoritative in some way, although he presents no evidence to support his claim. He does suggest

> that the time is right for a fresh reading of the arguments and conclusions of *Working Paper 36*, as they are expressed and qualified in the document itself, rather than as recast from later perspectives for apologetic or polemic purposes. It is only when a proper and responsible interpretation of *Working Paper 36* is gained that the equally exacting task of evaluation and assessment can begin.[107]

However, with a certain irony, he fails to undertake such a task.[108]

Thus, it is evident that it is not the statements themselves that carry the significance and authority, but it is the rules by which they have been repeated that infuse the statements with these attributes. The *Teachers Handbooks* published at the close of the project, which provide curriculum materials for teachers to adapt,[109] restate in some detail the same arguments made in WP36.[110] However, the rules under which the statements have been repeated differ between WP36 and the *Teachers Handbooks*. Consequently the handbooks have not been constructed as either significant or as authoritative.[111] Although the introductions to the *Handbooks* repeat material from WP36, their publication some six years later may account for some of this differential treatment.[112] Whilst the later publications include the teaching of non-Christian faiths, alternative views such as

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[107] Barnes, *Working Paper 36*, 62

[108] See Barnes, *Working Paper 36*.

[109] Schools Council, '*Journeys into Religion A: Teachers Handbook*', (St Albans: Hart-Davis Educational Limited, for Schools Council, 1977); Schools Council, '*Journeys into Religion B: Teachers Handbook*', (St Albans: Hart-Davis Educational Limited, for Schools Council, 1977).

[110] For example, they include a restatement of the four reasons for Religious Education in Schools: (Public Demand; Understanding our culture; The Nature of Religion itself; Modes of understanding. p10-11), the discussion of the four approaches to RE (Confessional, Anti-dogmatic, The Implicit Religion approach And The Explicit Religion approach. p11-12) and Smart's six dimensions of religion (p12-13), Schools Council, *Journeys into Religion A: Teachers Handbook*.

[111] Aside from a rather scathing review in *Learning for Living*, there is virtually no reference to these materials (Geoffrey Robson, 'Review: Journeys into Religion', *Learning for Living*, 17, no.1, (Autumn 1977): 40-41).

[112] Robson asserts 'The brief theoretical introduction in Teacher's Handbook A ... does not push basic thinking on the RE curriculum very much further. ... Its style is both conversational and condescending. More serious, however, is the chaos revealed by the units themselves'. He goes on: 'Its Christian bias is understandable in the light of the greater availability of Christian places of worship to visit but the blatant confessional assumptions of 'The man from Nazareth' are hard to justify on any educational grounds … As the end product of a serious project in curriculum development they can bring little credit to the Schools Council'. (Robson, *Review: Journeys into Religion*, 40 and 41).

Humanism or Marxism are not included. Furthermore, there is no evidence of any discussion arising from the 'publication of WP36.[113]

Investigating the circumstances in which WP36 was produced highlights a number of important matters. Against the backdrop of a changing social and political world, where education was taking on a new importance in Government policy, the Schools Council as a 'non-directive', advisory body, was established, both to reduce fears of increased centralised control of the curriculum and to offer impartial advice. The 'Religious Education in Secondary School' project was agreed in 1968, and after initial delays arising from the difficulty in appointing an appropriate chair of the project's committee, there was a rush to publish WP36. Examining the authorship and authority of the paper suggests that the side-lining of these issues has led to an inappropriate positioning of WP36 in the current historiography; thus, appreciating these circumstances of production necessitates a re-examination of that positioning.

4.2   Unsettling the Role of WP36 in the Adoption of SWR

The current positioning of WP36 in regard to the initiation of SWR is problematic. As discussed above, significant claims have been made, accepted, and repeated, yet they have not hitherto been assessed through a thorough and detailed analysis of statements included in WP36, using Statement Archaeology,[114] I will assess the claim that WP36 initiates SWR, and ultimately demonstrate that the document is more appropriately constructed as being part of a process that normalizes SWR.

4.2.1   Questioning 'discontinuity' in WP36

A cursory examination of the 'nature of the statements' used by the authors of WP36 to support their argument regarding the adoption of SWR, particularly in terms of their novelty, demonstrates the extent to which the document draws on previously available materials and pre-existing discourses rather than being novel and initiating them. Using the

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[113] The books contain, alongside a summary of the argument made in WP36, teaching material on: Pilgrimage (Christianity, Islam and Hinduism); Religion in Britain today; Signs and Symbols (Judaism, Islam, Hinduism, Christianity); Exploring Belief (includes non-theistic positions); How others see life (Hinduism, Buddhism, Judaism, Christianity, Islam, Sikhism); The life of man: The family (parenting, marriage and divorce; Science and Religion; The Hindu Way; Religion through Culture: Judaism; and Why do Men Suffer (Christianity, Islam, Hinduism, Judaism) (Schools Council, *Journeys into Religion A*.) Also: Early Christian Writings; Making Sense; Myth, History and Ritual; Islam; and Worship. (Schools Council, *Journeys into Religion B*). Neither book contains material on Humanism or Marxism.

[114] See Section 3.3, starting on page 149 above.

guiding questions established above,[115] I will undertake an exhaustive examination of the statements, looking not just at the statements themselves, but at the sources from, and rules by, which they are repeated.

However, before undertaking such a detailed exploration of the document, it is necessary to highlight that within the existing historiography the discussion of WP36 in terms of *what is taught* (content) and *how it is taught* (method) have not been adequately differentiated, an oversight that leads to an inappropriate conflation of the issues.[116] By separating out content from method it is possible to see that neither are discontinuities, as I shall now explain.

In terms of teaching method, an assessment of the supposed novelty of phenomenology within WP36 suggests a repetition of earlier statements. Lengthy verbatim extracts from a 1965 publication by P. H. Phenix,[117] together with the citation of work carried out at Lancaster and Leicester Universities, demonstrates that phenomenological approaches are already known,[118] although they are later developed.[119] In terms of the 'explicit religion' approach foregrounded in WP36, this draws on Smart's work in *Secular Education and the Logic of Reason* and the earlier *The Teacher and Christian Belief*.[120] In fact, many of the arguments for phenomenological non-confessional RE can be found in the pages of these two books, although it is important to note that whilst there are a number of specific citations of the second, there are no specific references to the first.[121] Central to the exposition of the approach in the WP36 is the discussion of Smart's 'six dimensions' of religion.[122] This framework too, is not novel but restates Smart's earlier work, which is later developed in *The Phenomenon of Religion*.[123]

Accordingly, many of the statements considered to be novel are shown to be repetitions of earlier statements. However, whilst many of the key ideas had been published

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[115] See Table 2 - Guiding principles for Statement Archaeology, on page 157 above.

[116] This is in contrast to an argument made by Smart, the supposed author of WP36. In his writing, he is careful to clearly differentiate these two issues: 'I am not here much concerned with the important question of *how* religion is taught in schools, colleges and universities. I am concerned with the content of what should be taught.' (Ninian Smart, *Secular Education and the Logic of Reason: Heslington Lectures, University of York, 1966*. (London: Faber and Faber, 1968): 7).

[117] P.H. Phenix, 'Religion in American Public Schools', in *Religion and Public Order* (University of Chicago Press, 1965). Quoted at length in Schools Council, *Working Paper 36*, 22-25.

[118] Schools Council, *Working Paper 36*, 21. Within Ninian Smart *'The Teacher and Christian Belief'* (London: James Clarke & Co., 1966), it is possible to find traces of/precursors to some of these six dimensions. See, for example, Chapter 5 'Christianity and Other Faiths'.

[119] Ninian Smart, *The Phenomenon of Religion*, (London: Macmillan, 1973).

[120] Schools Council, *Working Paper 36*, 3.

[121] Smart, *Secular Education*, esp chapter 1 and 4.

[122] Schools Council, *Working Paper 36*, 47ff.

[123] Smart, *The Phenomenon of Religion*, 14ff.

prior to the preparation of WP36, it is not clear to what degree they had been taken up elsewhere. Perhaps WP36 enabled a wider constituency access to Smart's ideas and theories, including the aforementioned 'six dimensions of religion' and phenomenological approaches. Even if this was the case, the statements in WP36 do not represent a point at which the phenomenological approach becomes differentiated. Consequently, in terms of phenomenology as a teaching method, it is difficult to support an argument that WP36 represents a moment of discontinuity, and consequently it is problematic to construct WP36 as the 'relative beginning of the practice'.

Similarly, an assessment of the supposed novelty of the content of RE proposed within WP36 demonstrates a frequent and detailed references to existing practice, with the writers drawing on examples of SWR across other sections of the document. For example, in Chapter 5 *'Content and Method'*, illustrations used are drawn from a variety of faith traditions, including Islam, Buddhism and Hinduism.[124] As a detailed discussion the arguments made in support of SWR within WP36 follows shortly,[125] two brief examples will serve here to support my argument for now, although I shall augment the argument in due course. Firstly, WP36 provides evidence that SWR is already underway by drawing extensively on a survey of *'The Comparative Study of Religion in West Riding Schools'*.[126] WP36 positions this survey, together with other papers offered at a 1968 Conference and subsequently published as *Comparative Religion in Schools*, as representative of 'many other parallel developments [which] are taking place throughout the country'.[127] The discussion within the pages of Hinnells' book is predicated on the fact that SWR was already happening; the book begins with the statement:

> From a number of different quarters the suggestion is being made that the comparative study of religion, or teaching of World Religions, should play a greater part in the educational system than it does at present.[128]

This could be seen as a call to expand of such teaching, rather than initiating it.[129] However, it can also be seen as a rhetorical device designed to normalize the practice, by

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[124] Schools Council, *Working Paper 36*, 46ff.

[125] See Section 4.2.3, on page 191 below.

[126] Schools Council, *Working Paper 36*, 62-3. A report on the survey was later published as: John Hinnells, 'The Comparative Study of Religion in West Riding Schools'. In John Hinnells, (ed) *Comparative Religion in Education,* (Newcastle-Upon-Tyne: Oriel Press Limited,1970). Note that CSR is defined here as: 'the study of the history, literature and beliefs of the major non-Christian religions' (Hinnells, *CSR in West Riding Schools*, 34). However, no such element of comparison is actually included. See discussion on page 198 below on this matter.

[127] Schools Council, *Working Paper 36*, 62.

[128] Hinnells, *Comparative Religion*, IX. Emphasis added.

suggesting that it is already widely used. Statements repeated in WP36 focus on the extent to which '[t]he subject is widely taught in schools in the West Riding, probably more than is generally realised',[130] the desire of those involved in its teaching to 'see the subject incorporated into the examination system',[131] and the way in which the approach could 'increase tolerance and understanding, the widening of the pupil's horizons, as well as deepening his understanding of man and the world.'[132]

Secondly, the positioning of WP36 as being novel in calling for the inclusion of SWR in RE is also seen to be erroneous. The document repeats statements, through verbatim extracts, from the earlier published Durham Report, which calls for pupils to study, 'where appropriate…other religions and belief systems'.[133] Although it must be noted here that there is some uncertainty over the degree of coercion placed on the authors to include reference to the Durham report.[134] Furthermore, extracts are repeated from a document produced by the Birmingham Community Relations Committee, which suggests that 'in Birmingham, more specifically, Christian children should know something about the Hindu, Islamic, Judaic, and Sikh faiths which are part of our pluralistic scene'.[135] In short, WP36 is not novel in calling for the inclusion of SWR.

Perhaps then, the novelty of WP36 is located in the combination of method and content. There is, however, some debate over the degree to which Smart's phenomenological approach was necessary for the adoption of SWR. F.H. Hilliard, writing

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[129] Other papers included in John Hinnells, (ed) *Comparative Religion in Education,* (Newcastle-Upon-Tyne: Oriel Press Limited,1970): Ninian Smart, 'The Structure of comparative religion' 20-31; Hinnells, 'The *Comparative Study of Religion in West Riding* Schools', 32-49; Harold Blackham, 'A Humanist Approach to the Teaching of Religion in Schools', 50-58; O.R. Johnston, 'A Christian Approach to the Comparative Study of Religion in Schools', 59- 71; Geoffrey Parrinder, 'The Ethics and customs of the Main Immigrant Peoples', 72-91; F.H. Hilliard, 'The Problems and Methods of Teaching Comparative Study of Religion in Schools, 92-102; Eric J Sharpe, 'The Comparative Study of Religion in Colleges of Education, 103-108.

[130] Schools Council, *Working Paper 36*, 62, citing Hinnells, *CSR in West Riding Schools*, 35.

[131] Schools Council, *Working Paper 36*, 63, citing Hinnells, *CSR in West Riding Schools,* 48. Hinnells reported that there was a strong sense that CSR should be nationally examined in some way, whether at CSE, GCE 'O' or 'A' level. See also Chapter 2, footnote 162, on page 76 above.

[132] Schools Council, *Working Paper 36*, 63, Citing Hinnells, *CSR in West Riding Schools,* 35; 49.

[133] Schools Council, *Working Paper 36*, 9, citing Ramsey, *The Fourth R,* §216.

[134] It is recorded in a note that, within the proposed working paper, 'Account will be taken of the Durham report' (NLA, SCC-318-440-117: note to Mr Cooksey from Phillip Halsey following Consultative Committee Meeting on 3rd June 1970). However, the minutes of the meeting record no such undertaking (NLA, SCC-318-440-117: Minutes of Second Meeting of Consultation Committee, 3rd June, 1970). It thus is unclear whether there was a shared enthusiasm for reference to the Durham report.

[135] Schools Council, *Working Paper 36*, 18. The source is acknowledged, but not referenced, making it impossible to locate and compare the original source with the verbatim extract.

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in *Comparative Religion in Education* (1970), suggests that it is indeed possible to undertake SWR without the specific pedagogy set out in WP36.[136]

With content, as with method, it is problematic to position WP36 as being initiatory in the way that is suggested in the existing historiography. Questioning the novelty of the content of SWR shows much to be existing practice, or at the very least a repeat of earlier suggestions that SWR should be practiced. In terms of both method and content then, I have demonstrated that WP36 cannot be considered as a discontinuity, and consequently is not the point at which the practice of SWR becomes differentiated. Thus it cannot be considered to be initiatory, or the 'relative beginning of the practice'.

4.2.2   *WP36 and the Normalization of SWR*

On this basis, I suggest that WP36 is more appropriately constructed as being part of a longer-term process of the normalization of SWR, the relative beginnings of which predate the preparation and publication of the document.

The prior failure to undertake a thorough and detailed analysis of the context and circumstances of production of WP36, arising especially from the unexamined repetition discussed above, results in the wider discourse being overlooked. Exploration of this wider discourse, in line with the principles of Statement Archaeology, reveals a wealth of material which supports the argument that SWR was being practised prior to the Schools Council project. Alongside certain Agreed Syllabus documents (discussed in the Literature review above, and included in WP36),[137] there are a number of articles in the professional journal *Learning for Living*,[138] demonstrating that SWR was a day to day reality in many schools.[139] One writer cites the example of a Mrs Angadi from a London Primary School:

> enriched by her own special resources in Asian literature and drama ... Mrs Angadi's class of eight-year-olds mimed the temptations of Jesus and Gotama the Buddha; this past winter they gave a play entitled: 'The Buddha Tames a Bandit', Mrs Angadi has found that children are usually

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[136] F.H. Hillard, 'The Problems and Methods of Teaching the Comparative Study of Religion in Schools.' In Hinnells, John (ed) *Comparative Religion in Education*, (Newcastle-Upon-Tyne: Oriel Press Limited, 1970): 92-102. Anecdotal evidence suggests that Hilliard was an early advocate of 'World Religions as an basis for teaching RE; well ahead of Ninan Smart's advocacy of it. He was ahead of his time' (M.Grimmit, *pers.com*).

[137] See Section 2.4.1 on page 86 above.

[138] For a detailed analysis of the positioning of *Learning for Living* as a professional journal, see Parker, Freathy, and Doney, *Professionalizing Religious Education in England*.

[139] Including: J.W.G Hogbin, 'Pluralism and religious education'. *Learning for Living* 7, no.1, (1967): 21-24; D. Stafford-Clark, 'Racial prejudice', *Learning for Living* 8, no.3, (1969): 8-12; P.May, 'Why comparative religion', *Learning for Living* 8, no.5, (1969): 11-13; M. Nash, 'Teaching RE in a multi-racial comprehensive school', *Learning for Living* 8, no.5, (1969): 14-16; D. Butler, 'Young teenagers enjoy world religions', *Learning for Living* 9, no.2 (1969): 22-24.

not confused by these comparisons, but come joyfully and naturally to understanding how the Founders of all great religions have wrestled with temptation and opposition. Whether the children be Hindu, Muslim, Jewish or Christian, their understanding of their own faith and its Founders can be deepened by a sense of its relationship with others.[140]

Whilst accounts are to be found in such professional journals, there is an indication of active support of such teaching; the BBC, for example produced a series of 'Radiovision programmes' on World Religions, including 'Encounter with Hinduism' and a similar broadcast centring on Buddhism.[141] There is also evidence that such practices were the subject of academic research and debate.[142] Edwin Cox, writing in 1966, discusses the inclusion of 'ultimate expressions of existence given by other World Religions, and of philosophies such as Humanism and Marxism'.[143] Furthermore, exploration of the wider discourse demonstrates that groups such as CEM were supportive of an adoption of SWR; in a written statement submitted to the Durham Commission, CEM state:

> In the case of secondary education it is important for all pupils to understand something of the major faiths, especially those substantially represented in our own society. The more this can take place in common rather than in separate religious communities, the better.[144]

Thus, the inclusion of the wider discourses illuminates our exploration of WP36. Reading these developments against the notion of Normalization described earlier,[145] demonstrates the extent to which WP36 is *part* of a process through which particular practices (in this case SWR) become accepted and thus taken-for-granted in everyday life. Here, the normalization of SWR is not achieved through the exercise of 'sovereign power'; that is, there is no new law that enforces it and no policy announcement that insists that the idea is taken up. Rather, there is a complex network of social structures at play that resonate with the notion of Normalization. For example, there is an apparent 'willing replication' of the practice; the editors of the professional journals and the producers/commissioning editors of the TV programmes mentioned above are complicit

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[140] T. Havens, 'World Religions in the primary school', *Learning for Living*, 7 (5) (1968):28.

[141] Butler, *Young teenagers enjoy world religions*.

[142] For example, James Jack, *Problems in the teaching of the Comparative Study of Religion, illustrated by experimental work in three schools*. (Unpublished MLitt Thesis, Northern Counties College).

[143] Edwin Cox, *Changing Aims in Religious Education*, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966), 68. Cited in summary in Schools Council, *Working Paper 36*, 38.

[144] Church of England Record Centre (CERC), Bermondsey: NS/7/8/1/15 – *Evidence to Durham Commission File 2*: CEM submission to Durham Commission. Paper 34.

[145] See discussion in Section 2.5.3, on page 114 above.

in the process of normalising SWR, yet the extent to which this is undertaken knowingly is hard to assess.[146]

4.2.3   *Crossing discursive boundaries*

Being attentive to these wider discourses is essential in understanding the nature of the statements that are repeated within WP36. By doing so, the complexity of the networks of discourse from which those statements are drawn is established. This is evident, for example, in the repetition of statements from Ninian Smart's work; statements that were originally constructed within the discourses of Higher Education are repeated here in the context of Religious Education discourse. It is in such ways that the transfer of ideas across discursive (and thus disciplinary) boundaries takes place. Furthermore, the examination of other examples where such discursive boundaries are crossed, by re-reading WP36 against the wider discourses, develops the argument that WP36 is more appropriately considering as normalizing, rather than initiating, SWR.

However, the process of normalization requires more than the demonstration that SWR was an existing practice, even if only on a limited scale, as set out above. It requires the demonstration that the practices under consideration are related to and justified by widely accepted 'norms'. In this regard, three specific areas are discussed: 'public opinion'; 'pupil demand' and 'educational developments', each being constructed as well established. The statements made in connection to each of these require exploration.

Public Opinion

The writers of WP36 claim that 'every opinion poll that has provided an opening for this sort of comment has shown that a significant proportion of the general public would like to see religious education broadened [beyond white Anglo-Saxon Protestantism].'[147] However, they are not clear about the surveys upon which this claim is based. Whilst there are, within WP36, a number of direct references to surveys relating to RE, these do not all

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[146] For example, Penny Thompson claims that 'Pressure was brought to bear upon teachers in the early 1970s to adopt a 'non-confessional' approach. Classroom resources were vetted in *Learning for Living* (predecessor to *British Journal of Religious Education*) in order to screen out those presenting a confessional point of view (Alves, 1973)'. (Penny Thompson, 'Whose Confession? Which Tradition?', *British Journal of Religious Education* 26 no.1 (2004): 61-72). See also Colin Alves, 'Booknews', *Learning for Living* 13, no.2 (1973): 74-80.

[147] Schools Council, *Working Paper 36*, 61.

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reflect the statement made.[148] For example, the previously mentioned survey undertaken by John Hinnells in the West Riding of Yorkshire prior to 1968 is based on a questionnaire sent to 'the head-teacher and RE specialist in each school', and includes no questions to the general public, nor does it include any reference to public opinion.[149] Yet, within the same period there are surveys undertaken that support the statement made in WP36, yet they are not cited. A survey was carried out, by P.R. May and O.R. Johnston, during 1965 in the North East England (Durham and Newcastle), prompted by earlier surveys in London, the Midlands and the North. Here May and Johnston found that only 4% of those questioned (n=1730, response rate 53%) thought that schools 'should not provide any religious teaching to children.'[150] The same survey showed that 80.2% answered positively to a question about 'the desirability of children in state schools being taught about other religions, beside Christianity'.[151] This concurs with an earlier survey, undertaken by Mass Observation in response to the 1943 White Paper 'Educational reconstruction'.[152] Reporting in early 1944, the survey reported that 54% of teachers surveyed responded positively to the question 'Do you think 'agreed syllabuses' should make provision for instruction in the main elements of the Chief faiths of the world?'.[153] However, whilst it is evident that material that supported their claim was in existence, it is difficult to ascertain whether such material was accessible to, or known about by, the writers of WP36.

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[148] Schools Council, *Working Paper 36*, 15, includes: C Alves, *Religion and the Secondary School* (SCM Press, 1968); Gallup Poll, *Television and Religion*, (ULP 1964); R.J. Goldman, 'Do we want our children taught about God?, *New Society,* 27 May 1965; P.R. May, 'Why parents want religion in schools', *Learning for Living* 6, no.4, (March 1967), 14-18; P.R. May, 'Why teachers want religion in schools', *Learning for Living* 8, no.1, (Sept 1968), 13-17.

[149] Schools Council, *Working Paper 36*, 62-3; Hinnells, *CSR in West Riding Schools*, 32 (note that Hinnells does not report on when the survey was undertaken). See also Hinnells, *Comparative Study,* which 'is based upon the Shap Conference held at Easter 1969 under the auspices of the Department of Adult Education of the University of Newcastle Upon Tyne' (Hinnells, *Comparative Study,* iv).

[150] P.R. May and O.R. Johnston, 'Parental Attitudes to Religious Education in State Schools', *The Durham Research Review* 5, no.18, (1967): 127.

[151] May and Johnston, *Parental Attitudes*, 136.

[152] Board of Education, *Educational Reconstruction*, (London: HMSO, 1943).

[153] Mass Observation, University of Sussex: SxMOA1/1/9/2/4 (Teachers' Opinions on Religious Education in Schools. Further Report II (file report number 2014) February 1944); SxMOA1/1/9/2/6 (Teachers' Opinions on Religious Instruction in Schools. Further Report III (File report number 2016) Feb 1944); SxMOA1/1/9/2/7 (Report on religious instruction in schools (file report number 2017) Feb 1944). Note that Mass Observation Report 2012 includes raw quantitative data, and Report 2014 includes raw qualitative data. All reports accessed from URL http://www.massobs.org.uk/ on 1 Dec 2012.

<u>Pupil Demand</u>

In terms of pupil demand, the authors of WP36 make a bold statement: 'For years many
pupils have asked for an introduction to other religions',[154] but there is a failure to justify
the claim. It is unclear whether the authors feel that the claim is so self-evident that no
supporting references are needed. The wider pattern of the document suggests that this is
not the case; generally speaking claims are supported, even if (as in the case described
above) inappropriately. I suspect that that the writers are conflating a claim they make here
with regard to SWR with a claim made at the start of the document, where they report that
'there is evidence that most parents, most teachers and, perhaps, *most pupils* wish [religion]
to be included [in the curriculum of maintained schools]'.[155] Five sources are cited in
support of this earlier claim, most of which focus on the issue of RE from the perspective
of teachers or parents.[156] The work undertaken by Colin Alves stands slightly apart; during
1965 and 1966 a large-scale questionnaire survey was undertaken with secondary school
pupils.[157] The survey focused almost entirely on biblical knowledge, Christian religious
practice, (including personal Christian affiliation) and Christian morality.[158] No question
specifically addresses pupils' desire for religion to be included in the curriculum; the closest
the survey comes to this issue is question 27: 'A person's education is not complete if he
has not studied religion'.[159] Due to the complicated aggregation of answers that Alves
develops to assess pupils' overall attitude to religion, it is not possible to locate any detailed
information on responses to this particular question.[160] Therefore, it seems that any claim
that the writers make in regard to pupil's desire for religion to be included in the
curriculum is not backed up in the references they cite. This puts their claim regarding
pupil enthusiasm for SWR in doubt.

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[154] Schools Council, *Woring Paper 36*, 61.

[155] Schools Council, *Working Paper 36*, 15. Emphasis added.

[156] The sources are: Alves, *Religion and the Secondary School*; Gallup Poll *Television and Religion*; Goldman, *Do we want our children taught about God*; May, *Why parents want religion in schools*'; May, *Why teachers want religion in schools*. With regard to parent's desire for religious teaching in schools, see Schools Council, *Working Paper 36*, 37 where Smart is cited. In the original source, Smart claims that 'since parents want some sort of induction into Christianity and traditional morals for their children, one must take account of their wishes'. However, no sources for this claim are made, beyond the statement that follows directly: 'Hence the rather heavy emphasis in our schools and colleges and universities on the Christian faith.' (Smart, *Secular Education*, 99). This appears to be a circular argument.

[157] Alves, *Religion and the Secondary School*.

[158] Alves, *Religion and the Secondary School,* Survey 65 and 66, pages 36ff and 129ff respectively.

[159] Alves, *Religion and the Secondary School*, 42. Although this idea is not novel, possibly originating with Descartes.

[160] Alves, *Religion and the Secondary School*, 50.

Educational progress/developments

Thirdly, WP36 states that the case for the inclusion of non-Christian religions 'has been argued on educational grounds'[161]. Once again, there appears to be a conflation of issues; the argument that has been made earlier in the document is that religion in the school curriculum should, like any other subject, be justified on educational grounds.[162] In supporting this statement, the writers draw on a range of educational publications and reports, (including the Spens Report, 1938, the Crowther Report, 1959 and the Newsom Report, 1963), the extracts from which are non-specific in terms of the type of religion being considered. In fact, the extract from Crowther is particularly open in this respect:

> The teenagers with whom we are concerned need, perhaps above all else, to find a faith to live by. They will not find precisely the same faith and some will not find any. Education can and should play some part in the search.[163]

In contrast to the issues of public and pupil opinion (above), on this issue the writers of WP36 develop their argument clearly, expanding the construction of religion to include non-Christian positions. In doing so they draw heavily on Smart's citing his 'five suggested aims', including:

> Fourth, religious studies should provide a service in helping people to understand history and other cultures than our own. It can thus play a vital role in breaking the limits of European cultural tribalism.[164]

and they find support for such a position in the work of Edwin Cox and J.W.D. Smith.[165] Moreover, the writers claim that whilst 'a factual study of Christianity is important … insights from other religions are important too',[166] thus demonstrating a differential treatment between Christianity and other religions.

WP36 is not alone in arguing for the development of SWR on educational grounds. For example, starting from the perspective that

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[161] Schools Council, *Working Paper 36*, 61.

[162] For example, Schools Council, *Working Paper 36*, 16; 37.

[163] Ministry of Education, *Crowther Report*, cited in Schools Council, *Working Paper 36*, 16

[164] Schools Council, *Working Paper 36*, 38, citing Smart, *Secular Education*, 105-6.

[165] Cox, *Changing Aims*; J.W.D. Smith, *Religious Education in a Secular Setting*, (London: SCM Press, 1969).

[166] Schools Council, *Working Paper 36*, 41

the main function of religious education in British schools is to awaken interest in Christianity: to develop knowledge about and insight into the nature and significance of the Christian faith.[167]

F.H. Hilliard dismisses the idea that CSR should be taught so that adolescents are enabled to make an informed choice over whether to become 'Muslims, Buddhists, Hindus or what you will'.[168] Rather he calls for justification to be based on 'more impressive and realistic grounds',[169] suggesting four in particular: 'Christianity is but one among the various religions of the world'; expanding communication presents people of other religions directly into the lives of young people,[170] which leads to children being interested in the subject of World Religions; the expansion of dialogue between Christians and 'people of other religious beliefs and persuasions',[171] a development that Hilliard associates with a

> change of attitude as compared with the period before the Second World War when it would be true to say that there were comparatively few within the Christian churches who had advanced beyond the notion that one should take account of adherents of religions other than Christianity only with a view to converting them.[172]

He goes on to discuss the change in Christian constructions of non-Christians since the end of the Second World War, particularly noting the shift from Christian triumphalism to a point where Christians 'see that they must abandon the remains of the old attitudes to the adherents of non-Christian religions and approach them and their faiths in attitudes of humility and out of a desire to discover what it is in them which has attracted and attracts.'[173] This suggests a repositioning of the religious other, a theme that will be developed later in this thesis.

The choice of these three claims suggests that the writers of WP36 saw the need to show that SWR was supported by public opinion, pupil demand and educational development. Looking behind the statements made in each of these cases, and studying the rules by which they are repeated, it is clear that the arguments presented are often either misrepresentations of previous statements or they are unsubstantiated claims presented as corroborated. Perhaps the repetition of the statements in earlier documents had imbued them with a degree of authority, and as such they had become repeated without

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[167] F.H. Hilliard, 'The Problems and Methods of Teaching the Comparative Study of Religion in Schools.' In John Hinnells (ed), *Comparative Religion in Education,* (Newcastle-Upon-Tyne: Oriel Press Limited, 1970): 92.
[168] Hilliard, *Problems and Methods*, 93.
[169] Hilliard, *Problems and Methods*, 93.
[170] Hilliard, *Problems and Methods*, 94.
[171] Hilliard, *Problems and Methods*, 94.
[172] Hilliard, *Problems and Methods*, 94-5.
[173] Hilliard, *Problems and Methods*, 95.

examination, in the same way as WP36 itself. However, by presenting these statements *as if* they were true, they are *forming* opinion, rather than presenting it, thus contributing to a discursive construction that is entirely consistent with the process of normalization.

4.2.4   Summary

This painstaking historical analysis of one document has yielded rich rewards in comparison to the cursory approach of previous historians of education. Such a detailed examination offers the potential to reveal whether WP36 makes a distinct contribution in the process of adoption of SWR. The thorough, detailed, analysis of the statements used in WP36 to support the adoption of SWR, together with an exploration of their sources, the wider discourses from which they are drawn and the rules by which they are repeated, all leads to the rejection of the current, and problematic, positioning of WP36 as the initiation of SWR. Instead, the analysis demonstrates how WP36 plays a normalizing role in a wider process *by which* SWR becomes adopted.

This is not to suggest that WP36 is unimportant. Although not initiating SWR, WP36 demonstrably plays a role in the process of normalizing SWR. The meticulous examination of chapter VII *'Non-Christian Religions and the religious needs of minority groups'*, guided by Statement Archaeology, as exposed above,[174] and focusing on statements (especially those that are novel and programmatic) and the rules by which statements are repeated, demonstrates that in addition to *perpetuating* the on-going normalizing SWR, WP36 makes two *additional* contributions to the process. These are the focus of the next two sections of this chapter

4.3   Distinct Contributions: i) Pluralism, Immigration and the 'religious other'

Firstly, WP36 approaches the complex interaction of pluralism, immigration and diversity of religious belief in a way that is conspicuously different from the wider discourses.

As shown above, WP36 was written in a context of significant social change characterised by, amongst other things, increased awareness of and interface with the 'global other'. This is manifested through a variety of interactions with the adherents of non-Christian religions and other worldviews, through globalization, through increased

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[174] See Section 3.3, starting on page 149 above.

travel, through developments in technology allowing access to other worlds, and through immigration.[175] With this in mind, it is imperative to explore the issue of pluralism in some depth, not least on the basis that it is at the heart of the Schools Council project aims:

> Religious education should reckon with the actual pluralism of people and practice in contemporary British society and in the wider world.[176]

Whilst the issue is central to the project, the writers of WP36 are careful not to argue for SWR simply on the basis of this pluralism; much of the discussion of the issue is framed around the issue of migration. The writers of WP36 claims that the case for SWR, already made on educational grounds, is '*reinforced*' by the 'arrival of non-Christian religious groups in Britain'.[177] Despite the argument that immigration in itself is not a justification for the adoption of SWR explicitly made here, immigration has been named as a factor in the changes to RE in the 1960s and 1970s within the existing historiography.[178] However, this naming has taken place without a detailed exploration of what the term meant, or how it was used within the discourses. Once again, this highlights the need for a detailed examination of the document, and the claims made within it. Such a detailed reading of WP36 demonstrates that the relationship between pluralism, immigration, WP36 and the adoption of SWR is much more complex that this existing historiography suggests.

A rigorous analysis of chapter VII of WP36, demonstrates that the discursive construction of 'immigrant' in WP36 is significantly different from the construction in the wider educational discourse of the time in two particular ways. Firstly, WP36 is more specific than the wider discourse, focusing on the religious aspects of immigration, and secondly, it constructs immigration much more positively than the wider discourse, foregrounding the benefits rather than the problem of immigration. These issues will now be discussed in more detail.

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[175] See, for example, Section 4.1.1, page 168 above.

[176] Stated aims of project, point 3. TNA, EJ 1/210: Minutes of Thirteenth Meeting of Religious Education Committee, 4th February 1969. See also Newsam Library and Archive, (NLA): SC (72)180-186-500-010 (RE in secondary schools - finding a publisher); SC (72)180-500-1025-070 (RE in Primary Schools – Smart); SC (73)172-242-01 (RE in Secondary schools aims & objectives - Part 1); SC (74)172-242-01 (RE in Secondary schools aims & objectives - Part 2); SC (74)172-242-346-01 (RE in Secondary schools); SC (74)172-242-2000-01 (RE in Secondary schools); SC (74)279-312-01 (Conferences of Religious Education working party on aims and objectives); SC (74)1030-1037-28 (part 2 - Education in-service training and resource centre); SC (77)88-279-869-01 (matters arising from the RE syllabus steering group reports); SC (77)172-544-01 (Working Party on RE - future role), where aims and objectives are discussed.

[177] Schools Council, *Working Paper 36*, 61.

[178] See Section 2.3.3 starting on page 80 above.

4.3.1 The religious aspects of immigration in WP36

In analysing the statements about immigration included in chapter VII, it is evident that the writers of WP36 are very clearly foregrounding religious issues. Consequently they construct 'immigration' with a degree of precision. For example, within WP36 'immigrant' is not used as a homogenising term, whereby immigrants are treated as a single group:

> It is not the presence of African, Asian and Caribbean immigrants that forces us to recognise that religious education in Britain must not be limited to white Anglo-Saxon Protestantism.[179]

Here the writers clearly focusing on a non-homogenizing construction of 'immigrant', whereby immigrants are identified by their 'home area', rather than 'homogenized' under a general and non-distinguishing term. Further, they are extremely detailed in their analysis of the faith backgrounds of children forming minority groups:

> We have in mind first of all children who have a religious background that is not Christian, secondly, children, including some immigrants, whose religious background is Christian but different from the usual pattern of English religion; and thirdly children from homes that explicitly reject all religion.[180]

In both cases there is an apparent unwillingness to homogenize immigrants, with the language of separation (heterogeneity) being used to suggest integration with the wider society (homogeneity).

This focus by the writers of WP36 on 'the religious other' is also demonstrated in their critique of the prevailing construction of non-Christian religions whereby they are described as 'superstitious, irrational and underdeveloped.'[181] WP36 claims that the phrase 'Comparative Study of Religions' is associated with an out-dated onto-epistemological framework based on a 'grossly unscientific' evolutionary view of religion.[182] In particular they reject an approach that sought to systematise other perspectives into a hierarchy, the pinnacle of which was the organisers own perspective, thus rejecting the perpetuation of a Christian supremacy. Instead they suggest the term is replaced with 'the study of the world's religions', which leaves open the question of how religions compare to one another and allows attention to be focused on the 'many dimensions of each religion'.[183] This

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179 Schools Council, *Working Paper 36*, 61.
180 Schools Council, *Working Paper 36*, 63; see also p29.
181 Schools Council, *Working Paper 36*, 62.
182 Schools Council, *Working Paper 36*, 61.
183 Schools Council, *Working Paper 36*, 62.

argument is not novel; both Smart and Eric Sharpe set the same argument out in an earlier publication.[184] Central to the argument in each case, is that what is called CSR frequently is not actually a *comparative* study of religion, but a 'shorthand for the study of non-Christian Religions'.[185]

Thus, these statements demonstrate a precision over the construction of 'immigrant', associating the term strongly with 'immigration of the religious other'. This precision has hitherto been overlooked; it is not the issue of immigration *per se* that is discussed here, but the 'immigration of the religious other'.[186]

4.3.2   *The positive construction of immigrant in WP36*

A re-reading of chapter VII with an awareness of this distinction between the term 'immigration' and 'immigration of the religious other' establishes that there is a great deal of evidence to support the claim that WP36 discursively constructs this precise understanding of 'immigrant' in a very positive way. The writers of WP36 emphasize the benefits of religious immigration, highlighting the possibilities offered: 'the presence of members of different faiths should be welcomed as an asset in religious education' and stating decisively the willingness of 'religious others' to engage with Christians: 'Most of the immigrant communities in Britain at the present time are liberal-minded and anxious to co-operate with Christians.'[187] However, the next sentence evidences an implicit pressure to act swiftly: 'if this cooperation is not welcomed attitudes may change and a great opportunity lost.'[188] Evidence for the stated liberal-mindedness of immigrant communities not presented, but may be based on materials presented elsewhere in WP36 from the Birmingham Community Relations Council, which appear to be very willing to engage in co-operation.[189]

Further, there is a call for reciprocity of relationship between religious 'immigrant' and 'host':

> Immigrant children need to understand the religious heritage and the
> current religious outlook of the 'host' society as well as to understand the

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[184] Eric J. Sharpe, 'The Comparative Study of Religion in Historical Perspective', in Hinnells, *Comparative Religion,* 1-19; Ninian Smart, 'The Structure of the Comparative Study of Religion', in Hinnells, *Comparative Religion,* 20-31.

[185] Smart, *Structure of Comparative Religion*, 20; see also Sharpe, *Comparative Study of Religion*, 4ff.

[186] Schools Council, *Working Paper 36*, 61 for illumination.

[187] Schools Council, *Working Paper 36*, 63; 65.

[188] Schools Council, *Working Paper 36*, 65.

[189] Schools Council, *Working Paper 36,* 64ff.

teaching and practice of their own faith. Similarly, if young people are to help to make the future, the 'hosts' need to understand and appreciate the culture, including the religious beliefs and practices, of their neighbours.[190]

Whilst the rhetorical devices deployed reinforce the difference between 'immigrant' and 'host', the argument being made highlights mutual benefit to be gained from a reciprocal relationship potentially resolving a tension between what 'we know about them' and 'what they know about us'; in short, both parties are assumed to benefit from a future that is plural in character. However, this assumption is somewhat undermined by the claim that:

> Sympathetic study of this kind will help to satisfy the immigrant's need for acceptance and for recognition of their cultural identity. It may also deepen the historical and cultural awareness of native English pupils.[191]

This statement highlights a tension between immigrants' own cultural identity and assimilated identity; perhaps in response to such a tension, the desirability of dialogue between faiths is enthusiastically promoted:

> We believe that in a multi-racial and pluralistic society there must be dialogue between those holding different beliefs and growth in mutual understanding, not the widening of inherited divisions.[192]

This statement is significant. Firstly, there is a equating of the terms 'multi-racial' and 'pluralistic'. Secondly, there is an implicit suggestion here of a shift in the conception of pluralism. It is useful to note the distinction made by the theologian Lesslie Newbigin at this point; he suggests that pluralism can be understood in two ways.[193] Firstly, as a present reality; such a pluralism is a key feature of Christian history through both parts of the Bible, and can be traced throughout Christian history.[194] Under this understanding, pluralism is simply the acknowledgement that 'peoples of many ethnic origins and of many different religious commitments live together'.[195] Secondly, where this present reality becomes an

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[190] Schools Council, *Working Paper 36*, 63.

[191] Schools Council, *Working Paper 36*, 63.

[192] Schools Council, *Working Paper 36*, 65.

[193] Lesslie Newbigin, 'The Roots of Pluralism' in *The Gospel in a Pluralist Society*, (London: SPCK, 1989): 14-36. See also Karl Rahner, K. (1966) 'The Christian Faith and the non-Christian Religions' in *Theological Investigations* 5, (London: Dartman, Longman and Todd, 1966): 310-40.

[194] As discussed by James Dunn, *Unity and Diversity in the New Testament: An Inquiry Into the Character of Earliest Christianity* (Norwich: SCM Press, 2012), and J. Barton, and F. Stavrakopoulou, *Religious Diversity in Ancient Israel and Judah*, (Edinburgh: T&T Clarke, 2010). See also Alexander McGrath, 'Christianity and the World Religions. In *Christian Theology - an Introduction*, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1997): 521-539.

[195] Newbigin, *Roots of Pluralism*, 14.

ideological aspiration; 'the belief that pluralism is to be encouraged and desired'.[196] In short, there is a move from a *descriptive* to a *prescriptive* understanding of pluralism. This distinction is important, yet it appears to have been frequently overlooked in the discussion of pluralism within the historiography of English RE. There is a wide base of evidence that pluralism as a present reality was being engaged with across the educational system during this period. However, at this point in WP36, there appears to have been a shift from this first understanding, of pluralism as a reality, to the second: of pluralism as aspiration. Such a shift is further evidenced by statements such as:

> Tolerance alone is not enough. Pupils belonging to minority faiths need
> to feel that their way of life is understood and its true worth
> appreciated.[197]

WP36 provides a precise and positive construction of immigration, with the distinctions highlighted here between 'immigration' and 'immigration of the religious other' evidencing a precision in the construction of immigration in WP36. Although it is not surprising that the document focuses on this aspect of immigration with such precision, it is by no means inevitable. Furthermore, this precision reveals a positive construction of the religious other. Differentiation between pluralism as reality and pluralism as aspiration is slightly less clear-cut. Both these issues (immigration of the religious other and nuanced understandings of pluralism) have an application beyond the sphere of WP36, and beyond the discipline of RE; these notions have the potential to inform educational histories and wider social histories. However, in order to ascertain whether WP36 deals with these issues in a unique way, it is necessary to look at the wider discourses.

4.3.3   Immigration in the wider educational discourse

A comparison between statements on immigration in WP36 and those in the wider discourse is a requirement of Statement Archaeology.[198] The constraints of this study prevent the examination of a breadth of contemporaneous, educational discourses in the detail that would have been required to cohere with the methodological principles set out above. Furthermore, to undertake such work would, to some extent, duplicate the excellent

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[196] McGrath, *Christianity and the World Religions*, 521.
[197] Schools Council, *Working Paper 36*, 64.
[198] As set out in Section 3.3.2, starting on page 156 above.

work carried out already by Sally Tomlinson and Ian Grosvenor.[199] In their work, the wider discourses of education are examined and discussed in reference to the issues surrounding immigration. Grosvenor's work here is particularly insightful. Based on a very detailed analysis of parliamentary debates, he demonstrates how the discourse of immigration was focused on colour, and very much constructed around the notion of 'problem'.[200]

In light of this, a comparison is made here between statements made in WP36 and those made within 'official' governmental discourse on immigration centering on the Department of Education.[201] From an awareness of the wider discourses, and this detailed comparison, it is unmistakable that statements in WP36 are distinctive from the wider discourse in two particular ways.

Firstly, the term 'immigration' in the contemporaneous wider educational discourses lacks the specificity seen in WP36, and set out above. Whilst there are many references to immigration, as will be seen in the extracts included in the following paragraphs, the term 'immigration' is generally used quite casually, and without delineation. Where there is delineation, it tends to be on the grounds of skin colour, or country of origin (or more often, continent of origin), although this latter categorization is often generalized, and subsumed into the term 'Commonwealth'.[202] This hints at a construction of the immigrant as 'wholly other'. Thus, there is a tendency for the term to homogenize 'immigrants' as a single group, under headings such as 'Immigrant Children' and 'The Immigrant Population'.[203] As such, within this wider discourse, whilst there may be fleeting references to the religious practice or background of immigrants, there is not a discrete

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[199] For example: Ian Grosvenor, *Assimilating Identities: Racism and Educational Policy in Post 1945 Britain.* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1997); Sally Tomlinson, *Race and Education: Policy and Politics in Britain*, (Maidenhead: Open University Press. 2008).

[200] Grosvenor, *Assimilating Identities,* 14ff. See also Tomlinson, *Race and Education,* 19, where Tomlinson presents evidence that the British Government's response to immigration was primarily based on 'race' and 'colour', contrasting the urgent communication between The Privy Council and The Foreign Office prior to the arrival of 'a few hundred 'coloured workers'' on the Empire Windrush (described as an influx) with the absorption of 'some 200,000 Polish and other European displaced persons' that had happened following the ending of hostilities in 1945. For an account of immigration in the immediate post-war period, see David Kynaston, *Austerity Britain 1945-1951*, (London: Bloomsbury, 2008): 270ff, where Kynaston discusses the treatment of Jews and their 'replacement' by 'the black immigrant as the prime 'other''.

[201] All the primary sources examined for this study are detailed in the Reference Section. Those in TNA ED series (Records created or inherited by the Department of Education and Science, and of related bodies) were the focus for this comparison.

[202] See Grosvenor, Assimilating Identities, also Department of Education and Science, *Children and their Primary Schools - A Report of the Central Advisory Council for Education (England),* (The Plowden Report), (London: HMSO, 1967): §178.

[203] In *The Plowden Report*, for example, Chapter 6 is headed 'Children of Immigrants' but the narrative returns to the phrase 'immigrant children'.

treatment of the religious aspects of immigration.[204] The fact that this domain of discourse is present in WP36 and is absent here is suggestive that the discourse has been marginalized or silenced, even if there are good reasons for this.[205]

Further, there is an active attempt to avoid defining a key term in the discourse, allowing a dynamic rather than static understanding of the term 'immigrant' to be perpetuated. Whilst the term is frequently used, there is an apparent lack of any common understanding or shared definition during the period. This is most notable in discussions around the issue of dispersion,[206] whereby immigrant children were bussed to different areas of large towns and cities in order to prevent the proportion of immigrants in any one school from being too great. Following the issue of Circular 7/65, *Immigrant Children*, which set out, amongst other things, this practice of dispersion, there is at least one letter to the Department of Education seeking clarification of the term 'immigrant' in the context of this Circular. F.W. Wyeth (Chief Education Officer for the London Borough of Brent) highlighted the absence of a definition from Circular 7/65, and asked whether it was appropriate to adopt the definition used by the Ministry of Labour, who apparently 'ceased to regard people as immigrants after they had been resident five years in this country'.[207] The response was conspicuously evasive:[208]

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[204] For example, *The Plowden Report* states that 'When the immigrant is Hindu or Muslim, and has special religious or dietary customs, difficulties for both child and teacher increase greatly' (§178) and 'Experienced teachers of immigrant children testify that they have found it of great help to know about family tradition and habits *of worship*, and about food, clothing and customs, which differ from ours.' (§185 emphasis added).

[205] Notably, this aspect appears to be absent from the work of others. For example, Grosvenor includes an extended quotation from Norman Tebbit, which includes significant reference to religious aspects of immigration, but he does not discuss this aspect in his analysis of Tebbit's position (Grosvenor, *Assimilating Identities*, 17). Tomlinson's engagement with the religious aspects of immigration is limited to a brief comment regarding 'the withdrawal of non-Christian children from religious education and the morning 'acto f worship'…Also if requested, special arrangements were being made for Muslim children to have visits from an Imam.' (Tomlinson, *Race and Education,* 34). The basis of these claims is not expounded.

[206] Whereby LEAs were encouraged to 'disperse' immigrant children around neighbouring schools, using buses where necessary, in order to maintain a proportion of less than 1/3 immigrant children. For a detailed discussion of the policy see, for example, Barry Troyna and Jenny Williams, *Racism, Education and the State,* (Abingdon: Routledge, 1986): 18-20.

[207] The National Archive (TNA), ED 147/592 - *Immigration effect on schools*: letter from F.W. Wyeth esq. (Chief Education Officer, London Borough of Brent) to The Permanent Under-secretary of State, Department of Education, dated 24th June 1965.

[208] Compared with other statements from the discourse; for example compared to DES Circular 3/71 (09 Feb 1971) where 'A week is defined in the Regulations as a period of five days beginning on Monday' (§2).

> While we would not be prepared to accept that the Ministry of Labour's definition of immigrants was wholly appropriate in the educational field we would be reluctant to be too precise in suggesting an alternative.[209]

There had clearly been earlier discussions within the Department about the issue;[210] a memo of 1964 states 'immigrant' is defined as those 'born overseas and those born in this country to those who have come into this country since 1950. Southern Irish families were excluded'.[211] A further memo, a year later, discusses three possible formulations for a definition; the key distinction was whether only children born overseas (a), or those born to parents who had migrated within the last ten years (b) or the last twenty years (c). The memo concludes: 'Mr Riddett in his draft "Notes" has chosen definition b, and both Miss Grinham and I agree with this choice'[212]. A little later still, the 1967 Plowden report suggests that this 'ten year' definition was widely adopted, recording that did include a definition of immigrant children: 'a child born abroad of immigrant parents or born in this country of parents who immigrated after 1955'.[213] However this definition appears to be limited to the table of *'Numbers of Children from Certain Commonwealth Countries in English schools, 1966'.[214]* This 'ten year rule' was put under scrutiny in 1970, when an article in *The Times* suggested that the Department's collection of data was 'erroneous and misleading';[215] the writer reports the Notes for Guidance on DES Form 7 (1970) as saying 'For the purpose of this return, immigrants are defined as: limited to the children of immigrants who came to the United Kingdom in the last ten years'.[216] A memo was sent the same day, from G.M. Goatman to Mr Stewart requesting a meeting to discuss, amongst other things, 'What was in fact the argument for the 10-year rule: when, and by whom, decided?'.[217] The response was that it 'arose in schools branch and came to us ready made'.[218]

Secondly, even allowing for this lack of precision over terms, within the wider educational discourse it is plain that statements tend to discursively construct 'immigration'

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[209] TNA, ED 147/592: Memo to F.W. Wyeth esq. (Chief Education Officer, London Borough of Brent) from H.C. Riddett dated 18th Aug 1965.

[210] The National Archive (TNA), ED 189/39 - *Statistics on children of immigrants attending schools in England and Wales-discussions on the definition.*

[211] The National Archive (TNA), ED158/159 - *Education of immigrants subpanel papers and correspondence*: Memo to Mr Leadbetter from L. J. Burrows, 4th August 1964.

[212] (TNA), ED 189/17 - *Immigrant children: discussion and introduction of annual survey*: memo from D.B. Halpern to Miss Weatherburn of 12 August 1965.

[213] *The Plowden Report*, footnote to Table 2, §182.

[214] *The Plowden Report* , Table 2, §182. The terms 'immigrant' and 'immigration' are used 28 times in Plowden before this definition is given.

[215] John Brown, 'Why Immigrant Statistics are Unreliable', *The Times*, March 24 1970.

[216] Brown, *Why Immigrant Statistics are Unreliable.*

[217] TNA, ED 189/39: Memo G.M. Goatman to Mr Stewart, 24th March 1970.

[218] TNA, ED 189/39: Memo Miss E.F. Smith to Mr Goatman, 13th April 1970.

as problematic. For example, the effects of immigration are constructed as 'problem' even
before difficulties really arise, as demonstrated in a memo of 1962, which records that:

> The most striking feature of the coloured Commonwealth Immigrant
> story so far as it affects the schools has been the fact that the problems it
> causes simply do not come our way on any really significant scale.[219]

By the mid-1960s, the extent of the issue had changed, but the discursive
construction had not. A draft paper prepared for the United Nations Seminar on 'The
Multi-national Society' tries to establish the UK as 'multinational' on the basis that it
includes English, Welsh, Scots and Irish, continuing: 'Into this long established plurality of
people, nationals from many other countries have *poured* from time to time'.[220] According to
the document:

> the concentration of increasing numbers of immigrants from
> Commonwealth and other countries has presented Local Education
> Authorities and schools with novel situations and *problems*.[221]

It continues: 'The education of immigrant children is but one part of a much bigger
problem'.[222] Such was the concern that the Secretary of State instigated a collection of
information 'about developments and difficulties in areas with a substantial immigrant
population', which began in January 1966, although no definition of 'immigrant' was
given.[223] By the end of the decade, this survey was expanded to include the collection of
data on immigrant children, asking questions about integration with the 'host community'
and ascertaining if there was any 'evidence (or parental complaint) that indigenous English
children are suffering educationally through the presence of immigrant children in the
schools'.[224] It was only at this point that the survey began to include any questions relating
to the religious background of immigrants, however the question was extremely vague;

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[219] TNA, ED 147/592: Memo from W.Harte, 28 November 1962.

[220] TNA, ED 147/592: Draft Paper 'Human Rights in the United Kingdom' prepared for United Nations
Seminar on The Multi-national Society', dated 24 May 1965. Emphasis added.

[221] TNA, ED 147/592: Draft Paper 'Human Rights in the United Kingdom' prepared for United Nations
Seminar on The Multi-national Society', dated 24 May 1965, §19.

[222] TNA, ED 147/592: Draft Paper 'Human Rights in the United Kingdom' prepared for United Nations
Seminar on The Multi-national Society', dated 24 May 1965, §26.

[223] The National Archives, (TNA): ED 135/26 - *HMI Memos 1965*: HMI Memo 1/65. Summaries of data
collected are contained in The National Archives, (TNA), ED 189/39 - *Statistics on children of immigrants
attending schools in England and Wales-discussions on the definition*, which includes correspondence on the matter
of definition. It is clear throughout that children from Eire are 'not to be included as immigrants for this
purpose (The National Archives, (TNA), ED 189/40 *Immigrant education-collection of information relating to the
children of immigrants-proposed*: Memo from D.H. Leadbeater to Mr Embling, 14 July 1965.

[224] The National Archive, (TNA), ED 135/29 – *HMI Memos 1969*: Memo 2/69 Immigrant Pupils in schools
(1969), Question 12.

under the heading 'The Immigrant Population', District Inspectors were asked to record: 'Racial, religious and cultural characteristics' at an LEA level.[225] Such data collection happened not just at the national level, but also at a local level, with in-depth studies being undertaken in areas with particularly high concentrations of immigrant children in schools.[226]

The data collection initiated by Memo 1/65 was halted in 1972 by HMI Memo 8/72, which claimed that 'the system has worked very well and the returns have provided information that is useful … a substantial amount of information is now available'.[227] Nevertheless, despite such statements about the success of the survey, there appears to have been no national policy developments, save the issuing of Circular 7/65, based on the data collected.[228] It is difficult to understand this level of inaction. The collection of this information on immigrant communities appears to have been based on certain assumptions, including the fact that LEAs might 'view the immigrant question as part of the larger question of social handicap and social deprivation'.[229]

During the same period, an approach by the Muslim Educational Trust seeking 'permission to give instruction in the Muslim faith to the Muslim children in the maintained schools' in some LEAs (Inner London, Birmingham and Waltham Forest), prompted a carefully worded response in the form of HMI Memo 3/69.[230] Dealing specifically with the religious education of Muslim Children, the memo outlines the legal situation and prescribes a statement that should be quoted by District inspectors in the event that they receive similar requests. Perhaps fearful of being seen to be acting in a discriminatory way, the memo polarizes religious groups into 'Christian' and 'others' in its insistence that the statement applies to all religious groups:

> The question is sometimes asked whether the present arrangements are not unfair to pupils of faiths other than Christian. While this is a complex and arguable question, it is true that the influx of communities of other faiths was not foreseen when the provisions of the 1944 Act

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[225] TNA, ED 135/29: Memo 2/69 Immigrant Pupils in Schools, Question 1.

[226] See, as an example, The National Archive (TNA): ED 77/333 *Some aspects of the education of immigrant pupils in primary and secondary schools - Batley Yorks*): HMI Report, 'Some Aspects of the Education of Immigrant Pupils in Primary and Secondary Schools in Batley, Yorkshire. Inspected during June and July 1967'. Here the key concern was on language acquisition, and religion is not mentioned. See also, The National Archive (TNA): ED 136/925 *The effect of immigrant children on the education of indigenous pupils in Kilburn*.

[227] The National Archive, (TNA), ED 135/32 – *HMI Memos 1972*: HMI Memo 8/72 Revocation of Memo 2/69 Immigrant children.

[228] See, for example Grosvenor, *Assimilating Identities*, 49-50.

[229] TNA, ED 135/29: Memo 2/69 Immigrant Pupils in Schools.

[230] TNA, ED 135/29: Memo 33/69 – Provision of Religious Education for Muslim Children in Maintained Schools.

were drafted. When a new Education Act is prepared these matters will
undoubtedly receive careful scrutiny. A number of ecclesiastical and
educational bodies have already opened discussions on them.[231]

Further evidence that immigration was discursively constructed as 'problem' can be found
in the minutes of the sub-panel on Education of Immigrants;[232] and Circular 7/65, issued
by DES, which starts thus:

> The Secretary of State has had under consideration the many problems
> that have faced the education service in recent years by reason of the
> arrival in this country of increasing numbers of immigrants from the
> Commonwealth and other countries overseas.[233]

In London the pressure was particularly acute. Amidst the growing fear of 'all-
immigrant schools' some boroughs, where the proportion of immigrant pupils was high, by
1964 were, under the provisions of Circular 7/65, 'dispersing' immigrant children to
surrounding areas.[234] Here, as with the previously mentioned documents, 'immigrant' is
discursively constructed as 'problem'.[235]

On the basis of this comparison with the wider educational discourse, the precision
with which immigration relates to the religious other, and the positive construction of
'immigrant' seen in WP36 is demonstrably different to the construction of 'immigrant' in
the wider educational discourse, which is lacking in precision, and consequently more
homogenized and more negative. Perhaps then, it is in this area of pluralism and
immigration that WP36 makes a distinct contribution to the Normalization of SWR, by
differentiating the religious aspects of immigration, and constructing the term positively, in
contrast to the wider discourses.

However, a comparison of statements on immigration and religious plurality in
WP36 with the discourse of the Schools Council suggests that WP36's contribution is not

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[231] TNA, ED 135/29: Memo 33/69 – Provision of Religious Education for Muslim Children in Maintained
Schools.The new Education Act mentioned within the Memo being that proposed by Short, which
discussed at more length in Section 6.3.1 on page 6.3.1 below.

[232] The National Archives (TNA), ED 158/158 - *Education of Immigrants, Sub-panel Meetings 1-14*.

[233] TNA, ED 147/592: Circular 7/65. Published as: Department of Education and Science, *Circular 7/65 –
The Education of Immigrants,* (London: HMSO, 1965).

[234] TNA, ED 147/592: Circular 7/65, §8 'Spreading the children'. See also TNA, ED 158/159: memo to Mr
Leadbetter from L. J. Barnes, 4th August 1964. The policy was not without controversy; see, for example,
Schools Council, *Working Paper 31 - Immigrant Children in Infant Schools* (London: Schools Council, 1970),
which records that the 'majority of infant teachers interviewed in the course of this survey deplore the fact
that any infant immigrant children have to be dispersed, but in areas where this system has been in
operation for some time most teachers feel that it works reasonably well and is preferable to having all
immigrant schools' (p17). Also see TNA, ED 158/158.

[235] TNA, ED 158/158: Memo from L. J. Barnes to Mr Leadbetter, 4th August 1964.

quite as distinct as the wider comparison might suggest. Three examples from the Religious Education Committee serve to support this claim.

Firstly, in discussion of a paper on Primary RE, Mr Owen observed that 'the proposals did not include anything for non-Christians and this might lessen its impact',[236] which suggests a concern that non-Christians should not be marginalized or discriminated against. Secondly, members of the A level Examinations sub-committee reported on a meeting with representatives of the examination boards:

> There had been some exchange of views and a discussion of probable syllabus changes and main committee members were surprised to learn that these might include the study of religions other than Christianity.[237]

Yet no comment, especially no criticism, of this position was recorded.

Whilst both of these cases suggest a positive attitude towards the religious other, there is evidence of the polarization of religious groups into 'Christian' and 'non-Christian', as seen in the wider discourse. Finally, at a later meeting, within the discussion of a letter from the SHAP Working Party on Comparative Religion in Education, the key concern is whether there is a sufficient number of teachers 'who knew sufficiently about other religions to be able to talk about them'; this, together with the suggestion that the Committee should 'look at the problems of immigrants with their differing religions', suggests that the religious needs of immigrant children were being taken seriously within the Religious Education Committee.[238]

These three examples suggest that the precise and positive construction of 'immigrant' that is seen in WP36 are characteristic of the wider Religious Education Committee of the Schools Council. This is also seen in their Working Paper 44 *Religious Education in Primary Schools* (1972), which is very precise (albeit polarized) in its discussion of the religious background of immigrant children. In a questionnaire circulated to 213 schools, it requested information about 'Christian immigrant children' and 'non-Christian immigrant children', reporting that numbers within each category were approximately equal

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[236] The National Archive (TNA), EJ 1/210: Paper 36; EJ 2/40 - *Schools Council for Curriculum and Examinations. Numbered Papers. RE Committee Papers 31-48*), Paper 36, discussion at eighth Meeting of RE Committee, 3rd May 1967.

[237] TNA, EJ 1/210: Minutes of eighth Meeting of the RE Committee, 3rd May 1967.

[238] TNA, EJ 1/210: Minutes of seventeenth Meeting of RE Committee, 8th May. On the Chairman's notes for this meeting, this item is under the title SHAPE, an acronym at the time meaning Supreme Headquarters of Allied Powers in Europe.

(1.3% of children being 'non-Christian immigrant children' and 1.8% being 'Christian immigrant children').[239]

Other Schools Council Working Papers demonstrate similar characteristics;[240] for example, Working Paper 31 *'Immigrant Children in Primary Schools'*, based on work carried out in the academic year 1967-8 and published in 1970, offers a definition of immigrant children which offers a degree of precision not seen in the wider educational discourse discussed earlier:

> The term 'infant immigrant children' is used in this paper to include children of Asian, African or European parents, born overseas or in Britain, who have not been brought up to speak English as their first language, together with children of other immigrant groups who are potentially a source of special linguistic difficulty to teachers in school. It will be recognized that children of mixed marriages and many West Indian children come into this category. Technically some of these children are not classed as immigrants by the Department of Education and Science since their parents have been in this country for more than ten years.[241]

However, the Working Paper perpetuates the construction of immigration as 'problem', although it does attempt to offer solutions that mitigate later problems.[242] Further, it criticizes the policy of dispersal, foregrounding the problems experienced by the children being transported to other areas for schooling, and their parents.[243] The issues of religious background and religious education are not discussed.

4.3.4   Summary

WP36 clearly makes an important contribution to the process of normalizing SWR. By linking the practice of SWR to the issues of immigration and tolerance, the authors appear to be, whether knowingly or not, constructing a framework of reward and punishment; the 'reward' for conforming is to be seen as tolerant, whilst the 'punishment' for deviation is to

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[239] Schools Council, *Working Paper 44, Religious Education in Primary Schools*, (London: Schools Council, 1972): 78, Table 9.

[240] See, for example, Schools Council, *Schools Council Working Paper 13 - English for Children of Immigrants*, (London: Schools Council, 1967).

[241] Schools Council, *Schools Council Working Paper 31 - Immigrant Children in Primary Schools*, (London, Schools Council, 1970): 7.

[242] 'If the educational problems of immigrant children are tackled effectively while children are still in the infant or nursery school, they are likely to present considerably less difficulty in the later school careers of these children.' (Schools Council, *Working Paper 31*, 10).

[243] 'by the time they reach their home area at 3.45pm many of them are asleep on the bus. Children may feel unwell on the journey. One head teacher asked his authority to transfer a child to a school nearer his house after the child had come to school every morning for three weeks feeling travel-sick.' (Schools Council, *Working Paper 31*, 17).

be seen as intolerant, and potentially, as xenophobic, or even as racist. The precise and positive discursive construction of the 'immigration of the religious other' in WP36 contrasts with the wider educational discourse. However, the contrast between WP36 and the discourse of the Schools Council is not sufficiently differentiated to claim that this is a *unique* contribution. Whilst the issue of immigration remains important, and relevant to this study, the question remains as to whether WP36 offers a distinct contribution in the process of normalizing SWR.

4.4   Distinct Contribution: ii) Ecumenical Statements

Amongst the material produced at the time, WP36 appears unique in appealing directly to ecumenical discourses in a way that appears to be distinctive. The document repeats statements originating in both national and supranational ecumenical discourses. However, the way in which WP36 has been situated has resulted in the direct appeal to these ecumenical statements being overlooked in the current historiography. Here, I will briefly consider these appeals to ecumenical statements, discuss their positioning and their contribution to the overall argument of WP36, and raise questions about their use. Whilst the statements themselves are the focus of scrutiny, the positioning of the statements within the document is also important. I suggest that the writers of WP36 use ecumenical statements to 'bookend' their argument for SWR, two statements repeated from the national ecumenical discourse as 'justification', and one from the supranational ecumenical discourse for 'endorsement' of the approach it promotes.

4.4.1   *National ecumenical statements*

The first national ecumenical statement is cited early in chapter one of WP36:[244]

> We take [RE's] comprehensive purpose to be:
> to help children and young people to grow up into whole and mature people, with understanding of themselves, able to develop good relations with other people and the world around them, and capable of responding to God.
> For this purpose it aims:
> to give them a feeling for and understanding of the religious dimension of life and its interpretation
> to put them in a position to appreciate the Judaeo-Christian heritage which has played a powerful role in their culture, and to inform them about the life and teaching of Christ and the growth of the Church to

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[244] Schools Council, *Working Paper 36,* 17.

modern times

 to help provide them with an understanding of religious symbols and
language so as to enable them to formulate a faith for the future

 to give them the experiences and opportunities through which they can
face the claim of Christianity and make a free and responsible decision
about it for themselves.[245]

The statement is placed between citations from a variety of Government reports (each of which supports the teaching of religion in schools, but none of which refers directly to Christianity) and statements from a range of constituencies including The Social Morality Council and the cultural panel of Birmingham Community Relations Committee.[246] In this position, the Joint Statement acts as the first part of a 'rhetorical bridge' between general statements, which had been interpreted as referring to Christianity (but in WP36 were interpreted in a more open way, as referring to any religion), and calls for teaching specifically about non-Christian religious perspectives.[247]

 To this statement, a second statement from the national ecumenical discourse, attributed to the British Council of Churches is added: 'It should be clear that the aim of religious education in county schools is to deepen understanding and insight, *not to proselytize*'.[248]

 A detailed examination of the BCC Interim Statement from which this statement is drawn shows that, alongside the statement on non-proselytization, there are others that indicate a broadening understanding of RE, moving away from a confessional approach and including the consideration of other religions and worldviews. For example, the statement includes the suggestion, consistent with the discussion in the previous section, that

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[245] Schools Council, *Working Paper 36*, 17, citing 'Christian Education Movement and British Council of Churches'.

[246] Schools Council, *Working Paper 36,* 16ff.

[247] The statement from the Social Morality Council states: 'One of the results of religious education should be to create in boys and girls a more sensitive understanding of their own beliefs and *of the different beliefs by which others govern their lives*' (Schools Council, *Working Paper 36,*18, emphasis added.) Likewise, the statement of the Birmingham Community Relations Council includes: 'children should not be ignorant (as too often they have been in the past) of the main features of the major world religions' (Schools Council, *Working Paper 36,* 18).

[248] BCC contribution, Interim Statement to DES July 1969, Cited in Schools Council, *Working Paper 36,* 17. Emphasis added.

> The way should be open for those without religious conviction to make
> their contribution to moral education … there should be a variety of
> options within the field of religion, ethics and philosophy.[249]

This openness is set within a context of the positive construction of the religious other:

> The new Act should take account of the presence of non-Christian
> immigrant children in our schools. We believe their presence provides an
> opportunity for mutual enrichment, which should not be missed.[250]

Investigating the provenance of these two statements reveals that the circumstances
of their production are complex, their origins complicated to unravel, and the rules by
which they are repeated, prior to their inclusion in WP36, situate them – to some extent –
as authoritative.

Further, it is important to highlight that, although presented as being from a joint
statement of the Christian Education Movement (CEM) and The British Council of
Churches (BCC) issued to the DES in July 1969, the first of these statements derives—as
will be shown—from the CEM. [251] Whilst the CEM is of interest in the development of
English RE; as a national educational body (rather than an ecumenical body), with a focus
on RE, the discourse characterized by the CEM overlaps and intersects with the national
ecumenical discourse but, due to the limitations of the study, cannot be examined in the
same depth as statements originating with the BCC. However, some exploration is
appropriate at this point.

Extensive searches of primary materials held in the CEM archive and the DES
materials held at the National Archive did not reveal a joint document of the form
suggested by the citation information relating to the first statement. Nevertheless, a
document was discovered in the archive of the BCC Education Department that might
shed light on the apparent confusion over the statement's provenance. Submitted to the
Secretary of State for Education in October 1969, the 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

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[249] Schools Council, *Working Paper 36,* 17 citing paragraph 4 & 8 from , 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.

[250] Schools Council, *Working Paper 36,* 17, citing paragraph 13 from CERC, BCC/ED/7/1/: CEM Executive Statement, prepared for DES, October 1969.

[251] For a detailed account of the history of CEM, see Parker, Freathy and Doney, *Professionalizing Religious Education in England.*

Education Department of the British Council of Churches made in July 1969',[252] which is then cited in full. The document goes on to state in full the 'relevant parts of the statement about religious education originally made on its behalf to the Church of England's Commission on Religious Education',[253] including those parts of that evidence that are included in the various repetitions discussed above, as well as in WP36. In short it is, emphatically, a CEM statement.

It is possible to imagine that this document was available to the authors of WP36, and that in the haste to complete the Working Paper,[254] its authorship *could have been* misunderstood. With mention of '*the Interim Statement from the Education Department of the British Council of Churches made in July 1969'*, and the widely repeated CEM statement, it is imaginable that the document might have been referred to as an Interim Statement Submitted to the Department of Education and Science, in July 1969, by the Christian Education Movement and British Council of Churches.

Could the misattribution of this statement in WP36 have been accidental? An exploration of the multiple repetitions of the original statement provides evidence of a number of routes by which the CEM statement might have reached the authors of WP36, some with clear attribution, others without.

In response to the Durham Commission's call for evidence, CEM submitted a statement of evidence.[255] This was subsequently published in *Learning for Living* in November 1968, as part of an article headed 'Aims of Religious Education'.[256] The statement is also repeated in a 'Summary of evidence presented to the [Durham]

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[252] 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. Note also that the combined statement was the subject of some discussion, yet it is consistently referred to as a BCC statement. See, for example, Christian Education Movement Archive, Cadbury Special Collection, University of Birmingham (CEM), Q57 – *Correspondence with BCC 1972 to 1975*: BCC Youth Department 1975: Notes for the Meeting of the Education Standing Committee to be held on Friday 7th November 1975. Item 2h: Relationships between C.E.M and the B.C.C. Item 5c - BCC Statement on Religious Education

[253] CERC, BCC/ED/7/1/49: CEM Executive Statement, prepared for DES, October 1969..

[254] See Section 4.1.4 on page 177 above.

[255] CERC, NS/7/8/1/14 - *[Durham] Commission on Religious Education: Evidence file I*: Evidence to the Commission received from The Christian Education Movement, papers 108-110.

[256] where it is explicitly presented as 'part of CEM's reply (under Section B – Additional Information) to the questionnaire of the Bishop of Durham's Commission on Religious Education' (CEM, 'Aims of Religious Education', *Learning for Living* 8, vol.2 (Nov 1968): 25-27).

Commission', shared with the Department of Education and Science by HMI Earl.[257] Moreover, the same statement is presented at the Windsor seminar on '*Prospects and Problems for Religious Education*' held at Easter 1969. Here, the first part of the statement is included in an opening address by The Bishop of London.[258] On this occasion, and in the subsequent report of the seminar circulated to those who had attended, the (partial) statement is clearly attributed to the CEM.[259] However, in the later published report of the Windsor seminar, which included a more extensive citation,[260] all attributions relating to the statement were removed, and replaced with introduction:

> 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.[261]

These multiple repetitions of the statement establish that, by the time of its inclusion in WP36, the statement cannot be considered as novel. Rather, it is clear that, by this point, the statement had gained—to some extent—an authoritative status by virtue of these repetitions. In effect, the Statement appears to become adopted as a representative summary of the aims of RE, as the introductory statement to the Durham evidence, cited above, suggests. The type of document within which the repetitions occur is also important; for example, *Learning for Living* was the main professional journal for teachers of

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[257] The National Archive, (TNA), ED 183/5 - *DES. Schools Branch. Registered Files. Correspondence on revised ed bill & provisions for RE in schools. 1969-70. 1975*: Commission on Religious Education: Brief Summary of Evidence submitted to Commission; letter from G.J. Spence (DES) to HMI Jack Earl, dated 19th June 1969, which includes 'thank you for letting me see the evidence to the Bishop of Durham's Commission; I have taken copies and am now returning you yours'. The document is introduced as being 'worth quoting since it expresses with clarity many of the points made in the replies to this question [should religious education, however defined, form part of the curriculum of all types of primary and secondary schools?].

[258] The National Archives, (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 70's', page 2 reads 'We take [RE's] comprehensive purpose to be: to help children and young people to grow up into whole and mature people, with understanding of themselves, able to develop good relations with other people and the world around them, and capable of responding to God'.

[259] TNA, ED 158/89: Seminar on Religious Education: Session by Session Account. First Session: 'Prospects and Problems of Religious Education in the 70's', 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 23rd March 1969* (London: Department of Education and Science, 1969. Limited Circulation): 3.

[260] In addition to the statement referring to the overall aim of RE, which was included in the Bishop of London's address, and the report to attendees, the published report also included 'to give pupils a feeling for and understanding of the religious dimension of life and its appreciation, to put them in a position to appreciate the Judaeo-Christian heritage, to help them understand religious symbols and language, and to give them the experience and opportunities through which they can face the claim of Christianity and make a free and responsible decision about it for themselves.' (Department of Education and Science, *Prospects and Problems for Religious Education,* (London: HMSO, 1971): 14-15. Thus, it includes all the main points of the CEM statement, but excludes some explanatory phrases.

[261] Department of Education and Science, *Problems and Prospects* (1971)*,* 14.

RE at the time.[262] Its repetition at the Windsor Seminar is significant; it might be argued that the statement had been accepted as authoritative by the DES.

The removal of any CEM attribution in the published version of the Windsor report is of particular interest; why might this have happened? Once again, any suggested answers to this question can only be speculation. The CEM statement conveys a fairly strong 'Christian Supremacy',[263] and as such the DES *may* have wished to distance themselves from the statement. Yet, the *ideas* from the CEM statement were repeated, what is removed is the connection between them 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 that 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 marginalization of the group, but not necessarily of their ideas, which are perpetuated.

Whilst this might explain why the statement was misattributed, none of these citations are positioned as being a joint CEM and BCC statement, thus the question of why it was presented as such, remains unresolved.

The origins and attribution of the second statement ('It should be clear that the aim of religious education in county schools is to deepen understanding and insight, *not to proselytize*') may provide some answer. That this second statement is described by the writers of WP36 as an *addition* to the earlier statement, and attributed to the British Council of Churches *alone*, suggests that they were aware of a distinction between this and the content of the CEM Executive Committee document.[264] However even though the text of WP36 attributes this to the British Council of Churches, the footnote attributes it to the same *Interim Statement* as discussed a little earlier, suggesting a degree of confusion over the provenance of this statement too.[265]

This confusion may not be as surprising as it first seems. The relationship between CEM and BCC had been very close; only a few years prior to this, the BCC Education Department (BCCED) had stated that CEM 'would be officially recognised by the [BCC]

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[262] See Parker, Freathy and Doney, *Professionalizing Religious Education in England.*

[263] CERC, BCC/ED/7/1/49: CEM Executive Statement, prepared for DES, October 1969, especially section IV, which begins: 'At the present time we believe that certain theological elements in religious education, concerning the Bible and the historic Christian faith need stressing'.

[264] Schools Council, *Working Paper 36,* 17.

[265] Schools Council, *Working Paper 36*, 17 (footnotes 18, 19) and 75-6 (notes 18, 19).

as their recognised arm for work, in the first instance, in schools.'[266] The process leading to this this declaration is important in as much as it offers to illuminate this apparent muddle over the attribution of statements in WP36.

During the mid-1960s talks took place between the Institute of Christian Education (ICE) and the Student Christian Movement in Schools (SCMS), with a view to amalgamation, possibly together with other groups working in the same field and with similar aims.[267] The work undertaken by the different groups was discussed in some detail, with the overlap between ICE and SCMS being highlighted, along with the fact that 'there are large areas - educational and geographical - where little is done.[268] However, these conversations had slowed, and the earlier formation of an *Interim Body* with the intention of facilitating a period of 'growing together', was seen by the BCCED as the major cause of the impasse.[269] In response the wider BCC issued an instruction to the Education Department that they should

> as a matter of urgency, consider what action is necessary to bring together bodies concerned with the promotion of Christian education to ensure co-operation and purposeful practical action in meeting the ever-increasing need for effective Christian witness in education, and to submit appropriate recommendations for approval to the next meeting of the Executive Committee of the Council. (1963?)

In order to regain momentum, the BCCED suggested the formation of a 'Standing Conference of all bodies working in the field who wished to join, for co-ordination and consultation'.[270] The suggestion was that the Department should be responsible for the setting up of this Standing Conference, with a quotation from the Department's Constitution being included in the minutes to legitimise such a course of action. The BCCED, who had seen their role primarily in terms of considering what 'future structure is likely to prove most acceptable to the Churches, schools, Education Authorities, Ministry of Education, and possible donors of funds'[271] supported the amalgamation of ICE and SCMS, concluding that:

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[266] Church of England Record Office, Bermondsey, London (CERC), BCC ED/2/1/1 *Education Department Minutes 1952-1965*: BCC Paper - Report on Education Department, Executive Committee, Dec 11th 1963.

[267] On this amalgamation, see Parker, Freathy and Doney, *Professionalizing Religious Education in England*.

[268] CERC, ED/2/1/1: BCC Paper - Report on Education Department, Executive Committee, Dec 11th 1963.

[269] CERC, ED/2/1/1: BCC Paper - Report on Education Department, Executive Committee, Dec 11th 1963.

[270] CERC, ED/2/1/1: BCC Paper - Report on Education Department, Executive Committee, Dec 11th 1963.

[271] CERC, ED/2/1/1 BCC: Paper - Report on Education Department, Executive Committee, Dec 11th 1963.

the most practical arrangement would be the setting up of an independent body, *with strong representation of the Churches* through the Education Department of the Council, having, and being clearly seen to have, the support of and authority to act as the agent of, the Churches in this field.[272]

Strong links between BCC and the CEM's fore-runner, ICE, are also evident: 'The Executive commended the suggestion that the Department should allow its name to be used in connection with the new journal which is to replace 'Religion in Education' for ICE'.[273] Furthermore, the BCCED's self-appointed role as mediator was not without precedent.[274]

Whilst it can be no more than guesswork to suggest why the authors of WP36 might have misattributed the CEM Executive statement as a joint statement of the CEM and BCC, the exploration of the origins of the statements, and their circumstances of production, in combination with an appraisal of the relationship between the two groups suggest routes by which the misattribution may have happened with some degree of innocence. Together, these repeated statements are used as justification for moving away from a confessional approach to Religious Instruction, with the support of national ecumenical bodies.

4.4.2 The Durham Report

The case for the inclusion of non-Christian perspectives is further justified by the authors of WP36 through the repetition of a statement from The Durham Report.[275]

However, the ecumenical provenance of this Report is contested; produced by the Church of England Board of Education and the National Society,[276] and concentrating on Church of England schools, the circumstances under which the report was produced includes only a very limited attempt at ecumenical consultation. The Introduction to the report refers to 'one full day's consultation with representatives of the Catholic Education

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[272] CERC, ED/2/1/1 BCC Paper - Report on Education Department, Executive Committee, Dec 11th 1963. Emphasis added.

[273] CERC, ED/2/1/1: Mins of 35th Meeting of Exec Committee 12-05-1961; Item 304. New ICE Journal.

[274] In 1957, in discussion of Informal consultation between BCC, ICE, SMSS, 'The Executive of the department therefore [based on duplication and overlap] agreed to the calling of an informal and unofficial consultation under its auspices with representatives of a number of these agencies.' (CERC, BCC/ED/2/1/1: Minutes of 9th Meeting of Education Department 21st Nov 1957: Item 7).

[275] Ian Ramsey, *The Fourth R: The Durham Report on Religious Education,* (London: National Society and SPCK, 1970). See discussion of the inclusion of the Durham Report in WP36, on page 188 above.

[276] Ramsey, *The Fourth R,* xv.

Council, the British Council of Churches, the Free Church Federal Council, and the Christian Education Movement' and the making available of drafts to 'representatives of these bodies' at 'two important stages';[277] the distinction between 'making available' and 'circulating' here is unclear. Evidence was submitted to the Commission by a variety of groups and organisations listed in Appendix A of the final report, including the Christian Education Movement (CEM) and The Free Church Federal Council (FCFC).[278] However, The British Council of Churches (BCC) Education Department is not included in this list, despite their submission of evidence to the Commission.[279]

In line with the methodological principle of *conscious and considered removal of materials*, the Durham Report has not been considered here as an ecumenical statement. However, in being attentive to the rules governing the repetition of statements, the report must be considered. For example, WP36 cites a lengthy statement from the Durham Report, one part of which says:

> Where appropriate [the pupil] will study other religions and belief systems. The teacher is thus seeking rather than to initiate his (sic.) pupils into knowledge which he encourages them to explore and appreciate, than into a system of belief which he requires them to accept.[280]

Whilst this statement repeats a statement made in the Durham Report, the origin of the statement is not clear. The previously mentioned submission to the Durham commission by the BCC Education Department, includes a very similar sentiment, expressed in slightly different terms: 'We can, and should, learn from men of other faiths, theistic and non-theistic, and they from us'.[281] A detailed exploration of the origin of this statement is necessary, but beyond the scope of this present discussion; it will be taken up later.[282]

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[277] Ramsey, *The Fourth R,* xviii. Note that in the minutes of the Durham Commission discussions are recorded over the representatives from the Roman Catholic Church, the Free Churches Federal Council (FCFC) and the Christian Education Movement. (CERC, NS/2/4/1 - *[Durham] Commission on Religious Education: Minute Book*: Minutes of 1st meeting, 4th Oct 1967).

[278] Ramsey, *The Fourth R*, Appendix A, 289. See also CERC, NS/7/8/1/18 - *[Durham] Commission on Religious Education: National Society Evidence file*: papers 100ff.

[279] The file includes, 'Report of the Special Committee appointed by the Education Department of the British Council of Churches to consider the state and needs of religious education in county secondary schools.' (CERC NS/7/8/14/1: Paper 16).

[280] Ramsey, *The Fourth R*, §216, cited in Schools Council, *Working Paper 36*, 19.

[281] CERC, NS/7/8/14/1 - *British Council of Churches Report on Religious Education in Secondary Schools*: Report of the Special Committee appointed by the Education Department of the British Council of Churches to consider the state and needs of religious education in county secondary schools, §7.

[282] See Section 6.2, starting on page 291 below.

4.4.3   Supranational ecumenical Statements

The 'rhetorical bridge', mentioned above and which begins with the first of the national ecumenical statements, is completed when the authors of WP36 repeat, on the penultimate page of the last substantive chapter, a statement from *Nostra Aetate,* a decree promulgated by the Second Vatican Council of the Catholic Church in 1965.[283] As before, the positioning of this statement is significant. Placed at the end of chapter seven on *Non-Christian religions and the religious needs of minority groups*, the statement is presented as the closing 'bookend', concluding the argument for SWR, and mirroring the positioning of the BCC/CEM joint statement, which opens that same discussion up.

This statement contrasts with those previously discussed in two major ways. The earlier statements, drawn from the *national* ecumenical discourse are constructed as *justification* for the approach to studying religion in schools proposed in WP36, whilst this statement, drawn from the *supranational* discourse, is constructed as an *endorsement*. This distinction is important. The term 'endorsement' carries different meaning and emphasis from 'justification'; it suggests that the approach being suggested is in some way 'sanctioned' by the Church.

Despite being presented as part of an educational justification for the changes proposed in RE, this is essentially a theological statement. Whether this blurring of disciplinary boundaries is deliberate or accidental is difficult to ascertain, but it may explain why, bearing in mind the importance of these statements in terms of understanding the role of WP36 in the adoption of SWR, they have been overlooked. Here, the consideration of different domains of discourse allows this blurring to be seen more clearly than has perhaps been the case thus far. However the question of why a statement issued by the Vatican, and applicable –apparently primarily- to the Catholic Church is repeated, rather than a Protestant or fully ecumenical statement remains unanswered. A detailed exploration of this question, together with the origin of this statement is necessary, and deserves much greater attention that can be given here; it will be taken up later.[284]

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[283] Nostra Aetate*, Declaration on the Relation of the Church to Non-Christian Religions.* Proclaimed by His Holiness Pope Paul VI on October 28, 1965.

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4.4.4   Summary

The origins of the ecumenical statements used in WP36 to justify and endorse the adoption of SWR, particularly in regard to their relationship to the national and supranational ecumenical discourses is significant, and yet has been overlooked in the current historiography. Initial exploration of these issues demonstrates that the ecumenical discourses, the relationships between them and the educational discourses, are complex, and their origins, and the rules by which they are repeated, are complicated to unravel. Thus, the provenance of the statements repeated from the national, and supranational, ecumenical discourses requires further investigation.

4.5   Conclusion

In this chapter, I have examined the role of Schools Council WP36 in the adoption of SWR in English. The application of the methodology described in Chapter 3, has revealed a number of previously hidden insights through detailed assessment of the statements within the document, their origins and the rules by which they are repeated, in the context of an awareness of the circumstances of production, an investigation that has not previously been undertaken.

Firstly, a thorough and detailed analysis of the statements used in WP36, together with an exploration of their sources, the wider discourses from which they are drawn and the rules by which they are repeated, leads to the rejection of the current, and problematic, positioning of WP36 as the initiation of SWR. This positioning has occurred as a result of the lack of examination of the document and the statements made within it; many of the claims made about the novelty of the ideas and arguments presented in WP36 do not stand up to scrutiny. The same analysis shows that the current construction of WP36 as authoritative is not supported by the document itself, although it may be a later development based on an unexamined repetition and reuse of the document in more recent times.

Secondly, although not initiatory, WP36 retains an importance, and demonstrably plays a distinct role in the process of normalizing SWR in two ways. Firstly, WP36 offers a precise and positive discursive construction of the 'immigration of the religious other' that contrasts with the wider educational discourse. However, differentiation from the discourse of the Schools Council is less clear, although, beyond the Schools Council

Religious Education Committee, the religious aspects of immigration have generally been overlooked. Whilst distinct, this is not a unique contribution to the normalization process.

Additionally, the analysis demonstrates that the terminology around pluralism, immigration and the religious other is confused and contested across the different domains of discourse; whilst some attempts have been made at defining the terms, there is not a common understanding. Furthermore, the application of the method has exposed a lack of differentiation between pluralism as a reality and pluralism as an aspiration. This is of great significance, and yet has hitherto been overlooked. This failure to adequately differentiate these understandings may be at the root of many of the subsequent difficulties that are seen in the history of RE, as well as in contemporary debates. Furthermore, this does not just pertain to this particular episode of RE history, but has applicability to educational and wider social history.

Thirdly, the inclusion in WP36 of statements from both national and supranational ecumenical discourses has hitherto been overlooked. Yet, being attentive to the inclusion of such ecumenical statements in WP36, demonstrates this to be both novel, and apparently unique, amongst documents of the time.

It is these two issues that differentiate WP36 from the contemporaneous discourse, and consequently I argue that they can be considered as being the key contribution that the document makes in terms of the adoption of SWR.

This raises a series of important questions. Why are ecumenical/theological statements used to justify and endorse what is presented as an educational argument? Could statements from other discourses have been used as/more appropriately? Why, in a context of pluralism (both as a reality and as an aspiration), would the authors of WP36 look to ecumenical statements for endorsement of their approach? In particular, why use a statement issued by the Vatican, and applicable primarily to the Catholic Church rather than a Protestant or fully ecumenical statement? Consequently, it is important to ask: Why these particular ecumenical statements? What are origins, circumstances of production and rules of repetition for these ecumenical statements? How do these statements relate to others within the ecumenical discourses?

It is these questions that will be taken up in the following chapters. In Chapter 5, I will explore provenance of the statements used in WP36 in relation to the subsidiary research question 'In what ways does an exploration of the supranational ecumenical discourse enrich understandings of how the adoption of SWR became possible?'. In chapter 6, I will concentrate on the subsidiary research question 'In what ways does an

exploration of the national ecumenical discourse enrich understandings of how the adoption of SWR became possible in England during the 1960s and 1970?'.

Chapter 5

Shifting Understandings of the 'Religious Other' and the (Re)positioning of 'Education' in the Supranational Ecumenical Discourse

The necessity of an exploration of the supranational ecumenical discourse has already been established; the repetition of a statement from *Nostra Aetate* in Schools Council Working Paper 36 (hereafter WP36) has been discussed above,[1] giving rise to a series of questions regarding the rules of its repetition (re-ordered here for clarity):[2] why repeat a statement issued by the Vatican, and applicable—apparently primarily—to the Catholic Church rather than a Protestant or fully ecumenical statement?; what are the circumstances of production and the rules of repetition for this statement?; how does this statement relate to others within the ecumenical discourse?; why are theological statements used to endorse what is presented as an educational argument; why is a statement with an educational orientation not cited?; and finally, why, in a context of pluralism (both as a reality and as an aspiration), would the authors of WP36 look to a supranational ecumenical statement for endorsement of their approach? This chapter will engage with these questions under the umbrella of a more general research question 'In what ways does an exploration of the supranational ecumenical discourse enrich understandings of how the adoption of the Study of World Religions became possible?', a question which contributes directly to the overarching research question at the heart of this study.[3]

In addition to being the furnace in which modern English Religious Education was forged, the 1960s and 1970s also saw crucial developments in the field of Christian ecumenism. There were major changes in the way that the movement constructed and understood i) relations with those of other faiths and none, and ii) education. Thus, in this chapter, these two specific domains of supranational ecumenical discourse will be explored through the application of Statement Archaeology.[4] Firstly, taking *Nostra Aetate* as a starting point, I will explore the provenance of the statements used in WP36 and the discourse

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[1] See Section 4.4.3 on page 219 above.
[2] See page 221 above.
[3] See Table 1 on page 121.
[4] See Section 3.3 on page149 above.

relating to the 'religious other' and, ultimately, search for the relative beginnings of dialogue between Christians and those of other worldviews, seeking to identify the point at which the practice is differentiated. Secondly I will explore the discourse relating to education, taking as a starting point a key report on education presented at the Fourth Assembly of the World Council of Churches, at Uppsala in 1968. I will demonstrate that the apparently novel statements made in the report are more appropriately seen as responses to an earlier marginalization of education, a matter that had been prominent in the earlier days of the modern ecumenical movement. These explorations will make up sections two and three of this chapter respectively. However, a necessary preparatory step for these later sections is a brief survey of the modern ecumenical movement. This survey will form section one of this chapter, thus providing sufficient contextual and background information to comprehend the circumstances within which the respective domains of discourse are created and operate.

Here, and in the subsequent discussion of supranational ecumenical discourses, I will focus on the World Council of Churches, and its predecessors, as an exemplification of the modern ecumenical movement, it being both the largest and the most 'global' of the organisations in this area.[5]

5.1   A Brief Survey of the Modern Ecumenical Movement

Deriving from the Greek term '*οἰκουμένη*' meaning 'whole inhabited world',[6] the modern ecumenical movement is concerned with, and acts to engender, greater co-operation and unity between disparate Christian denominations that are separate due to differences in

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[5] This is not to suggest that there were no other groups working with a similar aim; for example, within the domain of education, the Student Christian Movement (SCM), and the YMCA/YWCA both had involvement. However, these groups, in compliance with Statement Archaeology, having been identified, have not been considered further. The reason for this conscious and considered exclusion is three-fold. Firstly, whilst each of these groups is international, the scope is limited in comparison to the WCC. Secondly, such organisations are more appropriately considered here as 'major allies' of the Supranational ecumenical movement than 'component organizations' (William B. Kennedy, 'Education in the World Ecumenical Movement', *The Ecumenical Review*, vol.27 no.2 (1975): 147) Thirdly, with the possible exception of one specific branch of SCM (the Student Christian Movement in Schools, SCMS), these groups were not primarily concerned with education in the school.

[6] Christopher Ellis, *Together on The Way: A Theology of Ecumenism*, (London: Churches Together in Britain and Ireland, 1990). A fuller description of the etymology of the term can be found in Simon John Oxley, *The World Council of Churches and 'ecumenical Consciousness'. How the Constitutional Responsibility of Fostering 'ecumenical Consciousness' Has Been Reflected in the World Council of Churches' Educational and Formational Activities From 1948-2006.* (University of Manchester: Unpublished PhD Thesis, 2010): 17-20.

practice, doctrine and history.[7] Attempts to establish a unified and homogeneous identity for Christianity can be traced to the earliest days of the Church, and can be found in the later books of the New Testament.[8] The Councils of the Patristic period, which were often associated with specific heretical movements, can be constructed as attempts to restore and maintain uniformity over matters of doctrine and practice,[9] and ecumenical enthusiasm can also be identified during the Reformation period, including in the writings of Luther and Calvin.[10] Calls for the reunification of Christianity can also be found in the work of Comenius,[11] a key theorist in the early development of universal education.[12]

5.1.1   The World Missionary Conference, 1910, Edinburgh

Against this background, many commentators suggest that a *modern* ecumenical movement began at the World Missionary Conference (WMC), held in Edinburgh in 1910,[13] and it is

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[7] For example, the Great Schism in 1054, whereby the Orthodox Churches separated from the Catholic Church (see Timothy Ware, *The Orthodox* Church, (London: Penguin, 1993): 43-72; Diarmiad MacCulloch, *A History of Christianity,* (London: Penguin, 2009): 362ff.), the Reformations in Germany, Switzerland, and England (see G.R. Elton, *Reformation Europe 1517-1559,* (Glasgow: Fontana Collins, 1963); Owen Chadwick, *The Reformation,* (London: Penguin, 1990)). Since the Reformation, separatist movements within Protestantism have continued to emerge, including a growth in dissenting movements in the Seventeenth Century, the Oxford Movement in the Nineteenth Century, and the Pentecostal Movement of the Twentieth Century. A very detailed exploration of these movements can be found in MacCulloch, *A History of Christianity,* whilst a discussion about 'divisions among Christians' can be found in John J McDonnell, *The World Council of Churches and the Catholic Church*, Toronto Studies in Theology, Vol 21 (Toronto: The Edwin Mellin Press, 1985): pp19-ff.

[8] See James Dunn, *Unity and Diversity in the New Testament*: *An Inquiry Into the Character of Earliest Christianity* (Norwich: SCM Press, 2012); James D.G. Dunn, *Beginning at Jerusalem*, (Grand Rapids, Cambridge: William B Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2009).

[9] See, Henry Chadwick, *The Early Church*, (London: Penguin 1990). The Council of Nicea (325), from which the Nicene Creed emerged, is often cited as the first of these; the First Council of Ephesus (431) was called in response to the Nestorian controversy, and the Council of Chalcedon (451) repudiated the heretical doctrine of monophysitism.

[10] Luther, in both his *Larger Catechism* and *Smaller Catechism* (1529), refers to the unity of the church. Similarly, Calvin discusses the impossibility of a divided church in his *Institutes of the Christian Religion.* (1536) There is significant insistence on the matter beyond the writings of individual Reformers: the Lutheran *Augsburg Confession* (1530), asserts the unity of the church (article viii), and similar sentiments are to be found in the Gallican Confession (1559), The Scotts Confession (1560), the Belgic Confession (1561), the Heidelburg Confession (1562). Texts are widely available, see for example, McDonald, William P. (ed) Christian Catechetical Texts, Three Volumes (Lewiston, New York: Edwin Mellen Press Ltd, 2011).

[11] F.M. Dobiaš, 'A World Council of Churches The Oldest Proposal. *The Ecumenical Review* 17 no.1, (1965): 29-37.

[12] For example, John Edward Sadler, *JA Comenius and the concept of universal education*. Routledge Library Editions: History of Education Vol 32. (Abingdon: Routledge, 2013).

[13] See W.H.T. Gairdner, *'Edinburgh 1910'. An account and interpretation of the World Missionary Conference*, (London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier. 1910), also Martin Reardon, 'Ecumenism in England', In Colin Podmore (ed), *Community ~Unity ~ Communion: Essays in Honour of Mary Tanner*, (London: Church House Publishing, 1998):79-90; Kenneth Scott Latourette, 'Ecumenical Bearings of the Missionary Movement and the International Missionary Council'. In Ruth Rouse and Stephen Charles Neill (eds), *A History of the Ecumenical Movement 1517-1948,* (London: SPCK, 1954): 353-441, 362.

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from this date that many historical analyses of modern ecumenism begin;[14] however, this dating denies the context out of which the movement began. Rather than being, as has been suggested, the 'birthplace of the modern ecumenical movement'[15] (a statement which has been repeated uncritically, and without discussion of its provenance, thus allowing it to be imbued with a degree of authority), WMC is more appropriately constructed as a point of discontinuity. The 1910 meeting in Edinburgh was one in a sequence of meetings organised by the Christian Missionary Movement in response to their expansion overseas, especially during the Nineteenth century.[16] The extension of Empires during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth centuries, accompanied by the extension of Christian Mission,[17] inevitably resulted in different mission organizations—often with different denominational affiliations and doctrinal stances—arriving in the same location and 'competing' for converts. This increasingly gave rise to 'arrangements of "comity", by which a town or an area was assigned exclusively to one denomination'.[18] Although these responses are now sometimes characterized as ecumenical, they may be better interpreted as missiological pragmatism on the basis that there was no intent to work collaboratively, or to work towards Christian unity.[19] It was on the basis of such local tensions that an interdenominational world conference was being suggested as early as 1806.[20] Whilst these plans never came to fruition, the underlying principle of co-operation espoused created circumstances in which it was possible for a series of meetings to take place, including

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[14] For example, Reardon, *Ecumenism in England*; Oxley, The World Council of Churches and 'ecumenical Consciousness'.18.

[15] This statement is repeated frequently in the ecumenical literature, frequently without attribution (for example, A.R. Vidler, *The Church in an Age of Revolution: 1789 to the Present Day,* (Hardmondsworth: Penguin, 1961): 257; Samuel McCrea Cavert, The American Churches in the Ecumenical Movement 1900-1968 (New York: Association Press, 1968); 15). The earliest use of it found in this study is in 1954, in Latourette, *Ecumenical* Bearings, 362. The matter is discussed at more length in Brian Stanley, *The World Missionary Conference, Edinburgh 1910*, (Cambridge: Wm.B. Erdmans Publishing Company, 2009):7ff.

[16] A more detailed discussion of this background can be found in: Stanley, *The World Missionary Conference*, 18ff.

[17] Bayly discusses this interaction in some detail, highlighting the correspondence expansion in in Africa especially from 1800. From the middle of the nineteenth century, 'the pace of the expansion of Christianity increased dramatically', resulting in there being 'as many as 100,000 European missionaries in Africa by 1900'. (C. Bayly, *The Birth of the Modern World, 1780-1914: Global Connections and Comparisons*, (Malden, MA : Blackwell Pub, 2004) 348 and 349).

[18] Latourette, *Ecumenical Bearings of the Missionary Movement*, 354.

[19] See Latourette, *Ecumenical Bearings of the Missionary Movement*.

[20] William Carey, of the Baptist Missionary Society working at the time in Calcutta, suggested the establishment of a series of 'decennial interdenominational world conferences', in order to overcome the obvious disunity that was so evident. CHECK THIS have a general association of all denominations of Christians, from the four quarters of the world' Carey suggested a meeting 'of all Protestant Missionary Societies at Cape Town to discuss the issues … in the Year 1810 or 1812 at furthest', (Carey, *Letter to Andrew Fuller*, 15 May 1806, cited in Latourette, *Ecumenical Bearings of the Missionary Movement,* 355.

those at New York and London (1854),[21] Liverpool (1860),[22] London (1878, 1888),[23] and *The Ecumenical Missionary Conference*, New York (1900).[24]

Whilst the 1910 WMC was demonstrably the next in a sequence of meetings that can trace roots back to the middle of the century before, it was discontinuous from its predecessors in three ways, each of which relates to the conference's aim of making 'possible, consultation through which the missionary agencies could plan together the next steps in giving the Gospel to the world'.[25] Firstly, whilst earlier meetings had focused on raising awareness amongst the 'sending' countries,[26] WMC was 'primarily a consultative assembly'.[27] To facilitate this, thorough preparations were made for the conference. Planning began in 1906,[28] with eight commissions (set up in 1908) to report to the Conference in depth, including Commission III on *Education in relation to the Christianization of National Life* and Commission IV on the *Missionary Message in relation to non-Christian Religions*. Although such meticulous preparation was not novel, the detail and scope of preparation for WMC was significantly greater that had previously been undertaken. [29]

Secondly, in line with its consultative goal, WMC differed from the practice of its predecessors in terms of who attended. Earlier meetings had brought together visiting missionary speakers and those locally who were interested in learning more about missionary enterprises,[30] but the group that gathered at Edinburgh was selected in a more structured and representative manner. With the exception of a few co-opted attenders, membership of the Conference was limited to delegates officially commissioned by organizations that were actively involved in overseas missions, 'operating among non-

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[21] See Latourette, *Ecumenical Bearings of the Missionary Movement,* 355.

[22] Anon. *Conference on Missions Held in 1860 at Liverpool*, (London: James Nesbet & Co, 1860)

[23] James Johnston (ed), Report of the Centenary Conference on the Protestant Missions of the World, London 1888. Two volumes, (London: James Nesbet & Co, 1888).

[24] Anon, *Ecumenical Missionary Conference New York, 1900*, (London, Religious Tract Society, 1900).

[25] For example, Latourette *Ecumenical Bearings of the Missionary Movement*, 358.

[26] Latourette records that '[t]he purpose of earlier missionary gatherings had been largely to educate, inform, and impress the general public; to bring home to Western peoples and especially the membership of the Churches the urgency, the achievements and the possibilities of the missionary enterprise. (Latourette, *Ecumenical Bearings of the Missionary Movement*, 357-8).

[27] Latourette, *Ecumenical Bearings of the Missionary Movement*, 357.

[28] Tissington Tatlow, 'The World Conference on Faith and Order.' In Ruth Rouse and Stephen Charles Neill (eds) *A History of the Ecumenical Movement 1517-1948,* (London: SPCK, 1954): 405.

[29] For example, Hogg discusses preparatory materials for a Missionary meeting in Madras 1900, and states, in respect of preparations for WMC 1910 'never before had the paramount problems of world missionary enterprise been so thoroughly surveyed, studies and evaluated' (William R. Hogg, *Ecumenical Foundations: A History of the International Missionary Council and its Nineteenth Century Background,* (New York: Harper & Bros, 1952): 21; 117ff. See also Gairdner, *Edinburgh 1910.*

[30] Latourette, *Ecumenical Bearings of the Missionary Movement*, 357; see also, Stephen Neill, Christian Faiths and Other Faiths: In *Christian Dialogue with Other Religions, The Moorhouse Lectures, Melbourne, 1960*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1961).

Christian peoples'.[31] (Changes in the practice and governance of religion(s) during the Nineteenth century may have facilitated this representational composition. During this time there was increasing trend towards uniformity of liturgy and doctrine within different traditions,[32] concomitant with the development of more authoritative religious structures, and increased centralization of control.[33]) The number of representatives that any single group could send was based on the level of financial giving.[34] This did allow for a more diverse meeting than had previously been possible,[35] and the conference was able to bring together Protestants of every shade, including Anglo-Catholics, those associated with 'new' Churches, and those influenced by the Evangelical revivals (no Catholic representatives were invited).[36] WMC was not only 'more comprehensive ecclesiastically than its predecessors',[37] but also appears more diverse in terms of ethnicity, with delegates attending from North America, Europe, South Africa and Australasia.[38] The relationship between delegate numbers and revenue, described above, meant that not all societies that had an interest in mission were eligible to attend; consequently Anglo-American groups predominated.[39] It is important to note that the novelty of, and background to, the representative composition of WMC is contested.[40]

Thirdly, consistent with its central purpose, the Edinburgh Conference differed from its predecessors in relation to its outcome. Three parallel and related movements emerged from Edinburgh, and developed over subsequent years: The International

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[31] Latourette, *Ecumenical Bearings of the Missionary Movement*, 357.

[32] Bayly, *The Birth of the Modern World*, 343.

[33] For a summary of such developments, see Bayly, *The Birth of the Modern World*, 340ff.

[34] Latourette, *Ecumenical Bearings of the Missionary Movement*, 357.

[35] '[N]arrowing of the scope of the Conference ... made it possible to bring in a larger number of societies and a greater variety of ecclesiastical and theological convictions than had been presented in any previous gathering.' Latourette, *Ecumenical Bearings of the Missionary Movement*, 357

[36] For a more detailed analysis of Catholic involvement in ecumenical meetings, see Section 5.2.1 on page 237 below.

[37] Latourette, *Ecumenical Bearings of the Missionary Movement*, 360.

[38] See, for example, Gairdner, *Edinburgh 1910*.

[39] Latourette, *Ecumenical Bearings of the Missionary Movement*, 361.

[40] Ruth Rouse suggests that discussions at the earlier Grindewald Conferences, held in Switzerland between 1892 and 1895, paved the way for the change Although suggesting the link, Rouse also acknowledges the lack of direct connection between the 'idea of official conferences between the Churches as propounded at Grindelwald and the genesis of the same idea in the mind of Bishop Brent and others at Edinburgh 1910'. (Ruth Rouse, 'Voluntary Movements and the Changing Ecumenical Climate'. In Ruth Rouse and Stephen Charles Neill (eds), *A History of the Ecumenical Movement 1517-1948*, (London: SPCK, 1954): 340). The Conferences at Grindewald were organised by the Methodist Minister Henry Lunn, and were 'the first formal (although not official) discussions between British church leaders about reuniting British Protestantism'. The ad hoc meetings were constituted by 'groups of interested church leaders' rather than officially recognised representatives of specific denominational structures and traditions. Whilst there is some evidence of that a conference comprised of official church representatives 'was briefly discussed at Grindelwald, the participants did not generally embrace it'. (Christopher Oldstone-Moore, 'The Forgotten Origins of the Ecumenical Movement in England: The Grindelwald Conferences, 1892-95', *Church History* 70, no. 1 (2001): 74).

Missionary Council, The World Conference on Faith and Order and the Movement for Life and Work, each of which will be discussed briefly now.

5.1.2   *From diversity: three movements.*

The International Missionary Council (hereafter IMC) developed directly out of the Continuation Committee of the 1910 Conference in Edinburgh, a group which had made swift progress in the years following WMC.[41] Whilst plans were made to develop the IMC, the conflict of 1914-18 and its aftermath meant that it was not until 1921 that it was officially constituted.[42] At this initial meeting, the issue of authority of the body was discussed, with the agreement made that 'the only bodies entitled to determine missionary policy are the missionary societies and boards, or the Churches which they represent, and the churches in the mission field'.[43] Post war difficulties were gradually overcome, so by 1923 German delegates again played a full part in the Council's work, which expanded quickly. It developed offices in London and New York and held regular meetings, including those in 1928 at Jerusalem,[44] and 1938 in Tambaram (India),[45] both of which will be discussed at more length later in the chapter.

The Faith and Order Movement (hereafter Faith and Order), under the direction of Bishop Charles Brent,[46] was primarily a response to the decision not to allow at Edinburgh the 'discussion of differences of opinion in doctrine and ecclesiastical structure and practice'.[47] There was an emphasis on 'study and discussion', and the conference was unequivocally 'without power to legislate or to adopt resolutions'.[48] As was the case with

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[41] For example, by January 1912, the Continuation Committee had established a quarterly journal *The International Review of Missions*. The Chairman (John Mott), in the seven months following October 1912 'held a series of eighteen regional and three national conferences in Asia – in Ceylon, India, Burma, Malaya, China, Korea and Japan'. (Latourette, *Ecumenical Bearings of the Missionary Movement*, 363-4.)

[42] The IMC was formally constituted in October 1921 at a meeting at Lake Mohonk, New York (International Missionary Council (IMC), *Minutes of the International Missionary Council, Lake Mohonk, New York, USA. October 1-6, 1921*, (IMC, 1921) See also Latourette, *Ecumenical Bearings of the Missionary Movement,* 366.

[43] IMC, *Minutes of the International Missionary Council, Lake Mohonk*, 34.

[44] International Missionary Council (ed), *Report of the Jerusalem Meeting of the IMC, March 24 – April 8 1928*. Eight volumes: (London: Oxford University Press, 1928).

[45] International Missionary Council (ed), *Tambaram-Madras Series, IMC Meeting at Tambaram, Madras, Dec 12th to 29th 1938*, Seven volumes, (London: Oxford University Press, 1939).

[46] Brent was Missionary Bishop for the Philippines of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States; he spoke, at WMC 1910, of 'his own conviction that the time had come to examine differences frankly in a world conference on faith and order'. (Tatlow, *The World Conference on Faith and Order*, 407).

[47] Latourette, *Ecumenical Bearings of the Missionary Movement*, 360.

[48] Tatlow, *The World Conference on Faith and Order*, 408. 'The conference is for the definitive purpose of considering those things in which we differ, in the hope that a better understanding of divergent views of faith and order will result in a deepened desire for reunion and in official action on the part of the separated Communions themselves.' (Faith and Order, *Report of Committee on Plan and Scope, adopted April 20, 1911*. No 1 in the series of Faith and Order pamphlets. (Faith and Order, 1911).

IMC, war in Europe interrupted the speed of Faith and Order's progress,[49] although post-war recovery was swift and action was quickly undertaken to make approaches to a wide range of Christian groups, including Catholic, Russian and Greek Orthodox, as well as European Protestant groups and churches in the Middle East.[50] Responses were generally positive, albeit a little guarded, and most groups undertook to send representatives 'when the time and place of the conference is fixed'.[51] A preparatory meeting took place in 1920 in Geneva;[52] with representatives gathering from 'about forty nations representing seventy autonomous Churches'.[53] Here, a continuation committee was set up with a world-wide representation,[54] encompassing a wide diversity of religious tradition from Armenian to Lutheran, including Protestant and Orthodox.[55] However, the Catholic Church was not represented at the meeting. Hence, the first World Conference on Faith and Order took place at Lausanne in 1927 with over a hundred churches being represented by '385 men and nine women'.[56] Despite years of preparation, not all ran smoothly. There were a number of delegates who understood the aim of the movement to be 'concerned with the creation of a united Church out of existing denominations',[57] and there was notable difficulty in agreeing statements in relation to 'The unity of Christendom and the relation thereto of existing churches' and 'The Church's Common Confession of Faith'.[58] A second World Conference on Faith and Order took place at Edinburgh in August 1937.[59]

Whilst IMC and *Faith and Order* have a demonstrably direct connection to the 1910 Edinburgh meeting, the route by which the Movement for Life and Work (hereafter Life and Work) emerged is harder to discern.[60] Nils Karlström's detailed analysis demonstrates that Life and Work developed from the earlier *World Alliance for Promoting International Friendship through the Churches* (World Alliance), the roots of which were to be found in the

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[49] Momentum built, first in the US, and then in the UK, after a deputation was sent to the British Anglican churches in 1912, which also visited Scotland and Ireland, and the first, albeit small, meeting took place in 1913 in New York. Deputations had also been dispatched to The Free Churches of the British Isles, and the Presbyterian churches of Scotland. (Tatlow, *The World Conference on Faith and Order*, 410).

[50] Tatlow, *The World Conference on Faith and Order*, 410-5.

[51] Tatlow, *The World Conference on Faith and Order*, 415.

[52] The purpose of the meeting was to 'decide what subjects should be prepared for the World Conference' Faith and Order, *Report of the preliminary meeting at Geneva, Switzerland, August 12-20 1920,* Faith and Order pamphlet no. 33. 1920.

[53] Faith and Order, *Report of the preliminary meeting at Geneva.*

[54] Including members from Europe, US, India, China and Japan (Tatlow *The World Conference on Faith and Order,* 415ff),

[55] Tatlow, *The World Conference on Faith and Order*, 417.

[56] Tatlow, *The World Conference on Faith and Order*, 420.

[57] Tatlow, *The World Conference on Faith and Order,* 410.

[58] Faith and Order, *Reports of the World Conference on Faith and Order, Lausanne, Switzerland, August 3 to 21, 1927.* (Faith and Order, 1927).

[59] For more detail, see page 233 below.

[60] Latourette, *Ecumenical Bearings of the Missionary Movement*, 361.

cross-denominational work of various groups concerned with Christian social action in the mid to late nineteenth century.[61] However, it was not until 1920 in Geneva that Life and Work was officially constituted, with The Life and Work conference in Geneva directly preceding the Faith and Order conference mentioned above.[62] This meeting took the decision to hold the first Universal Conference on Life and Work, at Stockholm in 1925. Under the chairmanship of Nathan Söderblom,[63] 60 delegates from 37 countries gathered in Stockholm, reaffirming the principle established at an earlier meeting (at Hälsingborg, 1922), that the scope of Life and Work should be limited to practical action, dealing with the 'diversities of Christendom primarily insofar as they affect life in society',[64] leaving differences of doctrine and practice to *Faith and Order* (a step which perpetuated a differentiation between the group's responsibilities, whilst retaining their commonality of purpose). Under six headings, they considered the contribution of the church to 'economic and industrial problems'; 'social and moral problems'; 'international relations' and 'education'.[65] Life and Work strengthened over the decade following the Stockholm Conference, with a continuing concern for peace, and the relationship between Church and state, epitomized in the Conference on Church, Community and State, held at Oxford in July 1937.[66]

5.1.3   To unity… The World Council of Churches

Whilst suggestions regarding the formation of a *World Council of Churches* are evident throughout the 1920s, the concept of a *League of Churches* (perhaps related to the *League of*

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[61] Nils Karlström, 'Movements for International Friendship and Life and Work 1910-1925', in R. Rouse & S.C. Neill (eds), *A History of the Ecumenical Movement 1517-1948*, (London: SPCK, 1954): 507-542.

[62] Karlström, *Movements for International Friendship*, 535.

[63] Nathan Söderblom had recently been elevated to Archbishop of Uppsala (later to become Archbishop of Stockholm and Primate of the Church in Sweden). See also Stephen Neill, *Men of Unity*, (London: SCM Paperbacks, 1960): 26-38.

[64] Nils Ehrenström, 'Movements for International Friendship and Life and Work, 1925-1948'. In Ruth Rouse and Stephen Charles Neill (eds) *A History of the Ecumenical Movement 1517-1948,* (London: SPCK, 1954): 541-596, 574. Note that the Roman Catholic church was not invited to send representatives to Geneva 1920; 'Influential persons, who wanted neither Orthodox nor Roman Catholic Churches there nor cared very much about the Anglican position, had controlled the invitations' (McDonnell, *The World Council of Churches and the Catholic Church*, 61) The Anglican position referred to was the refusal of the Anglican church to attend the conference in the absence of the Roman Catholic and Orthodox Churches (Martin E Marty, *Protestantism*, (New York: Doubleday 1972), 78.

[65] Karlström, *Movements for International Friendship*, 541.

[66] J.H. Oldham (ed). *The Churches Survey Their Task.* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 1937).

Nations),[67] can be discerned a little earlier, particularly in the work of Söderblom and Oldham.[68] However, it was not until the meetings of Life and Work and Faith and Order, in 1937 at Oxford and Edinburgh respectively, that the matter was finalised.

It had become clear over the intervening years that the decision, taken in 1922,[69] to leave all issues of theological and doctrinal difference to Faith and Order was holding back progress in the movement for Life and Work,[70] and that, despite their co-operation, having two main organisations stood somewhat counter to the underlying principle of unity.[71] In 1936 both movements had agreed to explore closer co-operation, resulting in the setting up of the joint 'Committee of the Thirty-Five';[72] this Committee brought to both conferences in 1937 their unanimous recommendation that:

> with a view to facilitating the more effective action of the Christian Church in the modern world, the movements known as "Life and Work" and "Faith and Order" should be more closely related in a body representative of the Churches and caring for the interests of each Movement.[73]

The Oxford conference (July 1937) was well attended, although strongly weighted towards the English speaking world,[74] with a wide range of denominational groups including 120 Protestant and Orthodox communities being represented,[75] but no official involvement of the Catholic Church.[76] The discussion of the recommendation of the

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[67] On the development of the League of Nations see, for example A.J.P Taylor, *English History 1914-1945*, (London: Pelican, 1970): 453ff.. Visser't Hooft discusses the relationship between the two *Leagues*, claiming that 'the argument is not that, since the nations are getting together, the Churches should also get together, but rather that the League of Nations may remain an empty shell unless the Churches join together in creating a new spirit of justice and peace' (Willem Adolf Visser't Hooft, 'The Genesis of the World Council of Churches'. In Ruth Rouse and Stephen Charles Neill (eds), *A History of the Ecumenical Movement 1517-1948,* (London: SPCK, 1954):695-724, 697).

[68] For a more detailed discussion, see Visser't Hooft, *The Genesis of the World Council of Churches*. 697.

[69] At the Hälsingborg Conference, see footnote 64 above.

[70] For example, Ehrenström, *Movements for International Friendship and Life and Work*; Oxley, *The World Council of Churches and 'ecumenical Consciousness*, 28.

[71] Visser'T Hooft, *The Genesis of The World Council of Churches*.

[72] This committee was formed under the suggestion of J.H. Oldham, who, together with William Temple and others, quickly came to a common mind over the way forwards (Oldham, *The Churches Survey their task*, 276-81; Leonard Hodgson, (ed), *The Second World Conference on Faith and Order Held at Edinburgh, August 3-18, 1937*, (London: Student Christian Movement Press, 1938): 270-74). For more on the formation and history of the Committee of the Thirty-Five, see, Visser'T Hooft, *The Genesis of the World Council of Churches*, 702ff.

[73] Report of the Committee of the Thirty-Five, Article 1, (Oldham, *The Churches Survey Their Task*, 279). See also 'Committee of Thirty Five, Westfield College, London 1937', (WCC Archives (Geneva) box 301.001 - *The World Council of Churches in process of formation (1917-1940)).*

[74] Delegates attended from twenty-one European countries (although none attended from Germany the Conference adopted a message to the German Evangelical Church), as well as small numbers of delegates from Australia, China, Dutch East Indies, India, Japan, Korea, Mexico, New Zealand, Philippines, South Africa and Brazil (Oldham, *The Churches Survey Their Task,* 295 ff.)

[75] Oldham, *The Churches Survey Their Task*, 11; 290 ff.

[76] Although there had been a 'valuable, though unofficial, collaboration of some [Roman Catholic] thinkers and scholars in the preparatory work for the Conference', Oldham, *The Churches Survey Their Task*, 10.

Committee of the Thirty-Five was seen as 'an important act of the Conference',[77] and with 'only two dissentients', a resolution was passed to approve the Committee's proposal, and in setting up a Constituent Committee to put the principles into practice, which was 'to co-operate with a similar committee, if appointed by the Faith and Order Conference meeting in Edinburgh.[78]

The Second World Conference on Faith and Order met in August 1937 at Edinburgh seeing 'four hundred and fourteen delegates from one hundred and twenty-two Christian communions in forty-three different countries' gather.[79] Aside from one representative from the Reformed Catholic Church of Czechoslovakia, and four delegates categorized as 'Old Catholic',[80] there is no mention of Catholic representation in the report. Although the recommendations of the Committee of the Thirty-Five were positively received, being accepted with only one vote against,[81] the process by which final agreement was given was somewhat tortuous. A group of sixty conference members spent a great deal of time considering the Committees recommendations,[82] and although recommending to the Conference that the proposal of the Thirty-Five be accepted, this was with a caveat regarding their 'doubts over some details in the plan proposed'.[83] Key to appreciating the care with which the groups discussed the proposed plan is that the Conference did not have the authority to agree to the formation of the World Council of Churches;

> The terms of our appointment by the participating Churches preclude
> our formal approval of the proposed plan for a World Council.
> Therefore:
> We recommend that the Conference
> (1) Give a sympathetic welcome to the general plan without committing
> itself to details
> (2) Commend it to the favourable consideration of the Churches.[84]

Despite these reservations, the Conference recommended the formation of a 'committee of seven members who shall co-operate with a similar committee appointed by the Universal Christian Council on Life and Work to form a "Constituent Committee" of fourteen'.[85]

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[77] Oldham, *The Churches Survey Their Task*, 48.
[78] Oldham, *The Churches Survey Their Task*, 48; 281; see also Visser'T Hooft, *The Genesis of the World Council of Churches*, 703.
[79] Leonard Hodgson (ed), *The Second World Conference on Faith and Order Held at Edinburgh, August 3-18, 1937,* (London: Student Christian Movement Press, 1938), 275. A full list of communions represented, and individuals attending are presented in Appendix II and III respectively of this volume.
[80] Hodgson, *The Second World Conference on Faith and Order*, 281-289.
[81] Hodgson, *The Second World Conference on Faith and Order,* 274.
[82] See Hodgson, *The Second World Conference on Faith and Order*, 272.
[83] Hodgson, *The Second World Conference on Faith and Order*, 270.
[84] Hodgson, *The Second World Conference on Faith and Order*, 270-1.
[85] Hodgson, *The Second World Conference on Faith and Order*, 271.

Preparatory work began immediately, with significant progress being made on the structural and constitutional foundations.[86] The issue of authority was central, and it was agreed that the new World Council of Churches, like the two movements it bought together, was to have no 'power to legislate for the Churches or to commit them to action without their consent'.[87] It was the aspiration of the Provisional Committee of the World Council, under the chairmanship of William Temple, to hold their first Assembly in August 1941.[88] However, in the light of the looming European conflict, plans were suspended. The cessation of hostilities allowed the Provisional Council to restart its work, and plans were soon put in place to hold the first assembly of the World Council of Churches at Amsterdam in August 1948 under the theme 'Man's disorder and God's design';[89] in the end '147 Churches in forty-four countries were represented by 351 official delegates', including some from Asia and Africa.[90]

Initially, the IMC was resistant to unification,[91] however, in 1958 at Achimoto, Ghana, a proposal under which IMC would join with the WCC was discussed and agreed. Consequently, at the 1961 WCC meeting in New Delhi, the IMC became a constituent part of the WCC as the Commission on World Mission and Evangelism.[92] Thus, the three groups emerging from the WMC of 1910 were, by 1961, united.

5.1.4   Summary

This brief account of the development of the modern ecumenical movement is a necessary step in the contextualisation of the discussion that is to follow. As well as explaining the relationships between key meetings and groupings, it highlights three important issues; (i) the mission motivation at the heart of the modern ecumenical movement, particularly but

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[86] A conference took place in London in 1937; the Conferences at Oxford and Edinburgh had each nominated seven members to form the 'Committee of the Fourteen', charged with operationalizing the commitment to form a World Council of Churches. (First meeting of the Committee of the Fourteen. Visser'T Hooft, *The Genesis of the World Council of Churches,* 704). A further meeting of the Fourteen took place in Utrecht in 1938.

[87] WCC, Box 301.001: Committee of 35, Article 2, See also William Temple, *Explanatory Memorandum,* which states: '[the Council's] Assembly and Central Committee will have no constitutional authority whatever over its constituent churches'. This echos the words of Nathan Söderblom from 1919 at Oud Wassenaar, who said 'This ecumenical council would not be invested with exterior authority'; see T. Cranmer and G. Rupp, 'Forerunners of the World Council', *The Ecumenical Review* 1, no.1 (1948):86. Also see Karlström, *Movements for International Friendship and Life and Work 1910-1925,* 533.

[88] Visser'T Hooft, *The Genesis of the World Council of Churches,* 707.

[89] Visser'T Hooft, *The Genesis of the World Council of Churches,* 718.

[90] Visser'T Hooft, *The Genesis of the World Council of Churches*, 719.

[91] For a detailed discussion, see Visser'T Hooft, *The Genesis of the World Council of Churches*, 706.

[92] WCC, *New Delhi to Uppsala*, (Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1968). See also Norman Goodall, *Ecumenical Progress: A Decade of Change in the Ecumenical Movement 1961-71,* (London: Oxford University Press, 1972).

not exclusively within IMC; (ii) the combined strands of theological exploration and practical social involvement demonstrated in Faith and Order and Life and Work respectively; and (iii) the developing supranational extent of the movement expanding outwards from a fairly restricted Anglophone First-world centred Protestant group in 1910. However, the lack of official involvement of the Roman Catholic Church must be underscored. Finally, engagement with the 'other' is a central concern of the ecumenical movement, and is a theme that will be developed in the next section of this chapter.

5.2 Shifting Understandings of the 'Religious Other': *Nostra Aetate*

In order to engage with the questions raised earlier regarding the repetition of supranational ecumenical statements in WP36, it is necessary now to concentrate on the Decree *Nostra Aetate* ('Relations with non-Christian religions'), which was promulgated by the Second Vatican Council in October 1965.[93] The authors of WP36 cite a short, and edited, extract from Part II:

> The Catholic Church rejects nothing that is true and holy in these religions … The Church therefore exhorts her sons, that through dialogue and collaboration with the followers of other religions, carried out with prudence and love, and in witness to the Christian faith and life, they recognise, preserve and promote the good things, spiritual and moral, as well as the socio-cultural values found amongst these men.[94]

The statement cited by the authors of WP36 is used as an *endorsement* of the approach to SWR that they set out.[95] However, by using an ellipsis, they exclude the following statement:

> It has high regard for the manner of life and conduct, the precepts and doctrines which, although differing in many ways from its own teaching, nevertheless often reflect a ray of that truth which enlightens all men and women. *Yet it proclaims and is duty bound to proclaim without fail, Christ who is the way, the truth and the life (John 1:6). In him, who God reconciled all things to himself (2 Cor. 5:18-19), people find the fullness of their religion.*[96]

In repeating the statement from *Nostra Aetate* in this selective way, they effectively silence the Decree's claim regarding the supremacy of Christ over all religions.[97] In considering the

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[93] Nostra Aetate*, Declaration on the Relation of the Church to Non-Christian Religions.* Proclaimed by His Holiness Pope Paul VI on October 28, 1965.

[94] *Nostra Aetate*, Part 2, cited in Schools Council, *Working Paper 36*, 65-66.

[95] Schools Council, *Working Paper 36*, 65.

[96] Nostra Aetate, Part 2, emphasis added

[97] See, for example, Section 5.2.4 starting on page 253 below.

rules by which this statement is repeated in WP36, this exclusion is important to note; the matter will be discussed later in this section.

In what follows, I will firstly discuss the circumstances under which the Decree was produced, then consider the content of the decree, the novelty of the repeated statement and its relation to the wider discourse, I will then return to questions of how, and why, these statements might have been included in WP36. Finally, I will look at the wider ecumenical discourse regarding relationships with those of other worldviews, highlighting a pattern of change in the discursive construction of the religious other, examining motivations for this change, and ultimately, by seeking to identify the point at which dialogue between Christians and those of other worldviews, is differentiated searching for the relative beginnings of the practice.

5.2.1   The circumstances of production of Nostra Aetate

The account above (Section 5.1) focuses predominantly on Protestant ecumenical activity. During the interval discussed, attempts were made to draw the Catholic Church into discussion over ecumenical endeavour, but these were neither consistent nor, generally, successful.[98] Whilst Catholic missionary boards had not been invited to participate in WMC in 1910,[99] the on-going lack of involvement was primarily (although not exclusively) a result of the Catholic understanding of ecclesial unity rather than Protestant unwillingness. Attempts to bring Catholic delegates into discussion were undertaken during the years that followed the Great War; whilst invitations extended in 1918 to Protestant and Orthodox groups were generally received positively, the Catholic Church declined. The refusal clearly stated the Vatican's position that 'the only way to unity is the turning to Rome of all non-Roman Churches',[100] a position which was diametrically opposed to the movement's

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[98] To recap; in 1918, the Vatican declined an invitation with a terse statement of the Catholic position on Christian unity, (page 237 above) and in 1920 again, an invitation to participate is refused (page 230 above) In 1937 there was some, albeit limited and unofficial, representation of the Catholic Church, (see footnote 76, page 233 above) however at the 1948 Assembly, once again there was a lack of Catholic presence. See also: Oliver Stratford Tomkins, 'The Roman Catholic Church and the Ecumenical Movement 1910-1948'. In Ruth Rouse and Stephen Charles Neill (eds), *A History of the Ecumenical Movement 1517-1948,* (London: SPCK, 1954):677-693.

[99] Tomkins, *The Roman Catholic Church and the Ecumenical Movement*, 680. It is important to note the context here; in April 1895, Pope Leo XIII appealed to the English to 'return to its true home in the Church of Rome' (*Ad Anglos,* Apolostolic Letter, Pope Leo XIII, 18 April 1895) and in September 1896, a Papal Bull was issued, which declared all Anglican ordinations to be 'absolutely null and utterly void.' (*Apolostolicae Curae,* On the Nullity of Anglican Orders, Pope Leo XIII, 15 September 1896). For a more detailed account of Pope Leo XIII's encouragement of reunion, see McDonnell, *The World Council of Churches and the Catholic Church*, 114ff.

[100] Karlström, *Movements for International Friendship*, 528.

position that 'unity is not to be sought in the acceptance of one doctrinal system or another'.[101]

Similarly, a formal invitation to participate in the Lausanne Conference of 1927 was communicated to the Vatican. Whilst 'the official refusal of the invitation was balanced by the personal friendliness and benevolence of the Pope',[102] the Vatican issued a Decree on 8 July 1927 forbidding any Roman Catholic from attending the Conference.[103] Additionally, after the conference, in January 1928, the Papal Encyclical *Mortalitum Animos*, ('On Religious Unity'), was published.[104] In no uncertain terms the document warned of the dangers of ecumenical gatherings and conferences,[105] setting out a clear conception of Christian unity: the return of non-Catholics to the one, true, Church.[106] The timing and nature of the document provoked 'disappointment and bitterness',[107] and a number of Church leaders responded robustly, including Söderblom.[108]

This was not the only time that such a document was published at a key moment in the development of the ecumenical movement. Encouraged by the (unofficial) attendance of some Roman Catholics at the conferences in 1937, those organising the First Assembly of the World Council of Churches in 1948, agreed to invite

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[101] Karlström, *Movements for International Friendship*, 527.

[102] Faith and Order, *Reports of the World Conference on Faith and Order, Lausanne, Switzerland, August 3 to 21, 1927*, ix ff.

[103] 'In General Congregation of July 6, 1927, Their Eminences, the Cardinals Inquisitors General in matters of faith and morals decreed the reply 'In the negative" to the question 'Is it allowed to Catholics to interest themselves in or to support congresses, meetings, gatherings or associations which have for their purpose that all who in any way claim the Christian name shall join together in one band of religion?' (Anon, 'Regarding "Reunion", *The Tablet*, (16 July 1927): 17). See also Ruth Rouse, 'Other Aspects of the Ecumenical Movement 1910 – 1948'. In Ruth Rouse and Stephen Charles Neill (eds), *A History of the Ecumenical Movement 1517-1948,* (London: SPCK, 1954): 628.

[104] *Mortalium Animos,* Encyclical of Pope Pius XI, 6 Jan 1928. On-line version http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/pius_xi/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-xi_enc_19280106_mortalium-animos_en.html, last accessed 1st Sept 2014.

[105] 'such attempts can nowise be approved by Catholics, founded as they are on that false opinion which considers all religions to be more or less good and praiseworthy, since they all in different ways manifest and signify that sense which is inborn in us all, and by which we are led to God and to the obedient acknowledgment of His rule. Not only are those who hold this opinion in error and deceived, but also in distorting the idea of true religion they reject it, and little by little, turn aside to naturalism and atheism, as it is called; from which it clearly follows that one who supports those who hold these theories and attempt to realize them, is altogether abandoning the divinely revealed religion.' (*Mortalitum Animos,* §2).

[106] 'So, Venerable Brethren, it is clear why this Apostolic See has never allowed its subjects to take part in the assemblies of non-Catholics: for the union of Christians can only be promoted by promoting the return to the one true Church of Christ of those who are separated from it, for in the past they have unhappily left it.' (*Mortalitum Animos,* §10).

[107] Tomkins, *The Roman Catholic Church and the Ecumenical Movement*, 683.

[108] For example, a pamphlet, *Kritische Stimmungen zum päpstlichen Rundschreiben über Einigungsfragen der Kircke* [Critical response to Papal Encyclical on issues of unification of the Church] (Berlin, 1928) was published by a group involved in Life and Work (Tomlinson, *The Roman Catholic Church and the Ecumenical Movement*, 684).

ten persons who, whilst being prominent Roman Catholics in various countries, had shown a real understanding of the aims of the ecumenical movement and of the World Council.[109]

Those so invited were required to secure appropriate permissions from the Catholic authorities to attend. However, on June 5th 1948, the Holy Office issued a Monitum (*Cum Compertum*), which restated the prohibition on Catholics becoming involved in any ecumenical meetings.[110] Consequently, aside from representatives of the Catholic press, there was no Catholic involvement in the Assembly.[111] A little over a year later, an Instruction issued by the Holy See (*Ecclesia Catholica*) demonstrates a slight easing of this position; 'mixed congresses are not absolutely forbidden; but they are not to be held without the previous permission of the competent Ecclesiastical Authority'.[112] Nevertheless, the *Instruction* continued to refer to those Churches outside the Catholic Church as 'dissidents', and 'the only true union [being achieved] by the return of the dissidents to the one true Church of Christ'.[113] In order to facilitate such a return, earlier proscriptions were also eased: 'The Monitum … does not apply to catechetical instructions, even when given to many together, nor to conferences in which Catholic doctrine is explained to non-Catholics who are *prospective converts'*.[114] Such easing of the Catholic position is also evident in the reciprocal representation seen at the New Delhi Assembly of the World Council of Churches, 1961, where five catholic observers were sent, and in the presence of about 150 observers from 'all Christian communities' who were invited to the sessions of the Second Vatican Council.[115]

Thus, by the time of the Second Vatican Council (1962-65), the position had changed significantly. The promulgation of the decree, *Unitatis Redintegratio* ('On Ecumenism', 1964),[116] marked a substantial discontinuity in the Vatican's position towards non-Catholic Christians, consequently the decree was widely welcomed by the ecumenical

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[109] Tomkins, *The Roman Catholic Church and the Ecumenical Movement*, 689.

[110] *Cum Compertum, Monitum* of the Holy Office, Pope Pius XII, 5 June 1948. The Monitum specifically cited Canon 1325(iii) which prohibited 'mixed meetings without the permission of the Holy See', and Canons 1258 and 731(ii) prohibiting '*communio in sacris'*.

[111] Tomkins, *The Roman Catholic Church and the Ecumenical Movement*, 689-91. See also Visser'T Hooft, *The Genesis of the World Council of Churches*, 719.

[112] *Ecclesia Catholica*, Instruction to Local Ordinaries, Pope Pius XII, 20 December 1949, part IV. See Anon, 'World Council Diary',*Ecumenical Review* 2, no 3 (1950): 296ff and Tomkins, *The Roman Catholic Church and the Ecumenical Movement,* 693.

[113] *Ecclesia Catholica,* II. This teaching being restated in subsequent Papal Encyclicals, including *Humani Generis,* Pope Pius XII, 12 August 1950.

[114] *Ecclesia Catholica,* IV. My emphasis.

[115] McDonnell, *The World Council of Churches and the Catholic Church*, 263.

[116] Unitatis Redintegratio*, Decree on Ecumenism.*. Proclaimed by His Holiness Pope Paul VI on November 21st, 1964. For a detailed commentary and analysis, see McDonnell, *The World Council of Churches and the Catholic Church*, Chapter 9.

community.[117] The view that ecumenical unity could only be achieved through the 'return' of those who had separated from the 'true (Catholic) church', as discussed earlier, was still evident even at the draft stage of *Unitatis Redintegratio*.[118] However, by the final version, there had been change in designation from the sociological term, 'communities' to the more theological terms 'churches and ecclesial communities'.[119] This significant change allowed Oscar Cullman to declare, 'The aim of ecumenism is no longer our 'return'.[120]

It had initially been intended that *Unitatis Redintegratio* would include a statement on Judaeo-Christian relations, and a draft text along these lines was prepared.[121] However, during protracted discussions, the scope was widened to include other world faith traditions,[122] and the decision taken to separate the text into an additional Decree, *Nostra Aetate*.[123] This expansion was partly, it seems, to avoid political repercussions on Arab Christians in case any statement regarding Jews was seen as supportive of the State of Israel,[124] and Islam is discussed in some detail. Starting with a statement of 'high regard for the Muslim', the Decree goes on to state

> Over the centuries many quarrels and dissensions have arisen between Christians and Muslims. The sacred council now pleads with all to forget the past, and urges that a sincere effort be made to achieve mutual understanding; for the benefit of all, let them together promote peace, liberty, social justice and moral values.[125]

Relations between the Catholic Church and Judaism, consistent with its development, make up a greater part of the *Nostra Aetate*. Amongst other things, the Decree affirms that: 'Since Christians and Jews have such a common spiritual heritage, this

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[117] Oscar Cullman, 'Comment on the Decree on Ecumenism', *The Ecumenical Review* 17, no.2 (1965):93; P. Evdokimov, 'Comment on the Decree on Ecumenism', *The Ecumenical Review* 17, no.2 (1965): 101; O. Bristol, 'Comment on the Decree on Ecumenism'. *The Ecumenical Review* 17, no.2 (1965):107; WCC, *New Delhi to Uppsala*, (Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1968): 12.

[118] Walter M Abbott, 'Ecumenism'. In W.M. Abbott (ed), *The Documents of Vatican II*, (New York: Guild Press, 1966): 336-340.

[119] R.M. Brown, 'Comment on the Decree on Ecumenism', *The Ecumenical Review* 17, no.2 (1965): 96.

[120] Cullman, *Comment on the Decree on Ecumenism*, 93.

[121] Mauro Velati presents a detailed analysis of the discussions of the draft *Decretum de Judaeis*, and its subsequent separation from *Unitatis Redintegratio*. (Mauro Velati, 'The Debate on *De Judaeis* and Ecumenical Dialogue'. In Neville Lamdan and Alberto Melloni (eds) *Nostra Aetate: Origins, Promulgation, Impact on Jewish – Catholic Relations*, (Berlin: Lit Verlag, 2007): 145-162.

[122] The term 'Non-Christian Religions' is used, with specific mentions of Hinduism, Buddhism, Islam, Judaism and the non-specific term 'other religions (*Nostra Aetate*).

[123] Velati, *The Debate on De Judaeis*.

[124] Graham, 'Non-Christians'. In W.M. Abbott (ed), *The Documents of Vatican II*, (New York: Guild Press, 1966): 656-9. An interesting rhetorical device is used in this regard in *Nostra Aetate*, which states 'Remembering, then, its common heritage with the Jews and moved not by any political consideration, but solely by the religious motivation of Christian charity….' (*Nostra Aetate*, IV).

[125] *Nostra Aetate*, III.

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sacred council wishes to encourage further mutual understanding and appreciation.'[126] Further, the Decree put to an 'end to the idea held by some Christians through the centuries that Jews were a "deicide" people',[127] although this is prefaced with

> Even though the Jewish authorities and those who followed their lead pressed for the death of Jesus (John 19:6), neither all Jews indiscriminately at that time, nor Jews today, can be charged with the crimes committed during his passion.[128]

The earlier establishment of the *Secretariat for Non-Christians* by Pope Paul VI in 1964 had paved the way for the implementation of the decree, being established with the specific aim:

> to create a climate of cordality between Christians and followers of other religions, to *dissipate prejudice and ignorance*, especially among Catholics, and to establish fruitful contact with members of other religions concerning questions of common interest.[129]

This exploration of the provenance of *Nostra Aetate* demonstrates that there were a number of statements that, within the Catholic discourse, were novel, especially in terms of the legitimacy of dialogue between Catholics and those of other faith communities. A similar novelty is present in regard to the statements within *Unitatis redintegro* relating to dialogue between Catholics and other Christians. Whilst, as set out earlier, there had been a gradual change in attitude towards dialogue with non-Catholics, it was not until *Unitatis redintegro* that the acceptance of ecumenical co-operation had been explicit.[130] Behind the growing recognition of other Christian groups lies an interesting discursive reconstruction of non-Catholics within the Catholic discourse. Whilst it is beyond the scope of this work to explore this reconstruction in any detail, it is informative to note that there is a change of language in Catholic documents leading up to this Decree*;* for example, the Encyclical *Orentalium Dignitas*, refers to 'dissident brethren',[131] whilst Pope John XXIII, refers to Protestants as 'separated brethren',[132] a statement repeated by Pope Paul VI.[133]

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[126] *Nostra Aetate*, IV.

[127] See Velati, *The debate on De Judaeis*.

[128] *Nostra Aetate*, IV.

[129] Graham, *Non-Christians*, 660, emphasis added.

[130] See page 239 above.

[131] *Orientalium Dignitas*, 'On the Churches of the East', Pope Leo XIII, 30 November 1894.

[132] *Ad Petri Cathedram*, 'To the Chair of Peter', Pope John XXIII, 29 June 1959.

[133] *Orientalium Ecclesiarum*. 'On Catholic Churches of the Eastern Rite', Pope Paul VI, 21 November 1964. See also Edward G. Farrugia, 'Re-reading *Orientalium Ecclesiarum*'. *Gregorianum* (Rome: Pontificia Università Gregoriana) 88, no.2, (2007): 352-372.

In order to more fully assess the novelty of *Nostra Aetate* generally, and the statement used in WP36 particularly, it is necessary to extend our consideration to the wider discourses of the relationship between Christianity and other faith communities.

5.2.2   The discursive construction of the 'religious other'

Whilst the developments described above were taking place in the Catholic Church, similar developments had also been underway in the wider ecumenical discourse, particularly in the work of the World Council of Churches leading to the establishment, in February 1965, of a Joint Working Group between RCC and WCC.[134] This active co-operation allowed a series of discussions, meetings and consultations to take place between Christians and those of other faiths during the later 1960s and early 1970s.

An inter-denominational consultation on *Dialogue with men of other Faiths* had taken place in early 1967, at Kandy, Sri Lanka.[135] The meeting agreed, building on discussions that had taken place during the 1961 Third Assembly of WCC in New Delhi, that dialogue was 'the most appropriate approach in interfaith relation'.[136] The success of the partnership contributed significantly to an influential report of the WCC Renewal in Mission Group, adopted at the WCC Assembly at Uppsala in 1968.[137]

This successful act of partnership led, in April 1968 in Geneva, to a meeting between representatives of the Catholic, Orthodox and Protestant traditions and a group Marxists, aiming 'to deepen mutual understanding'.[138] Whilst 'those present were unanimous in expressing their hope that the dialogue would be extended',[139] it also became clear that dialogue was not between two homogeneous groups: 'the lines of controversy … run, not between Marxists and Christians, but through the circles of each persuasion. Christians argued with Christians about central points of their own faith…Marxists took issue with Marxists about the nature of Marxism itself'.[140] Although primarily resulting from

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[134] Lukas Vischer, 'The Activities of the Joint Working Group Between the Roman Catholic Church and the World Council of Churches 1965-1969'. *The Ecumenical Review* 22, no.1, (January 1970): 36-69; Ecumenical Chronicle, 'Joint Working Group between The Roman Catholic Church and The World Council of Churches First Official Report'. *The Ecumenical Review* 18, no. 2, (April 1966): 243-261.

[135] WCC, *Drafts for Sections: Prepared for the Fourth Assembly of the World Council of Churches*, (Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1968); S.W. Ariarajah, 'Interfaith Dialogue', in WCC (ed), *Dictionary of the Ecumenical Movement* – (2002). Online version, Retrieved on 24 Feb 2012 from oikoumene.org/resources/documents/…/ecumenical-dictionary-interfaith-dialogue.html.

[136] Arairajah, *Interfaith Dialogue*.

[137] Goodall, *Ecumenical Progress*, 29. See also, Goodall, *Uppsala Speaks: Reports of the Sections*, 21.

[138] Ecumenical Chronicle, 'Statement on the Christian-Marxist Dialogue in Geneva', *The Ecumenical Review* 20, no.3, (1968): 302-3, 303.

[139] Ecumenical Chronicle, *Statement on the Christian-Marxist Dialogue in Geneva*, 303.

[140] Paul Abrecht, 'Report: Responses to the World Conference on Church and Society, 1966', The *Ecumenical Review* 20, no.4, (1968): 461.

the World Conference on Church and Society, 1966, which proposed that WCC should 'initiate a discussion with Marxists',[141] there was official involvement of both the WCC and the Roman Catholic Secretariat for Non-Believers.[142]

A year later at Cartigny, a Christian-Muslim conversation was organised, under the auspices of the Faith and Order Commission of the WCC.[143] The meeting recognized that 'Christian-Muslim dialogue is occurring in many places. This gathering represented an attempt to take up the conversation at an international level'.[144] Here, a number of facets were described that were foundational to the necessity of dialogue between Christians and Muslims, including their common historical roots, increased global mobility resulting in Christians and Muslims coming into greater contact with the consequent need for the two traditions to live harmoniously where their lives intersect, both of which were explicitly mentioned in *Nostra Aetate*,[145] together with their joint responsibility to respond 'to the political problems in the Near East'.[146] Areas of commonality where emphasized, and even areas of difference were, to some extent, constructed as areas of similarity formulated differently: 'It is ... understandable that what is common is not formulated in the same way on both sides'.[147] Such dialogue was further justified on the grounds of increasing secularization whereby Christians and Muslims become united against a common enemy.[148]

In setting the agenda for further discussions, a series of questions were posed, first of which was: 'How are Christianity and Islam being presented today in textbooks and religious instruction?'.[149] The raising of this question is notable, and the placing of it as first on the list is important; it serves as an example of the inter-relationship between the ecumenical discourse of dialogue with non-Christians and the ecumenical discourse of education. Furthermore, it is suggestive of a view that society's knowledge about each faith tradition is developed from textbooks rather than from the action of either faith community, with a consequent foregrounding of school-based education as a space in which inter-faith understanding can/should be developed. These issues will be discussed at greater length later in this chapter.[150]

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[141] Abrecht, *Report,* 461.

[142] Abrecht, *Report,* 460.

[143] Ecumenical Chronicle, 'Christian-Muslim Conversations - Summary of the results', *The Ecumenical Review* 21, no.3, (1969): 270-1.

[144] Ecumenical Chronicle, *Christian-Muslim Conversations*, 270.

[145] *Nostra Aetate*, I and III.

[146] Ecumenical Chronicle, *Christian-Muslim Conversations*, 270.

[147] Ecumenical Chronicle, *Christian-Muslim Conversations*, 271.

[148] For more on the common enemy, see Victor E.W. Hayward, 'The World Council's Fourth Assembly', *The Ecumenical Review* 19, no.1 (1967): 48-58.

[149] Ecumenical Chronicle, *Christian-Muslim Conversations*, 271.

[150] See Section 5.3, starting on page 257 below.

The conversation at Cartigny also suggested that it would be beneficial to generate a publication 'in which recognized Christian and Muslim authors could express themselves. Such a volume would give a picture of contemporary Islam and Christianity in the spirit of this aide-mémoire'.[151] Such was the rate of progress, that the April 1973 edition of *The Ecumenical Review* had a 'substantial proportion of its pages devoted to articles by authors of other persuasions than Christian or who were invited to write specifically in virtue of being committed as they severally are'.[152] These were published in the hope that they 'will enable many to glimpse something of the fascination of this kind of exchange'.[153] As such this publication contributes to the process of normalizing dialogue with non-Christian worldviews, and the discursive reconstruction of the religious other.

Further meetings took place at Ajaltoun, Lebanon in March 1970 'which brought together scholars and others experienced in dialogue from Buddhist, Christian, Hindu and Muslim faiths';[154] once again, Roman Catholic representatives were present.[155] According to Wesley Ariarajah, this meeting was a 'turning point'; participants from different faith communities, including Christianity, Islam, Hinduism and Buddhism, gathered, not just to discuss how dialogue might be practised, but also to practise it.[156] A further meeting took place in May the same year, in Zurich, 'to study the theological implications of dialogue between men of living faiths'.[157] Based on a report produced at this meeting, and the success of the wider series of meetings, together with the engagement by the 'WCC commission on World Mission and Evangelism of Stanley J. Samartha of India to pursue with greater intensity a study begun some years earlier on "The Word of God and the Living Faiths of Men"',[158] the WCC resolved at its Central Committee meeting at Addis

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[151] Ecumenical Chronicle, *Christian-Muslim Conversations*, 271.

[152] M. Conway, 'Editorial', *The Ecumenical Review* 25, no.2, (1973): 133.

[153] Conway, *Editorial,* 134. Papers included: S.J. Samartha, 'Living Faiths and Ultimate Goals: A Discussion', (pp.137-47); K.Svaramen, 'The Meaning of *Moshka* in Contemporary Hindu Thought and Life', (pp.148-157); Masao Abe, 'Buddhist *Nirvana*: Its Significance in Contemporary Thought and Life', (pp.158-168); Zvi Yaron, 'Redemption: A Contemporary Jewish Understanding' (pp.169-179); Hasan Askari, 'Unity and Alienation in Islam', (pp.191-201); Ajit Roy, 'A Marxist View of Liberation' (pp. 202-213). All in *The Ecumenical Review* 25, no.2, (1973).

[154] Ecumenical Chronicle, 'World Council Consultation on dialogue between men of living faiths, Ajaltoun, Lebanon, March, 1970. *Ecumenical* Review 22 no.3 (1970): 288-9; Ecumenical Chronicle, 'Joint Working Group between the Roman Catholic Church and the World Council of Churches', *The Ecumenical Review* 23, no.1, (1971): 47.

[155] It is recorded that 6 of the 28 Christian participants here were Roman Catholic (Ecumenical Chronicle, *Joint Working Group*, 47).

[156] Ariarajah, *Interfaith Dialogue.*

[157] Ecumenical Chronicle, *Joint Working Group,* 47.

[158] Ariarajah, *Interfaith Dialogue.*

Ababa in 1971,[159] to create a sub-unit on *Dialogue with People of Living Faiths and Ideologies* (hereafter DFI), under the direction of Samartha.[160]

In one way or another, each of the events described furthered the process of normalizing dialogue between Christians and those of other worldviews (both religious and non-religious). Furthermore, the extent of co-operation between the Roman Catholic Secretariat for Non-Believers and the predecessors of the WCC's DFI highlights both the possibilities created by *Unitatis Redintegratio* and *Nostra Aetate* and the significant change from earlier circumstances where Catholics were, at best observers. That the legitimacy of dialogue between Catholics and other Christians and between Catholics and non-Christians (as demonstrated by the two Decrees discussed above), was granted at more or less the same time counters a popular theory that inter-faith dialogue grew out of inter-denominational dialogue, with the former being, in some sense, an extension of and logical development of the latter. This stands too for the Protestant Churches; the relationship between Christianity and other faiths was discussed alongside the relationship between denominations, all within the context of the meaning of unity.

This survey also allows a response to be made to some of the issues arising from the use of *Nostra Aetate* in WP36. In attempting to understand why the authors of WP36 repeated a statement issued by the Vatican, and applicable—apparently primarily—to the Catholic Church rather than a Protestant or fully ecumenical statement, it is apparent that *Nostra Aetate* was the first such statement to be widely circulated. Its promulgation in 1965, predates any such statement from the wider ecumenical discourse. Likewise, the assurance of a wide circulation for *Nostra Aetate* in the years immediately following its promulgation, contrasts with the pattern of circulation for statements of the WCC in the years prior to the establishment of DFI. In short, *Nostra Aetate*, whilst being the first authoritative statement on developing dialogue between Christians and non-Christians, was issued within a context that engendered ecumenical co-operation. Thus, in some ways, the document could be seen to speak for a wider group than Catholics alone.

Therefore, in seeking to locate and repeat an authoritative statement 'endorsing' dialogue with non-Christian worldviews, the authors of WP36 appear to have been faced with a limited choice. The overt co-operation between Catholic and non-Catholic demonstrated in the sequence of meetings described above *may* have tempered issues of

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159 WCC, 'Programme Unit III - Education and Communication'. In WCC (ed), *Report of the Structure Committee to the Central Committee, Addis Ababa Jan 1971,* (Geneva, WCC, 1970).
160 R. Mulder, Dr S Samartha's Time at the World Council of Churches, *Current Dialogue* 38 (Dec 2010).

denominational identity, allowing the authors of WP36 (and others) to consider the application of the Decree to a wider constitution than just the Catholic family, but this can only be conjecture. Further, re-reading these events against Foucault's work on Governmentality is instructive; he describes how 'certain groups and institutions gain prominence and become sanctioned as the proprietors of knowledge'.[161] In the episodes above, we see the way in which 'powerful groups maintain their knowledge construction legitimacy by continuously undermining alternative knowledges'.[162] This will be taken up and discussed in more depth in Chapter 7 below.

Whilst this section has answered some of these questions, some questions remain and new ones have been raised; *Nostra Aetate* and the establishment of the DFI are clearly important stages in the process of normalizing dialogue between Christians and those of other worldviews, but they do not constitute the point at which the practice became differentiated. Thus, searching for 'relative beginnings' of the practice requires further exploration of the construction of 'the religious other' in the ecumenical discourse.

5.2.3   "From enemy to ally": discursive reconstruction of the 'religious other' in the ecumenical discourse

Applying Statement Archaeology to a range of sources, including eye-witness accounts and minutes of key meetings, demonstrates that in the early years of the Twentieth Century non-Christian religions were constructed within the ecumenical discourse as '*enemies*'. However, by the late 1960s and early 1970s, this relationship of enmity had been reconstructed whereby the belligerence between rival groups was replaced by reconciliation and co-operation, with those of other worldviews, both religious and secular, being positively constructed as '*allies*'.[163]

As already mentioned, the 1910 WMC in Edinburgh was structured to allow a day of discussion about each of the eight reports that had been previously commissioned. Under the chairmanship of Professor D.S. Cairns of The University of Aberdeen, a report had been prepared on '*The Missionary Message in relation to Non-Christian Religions*'.[164] On Saturday 18th June, the 1200 or so delegates gathered and discussed the issues; Charles

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[161] Rogers, Matt. 'Contextualizing Theories and Practices of Bricolage Research', *The Qualitative Report* 17 (2012): 11.

[162] Rogers, *Contextualizing Theories and Practices of Bricolage Research*, 11.

[163] WCC, 'Programme Unit III - Education and Communication'. In WCC (ed), *Report of the Structure Committee to the Central Committee, Addis Ababa Jan 1971,* (Geneva, WCC, 1970).

[164] Latourette, *Ecumenical Bearings of the Missionary Movement* , 358.

Morrison, then editor of the *Christian Century* magazine recorded it in some detail.[165] During the discussion, speakers drew heavily on Biblical imagery with comparisons being made between the challenges facing the modern ecumenical movement and the difficulties faced by the prophets of Israel,[166] or those faced by the emerging Church of the New Testament in the Graeco-Roman culture.[167] A critical reading of Morrison's report demonstrates a negative construction of Non-Christian religions, who were referred to variously as 'backward' and 'childlike' whilst the inhabitants of the countries concerned were described as 'primitive or barbarous'.[168] It was clear that 'non-Christians' were considered to be a threat to be tamed, or as Norman Goodall, writing much later, puts it 'the dominant emphasis was on the darkness, idolatry, and devil-originating character of the non-Christian religions'.[169]

The publication of J.N. Farquhar's book *The Crown of Hinduism* in 1913 significantly changed the way in which non-Christian traditions were constructed.[170] Prompted by discussions at WMC in 1910, Farquhar set out the need for materials which discuss the relationship between Christians and those of other worldviews.[171] In the light of, what he

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[165] Charles Clayton Morrison, 'The World Missionary Conference', *Christian Century*, 7 July 1910. Accessed from http://www.religion-online.org/showarticle.asp?title=471 on 21st April 2012. Note that the official record includes contributions from about 30 speakers, compared to the 40 that Morrison mentions (World Missionary Conference, *Report of Commission IV: The Missionary Message in Relation to Non-Christian Religions* (Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1910): 292-326).

[166] For example, D.S. Cairns' speech introducing the Report of Commission VI to the World Missionary Conference, 18th June, 1910 (World Missionary Conference, *Report of Commission IV*, 293; Morrison, *The World Missionary Conference*).

[167] For example, Rev. Johannes Lepsius, contributing to the discussion of Islam at Report of Commission VI to the World Missionary Conference, 18th June, 1910. (World Missionary Conference, *Report of Commission IV*, 309; Ariarajah, *Interfaith Dialogue*).

[168] The full extract reads: 'The first group of speakers talk on the animistic religions, the *backward and childlike* sort of religion possessed by such peoples as those who inhabit parts of Africa. Dr. Wardlaw Thompson, missionary to Africa, contrasts the attitude of high-caste, cultured Hindus toward the missionary with that of the *primitive or barbarous peoples*, where the missionary is admittedly one of a "superior" race. This docility of the "inferior" race is at once the missionary's opportunity and peril. (Morrison, *The World Missionary Conference,* emphasis added). This concurs with the official record of the conference; for example, followers of Animistic traditions are described as 'usually standing on a low stage of human development' (p13),'such people are ignorant, apathetic, indolent and indifferent. … Owing to this low intellectual state, they have but little sense of natural causation' (p14). The statement attributed by Morrison to Dr Thompson does not appear in the official record, however the tone of language is similar to some of the contributions recorded at the discussion of the report (pp. 292-326). All pages refer to: World Missionary Conference, *Report of Commission IV: The Missionary Message in Relation to Non-Christian Religions* (Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1910).

[169] Norman Goodall, Ecumenical Progress: A Decade of Change in the Ecumenical Movement 1961-71, (London: Oxford University Press, 1972): 28

[170] J.N. Farquhar, *The Crown of Hinduism*. (London: Oxford University Press, 1913). Note that Hinduism had been a specific, and contentious, point of discussion at World Missionary Conference (World Missionary Conference, *Report of Commission IV*, *passim*.). Farquhar's book appears to have been the first book of this type, although others followed, for example: Wilson Cash, *The Moslem World in Revolution*, (London: Edinburgh House Press, 1926).

[171] Farquhar, *The Crown of Hinduism*, 15-16.

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calls, 'The coming of the Science of Religion',[172] Farquhar suggests that the need for such material is as great 'for the man in the pew' as for those participating in courses of Missionary Study at Theological Colleges.[173] At the heart of Farquhar's thesis was the view, based on a saying of Jesus 'I have come not to destroy, but to fulfil' (Matthew 5:17), that Christ was the *fulfilment* of non-Christian religions.[174] Consequently, rather than being constructed as the 'evil opposition', other faith positions began to be considered more sympathetically, being constructed as incomplete, rather than erroneous. However, there remained a clear understanding that Christianity was the one true faith.

This re-construction of non-Christian within the ecumenical discourse continued over the years that followed, and by the time the IMC met in Jerusalem in 1928:

> There was manifest … a greater desire to understand other religions sympathetically and to appreciate the things that high-minded non-Christians live by.[175]

At the same meeting, papers were presented detailing the 'values in Islam, in Hinduism, in Buddhism and in Confucianism' leading to a moment of agreement that 'other religions can be regarded as allies of Christianity quite as truly as rivals'.[176] This position was articulated in the '*Call to the World*',[177] a statement issued by the Jerusalem Conference which sets out the value to be discerned in other faith traditions. It is of sufficient relevance to demand an extended extract here:

> To non-Christians also we make our call. We rejoice to think that just because in Jesus Christ the light that lighteth every man shone forth in its full splendour, we find rays of that same light where He is unknown or even is rejected...Thus, merely to give illustration, and making no attempt to estimate the spiritual value of other religions to their adherents, we recognize as part of the one Truth that sense of the Majesty of God and the consequent reverence in worship, which are conspicuous in Islam; the deep sympathy for the world's sorry and unselfish search for the way of escape, which are at the heart of Buddhism; the desire for contact with ultimate reality conceived as spiritual, which is prominent in Hinduism; the belief in a moral order of the universe and consequent insistence on moral conduct, which are inculcated by Confucianism; the

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[172] Farquhar, *The Crown of Hinduism*, 15.

[173] Farquhar, *The Crown of Hinduism*, 15-16

[174] Farquhar, *The Crown of Hinduism*. Farquhar's thesis is critiqued alongside a number of perspectives on the 'points of contact between Christianity and Hinduism' within the 1910 WMC report (World Missionary Conference*, Report of Commission IV*, 181ff).

[175] S.M. Cavert, 'Beginning at Jerusalem', *Christian Century* May 10th 1928. Available online. URL http://www.religion-online.org/showarticle.asp?title=463. Last accessed 10-07-2012.

[176] Cavert, *Beginning at Jerusalem*.

[177] 'Call to the World', In International Missionary Council (IMC) (ed). *Report of the Jerusalem Meeting of the IMC, March 24 – April 8 1928*. Eight volumes: (London: Oxford University Press, 1928).Vol. 3. See also 'An Appeal to All Christian People from the Bishops Assembled in the Lambeth Conference of 1920,' In G.K.A. Bell, *Documents on Christian Unity* I (1920-1924), (London: Oxford University Press, 1924).

> disinterested pursuit of truth and of human welfare which are often found in those who stand for secular civilization but do not accept Christ as their Lord and Saviour. Especially we make our call to the Jewish people, whose Scriptures have become our own, and 'of whom is Christ as concerning the flesh,' that with open heart they turn to that Lord in whom is fulfilled the hope of their nation, its prophetic message and its zeal for holiness.[178]

However, this development was not without controversy. Despite the fact that '*Call to the World*' was unanimously accepted at the Jerusalem conference,[179] (largely, according to Ariarajah, due to the drafting skills of William Temple)[180] the endorsement of the validity of other faith positions was not universal.[181] In the years that followed, the controversy over how Christians should relate to those of other faiths and none continued; for example, a 1932 report, recorded a deep dissatisfaction with the Christian exclusivism it perceived to emerge from the Jerusalem conference, and claimed that the major threat to Christianity was not other religious systems, but the rise in anti-religious and secular movements. [182]

In the years between the conferences at Edinburgh and Jerusalem, much had happened in the world that changed the relationships between religious groups as they each approached what was rapidly becoming a common enemy. At the 1910 conference, as set out above, the 'threat' to Christianity was seen in terms of non-Christian religions, but the extending reach over the intervening years of materialism, secularism and atheism,[183] (symbolized for some in the Russian Revolutions[184]) elevated non-religious positions into the place of greatest threat.[185] A more complicated challenge to the ecumenical hope of unity between Christians arose from the 1914-18 conflict. As already mentioned above, a key concern of *Life and Work,* perpetuating the priorities of its predecessor organizations, was the issue of world peace, an issue highlighted in the Kings' message to the WMC at Edinburgh in 1910.[186] The outbreak of war in 1914 disrupted work significantly; communication between parties, especially the Anglo-German groups, became impossible. Archbishop Nathan Söderblom issued an appeal 'for peace and Christian Fellowship...in

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[178] International Missionary Council, *The Christian Life and Message in Relation to Non-Christian Systems: Report of the Jerusalem Meeting of the International Missionary Council*, (Oxford: OUP, 1928), 490-1

[179] International Missionary Council, *The Christian Life and Message in Relation to Non-Christian Systems*.

[180] Ariarajah, *Interfaith Dialogue*.

[181] Ariarajah, *Interfaith Dialogue*.

[182] William Ernest Hocking (Ed), *Report of the Commission of Appraisal of the Laymen's Foreign Mission Inquiry,* 1932. On line version, URL: https://archive.org/details/MN41974ucmf_0, last accessed 4 Sept 2014.

[183] For example, Cavert, *Beginning at Jerusalem*.

[184] M. Kinnamon and B.E. Cope, *The Ecumenical Movement : An Anthology of Key Texts and Voices,* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: W.B. Eerdmans Pub, 1997): 393. On the revolutions in Russia see, for example, Robert K. Massie, *Nicholas and Alexandra*, (New York: Atheneum, 1967).

[185] See also, Patrick Pasture, 'Religion in Contemporary Europe: Contrasting Perceptions and Dynamics, *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte 49,* (2009): 319-350.

[186] Gairdner Edinburgh 1910.

the nature of a confession of faith in the universal supranational church'.[187] Although this achieved little in respect to Allied and Central powers, there was a more positive reception amongst the neutral powers.[188] In 1917, a call by Pope Benedict XV for conciliation coinciding with a general intensification of efforts towards mollification,[189] and a general international trend for countries to ask what Protestants 'were doing for peace',[190] led Söderblom to follow up his earlier efforts by issuing another appeal for peace and Christian unity. With the support of William Temple in England, Söderblom continued his work, leading to The Neutral Church Conference at Uppsala in 1917, to which delegates from neutral, and 'belligerent nations' were invited, however many refused, including Germany, Austria, England, The United States and Finland.[191] Similarly, national developments in the 1930s, particularly changing conceptions of nation statehood, were a cause of grave concern to the ecumenical movement. Building on the changes in perception that arose from the First World War, where 'Christian' country fought 'Christian' country, each claiming God to be on their side, [192] polarization on grounds of the binary Christian/non-Christian became unsettled, epitomized in the British forces being supplemented by Sikh regiments of the Indian regiments, whose war cry was 'Victory belongs to those who recite the name of God with a true heart'.

The on-going controversy over how Christians should relate to those of other worldviews combined with the need, identified by the International Missionary Conference (IMC) Committee ahead of their Conference (to be held in 1938 at Tambaram, India) for a 'study on the Biblical and theological basis of Christianity's attitude towards other religions',[193] led to a request being made to Dutch missiologist, Hendrick Kraemer to produce a report.[194] Entitled '*The Christian Message in a Non-Christian World*',[195] the report was strongly influenced by the neo-orthodox ideas of the theologian Karl Barth, particularly

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[187] Karlström, *Movements for International Friendship*, 519.

[188] Karlström, *Movements for International Friendship*.

[189] Karlström, *Movements for International Friendship*; A.J.P. Taylor, *English History 1914-1945*, (London: Pelican, 1970), 128 also 158-9.

[190] Karlström, *Movements for International Friendship*, 522.

[191] Karlström, *Movements for International Friendship*, 524 ff.

[192] On effects of the Great War see for example, Cavert, *Beginning at Jerusalem*. On the effects of Russian Revolutions see Kinnamon, and Cope, *The Ecumenical Movement,* 393.

[193] Kinnamon, and Cope, *The Ecumenical Movement,* 393.

[194] On Kraemer see: Anon, 'Hendrik Kraemer, A Man who obeyed the vision he saw, address given in the chapel of the Ecumenical Centre, 15 Nov 1965', *The Ecumenical Review* 18, no.1 (1966): 96-99; Anon. 'World Council Diary: In Memorian Hendrick Kraemer', *The Ecumenical Review* 18, no.1 (1966), 100-1; Kinnamon, and Cope, *The Ecumenical Movement,* 396. Also, David Pitman, 'Hard Exclusivism: Henrik Kraemer (1888-1965). In *Twentieth Century Christian Responses to Religious Pluralism: Difference is Everything.* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2014).

[195] Hendrick Kraemer, *The Christian Message in a Non-Christian World*, (New York: Harper, 1938); Kinnamon, and Cope, *The Ecumenical Movement*; Ariarajah, *Interfaith Dialogue*.

Barth's position on Special Revelation.[196] Alongside a critique of the development of a 'superiority' of Christianity, which Kraemer dismisses as 'essentially a cultural, and not at all a religious, product; and decidedly not a Christian one',[197] he 'insisted that the biblical faith, based on God's encounter with humankind, is radically different from all other forms of religious faith'.[198] In regard to non-Christian religions, he differentiates between their *value* and their *truth,[199]* and distances himself from Farquhar's 'fulfilment thesis'.[200] Despite this, the Conference at Tambaram failed to reach a unanimous agreement on the question of the relationship between Christianity and other religious systems;

> although the Tambaram report leaned heavily towards Kraemer's views, it acknowledged that "Christians are not agreed" on the revelatory character of other religious traditions and identified this as "a matter urgently demanding thought and united study" within the ecumenical movement.[201]

It should be noted, however, that whilst the Tambaram conference is presented later as a key step on the journey of the development of inter-faith dialogue, the lack of unity is glossed over.[202]

With the principle of dialogue established, and despite some disagreement, the discursive re-construction of the religious other from 'enemy' to 'ally' continued, with a more complete reconstruction being epitomized in discussions that lead to the establishment of the *Secretariat for Non-Christians* by Pope Paul VI (1964), the promulgation of the Papal Decree *Nostra Aetate* by the Second Vatican Council (1965) and the establishment by the World Council of Churches of a sub-unit on the Dialogue with People of Living Faiths and Ideologies (1971), each of which have been discussed above.

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[196] Karl Barth, *Church Dogmatics 2:1, The Doctrine of* God, (Edinburgh: T&T Clarke, 1957); Karl Barth, 'No!'. In Emil Brunner and Karl Barth, *Natural Theology*, (London: Centenary Press, 1966). See also Pitman, *Hard Exclusivism*, and John Hick, *God Has Many Names*, (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1980): 117.

[197] Kraemer, *The Christian Message in a Non-Christian World*, 109.

[198] See Ariarajah, *Interfaith Dialogue*.

[199] Kraemer, *The Christian Message in a Non-Christian World*, 106.

[200] Kraemer, *The Christian Message in a Non-Christian World*, 123.

[201] Ariarajah, *Interfaith Dialogue*.

[202] A 1973 special edition of *The Ecumenical Review*, includes, in the Editorial, a link with 1938 Tambaram Conference:'The pre-history of this goes far back into the work of the International Missionary Council, particularly to the debate at and around its 1938 meeting at Tambaram, South India, centred on Hendrik Kraemer's *The Christian Message in a non-Christian World*. …a clear forerunner of current concerns appeared in our pages in July 1964 (Vol XVI pp 451ff) in the shape of a statement by the second Assembly of the East Asia Christian Conference entitled 'Christian Encounter with Men of Other Beliefs" M. Conway, 'Editorial', *The Ecumenical Review* 25, no.2, (April 1973): 133.

5.2.4   Motivations for reconstruction

Whilst considering the processes by which the discursive reconstruction of the 'religious other' became possible, I have not so far considered the motivations that might lie behind those changes. Examining the processes against Foucault's notion of Governmentality is beneficial here.[203]

Central to both Protestant and Catholic ecumenical discourses was a missionary imperative; consequently, the development of dialogue and relationships with other faiths, certainly from the time of the WMC in Edinburgh, 1910, is framed predominantly in terms of missionary opportunity.[204] Underpinning this position is the recurring statement of Christ's supremacy, proclaimed at WMC in 1910 '[it is the] gospel which... breaks for [non-Christians] the spell of terror and introduces them to a life which is a jubilee of liberty and joy',[205] articulated by Farquhar in terms of Hinduism,[206] and repeated at the 1928 Jerusalem conference:

> Joined with this new attitude of glad appreciation of non-Christian religions was an unshakable assurance of the uniqueness and universality of Jesus Christ. Indeed it was felt that *the more clearly one discerns the value in other faiths, the more certainly will it be seen that Christ is the one overtowering personality in whom all those values, found elsewhere in partial and fragmentary form, come to such complete realization as to make him the Lord and Saviour of all mankind.* The message frankly admitted that in the past the missionary movement had not "sufficiently sought out the good and noble elements in the non-Christian beliefs," and in a generous spirit went on to call attention to some of the worthy things in non-Christian systems.[207]

This thesis of Christ's supremacy was, during the first few decades of the Twentieth century at least, the dominant narrative within the modern ecumenical movement, and, as shown above, the Catholic tradition. Whilst books, such as *The Crown of Hinduism,* ostensibly are constructed as recognition of the value of non-Christian traditions, they are ultimately constructed as a type of Christian apologetic, demonstrating not only the supremacy of Christ, but also encouraging a decision to become his disciple.[208] Similarly, missionary zeal, built on the notion of Christ's supremacy clearly permeated the IMC in Jerusalem, 1928. The conclusion of Kraemer's report was clear in 'stressing the uniqueness

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[203] See page 112 above.

[204] See, for example, Kraemer, *The Christian Message in a Non-Christian World* and Kinnamon and Cope, *The Ecumenical Movement.*

[205] Morrison *The World Missionary Conference. S*ee also World Missionary Council, Report of Section IV, passim, 324ff.

[206] See Farquhar*, The Crown of Hinduism.*

[207] Cavert, *Beginning at Jerusalem.* Emphasis added.

[208] Farquhar*, The Crown of Hinduism, passim.*

of God's revelation in Jesus Christ'.[209] It 'led the conference "to call men out from [the non-Christian religions] to the feet of Christ, we do so because we believe that in him alone is the full salvation which man needs".[210] In addition, the hope is clearly expressed that those who follow these other paths might 'join with us in the study of Jesus Christ as He stands before us in the Scriptures'; it is underlined that 'Christ belongs to the peoples of Africa and Asia as much as to the European or American', and 'We call all men to equal fellowship in Him....We must not come to Him in the pride of national heritage or religious tradition; he who would enter the Kingdom of God must become as a little child'.[211] Within each of these statements there is a clear superiority being expressed, and ultimately, the supremacy of Christ becomes applied to the supremacy of Christianity:

> But we would insist that when the Gospel of the Love of God comes home with power to the human heart, it speaks to each man, not as Moslem or as Buddhists, or as an adherent of any system, but just as man. And whilst we rightly study other religions in order to approach men wisely, yet at the last we speak as men to men, inviting them to share with us the pardon and life that we have found in Christ.[212]

The extent to which the dialogue with other faiths during the 1960s, as set out above, was seen primarily as a missionary activity is also quite clear, albeit presented slightly less directly. The Catholic position, with its emphasis on bringing all into the one Mother Church has been discussed. A critical analysis of statements within the documents of the WCC, set against the historical context set out above, suggests that for this group too, missionary motivation was key. For example, when DFI was established, it became a sub-unit of "Mission".[213] Later WCC guidance, issued in 1979,[214] suggested that the major motivation of inter-faith dialogue was the development of tolerance through mutual understanding. Had this been the case at the time of its establishment, DFI might have found a more natural home in 'Towards Justice and Peace in International Affairs' or 'Towards a new style of living'.[215] Another example, located in the preparatory material for the discussions of dialogue with non-Christian worldview, to be undertaken at Uppsala

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[209] Kraemer, *The Christian Message in a Non-Christian World*, 70. See also Kinnamon and Cope, *The ecumenical movement*, 393.

[210] Kraemer, *The Christian Message in a Non-Christian World*, 80.

[211] International Missionary Council, *The Christian Life and Message in Relation to Non-Christian Systems*, 490-1.

[212] International Missionary Council, *The Christian Life and Message in Relation to Non-Christian Systems*, 490-1.

[213] WCC, 'Programme Unit III - Education and Communication'. In WCC (ed), *Report of the Structure Committee to the Central Committee, Addis Ababa Jan 1971,* (Geneva: WCC, 1970).

[214] WCC, *Guidelines on Dialogue with People of Living Faiths and Ideologies*. (Geneva: WCC, 1979).

[215] WCC, *New Delhi to Uppsala,*

1968, which is expressed predominantly in terms of missionary opportunities, also supports this reading.[216]

5.2.5   Summary

The application of Statement Archaeology to the statement from *Nostra Aetate* in WP36 has enriched our understandings of the development of SWR in a number of ways. Firstly, it has provided answers to some of the key questions that arise from the repetition. The use of a statement issued by the Vatican can be explained in terms of the circumstances of production of *Nostra Aetate*, the rules of repetition of earlier statements that create the circumstances in which *Nostra Aetate* becomes possible, and the way in which the statement relates to others within the supranational ecumenical discourse. *Nostra Aetate* has been shown to be the first widely circulated statement which endorses dialogue between Christians and others, even though such a position had been adopted by the WCC. As such the statement can be considered to be representative of the wider ecumenical constituency, being seen to speak for a wider group than Catholics alone.

Secondly, the analysis of the missionary zeal which motivates the discursive reconstruction of the religious other, based on the notion of Governmentality, informs the issue of the exclusion of the statement regarding the supremacy of Christ in WP36's repetition of the statement from *Nostra Aetate*.[217] Although only conjecture, it appears that by repeating *aspects* of the statement, but not the statement in its entirety, the authors of WP36 are distancing themselves from any claims about the supremacy of Christ and/or Christianity, and thus separating their work from an entirely mission orientated undertaking. Thus, the rules under which the statement is repeated appear to separate the exhortation to collaborate with those of other faiths from a missionary motivation.

Finally, through the application of Statement Archaeology to the repeated statement, and an exploration of the wider supranational ecumenical discourse regarding the religious other, it has been shown that there is an identifiable point at which the practice of dialogue between Christians and those of other worldviews becomes differentiated; the establishment of the Joint Working Group between WCC and the Vatican Secretariat for Non-Christians, in February 1965. This relative beginning became possible as a result of a longer process of normalization of the religious other as 'ally', most especially achieved through the discursive reconstruction of the religious other within the

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[216] WCC, *Appendix VIII - Report of the Joint Study Commission on Education*.
[217] See page 236 above.

supranational ecumenical discourse, seen principally between 1910 and 1928. This created circumstances within which it was possible not only to engage positively in dialogue *about* non-Christian faith traditions, but also to dialogue *with* them.

Whilst not being the moment at which the practice of SWR is differentiated, this development is certainly significant in enriching understandings of its development. The construction of the religious other as 'enemy' had acted as a substantial constraint, restricting the discussion of, and with, those of other worldviews, and confining interactions to missionary endeavour with the specific aim of converting the other to Christianity, which itself was constructed as the supreme faith. As the religious other becomes more positively constructed, these constraints are eased, and ultimately, lifted. The discursive reconstruction of the religious other in the supranational ecumenical discourse also lifts such constraints from other related domains of discourse; the discussion of Islam in relation to textbooks mentioned above demonstrates this.[218] Thus the question arises in regard to how the religious other is constructed in the supranational ecumenical discourse of education. This, together with the earlier question 'Why are theological statements used to endorse what is presented as an educational argument; why is a statement with an educational orientation not cited?' necessitate an assessment of the supranational ecumenical discourse of education; it is to this that we will now turn.

5.3 The (Re)positioning of Education: A Call to De-marginalize education at Uppsala 1968

In order to engage with these remaining questions, as well as to respond to the overarching research question under scrutiny in this chapter,[219] it is indispensable to explore the supranational ecumenical discourse of education, as exemplified in the WCC,[220] and in particular to consider the re-positioning of education within that discourse during the late 1960s. As the WCC Fourth Assembly at Uppsala in 1968 had been an important in furthering the normalization of dialogue between Christians and those of other worldview, so it was also a key moment in supranational ecumenical discourse of education. Theodore Gill's introduction to the *Report of the Joint Study Commission on Education* under the title '*The*

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[218] See page 243 above.
[219] See page 223 above.
[220] See page 224 above.

Great Convergence[221] epitomizes developments during the 1960s, highlighting the status of school-based education in relation to the ecumenical discourse.

Gill's introduction includes a number of significant statements, each of which demand further investigation, and which together, underpin an exhortation to practical action rooted in the establishment of a new structure that would meet the professional needs of those involved in education.[222] As such, the document demands a detailed analysis using Statement Archaeology.

Three statements are of particular importance to the on-going investigation of the extent to which the examination of ecumenical discourse enriches understandings of how the adoption of SWR became possible in English RE in the 1960s and 1970s. They relate to: i) criticism of WCC's marginalization of education; ii) challenge of the prevailing construction of education as an 'overseas mission' activity; and iii) the effect on the Church of increasing State involvement in education. Each of these statements will be considered in some detail, but first it is necessary to consider the circumstances under which Gill's statements were produced.

5.3.1   *Circumstances of production of 'The Great Convergence'*

Gill claims that his *Introduction* is 'the account of how [the report] came to be written, and why it goes the way it does'.[223] Therefore, we must first consider the nature, and circumstances of production, of the report.

The report to the Assembly at Uppsala in 1968 was the culmination of ongoing dialogue between WCC and the World Council of Christian Education beginning in 1961 when the New Delhi Assembly authorised the development of a Joint Study Commission on Education (JSCE), established in 1962.[224] Three avenues of enquiry were followed, with groups looking at 'contextual issues of Theology, Philosophy and Anthropology',[225] and 'Churches own education and teaching that goes on in the church itself'.[226] The remaining group asked 'How are the shifting political and social realities of these years affecting

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[221] Theodore Gill, 'The Great Convergence: Introduction to Education Report', *The Ecumenical Review*, 20, no.4, (October 1968): 385-394. Note that all the articles in *The Ecumenical Review* October 1968 (XX, 4), being speeches given at the Assembly, were republished as: 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).

[222] Gill, *The Great Convergence*, 393.

[223] Gill, *The Great Convergence,* 385.

[224] Goodall, *Ecumenical Progress*, 94.

[225] WCC, *Appendix VIII - Report of the Joint Study Commission on Education*, 165

[226] WCC, *Appendix VIII - Report of the Joint Study Commission on Education*, 165

Christian educational institutions?'.[227] It was under this heading that discussions took place over the role of the teacher, the effects of increasing governmental control of schools, and relations with UNESCO.[228] The report, which runs to 105 paragraphs, expresses the findings of the JSCE in some detail, ending with a series of 'Structural Recommendations'. Here, the JSCE calls for the two groups (The World Council of Churches and The World Council of Christian Education) to unite 'with deliberate speed', and request the setting up of a permanent commission on education.[229] In due course, the Report's recommendations were followed; WCCE was incorporated into WCC in 1971, and the Permanent Commission on Education was established, [230] being created with two panels, one charged with responsibility for general education that covered research and dissemination, further development of work with UNESCO and the reinvigoration of 'public debate on education', the other dealing with Christian education in similar terms, but 'having careful regard for the confessional traditions of the churches...'.[231]

Gill had been director of the Commission's research since 1965, and his familiarity with report is evident in his *Introduction,* which presents a very accurate summary of the *Report.* There is insufficient scope in this study for a detailed textual analysis of the relationship between the *Report* and the *Introduction*; for the purposes of this exploration, Gill's *Introduction*, being more widely circulated that the R*eport*, will be taken as the 'starting point' for the method, and where necessary comment will be made regarding the correspondence between the two.[232]

5.3.2   Criticism of WCC's neglect of education

Gill's *Introduction* vehemently criticises the WCC's neglect of education,[233] beginning by suggesting this neglect was evident in the timetabling of the report, as 'tail end of the list'.[234] Having foregrounded this marginalization, Gill attempts a de-marginalization of education by calling the Assembly to consider its place:

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[227] WCC, *Appendix VIII - Report of the Joint Study Commission on Education*, 165.

[228] WCC, *Appendix VIII - Report of the Joint Study Commission on Education*, 165.

[229] WCC, *Appendix VIII - Report of the Joint Study Commission on Education*, 185.

[230] See Goodall, *Ecumenical Progress, 93*ff, also Oxley, *Education and the World Council of Churches*.

[231] WCC, *Appendix VIII - Report of the Joint Study Commission on Education*, 185.

[232] Gill's *Introduction* being circulated as Theodore Gill, 'The Great Convergence: Introduction to Education Report', *Ecumenical Review*, 20, no.4, (October 1968): 385-394, and 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)., whilst the *Report* is included in WCC, *Appendix VIII - Report of the Joint Study Commission on Education.*

[233] Gill, *The Great Convergence*, 392.

[234] Gill, *The Great Convergence*, 389.

> Some of our constituent churches have superb education divisions, but only a few pay attention to general education. Some of the churches' best men are on the campuses, but we too often lose touch, and anyway our universities are just part of the picture. Our various WCC departments have educational desks, but none would claim to have had much time for the education that is exploding. All of our major conferences ..., our principal reports to this Assembly, most of the papers prepared for the Work Book and for your sections, invoke education in their prescriptions for action, but there is no address on their invocations.[235]

Furthermore, Gill warns the Council against repeating previous responses to important issues, which had involved, amongst other things, the issuing of statements of concern;[236] developing a theology of the issue under discussion;[237] and inter-denominational 'bragging'.[238] Reiterating his position, Gill continues:

> Especially let us not set up a desk or an office, get it cooperating with Roman Catholics, and then go into a long effort to establish our specific motivations for work in this field. If Christians can't move in where people have problems without arguing a good case first, forget it.[239]

Rather, he demands the development of a practically based agenda that would meet the professional needs of those involved in education.[240] Gill calls for education to be constructed in a more general way, relating directly to the needs of those already involved in education. To facilitate this, a structural change within WCC was necessary to reflect this 'new' priority of 'general' education. In response, a subcommittee of the 1968 assembly considered how education could better be incorporated into the institutional structure of the WCC,[241] and a Consultation took place in Bergen in 1970 under the title 'The World Education Crisis and the Church's Contribution'.[242]

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[235] Gill, *The Great Convergence*, 392.

[236] 'Let us be clear, though, that we will be no use to anyone or anything if our main new address to education is another expression of "concern". (Gill, *The Great Convergence*, 393)

[237] 'Neither let us mount a new operation to develop a "theology of education." Theologies of this and theologies of that! (Gill, *The Great Convergence*, 393)

[238] 'Nor let us waste time heralding the cooperation which would be essential in our education operation, as another "first" in Roman Catholic-Protestant-Orthodox relations. Such "firsts" have already become non-events in the world we'd like to be working with.' (Gill, *The Great Convergence*, 393).

[239] Gill, *The Great Convergence*, 393

[240] Gill, *The Great Convergence,* 393.

[241] WCC Archive, (Geneva) box 34.5 - *4th WCC Assembly, Uppsala 1968: Committee Reports*: D.R. Hunter, The Purpose and Function of Education in the Bureaucratic Structure of the Churches, World Council of Churches, Fourth Assembly, Uppsala, July 1968, Committee II, Sub-Committee E, Document 1.

[242] See Oxley,*The World Council of Churches and 'ecumenical Consciousness,* 92. Also Office of Education, *Seeing Education Whole,* (Geneva: WCC, 1970).

Gill's statements regarding the neglect of education appear to be novel;[243] similar sentiments are expressed by later commentators such as Simon Oxley,[244] and Eugene Carson Blake,[245] who make statements consistent with Gill's, making explicit a neglect of education from the establishment of WCC in 1948.[246] Oxley, for example, supports his claim that education is 'hidden' by drawing on the work of David Gaines,[247] who makes 'only fleeting references to the development of the Sunday School/Christian Education Movement',[248] and by highlighting the paucity of references to education in the first two volumes of the official '*History of the Ecumenical Movement*'.[249] Blake simply states that 'Until Uppsala, the World Council [of Churches] had stayed out of the field [of education]'.[250] Support for such claims is found in the examination of the wider ecumenical discourse; for example, in the opening sermon at the Uppsala Assembly, Rev. Dr. D. T. Niles refers to the

> accusation that the Churches themselves are standing aloof from the actual world in which men live. The judgement is constantly made that the Christian presence is not convincing at the frontiers of human life where the struggles are taking place to push these frontiers back to make life ampler for all[251]

However, Niles makes no mention of education. Similarly, in an earlier article on how the Church contributes to the transformation of society, Blake fails to mention

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[243] They concur with the *Report*, which states very early on that: 'The World Council of Churches, attentive to everything of serious significance to the human enterprise, has been aware too for some time that education now plays a much larger and more complex role than is suggested in either the structure or the programme of the ecumenical organization.' (WCC, *Appendix VIII - Report of the Joint Study Commission on Education*, §1 p164)

[244] S. Oxley, Education and the World Council of Churches - an overview from its origins to the 1968 Uppsala Assembly, (not dated). Retrieved February 8, 2012, from http://www.oikoumene.org/fileadmin/files/wcc-main/documents/p5/ete/Education_and_the_WCC_-_an_overview_from_its_origins_to_1968_Uppsala_Assembly_-_Simon_Oxley.pdf.

[245] E.C. Blake, 'Uppsala and Afterwards'. In H.E. Fey (ed), *The Ecumenical Advance. A History of the Ecumenical Movement Volume 2 1948-1968*. (London: SPCK, 1970): 413-445. Blake was General Secretary to the 1968 Assembly.

[246] Kallaway highlights the need for further explanation of this marginalization of education in the supranational ecumenical discourse (Peter Kallaway, 'Education, health and social welfare in the late colonial context: The International Missionary Council and educational transition in the interwar years with specific reference to colonial Africa'. In Deirdre Raftery and David Crook (eds), *History of Education: Themes and Perspectives,* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2014): 162).

[247] D.P. Gaines, *The World Council of Churches - A Study of its background and History*, (New Hampshire: Richard R Smith Co, 1966).

[248] Oxley, *Education and the World Council of Churches*, 2.

[249] Ruth Rouse and Stephen Charles Neill (eds), A History of the Ecumenical Movement 1517-1948, (London: SPCK, 1954); H.E. Fey, *The Ecumenical Advance. A History of the Ecumenical Movement Volume 2 1948-1968*, (London: SPCK, 1970).

[250] Blake, *Uppsala and Afterwards*, 438.

[251] Rev.Dr.D.T. Niles, Opening Sermon of Uppsala, *The Ecumenical Review*, vol.20 no. 4, (1968): 327.

education at all.[252] That Gill is calling for a de-marginalization of education, prompts questions regarding what had happened previously; was there a marginalization, or a silencing, of education? Further exploration is necessary.

The examination of earlier statements suggests that education *had* been an important issue in ecumenical discourse. Prior to 1948, the issue of education had been a key topic of discussion, although the extent to which it was prioritized is contested.[253] At WMC, Edinburgh 1910, the discussion was undertaken under the heading *Education in relation to the Christianization of National Life*,[254] taking an equal footing to other commissions, with the whole of the third day set aside for the consideration of the report and discussion. In common with the other commissions, information was gathered from missionaries across the globe, and many stories of successful missionary education were shared, including the 'extraordinary importance of the work of missionary schools or colleges in Moslem lands'.[255] At the 1928 IMC meeting in Jerusalem, 'Religious Education' was the second area to be discussed, after '*The Christian life and message in relation to non-Christian systems*',[256] yet by the time of the Life and Work conference at Oxford in 1937, the discussion of education was marginalized in a similar way to that which Gill highlights in respect of the 1968 Assembly; at Oxford 'two sessions were given to the discussion of each report [of the nine], with the exception of that on education, for which only one session could be assigned',[257] this being on the last business day of the conference.[258]

This exploration highlights that in these repeated statements relating to the neglect of education within the ecumenical discourse there is a 'discontinuity of discussion'; the theme of education is initially fairly dominant, but by 1937 it is being pushed into the margins and is dropped altogether from the discourse at some point around the establishment of the WCC in 1948, only seeing a renaissance some twenty years later. This requires a re-examination of the status of Gill's statements showing that rather than being novel, they relate to an earlier domain of discourse that has been marginalized. Here, the

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[252] Eugene Carson Blake, 'How the church contributes to the transformation of society' *The Ecumenical Review* 18, no.4 (Oct 1966): 461-463.

[253] For a more in depth discussion of this, see Kallaway*, Education, health and social welfare in the late colonial context*, 141ff.

[254] World Missionary Conference (WMC), *Report of Commission III:* Education in Relation to the Christianization of National Life, (Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1910).

[255] Gairdner, *Edinburgh 1910*, 123. See also Kallaway, *Education, health and social welfare in the late colonial context*, 144ff.

[256] International Missionary Council (IMC)(ed), *Report of the Jerusalem Meeting of the IMC, March 24 – April 8 1928*. Eight volumes: (London: Oxford University Press, 1928).

[257] J.H. Oldham, *The Churches Survey Their Task: The Report of the Conference at Oxford, July 1937*, on Church, Community and State. (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 1937): 23.

[258] Oldham, *The Churches Survey Their Task*, 23.

application of Statement Archaeology has exposed a relationship between sets of statements that might otherwise have been overlooked.

However, in combination with this marginalization, and a general paucity of primary material that mentions 'education', there is a fluidity in the use of the term within the ecumenical discourse. Whilst, as I have argued, the use alters with time and context, there is a deeper inconsistency; it is used to convey a variety of meanings within the discourse, without clear differentiation. Up until the 1968 Assembly, the term 'education' is generally – though not exclusively - used by the movement to describe the process of nurturing Christians in their faith through a process of theological and spiritual development.[259] This was focused on the teaching ministry of the Church,[260] with the associated need to train ministers, both lay and ordained.[261] These aspects are epitomized in the foundation of the Ecumenical Institute at Bossey (1946),[262] and the documents of the 1948 Amsterdam Assembly, which marked the establishment of the World Council of Churches.[263]

It is informative at this point to take up the lack of differentiation between 'education' and 'religious education' within the ecumenical discourse. Although not always explicit in the primary sources, education in the ecumenical discourse largely has a religious connotation. In particular there had been a conflation of the terms 'education', 'religious education' and 'missionary education', with all three being constructed in terms of 'winning recruits to the Church'.[264] In a publication prior to the 1928 IMC, William Paton (Associate Secretary of IMC) stated: '[Education] is not only a matter for the school and the teacher but also of the home and the preacher. Religious education, its principles and practices, relate not only to the school, but also to the whole future of evangelistic work'.[265] A critical reading of the *Statement on Religious Education* issued by the IMC at Jerusalem, 1928, shows

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[259] Oxley, *Education and the World Council of Churches.*

[260] Bell, *The Stockholm Conference 1925*, 715.

[261] For example, J.S. Pobee, 'Education, Adult'. In N Lossky, JM Bonino, JS Pobee, T Stransky, G Wainwright & P Webb (eds), *Dictionary of the Ecumenical Movement*, (Geneva: WCC Publications, 2002): 345-52.

[262] The Ecumenical Institute, was established in 1946 by the World Council of Churches under the General Secretary, W.A.Visser't Hooft and funded by 'the generous gift of Mr John D Rockerfeller Jr'. The purpose of the institute was to form 'an apostolic type of leadership "which not only aims at changing the life of individuals, but also seeks to achieve a peaceful penetration into the various sections of the community and the various areas of life"'. (Willem Adolf Visser't Hooft, 'The Genesis of the World Council of Churches'. In Ruth Rouse and Stephen Charles Neill (eds), *A History of the Ecumenical Movement 1517-1948,* (London: SPCK, 1954): 715-6).

[263] See discussion above, Section 5.1.3, starting on page 232 above. See also Oxley, *Education and the World Council of Churches*, 5.

[264] Kallaway, *Education, health and social welfare in the late colonial context*, 153. Kallaway suggests that the lack of differentiation between terms was because it was confused. See also discussion on page 360 below.

[265] William Patton, 'The Jerusalem Meeting of the International Missionary Council', *International Review of Missions* 17 no.1 (1928): 8.

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that what is under discussion is *Christian* education, specifically the notion of 'Religion *in* Education' discussed in terms of both 'the meaning of Christian education' and 'some means by which it can be put into practice'.[266] The Statement highlights Jesus as a pedagogical exemplar, and balances the ideas 'that Religion is an essential factor in education' with the idea 'that Education has an essential place in Religious Work'.[267] Furthermore, the official report of the Religious Education Report of the 1928 Conference states unequivocally at its start:

> The subject with which this report attempts to deal is not restricted to schools and colleges but has to do with the whole life of the Church and the entire range of missionary activity.[268]

Further, the discussion of education is often constructed in terms of the teaching ministry of the Church, as at the 1925 Stockholm Conference:

> If this goal [of unity] is to be attained we recognize the pressing need of education. *The individual must be educated by the Church*, so that he may be enabled to exercise a Christian discernment in all things. The Churches must educate themselves by study, conference and prayer, so that being led by the Spirit of Truth into all truth, they may be enabled in increasing measure to apprehend the mind of Christ. [269]

The lack of distinction over terms persists at the 1937 Oxford conference on *Church, Community and the State in relation to Education* states: 'It is not the purpose of this report to deal with the problem either of education in general or of religious education, but rather of the relation between them'.[270] The report continues, describing the educative role of the Church in the same terms as it outlines the educative role of the state, constructing education in terms of the development of people's ability to be committed, loyal and capable citizens of the heavenly kingdom.[271] However, by this time the *aim* of education within the ecumenical discourse was beginning to be described differently, even if the underlying motivation was similar.

This dominant construction of education in the ecumenical discourse was sustained during discussions about the structure of the Office of Education in the 1960s; a *Draft Plan* suggested that the Office should have a dual outlook, considering 'general education' and

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[266] J.H. Oldham and L.A. Weigle, *Religious Education Report of the Jerusalem Meeting, International Missionary Council, March 24th-April 8th, 1928*, Volume II. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1928): 7ff.

[267] Oldham and Weigle, *Religious Education*, 241 ff.

[268] Oldham and Weigle, *Religious Education*, 5.

[269] G.K.A. Bell (ed.) The Stockholm Conference 1925: The Office Report of the Universal Christian Conference on Life and Work held in Stockholm, 19-30 August, 1925, (London: Oxford University Press, 1926): 710-6; §10; 714. Emphasis added.

[270] Oldham, *The Churches Survey Their Task*, 130.

[271] Oldham, *The Churches Survey Their Task*, 132; 135.

'church provided education'.[272] After 1968, the meaning of the term remains disputed. For example, the *Dictionary of the Ecumenical Movement* has no entry for 'education' although it includes distinct entries for 'Education, Adult' and 'Education and Renewal'.[273] The latter of these deals most closely with education as it relates to children and young people, covering in some detail the history of the Sunday School movement, including the establishment of the World Sunday School Association in 1907 (later to become the World Council of Christian Education).

Thus the supranational ecumenical discourse of education appears to privilege certain aspects of education (particularly the teaching ministry of the Church and the preparation of ministers, both lay and ordained) over school-based education, with the consequence that there is almost no reference to school-based RE. Furthermore, beyond the teaching ministry of the Church and the educative processes necessary to ensure this, the main use of the term 'education' within the discourse is associated with missionary education overseas, a theme that will be developed in more detail now.

5.3.3   Education as a 'Mission motivated' activity carried out 'overseas'.

The second area of significance in Gill's *Introduction* is the challenge to a prevailing construction of education as an 'overseas mission' activity. For the purpose of clarity here, I will disentangle the two aspects and deal with them separately; first 'missionary', and then 'overseas'.

Missionary Education

The motivation for education, as expressed in Gill's 1968 statement, is rooted in the need for the Church to respond to the ongoing 'education expansion':

> Before any of its moral implications are identified with the flags and
> labels we are used to look for, we are brought to the alert just by the
> magnitude of the event. *Anything* that involves so many of God's people,
> so much of God's time, in so much of God's world, is immediately,
> insistently our business.[274]

Particular concern is expressed that the educational agenda was being driven by those who 'know what they have in mind about us and for us, but most [of whom] will

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[272] WCC Archive, (Geneva) Box 423.06: 9 - *Education, contacts with WCC: Ernst Lang*..Draft Plan for an Ecumenical Office of Education, 1968.

[273] N. Lossky, J.M. Bonino, J.S. Pobee, T. Stransky, G. Wainwright & P. Webb (eds), *Dictionary of the Ecumenical Movement*, (Geneva: WCC Publications, 2002): 345-52.

[274] Gill, *The Great Convergence*, 387. Emphasis original. This correlates with the emphasis of the Report (WCC, *Appendix VIII - Report of the Joint Study Commission on Education*, *passim*.)

never have articulated their basic convictions about man and his fulfilment and his destiny'.[275] This concern is exemplified for Gill in the Student protests 'on campuses in New York, Paris, Milan, Rome, Berlin, Strasbourg, Belgrade, Vienna, Warsaw, Prague, Madrid, Hull', whereby students showed their 'distrust [of] the values commonly invoked' by rising up 'in revolutionary dissatisfaction with the goals they see accepted by those who teach them, affect then, direct them'.[276]

Gill positions education as facilitating and supporting wide-ranging change in the world; he cites the importance of education not only in creating new jobs, co-ordinating industry, 'manning the infrastructure', but also in providing a critique of 'the machine'; 'it informs resistance to mechanical remorselessness, it suggests alternative goals, it mounts guard against the juggernaut'.[277]

The construction of education articulated by Gill, can be considered novel in contrast to the earlier ecumenical discourse, where education had been constructed primarily in terms of overseas mission.[278] For example, the report presented to the 1910 WMC, under the heading '*Education in relation to the Christianization of National Life*' sets out clearly that education within the ecumenical discourse has a clear missionary aim:

> Education may be conducted primarily with an evangelistic purpose, being viewed either as an attractive force to bring the youth under the influence of Christianity or as itself an evangelistic agency.[279]

The preliminary paper on Education, prepared by J. H. Oldham and Rev Luther A. Weigle (of Yale) for the IMC at Jerusalem, 1928 under the title '*Religious Education*' was equally explicit in constructing education (specifically here religious education) entirely in terms of missionary activity:

> Religious education in the Christian sense includes all efforts and processes which help to bring children and adults into a vital and saving experience of God revealed in Christ; to quicken the sense of God as a living reality, so that the communion with Him in prayer and worship becomes a natural habit and principle of life; to enable them to interpret the meaning of their growing experience of life in the light of ultimate values; to establish attitudes and habits of Christlike living in common

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[275] Gill, *The Great Convergence*, 388.

[276] Gill, *The Great Convergence*, 388. The inclusion of statements regarding Student Protests is one way in which the *Introduction* differs significantly from the *Report*, however, at the time of the *Report's* writing, these events had not occurred, and could hardly be forseen (WCC, *Appendix VIII - Report of the Joint Study Commission on Education*.

[277] Gill, *The Great Convergence*, 390; echoing the Report (WCC, Appendix VIII - Report of the Joint Study Commission on Education, passim, but especially §57 ff).

[278] For example, Gairdner, *Edinburgh 1910*.

[279] World Missionary Conference (WMC), *Report of Commission III*, 9.

> life and all human relations; and to enlarge and deepen the understanding
> of the historic facts on which Christianity rests.[280]

In a similar vein, the report goes on to highlight that

> the modern drift away from the Church in western countries in no small
> degree to mistakes in the religious education of the young due to
> ignorance of the real nature of the educational process.[281]

The novelty of Gill's construction of education in non-missionary terms is an important discontinuity. By widening the ecumenical discourse beyond its foundational missionary prerogative, it becomes more acceptable to use statements from an ecumenical discourse in other discourses; that is to say, Gill's novel construction of education as 'non-missionary' creates 'historical conditions of possibility',[282] in which it is more acceptable to repeat ecumenical statements beyond the ecumenical domain of discourse. It may go further too, in relation to the re-positioning of education. If the ecumenical discourse is seen as following the leadership of the national/state education system, then perhaps, repeating statements from its discourse positions them differently; that is they are situated in relation to *educational* discourses rather than to *ecumenical* discourses. Thus it may become more appropriate to cite them as endorsements.

Education as 'overseas' activity

Having repositioned education in relation to missionary endeavour, Gill challenges the established location of education by situating it very clearly in the life of the local community,[283] the exposure of its 'hiddenness' not only revealing the marginalization of the issue in the work of the WCC, but also highlighting in detail the fact that the 'education explosion' was going on in the communities from which the delegates had come. He contrasts the visual centrality in the community of the church with the school:

> In each [town or village] a great church tower rearing its impressive,
> disproportionate mass high above the recumbent town. If your way runs
> close enough, you see the church too, often dark, mostly empty,
> frequently of antiquarian if not artistic interest. Anyway, it would be hard
> to miss it. You might easily miss, however, the nondescript building on

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[280] Oldham and Weigle, *Religious Education,* 4.

[281] Oldham and Weigle, *Religious Education,* 5.

[282] Michel Foucault and Anthony Nazzaro, 'History, Discourse and Discontinuity.' *Salmagundi* 20, Psychological Man: Approaches to an Emergent Social Type (1972): 245.

[283] In the *Report*, education is almost entirely constructed as a local phenomenon, even discussions of the Global educational expansion are couched in these terms (WCC, *Appendix VIII - Report of the Joint Study Commission on Education, passim*).

> the edge of town; no tower, no age, no interest, but full of people, life,
> action most of the time: the community school.[284]

There is a novelty to Gill's statements regarding the localization of education, further typified through his use of a series of vignettes illustrating local educational circumstances in Asia, Africa, the South Pacific, and California,[285] which stand counter to the earlier ecumenical discourse of education which had situated education almost entirely as an 'overseas' activity. For example, the 1900 New York conference referred to above,[286] 'was described as an 'Ecumenical Conference on *Foreign* Missions'.[287] Likewise, at WMC 1910 the focus was on 'carrying the Gospel to the non-Christian world', a domain that was constructed almost entirely in spatial, overseas, terms.[288] This construction remained dominant during the years that followed. At the IMC in 1928, recommendations of the Religious Education group include the 'production of a manual for missionaries', together with a call for a more in depth study of the problems of religious education in the 'various mission fields'.[289]

Within this narrative of education as an 'overseas' activity, there is strong evidence of a form of 'imperialism', as Peter Kallaway highlights:

> Christian education at this time was in part an ideological aspect of imperialism through which indigenous peoples were inducted to Western languages, culture and scientific knowledge, and participation in the capitalist free market of trade and industry.[290]

There is an awareness of this Imperialism within the discourse during the late 1960s, corresponding with a growing awareness of the issue in wider society;[291] this was a time of significant political change with a number of former colonial states becoming independent. *The Ecumenical Review* in October 1967 included a series of papers under the heading '*Development*' published as a special issue, within which there is a questioning of the relationship between education as practised overseas, and 'western' values and emphases. For example, J. K. Ngerere describes the situation in Tanzania, granted independence in

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[284] Gill, *The Great Convergence*, 385.

[285] Gill, *The Great Convergence*,, 385-6

[286] See footnote 24 on page 227 above.

[287] Goodall, *Ecumenical Progress*, 37.

[288] For example, analysis of the non-Christian world was undertaken on a country by country basis, with the exeption of the section headed 'The Jews', although even in this respect, the quantification of Judaism is undertaken on a geographical basis. (World Missionary Conference, *Report of Commission I: Carrying the Gospel to all the Non-Christian World*, (Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1910): 268ff. See also World Missionary Conference, *Statistical Atlas of Christian Missions',* (Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1910)).

[289] Oldham and Weigle, *Religious Education,* 241.

[290] Kallaway, *Education, health and social welfare in the late colonial context*, 138.

[291] For example, Franstz Fanon, *The Wretched of the earth* (London: Penguin, 1967), first published in 1961.

1961. He compares colonially governed education with government orchestrated education after independence, describing the colonial government's education thus:

> It was not designed to prepare young people for the service of their own country; instead it was motivated by a desire to inculcate the values of the colonial society and to train individuals for the service of the colonial state … Colonial education in this country was therefore not transmitting the values and knowledge of Tanzanian society from one generation to the next; it was a deliberate attempt to change those values and to replace traditional knowledge by the knowledge from a different society.[292]

He goes on to highlight the central aims of an education provided by the newly independent state:

> the development in each citizen of three things: an enquiring mind; an ability to learn from what others do, and reject or adapt it to his own needs; and a basic confidence in his own position as a free and equal member of society who values others and is valued by them for what he does and not for what he obtains.[293]

Similarly, Kurien highlights the colonial influences on education in developing countries: 'in most ex-colonial countries which today constitute the bulk of the underdeveloped world, the educational enterprise, particularly at University level, came from a foreign milieu'.[294]

However, the awareness of the effects of this Imperialism is evident in the ecumenical discourse prior to the 1960s. For example the report of the 1928 IMC (the location of which itself foregrounds issues of Imperialism),[295] highlights the rejection of traditional structures and sources of authority in mission areas, including a growing mistrust of the 'West'. A particular obstacle to Christian missions was that their association with Western civilization which had 'in the past facilitated and furthered their work; is [now] tending to become a handicap'.[296] Earlier, the report stresses that

> The problem of religious education is not one for which it can be claimed that a solution has already been found in the West. The question of the relations of religion and education in other continents cannot be

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[292] J.K. Ngerere, 'Education for self-reliance', *The Ecumenical Review* 19, no.4 (Oct 1967): 383-4.

[293] Ngerere, *Education for self-reliance*, 388.

[294] C.T. Kurien, 'Role of Education in Developing Countries', *The Ecumenical Review* 19 no.4, (1967): 410.

[295] The British Mandate for Palestine was confirmed by the League of Nations 24 July 1922, and came into force on 29 September 1923 (Palestine Royal Commission Report Presented by the Secretary of State for the Colonies to Parliament by Command of His Majesty, July 1937, Cmd. 5479. His Majesty's Stationery Office., London, 1937). Some felt that the choice of location was 'deliberately provocative and could give rise to angry Arab reaction' (Jerald D. Gort, 'Jerusalem 1928: Mission, Kingdom and Church', International Review of Missions 67 (1978): 273-298).

[296] Oldham and Weigle, *Religious Education,* 9.

> solved simply by the adaptation of programmes developed in Europe and America. The whole subject needs to be explored afresh in the light of the new conditions in which Christianity has to meet. It calls for patient study and courageous experiment, in which there is need for the co-operation of all.[297]

This brief survey illustrates that, whilst mission was initially a key motivation for education within the ecumenical discourse, this had begun to change by the later 1960s. Likewise, the construction of education in the ecumenical discourse as an overseas activity was also being contested. It is also important to foreground within this discussion, the relationship between education and citizenship/national identity. In addition to the examples revealed in the discussion above, at WMC in 1910, it was recorded that there was 'an astonishing awakening of national consciousness among the peoples of all the regions we are specifically considering'.[298]

The 1937 *Report on Church, State and Community in relation to Education* begins: 'Education is the process by which the community seeks to open its life to all the individuals within it and enable them to take their full part in it'.[299] It goes on to describe the educative role of the Church as preparing individuals to take their full part as citizens in the Kingdom *of heaven*, claiming that 'no education is adequate without the living encounter with God and the response of personal faith',[300] and suggesting that '[o]n this foundation education in obedience to the law of Christian love creates consciences which cohere and form a stable society'.[301] It appears to be around this time that the ecumenical discourse of education becomes focused on *citizenship*, juxtaposing the citizenship of heaven with the development of 'good' citizens on earth; a Christian education that initiates individuals into the Christian faith (mission) is considered the best way in which to ensure that citizens become 'good'. These changes demonstrate an increased emphasis on education by the state through the adoption of national systems of education within the ecumenical discourse:

> Education, once left largely to private initiative and religious interests, is almost everywhere becoming a function of the State. It may before long be regarded as the most important function of the State.[302]

It is to that matter that we now turn.

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[297] Oldham and Weigle, *Religious Education*, 6.

[298] World Missionary Conference (WMC), *Report of Commission III*, 6-7.

[299] Oldham, *The Churches Survey Their Task*, 130.

[300] Oldham, *The Churches Survey Their Task*, 131.

[301] Oldham, *The Churches Survey Their Task*, 132.

[302] Oldham and Weigle, *Religious Education,* 10.

5.3.4 *'From leader to follower': the changing role of the Church in education.*

Finally, Gill highlights the changing position of the Church in terms of responsibility for education, wherein the Church has lost its leadership role, and has been relegated to being a follower.[303] Furthermore, Gill implies that the limited grasp that the Church has on education is tenuous: 'let us remember, though the Church was in early in education, we come late to the current phenomenon. It is not our show. … We could never do it ourselves',[304] and that an urgent response is required.[305] This disclosure is significant, and requires further exploration, particularly in terms of the novelty of Gill's statement here.

During the first half of the Twentieth Century, in parallel with the development and bureaucratization of the Nation State,[306] there was a significant shift in terms of who took responsibility for educational provision. As mentioned much earlier, the Church had been at the forefront of educational development,[307] but within the ecumenical discourse, even from 1910, there are expressions of concern about the increasing role of national governments in providing education.[308] This gave rise to a call to united action: 'if missionary education is not, in the plant and equipment, to fall behind the education conducted under Government auspices, there is need of much fuller co-operation between the different Christian bodies'.[309] Likewise, the development of State/National systems of education is framed as a problem in the 1928 IMC report:

> The deliberate and conscious attempt to direct and guide the course of human development finds its most powerful expression in *national systems of education*. These are comparatively recent and have hardly as yet emerged from the experimental stage even in the West. They are rapidly being extended to the continents of Asia and Africa. Education, once left largely to private initiative and religious interests, is almost everywhere *becoming a function of the State*. It may before long be regarded as the most important function of the State. … Religion cannot be indifferent to

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[303] Gill*, The Great Convergence*.

[304] Gill, *The Great Convergence*, 394. This echoes claims made in the *Report*, including 'We do not ask for our important old place in education. We do not demand a special new place in education. Believing what we do about God, knowing what we know about man, we ask how we may best serve a development we hail.' WCC, *Appendix VIII - Report of the Joint Study Commission on Education*, §26, 168)

[305] Gill, *The Great Convergence,* passim. Statements in the *Report* support this claim, including 'The size of the [educational explosion] … not only justifies, but requires the Church's immediate action'; 'so, for the most immediately practical reasons, the Church must think again about education.' (WCC, *Appendix VIII - Report of the Joint Study Commission on Education*, §26, p168; §28, p169 respectively).

[306] See, for example, Bayly, *The Birth of the Modern World*.

[307] See Section 2.1 starting on page 54. In England, for example, the Church had a key role in the development of educational policy beyond RE. For example, in the early 1920s the IMC, through the work of J.H. Oldham, made a significant contribution to British Colonial Office policy on education in Africa (see Kallaway, *Education, health and social welfare in the late colonial context*, 147ff for a more detailed account).

[308] Gairdener, *Edinburgh 1910*, 131.

[309] World Missionary Conference (WMC), *Report of Commission III,* 7-8.

> these powerful influences which are forming the outlook, moulding the minds and determining the attitudes of successive generations.[310]

However, the discourse at this point that suggests a view is held that any 'threat' to the position of the Church can be addressed:

> We hold that in the organisation of any national system of education, the regulations should be sufficiently elastic to permit of wide differences of religious belief, and to safeguard a reasonable measure of religious liberty. The convictions of parents and pupils cannot be disregarded without grave injustice or coerced without evil results. The rights of religious minorities cannot be infringed without danger to the national spirit and the unity of the nation.[311]

Developments in Germany were central to discussion at the Life and Work Council meeting in 1934 at Fanø, Denmark. Here the council took the decision to support the Confessing Church in Germany, consequently standing against the *Deutsche Christen* (German Christians),[312] and by implication, the Nazi regime.[313] In light of this, and the wider situation in Germany, the Council declared that the World Conference on Life and Work, to be held in Oxford in 1937 would focus on the Church's response to

> [t]he great extension of the functions of the State everywhere in recent times and the emergence in some countries of the authoritarian or totalitarian State raise in a new and often an acute form the age-long question of the relation between the Church and State … No question, therefore, more urgently demands the grave and earnest consideration of Christian people than the relationship between the Church, the State and the Community, since on these practical issues is focussed the great and critical debate between the Christian faith and the secular tendencies of our time. In this struggle the very existence of the Christian Church is at stake.[314]

Thus the report of the 1937 Oxford Conference highlights the growing complexity in the boundary between religious and non-religions aspects in education, holding the increasing secularisation of States responsible: 'As secular systems to an increasing extent claim to determine the inner life of men it becomes difficult to draw a sharp distinction between the religious and the non-religious elements in education'.[315] It continues:

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[310] Oldham and Weigle, *Religious Education,* 10.

[311] Oldham and Weigle, *Religious Education,* 229.

[312] For a detailed account of the separation of the Confessing Church from the *Deutsche Christen* under the Barhmen declaration, see Matthew D Hockenos, *A Church Divided: German Protestants Confront the Nazi Past,* (Bloomington IL: Indiana University Press, 2004).

[313] So, for example, the statement of the Universal Christian Council for Life and Work, *Minutes of the Meeting of the Universal Christian Council for Life and Work, Fanø 1934*, (Stockholm, Universal Christian Council for Life and Work, 1934).

[314] Universal Christian Council for Life and Work, *Minutes of the Meeting of the Universal Christian Council for Life and Work, Fanø 1934*, 47ff.

[315] Oldham, *The Churches Survey Their Task*, 130.

> Very generally a widespread system of Church schools has been largely
> superseded by the provision of public or State, schools for all classes of
> the population. The Church moreover has found it difficult, owing to
> her limited financial resources, to maintain her schools on a level of
> efficiency comparable with that of the better equipped and more
> adequately staffed State schools.[316]

In its discussion of different circumstances under which the Church must relate to the State in matters of education, the situation wherein the 'Government is responsive to Christian Opinion' is constructed as preferential,[317] (the Church at this point still appears to consider itself a leader in the field of education, if not in all countries, certainly in some).[318] There is a high level of optimism over how other conditions might be responded to; under the heading '*Christian Education in a Non-Christian Environment*', the report claims that 'religion is regarded as essential to the re-integration of a community which has lost the social, economic, and spiritual cohesion which it possessed under primitive tribal conditions'.[319] Alongside this there is a recognition of limitations in the Churches' provision; some State systems of education 'often [provide] a higher standard of education than is provided in Christian schools',[320] and where this is the case the Church should 'regard excellence as in accordance with the mind of God',[321] and support the State in its provision. Where the State is in total opposition to the Church's involvement, or is 'using education as an instrument of propaganda, for inculcating views of life which negate the Christian faith',[322] then the Church's role is to work to protect the opportunity to teach Christianity, either directly, or through the support of parents who take on this responsibility for themselves.

Perhaps then, the novelty of Gill's statement here pertains, not to the recognition and articulation of the degree to which the development of state sponsored education threatens the Church's authoritarian positioning, but in articulating its acquiescence. In short, although within the ecumenical discourse of education there is an acknowledgement of the effect on the Church of the increasing state involvement in education, it is only in the 1968 report that the extent of this acknowledgement is constructed in terms of the necessity of a change in the Church's role.

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[316] Oldham, *The Churches Survey Their Task*, 157.
[317] Oldham, *The Churches Survey Their Task*, 157.
[318] Oldham, *The Churches Survey Their Task,* 130-166, esp 141.
[319] Oldham, *The Churches Survey Their Task*, 161-2.
[320] Oldham, *The Churches Survey Their Task*, 163.
[321] Oldham, *The Churches Survey Their Task*, 163.
[322] Oldham, *The Churches Survey Their Task*, 164.

5.3.5   Summary

An investigation of the supranational discourse of education at the end of the 1960s exposes a discourse in disarray; understandings of education were fluid and contested, certain understandings of education, especially those relating to ministerial education, were privileged, and the foundations on which the discourse had developed were under challenge. Ultimately, the discourse itself had been silenced within the wider ecumenical movement to the extent that a call for de-marginalization had become necessary.

Against this backdrop, it is possible to see why, in WP36, theological statements are used to endorse what is presented as an educational argument rather than a supranational educational statement with an educational orientation. Simply, such statements did not exist. Much the same applies in asking how the religious other is constructed in the supranational ecumenical discourse of education; the issue does not appear to feature. This gives rise to a further question relating to the choice of *any* ecumenical statements by the authors of WP36

This is not to say that the investigation has been fruitless; far from it. This exploration of the marginalization and demarginalization of education within the ecumenical discourse, through the application of Statement Archaeology, to Gill's *Introduction* exposes a number of issues that potentially can enrich our understandings of the adoption of SWR, as well as our understandings of the wider historiography of RE. Here, for example, the method has exposed the importance of the supranational 'educational explosion' of the 1960s in understanding the changes in the ecumenical movement's construction and comprehension of education, an aspect that is often neglected within the existing, nationally bound, historiographies, where if such supranational developments are discussed at all, the discussion tends to be limited to the effect on the local-national context. It also exposes the move away from mission as the principal motivation for education. This requires further investigation; in particular it is important to examine the extent to which this move is indicative of a movement away from missionary foundations in other domains of the supranational ecumenical discourse. Sadly, both of these areas are beyond the scope of this work.

The method also reveals the way in which the Church's position changed in relation to education; from *leader,* to *follower.* This appears to be primarily in response to the expansion of national systems of education. This development has implications, for example, in terms of the religious settlement associated with the 1944 Education Act in England, which is generally constructed as a victory for the Church over the State. Was the Church *allowing* the State to take greater control of education, or was it an act of resistance?

Furthermore, the development of such national systems of education bring into focus issues of education's role in the development of national identity, a theme which will be developed in Chapter 7 of this thesis.

Finally, this examination has prepared the ground for an examination of the extent to which the modern ecumenical movement saw itself as influencing educational policy and practice in different national contexts; the marginalization of education in the supranational ecumenical discourse between 1948 and 1968 might suggest that it is unlikely that there would be any formal, structural involvement in educational policy in national contexts, including England.

5.4   Conclusion

This chapter demonstrates the importance of being attentive to supranational ecumenical discourses in the development of historiographies of RE. In this respect, the application of Statement Archaeology to two specific documents (*Nostra Aetate* and *The Great Convergence*) has enriched understandings of how SWR teaching became possible in English RE during the 1960s and 1970s.

Specifically, the method has allowed consideration of the questions raised at the end of the previous chapter, including 'Why repeat a statement issued by the Vatican, which appears to be primarily applicable to the Catholic Church, rather than a Protestant or fully ecumenical statement?'; 'What are the circumstances of production and the rules of repetition for this statement?'; and 'How does this statement relate to others within the ecumenical discourse?'. The detailed exploration of the repeated statement from *Nostra Aetate* shows that the choice of a statement issued by the Vatican could conceivably have been purely pragmatic. The paucity of widely circulated supranational ecumenical statements endorsing dialogue with non-Christian worldviews in combination with the wide acceptance of *Nostra Aetate* (and associated collaborative developments), situate the Decree as representative of the wider Christian Church, allows it to become seen as speaking for Protestants as well as Catholics. Moreover, the thorough exploration of the rules of repetition and the wider discourse has revealed, ultimately, the relative beginnings of the practice of ecumenical dialogue between Christians and those of other worldviews, through the discursive reconstruction of the 'religious other'. Understanding this development, in foregrounding the lifting of constraints on the discussion of (and with) other faith positions, offers to enrich understandings of how the practice of SWR became adopted in English schools in the 1960s and 1970s.

In response to the question 'why are theological statements used to endorse what is presented as an educational argument; why is a statement with an educational orientation not cited?', the systematic exploration of the marginalization and de-marginalization of education in the ecumenical discourse exposes the complexity of the construction of education, with certain understandings of education, especially those relating to ministerial formation and the development of 'discipleship' within the Church being privileged. The lack of educationally orientated statements on which the authors of WP36 might have been expected to draw, together with a lack of educationally based discussion of the 'religious other', are most notable by their absence. However, the investigation has highlighted other important things, particularly the changing position of the Church in education from *Leader* to *Follower*, and the apparent lifting of constraints which made possible the shift away from missionary zeal as the primary motivation for the Church's involvement in education. The importance of wider supranational developments, such as the world-wide educational expansion of the time, and its close association with the development of national systems of education, controlled by Governments, and driven – to some extent at least – by issues relating to citizenship and the development of national identity, which are often overlooked in nationally-based historiographies of RE, has also been recognized. The potential for these findings to enrich historiographies of RE in England will be discussed in more depth in Chapter 7 below, together with an initial assessment of how these discoveries might enrich the historiographies of RE in other national contexts.

However, one question remains, thus far, unanswered; 'why, in a context of pluralism (both as a reality and as an aspiration), would the authors of WP36 look to a supranational ecumenical statement for endorsement of their approach?'. Whilst to provide a definitive answer is impossible, this investigation of the supranational ecumenical discourse sanctions more informed conjecture. Perhaps, in relation to RE, and mindful that the potential audience of WP36 would include some with theological training and/or some with commitments to faith, the citation of a *theological* endorsement was important, especially when held in balance with the *educational* justification for the approach being proposed, which forms the vast majority of the Working Paper. Perhaps then, the authors of WP36 were looking for a theological endorsement that has a non-denominational statement with the widest possible constituency. Whether or not it is the case, *supranational* ecumenical statements may have been considered to have a different authoritative standing than those arising from national or denominational groupings. This possibility might also shed light on the exclusion by the authors of WP36 of the supremacy of Christ clauses highlighted at the start of this chapter. Whilst seeking *theological endorsement* from *Nostra Aetate* for their approach, the careful exclusion of the claims regarding Christ's supremacy

effectively leads to an endorsement of dialogue between Christians and those of other faiths that is *not* driven by missionary motivations, thus adapting the content of the statement from *Nostra Aetate* to be consistent with the non-confessional approach set out in WP36.[323]

Many of the questions raised about the repetition of statements from supranational ecumenical discourse have now been considered; however similar questions were identified in the previous chapter in relation to the statement repeated from the *national* ecumenical discourse in England. It is these questions, under the broader question 'In what ways does an exploration of the national ecumenical discourse in England enrich understandings of how the adoption of SWR became possible', that will be taken up in the following chapter. There I will concentrate on the role played by the national ecumenical discourse in the adoption of SWR, looking particularly at the circumstances of production of the national ecumenical statements that are included in WP36, and continuing the search for the relative beginning of the practice.

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[323] See page 186 above.

Chapter 6

'Radical Rethinking of Religious Education' in the National Ecumenical Discourse

The inclusion in WP36 of two statements drawn from the national ecumenical discourse requires exploration. The repetition of statements from *the fourth R: The Durham Report on Religious Education* (1970, hereafter *The Durham Report*),[1] and a British Council of Churches (hereafter BCC) Interim Statement (1969),[2] have been discussed in Chapter 4 above,[3] and a series of questions has already been expressed: 'What are the origins, circumstances of production and the rules of repetition for these statements?'; 'How do these statements relate to others within the ecumenical discourse?'; 'To what extent do these statements have an educational orientation?'; 'Why repeat national ecumenical statements as justification for moving away from a confessional approach to RE'; 'Could statements from other discourses have been used as/more appropriately?'; and 'Why, in a context of pluralism (both as a reality and as an aspiration), would the authors of WP36 look to Christian ecumenical statements for endorsement of their approach? These questions will be considered under the umbrella of a more general research question 'In what ways does an exploration of the national ecumenical discourse enrich understandings of how the adoption of SWR became possible in England during the 1960s and 1970?', a question which contributes directly to the overarching research question at the heart of this study.[4]

This chapter will use Statement Archaeology to undertake a detailed investigation into each statement in turn. Taking the Durham Report as a starting point, I will investigate the provenance and origin of the statement headed 'Encouraging the study of other religions and belief systems', showing that the practice has a much longer, and complex, history than the current historiography allows for. Then, starting with the BCC Interim Statement, I will explore the background to the statement 'The aim of RE is not to

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[1] Ian Ramsey, *The Fourth R: The Durham Report on Religious Education,* (London: National Society & SPCK, 1970).

[2] CERC, BCC/ED/7/1/49 - *Papers and correspondence re. dealings with the Department of Education and Science (DES) 1964-1974*: BCC Interim Statement 1969, prepared for DES.

[3] See Section 4.4.1 and 4.4.2, on pages 211 and 218 above.

[4] See Table 1 - Research Questions, on page 121.

proselytize', demonstrating that such proselytization was not, as some imagine, prescribed by legislation, but a practice which developed within this discourse in mid 1940s, and showing that the 'abandonment' of confessional RE in the 1960s is more appropriately seen as a return to an earlier practice. These explorations will make up sections two and three of this chapter respectively. However, a necessary preparatory step for these later sections is a brief survey of national ecumenical discourses. Here, I will focus on the British Council of Churches Education Department and its predecessors as an exemplification of the national ecumenical discourse. This survey will form section one of this chapter, thus providing sufficient contextual and background information to comprehend the events described in sections two and three.

6.1 The British Council of Churches' Education Department

An exploration of the British Council of Churches Education Department (hereafter BCCED) is important for a number of reasons. Firstly, the group is influential in the development of RE in England, exemplified in its production of reports and documents,[5] as will be set out in more detail below. Further, the BCC was *the* officially recognised ecumenical body for England. Consequently, in relation to the research question upon which this chapter focuses, the BCC is an exemplar of the national ecumenical discourse in England. Thus its Education Department is of central importance in understanding the intersections between ecumenical and educational discourses.

In what follows, I shall briefly set out the origin of the Department, considering the relationship between it and the Supranational ecumenical movement, I will then set out a summary of the Department's position on SWR at the end of the 1960s, and consider how the adoption of this position may have become possible, focusing on a key report from 1967/68.

6.1.1 The origins of the BCC

As stated in the previous chapter, the decision to establish a 'World Council of Churches' (hereafter WCC) was made in 1937.[6] In some localities, during the period between this

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[5] For example, BCC is mentioned explicitly in Schools Council, *Schools Council Working Paper 36: Religious Education in Secondary Schools* (London: Methuen Educational, 1971), and Ramsey, *The Fourth R.*

[6] See Section 5.1.3, starting on page 232 above.

agreement and the launch of the WCC in 1948,[7] national unions were established between disparate denominational groups within Christianity in preparation for, and in support of, the WCC, a number which took 'the form and name of National Councils of Churches'.[8]

The BCC, was formed in 1942 as 'the counterpart in our country of the World Council [of Churches]'.[9] It brought together sixteen member denominations as well as 'several interdenominational organisations including YMCA, YWCA and SCM'.[10] The BCC was recognised as the 'official instrument of the Churches "to facilitate common action" - in Christian Education, Evangelism, Inter-Church Aid, International Affairs, Social Responsibility, Rural Questions and Youth Work; and "to act for the Churches in Britain in all matters of common concern relating to their participation in the world-wide activities of the World Council"'.[11]

From its establishment, membership of the WCC had been on the basis of *denominational*, rather than *national* structures, thus none of the national Councils were constitutionally part of the WCC, although each of them supported its work.[12] Consequently, the BCC is not a local manifestation of the WCC; it is a national group that sets out to engender similar ecumenical ideals and principles, subscribing to common aims and objectives, and standing on the same doctrinal basis as the WCC.[13] In no sense does the BCC function as a 'local branch' of the WCC empowered to enact the policies of the WCC; individual denominational decision making structures remained in place, and each denomination made their own response to BCC and WCC suggestions.

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[7] Willem Adolf Visser't Hooft, 'The Genesis of the World Council of Churches'. In Ruth Rouse and Stephen Charles Neill (eds), *A History of the Ecumenical Movement 1517-1948,* (London: SPCK, 1954): 715; see discussion in Section 5.1.3, starting on page 232 above.

[8] So, for example, The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America (1908); The Canadian Council of Churches (1944); The Australian Council for the World Council of Churches (1946); The National Council of Churches in New Zealand (1941); The Ecumenical Council of Churches in the Netherlands (1935, reformed 1946). Ruth Rouse, 'Other Aspects of the Ecumenical Movement 1910 – 1948'. In Ruth Rouse and Stephen Charles Neill (eds), *A History of the Ecumenical Movement 1517-1948,* (London: SPCK, 1954): 620ff.

[9] CERC, Archbishops of Canterbury Archives, Lambeth Palace Library, AA/AP/W Temple 69 - *Sermons and Speeches 1942-1944*: Sermon, Archbishop of Canterbury, William Temple, given at St Paul's Cathedral on 23rd September 1942.

[10] Colin Davey, *The Story of the BCC - Follow the Pilgrim Road*, available from URL: https://ctbi.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2014/10/Story-of-the-BCC-pdf_view.pdf, last accessed 20th June 2013.

[11] Rouse, *Other Aspects of the Ecumenical Movement*, 625, citing from 'The British Council of Churches publicity leaflet, '*a process, a prophecy, a power'*.

[12] Rouse, *Other Aspects of the Ecumenical Movement,* 621. The Federation of Protestant Churches in Switzerland was the one exception, which although geographically bound, was also, technically, a union of denominations.

[13] Rouse, *Other Aspects of the Ecumenical Movement*, 625.

6.1.2   The Education Department

In contrast to earlier attempts at formal ecclesiastical co-operation in Britain, the BCC was both successful and fruitful, and soon established effective departments for Youth and Publications, developed work in Scotland and by 1949 had established over 170 local 'Councils of Churches'.[14] There appears to be some confusion over when the Department was formed, and its terms of reference. Writing in 1966, Robert Stopford,[15] claims that the Education Department of the British Council of Churches 'came into being soon after the Education Act of 1944', and was prohibited from 'negotiating with the Ministry of Education on behalf of the Constituent Churches'.[16] However, an examination of the primary sources relating to the formation of the Department shows that, whilst there was a meeting of the 'Committee on Christian Education' under the chairmanship of Walter Moberly on 4th Nov 1944, the Education Committee was not set up until 1946, and it was not until 1951 that the Education Department was formally constituted.[17] It is important to highlight therefore, that the 1944 Act had been in force for seven years before the Education Department was properly established. It must also be noted that the representational structure of the Education Department was heavily weighted towards the Church of England, it having ten representatives, whereas other denominational groups had two each (Baptist Union, Congregational Union, Methodist Church and Presbyterian Church of England) and other bodies (Salvation Army, Society of Friends, YMCA, YWCA, SCM and Conference of British Missionary Societies) had only one representative each.[18] This Church of England dominance remained when the constitution was revised in 1956 to

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[14] On unsuccessful earlier attempts, see for example Stephen Charles Neill, 'Plans of Union and Reunion'. In Ruth Rouse and Stephen Charles Neill (eds), *A History of the Ecumenical Movement 1517-1948,* (London: SPCK, 1954): 484 ff. On the establishment of BCC, see Rouse, *Other Aspects of the Ecumenical Movement,* 625 ff.

[15] Robert Stopford was first General Secretary of the Education Department. For a more detailed analysis see: P. Louis, *Anglican Attitudes to the Relationship between the church and education with particular reference to the thoughts of William Temple, Spencer Leeson, Robert Stopford and Robert Waddington.* (Unpublished M.Phil. Thesis, University of Manchester, 1985).

[16] Robert Stopford, 'Christian Education and Christian Unity', in A.G. Wedderspoon (ed), *Religious Education 1944-1984.* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1966): 112-119.

[17] CERC, BCC/ED/2/3/3 - *Correspondence & papers re the formation of the CEC and its subsequent development, 1939-1955*: 1944 (Nov 4th) Meeting of 'Committee on Christian Education' under the chairmanship of Walter Moberly. On the formation of the Education Committee see CERC, BCC/ED/2/1/11 - *Education Department general papers, 1960-1978*: 'Origin and Purpose of the Education Committee - Preamble, 1st Feb 1963 also, CERC; BCC/ED/2/1/1. On the formation of the Education Department see ED/2/3/3 and CERC, BCC/ED/2/1/10 - *Representation on the Education Department, 1951-1958*: Correspondence re membership of committee. 03-05-1951 'The BCC Council had accepted our plan for a new department of education, and the BCC Executive would now take steps to set it up.'

[18] CERC, BCC/ED/2/1/1: Preliminary Meeting of Education Department, 4th Dec 1951.

include Churches in Scotland, Ireland and Wales, who between them had six representatives.[19]

6.1.3   Relationship between supranational and national ecumenical discourses

As stated earlier, the BCC is not a 'local branch' of the WCC. In order to consider the extent to which the national ecumenical discourse of education (here exemplified by the BCCED) relates to the supranational ecumenical discourse of education (and consequently to consider the extent to which the national might be exposed to the educational ideas of the supranational) it is important to fleetingly explore the nature of the relationship between the two groups.[20] In combination, three examples demonstrate that there was indeed a relationship-in-practice between BCC and WCC. Although there was no formal, hierarchical link, there were informal networks of transmission. These varied in character between negative and positive, leading to (i) the involvement of the BCCED in two meetings at The Ecumenical Institute, Bossey; (ii) reference to key WCC events in BCCED records and (iii) the presence of particular WCC publications in the minutes and files of the BCCED. These examples demonstrate that the BCC were made aware, through the receipt of key publications of the WCC, of the developing character of dialogue between Christians and those of other worldviews.

Members of the BCCED took an active role in two meetings, a decade apart, at The Ecumenical Institute, at Château de Bossey, near Geneva.[21] The first of these, an

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[19] CERC, BCC/ED/2/1/1: Minutes of 7th Meeting of Education Department, 13th Nov 1956.

[20] In undertaking this assessment, it is important to recall that the WCC did not have an established structure relating to Education until 1971; see discussion on the marginalization and de-marginalization of education in the WCC discourse, (Section 5.3, starting on page 257 above). See also CERC, BCC/ED/2/2/3 - *Minutes and papers of executive Committee of Education Department meetings 28-35*: Letter from Standford to the Executive, Jan 23rd 1961, which highlights the inadequacy of the WCCs provision in the field of education.

[21] The Ecumenical Institute, was established in 1946 by the World Council of Churches under the General Secretary, W.A.Visser't Hooft and funded by 'the generous gift of Mr John D Rockerfeller Jr'. The purpose of the institute was to form 'an apostolic type of leadership "which not only aims at changing the life of individuals, but also seeks to achieve a peaceful penetration into the various sections of the community and the various areas of life"'. (Willem Adolf Visser't Hooft, 'The Genesis of the World Council of Churches'. In Ruth Rouse and Stephen Charles Neill (eds), *A History of the Ecumenical Movement 1517-1948,* (London: SPCK, 1954): 715-6).

international 'Conference on Christian Education' was held in August 1952.[22] Although some positive outcomes were perceived by the Education Department,[23] the general feeling was negative.[24] Correspondence after the event suggested that it was of little use; 'the "Conference" was more of a "course" and consequently "findings" are few and incomplete',[25] although some attempt was made to make the best of the disappointment.[26] Moreover, fear was expressed that as a 'missed opportunity, and of little serious value, [i]t will not be easy to get ministry funds for similar purposes in future'.[27] This foregrounds the support of the Ministry of Education for such an event, through the funding of two HMIs to attend, and thus *may* suggest some degree of interest amongst national policy makers in the ecumenical discourse of education. The other event was a 'consultation on the Impact of Secondary Education' (April 1962),[28] at which the BCC were represented by 'the secretary and five other delegates from the U.K.'.[29] Here the changing role of the Church in educational provision was discussed and reflected upon.[30]

Secondly, with regard to the relationship-in-practice between BCC and WCC the frequent reference in the BCC materials to events organized by WCC is notable. For example, details of the World Council's Third Assembly, held in 1961, are mentioned in the

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[22] Reports submitted suggest that the event was well attended by 'about eighty men and women from more than twenty countries' and that the 'British delegates were widely representative of the various types of schools in Britain and also included administrators' (CERC, BCC/ED/2/1/1: Minutes of Second Meeting of Education Department 10th and 11th February 1953, item 6. Three of the conference speakers were British; HMI Ayerst, Muriel Powell (Lecturer in Divinity) and Walter Fraser Oakeshott (Headmaster of Winchester College) (CERC, BCC/ED/2/3/6 - *Correspondence with the World Council of Churches (WCC) re a conference on Christian education at…1952*: Report by ECDS on Conference on Christian Education, Bossey, Aug 8-15 1952).

[23] Such as the 'valuable exchange of information as to conditions in various countries', (CERC, BCC/ED/2/1/1: Minutes of Second Meeting of Education Department 10th and 11th February 1953, item 6).

[24] For example, the secretary of the Education Department is on record as commenting on: 'the emphasis placed on continental reformed theology, and on the failure of the conference to make adequate use of the specialised knowledge of delegates. Representation on these matters had been made through staff channels to the directors of the Institute.' (CERC, BCC/ED/2/1/1: Minutes of Second Meeting of Education Department 10th and 11th February 1953).

[25] CERC, BCC/ED/2/3/6: Memo from ECDS to RDS, 7 Oct 1952.

[26] 'One or two points, such as the duty of the churches to present teaching to young people as a vocation will be pursued and Ayerst (HMI) is sending me a memorandum on this which I shall put through my Dept next February, and possibly may ask for an item at the Spring Council', (CERC, BCC/ED/2/3/6: Memo from ECDS to RDS, 7 Oct 1952).

[27] CERC, BCC/ED/2/3/6: Memo from ECDS to RDS, 7 Oct 1952.

[28] CERC, BCC/ED/2/1/1: Minutes of 17th Meeting of Education Department 21-22 June 1962.

[29] CERC, BCC/ED/2/1/1: Minutes of 17th Meeting of Education Department 21-22 June 1962, item 62/4 'European Co-operation'.

[30] Extended discussion re 'Mr Standford's paper "Issues for Christian Education in Modern Society"', (CERC, BCC/ED/2/1/1: Minutes of 17th Meeting of Education Department 21-22 June 1962, section one -Education and Society).

minutes of the Executive Committee as early as 1959.[31] This inclusion was not simply a recording of information; there was discussion about the plans and, in the case of the 1961 Assembly theme and programme, it is recorded that 'The executive approved of [the] suggestion'.[32]

Finally, whilst frequent reference was made to WCC communiqués, it is striking that within the BCCED files there is very little printed material from WCC. However, two important WCC publications were present. Firstly, WCC '*Information*' of May 1969 which includes details of dialogue with 'Moslems' (*sic.*) and Jews, and secondly, WCC '*Communication*' circular of November 1969, which includes a report on Christian dialogue with Hindu, Buddhist and Muslim leaders.[33] That these two WCC publications are the only ones found in the Education Department's archive is of interest; firstly, it demonstrates that the BCCED was aware of these developments, and secondly, that they may have been considered of sufficient importance to have been selected at some point for inclusion in the file.

6.1.4   The active promotion of SWR by the BCCED

A detailed examination of the activities of the BCCED in the late 1960s reveals examples of an active promotion of SWR, something which is not reflected in the current historiographies. In 1969, a 'Consultation on Religious Education in a Multi-Religious society', convened by BCCED in collaboration with the Community Relations Committee (later the Race Relations Board) was held at Harrogate.[34] It brought together those 'who were in some way concerned to take advantage of the possibilities of educational enrichment offered by the presence of considerable number of children of non-Christian

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[31] CERC, BCC/ED/2/1/1: Minutes of 26th Meeting of Executive Committee 9th Feb 1959, item 238.

[32] Approval being voiced for the suggestion that the programme might include 'some discussion of the Gospel in a technological age, and of the educational problems and opportunities created by the impact of science and technology not only on the nations of the West but upon areas of rapid social change', (CERC, BCC/ED/2/1/1: Minutes of 26th Meeting of Executive Committee 9-2-1959, item 238).

[33] Both are included in CERC, BCC/ED/7/1/57 - *Immigrants and Education - Various Papers*.

[34] CERC, BCC/ED/2/1/2 - *Education Department Minutes Nov 1963-Jan1972*: Mins of Ed Dept Meeting 13th Feb 1969. A press release circulated after the event claims this meeting to be 'the first of its kind to be held in this country' (CERC, BCC/ED/7/1/58 - *Immigrants/Interfaith - West Yorkshire Consultation 1969: various papers and correspondence*: Press release issued by The British Council of Churches on 4th March 1969).

faith in our schools', and included 'representatives of the Islamic, Sikh, Hindu and Christian communities'.[35] Amongst other things,

> The members of the consultation were anxious to determine whether the study of non-Christian religions could form a significant part of RE syllabuses; and if so what form this teaching should take, and at what level it could be introduced.[36]

There was a desire expressed to expand SWR beyond areas of 'dense immigration', and those gathered asked the 'sponsoring organisations to take note of a resolution' expressing:

> the urgent need for changes in religious education which will reflect the fact that we are living in a multi-religious society and will cater for the spiritual needs of the whole community to the mutual enrichment of all its members.[37]

Running parallel to the Harrogate Consultation, a working party was established in May 1969 by the Education Department to consider the issue of 'Recruitment, Employment and Training of Teachers Concerned with Religious Education in Schools'.[38] Evidence was invited from the Council of Christians and Jews, the Immigrant Communities, and Denominational education representatives,[39] amongst others. Responses were also received from the Indian High Commission;[40] Sikhs;[41] Hindus;[42] The Community Relations Council;[43] and the National Secular Society.[44] The compilation of these materials resulted in a suggested list of elements that should be included at secondary level, including

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[35] CERC, BCC/ED/7/1/58: Mins of Executive meeting 21st May 1969, item 69/13 records the debate about the positioning of the BCC in relation to the event, concluding 'It would not be a BCC publication but reference would be made to the fact that BCCED had been responsible for convening the consultation'.

[36] CERC, BCC/ED/7/1/58: Report on Consultation, p5.

[37] CERC, BCC/ED/7/1/58: Press release issued by The British Council of Churches on 4th March 1969. Emphasis added.

[38] CERC, BCC/ED/2/6/2 - *Various papers submitted to the working party on Recruitment, Employment & training of teachers.*

[39] CERC, BCC/ED/2/6/1 – *Various papers including evidence, reports, etc. submitted to the Working Party on the Recruitment, Employment & Training of Teachers together with copies of unsigned minutes, 1969-1970*: Minutes of First meeting of Working Party on Recruitment, Training and Employment of Teachers concerned with Religious Education in Schools, 27 May 1969.

[40] CERC, BCC/ED/2/6/1: Minutes of Eighth meeting Working Party on Recruitment, Training and Employment of Teachers concerned with Religious Education in Schools, May 1970, Enclosure G.

[41] CERC, BCC/ED/2/6/1: Minutes of Eighth meeting Working Party on Recruitment, Training and Employment of Teachers concerned with Religious Education in Schools, May 1970, Enclosures H and I.

[42] CERC, BCC/ED/2/6/1: Minutes of Eighth meeting Working Party on Recruitment, Training and Employment of Teachers concerned with Religious Education in Schools, May 1970, Enclosure J.

[43] CERC, BCC/ED/2/6/1: Minutes of Eighth meeting Working Party on Recruitment, Training and Employment of Teachers concerned with Religious Education in Schools, May 1970, Enclosure K.

[44] CERC, BCC/ED/2/6/3 - *Working party on the Recruitment, Employment & training of teachers, various papers:* NSS Pamphlets including: *Religion in schools*; *Surveys on religion in schools*; *Morals without religion*; *Submissions for a new education act*; *Educational reform* and *Religion and human rights.*

'a knowledge of other religions and philosophies of life combined with a tolerance for those who hold other beliefs'.[45]

A seminar on 'Religious Education in a multi-religious society', which took place in September 1970, in London,[46] demonstrates that this pattern of involving representatives of a variety of faith communities was becoming routine, or normalized.[47] Here, attendees were asked to discuss a list of ten questions relating to the place of Christianity and other religions in RE. To the question 'In multi-racial county schools, is a totally Christian syllabus of religious education justified?' the recorded answer was 'no'.[48]

Although technically beyond the point of main interest, a 1972 Conference on 'Interfaith Dialogue in Education' (organised by the BCCED in collaboration with the Office of Education at WCC,[49] and the Department of Education[50]), which took place in Leicester in summer 1972,[51] is of relevance here. Not only establishing a tri-partite link between the Department, the WCC and the DES, it also confirms a direction of travel of the BCCED.

Prior to this event, a Conference on 'Religious Education in a Multi-religious community' had taken place in London.[52] Visits to this earlier conference were made by members of the DES and the BCC, as well as HMI,[53] and here planning for the 1972 conference focused on the belief that RE should develop children's 'knowledge about our

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[45] CERC, BCC/ED/2/6/2: Compilation of material gathered, 11 Feb 1971, p18-19.

[46] CERC, BCC/ED/7/1/57.

[47] The meeting was attended by about 40 people, including HMIs, University tutors, members of the BCC and FCFC together with representatives the Christian, Hindu, Islamic, Sikh and Jewish communities, (CERC, BCC/ED/7/1/57: Attendance list, Seminar 15th September 1970).

[48] CERC, BCC/ED/7/1/57: Religious Education in a multi-religious society, 15th September 1970, Working Party Paper I. Further questions focused on the relationship between child development and the benefits to the pupil of being 'exposed to religious material from faiths other than his own' and an evaluation of the potential for 'newer techniques of teaching religious education help or hinder in a multi-religious approach'.

[49] CERC, BCC/ED/2/1/2: Minutes of Education Dept 14th May 1971, Item 71/9 (10) [Conference on Religious Education in a Multi-religious community, Meeting 3-5 May 1971]; Minutes of Education Dept 25th Jan 1972, Item 71/9 (8) [Joint WCC/BCC Conference on interfaith dialogue in Education, 1972].

[50] CERC, BCC/ED/2/1/11: 61st Meeting of BCC Autumn 1971 Ed Dept Report, 10 [WCC/BCC Conference on Interfaith Dialogue in Education, 10-14 July 1972, Stamford Hall, Leicester. Paper M].

[51] The meeting took place on July 10-14th 1972, at Stamford Hall, Leicester (CERC, BCC/ED/7/1/69 - *Interfaith dialogue: various papers, 1972-1974*: Minutes, Conference on Religious Education in a Multi-religious community, 3-5 May 1971, item 71/9 (10). Also CERC, BCC/ED/2/1/2: Minutes, 25th Jan 1972 and 14th May 1971, item 71/9 (8) [Joint WCC/BCC Conference on interfaith dialogue in Education, 1972].

[52] CERC, BCC/ED/2/1/2: Minutes, 14th May 1971, item 71/9 (8) [Conference on Religious Education in a Multi-religious community, 3-5 May 1971].

[53] Mr Van Straubenzee and Lord Belstead (both of the DES) had visited, John Prickett, (then Secretary of the BCCED) had been invited to speak about the 1972 Conference, for which there was 'unanimous support', and Eric Lord (HMI) had attended, subsequently agreeing to become a member of the planning committee for the forthcoming joint (1972) conference (CERC, BCC/ED/2/1/2: Minutes 14th May 1971, item 71/9 (10) [Conference on Religious Education in a Multi-religious community, 3-5 May 1971].

understanding of people of faiths other than their own (especially those whom they meet at school)'.[54] Preparation for the 1972 Conference included the establishment of study groups,[55] which met regularly 'in order to consider some of the issues that emerge in trying to provide a religious education valid on educational grounds in a multi-faith society, and having theological cohesion acceptable to Christian people'; they included a 'variety of Christian traditions as well as the Hindu, Buddhist, Moslem, Jewish and Sikh faiths; humanists also took part.'[56] The insights from these study groups, were brought together into a document, which formed the basis of the Conference's discussions.[57] It was agreed by the Conference that 'a comprehensive religious education is an indispensable part of a complete education for young people in Britain to-day'.[58]

A number of issues are foregrounded when reading across these examples. Firstly, a variety of terms are used. The term 'multi-religious', which carries connotations both of plurality and of distinct groupings, *appears* to be replaced by the term 'interfaith', which implies an emphasis on the relationships between groupings, rather than on the distinctions between them or the plurality of them. However, by considering the use of these terms against the domains of discourse in which they originate, there is evidence of a differential use. Materials that *originate* in the BCCED tend to use the term 'multi-religious' or 'multi-faith', whilst the term 'interfaith' generally is associated with the supranational ecumenical discourse of the WCC. This insight is helpful in tracing the transmission of ideas across the supranational/local intersection.

Secondly, following the Harrogate Consultation, the aim of SWR appears to expand; the Working Party suggests that it is no longer simply focused on learning about the other, but doing so *in order* to develop tolerance of them; an idea further developed at the Leicester Conference. Alongside this is the pattern of including representative members

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[54] CERC, BCC/ED/2/1/11: Report on Education Department. Minutes of 59th Meeting of BCCED, Autumn 1971.

[55] CERC, BCC/ED/2/1/11: 61st Meeting of BCC Autumn 1971 Ed Dept Report, 10 - WCC/BCC Conference on Interfaith Dialogue in Education, 10-14 July 1972, Stamford Hall, Leicester. Paper M.

[56] CERC, BCC/ED/2/1/11: 61st Meeting of BCC Autumn 1971 Ed Dept Report, 10 - WCC/BCC Conference on Interfaith Dialogue in Education, 10-14 July 1972, Stamford Hall, Leicester. Paper M.

[57] The study groups considered issues such as 'the nature of religious education in a multi-faith society', 'the relationship between school and community', 'attitudes to scripture and authority in the different faiths', 'attitudes to God in the different faiths', 'the relationship of the home to the school' and 'the content of religious education'. (CERC, BCC/ED/2/1/11: 61st Meeting of BCC Autumn 1971 Ed Dept Report, 10 - WCC/BCC Conference on Interfaith Dialogue in Education, 10-14 July 1972, Stamford Hall, Leicester. Paper M).

[58] CERC, BCC/ED/2/1/11: 61st Meeting of BCC Autumn 1971 Ed Dept Report, 10 - WCC/BCC Conference on Interfaith Dialogue in Education, 10-14 July 1972, Stamford Hall, Leicester. Paper M.

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of non-Christian faith communities, a practice that is normalized over a relatively brief period of time.

Thirdly, these statements – in different ways – focus on resolving the tension between the teaching of other worldviews (initially other faiths, but increasingly, non-religious viewpoints too), and the dominance of Christianity in the curriculum. This dominance is most evident during the Harrogate Consultation, where the view was noted during discussion that the majority of Christians regard 'Christianity as the completion of all other religions and often infer that it has nothing to learn from non-Christian traditions'.[59] Such a view is also evident in the other discussions.[60] Key to achieving such a balance is the expressed desire to justify RE on 'valid educational grounds'. The enthusiasm, expressed at Harrogate, to ensure that SWR was not just a response in those areas with high proportion of immigrants, but was *educationally beneficial* on a much wider scale is part of this justification, and it is further justified at the London Conference where the relationship between up to date scholarship on child development and teaching methods was explored.

In summary, these events and discussions demonstrate the extent to which the BCCED was actively involved in promoting SWR at the time that WP36 was being written. An exploration of the discourse of the BCCED reveals that, leading up to this period, there had been an expressed desire for change, which finds particular expression through two calls - about a decade apart - to *radically rethink* Religious Education.

In 1963, prompted by the passing of 20 years of the 1944 Act, a campaign was launched, calling for 'the full implementation of the 1944 Education Act and the recommendations of the Crowther Report and the Albemarle Committee' together with the need for better financial provision for education, including 'a greatly increased supply of teachers and improved qualifications and status for the teaching profession, and massive expansion of Higher Education'.[61] A year prior to this the BCCED had, through a

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[59] CERC, BCC/ED/7/1/58: Report on Consultation, p5.

[60] For example, The Working Party recommendations prescribe both Christianity (Bible knowledge, Biblical Interpretation and Church History) in balance with 'knowledge of other religions and philosophies of life'. The same attempt to balance these issues is seen in the questions posed at the 1970 meeting. The inclusion of the view that RE should have a 'theological cohesion acceptable to Christian people' in the statement considered by the pre-1972 study groups also supports this claim.

[61] CERC, BCC/ED/7/1/40 - *1963 Campaign for Education: Various papers and correspondence*: 1963 Campaign for Education flyer.

discussion of their sense of frustration regarding the lack of success in religious education,[62] agreed that a review of the religious provisions of the 1944 Education Act was necessary.[63] The details of review will be discussed at more length in due course, but here it is important to highlight their conclusion that:

> Today the needs of children and young people demand a *radical rethinking* and reshaping of the purpose and method of religious education, both in the material itself, in the manner of presentation, and the way in which it is related to life in the school and beyond it. [64]

The phrase 'radical rethinking' is, however, first found in this discourse during the mid-1950s. Influenced in part by the passing of ten years since the 1944 Act, there had been much discussion of review within the subject, focusing extensively on Agreed Syllabuses, and the Executive of the BCCED 'took the view that what was required [before discussing Agreed Syllabuses] was a *radical re-thinking of the purpose of Religious Instruction.*'[65]

6.1.5   Summary

This brief account of the background of the BCCED is a necessary step in the contextualisation of the discussions that are to follow, setting out the process by which the BCCED was established, and describing the relationship-in-practice with the WCC. In doing so, it establishes the extent to which the statements from this discourse have an educational orientation. Further, it highlights the extent to which the BCCED was, by the end of the 1960s, actively involved in promoting SWR, through consultation, discussion, gathering, and disseminating material. Finally, it shows that, leading up to this period, there had been an expressed desire for change which finds particular expression through two calls - about a decade apart - to *radically rethink* Religious Education.

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[62] 'From neither the statutory nor the independent stream do we find an influx of committed Christians commensurate with the effort made in schools. Is it a possible task?' (CERC, BCC/ED/2/1/1: Mins of 17th Meeting of Ed Dept 21-22 June 1962 – Report on *Nature of Religion & Religious Instruction).*

[63] CERC, BCC/ED/2/1/1: Appendix 1 to 44th Meeting of BCC 12th March 1964, 'Spring 1964. Programme of Investigation into the nature and future needs of Religious Education In Schools'.

[64] CERC, BCC/ED/2/1/1: Appendix 1 to 44th Meeting of BCC 12th March 1964, 'Spring 1964. Programme of Investigation into the nature and future needs of Religious Education In Schools'. Emphasis added.

[65] CERC, BCC/ED/2/1/1: Minutes of Executive Committee, 27th Oct 1958, Item 225. Emphasis added.

6.2 Encouraging the Study of Other Religions and Belief Systems

Engagement with the questions posed in the introduction to this chapter requires a concentration in the remainder of this chapter on two statements, repeated in WP36, and originating in the national ecumenical discourse. In this section, I will focus on a statement which is included in an extended citation from the Durham Report, and used by the authors of WP36 as part of their justification for the approach to RE they advocated. The statement reads: 'Where appropriate [the pupil] will study other religions and belief systems'.[66] (It must be stressed that, whilst *The Durham Report* itself is not considered an ecumenical document for the reasons set out earlier, an examination of the extent to which the statement above *originates* in the discourse of the BCCED is appropriate here.)

6.2.1   *The circumstances of production of the Durham Report*

The Durham Report 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.[67] Established under the chairmanship of the Bishop of Durham, the Durham Commission was to 'report on "Religious Education in Schools"',[68] offering its findings 'for study to the Department of Education and Science,

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[66] Schools Council, *Working Paper 36*, 19, citing Ramsey, *The Fourth R*, §216.

[67] As an aside, the timing of the establishment of this Commission is noteworthy. Planning for a House of Lords debate on RE had begun at least as early as November 1966, (TNA, ED 207/29 - *Papers for HL debate Nov 1967*: Memo from D.H. Leadbetter to Miss Grinham and Mr Gale dated 30/11/1966) however the debate was delayed a number of times, originally timetabled for late 1966, then 25th October 1967, then 15th November 1966. Although the source material suggests that the motivation for the debate was 'to get an interesting discussion on religious education in the House of Lords, with no particular object in mind beyond that', (TNA, ED207/29: Letter from Miss Grinham to Miss Clark, 13th Oct 1967.) extensive work had been undertaken by Civil Servants in gathering evidence and contacting other bodies involved in RE. (Including information from Institute of Christian Education (1954 report on the provisions of the 1944 Act relating to RE), the University of Sheffield (1961 survey on Religious Education in Secondary Schools), and earlier debates on RE in the House of Commons. In addition, the Schools Council Religious Education Committee were asked to 'produce some kind of evidence on [their] work' (TNA, ED 207/29: Memo from Dorothy Clark to Miss Grinham, 12th Oct 1967). A week or so after the establishment of the Durham Commission, a lengthy debate took place in the House of Lords, catalysed by a motion of the Conservative Peer Lord Aberdare 'To call attention to the teaching of religion in schools; and to move for papers'.[67] (For an account of the debate see (Hansard. House of Lords. Vol. 286. Cols 687-838).; for details of the preparations see TNA, ED 207/29. Extensive preparatory work was done by civil servants ahead of the debate.

[68] CERC, NS/7/8/1/14 - *[Durham] Commission on Religious Education: Evidence file I*: Press Release: 'New Commission on Religious Education in Schools. Bishop of Durham to be Chairman', undated (but prior to 4th Oct 1967), papers 61-63.

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and the Parliamentary Education Committees'.[69] Published in 1970, the Report soon became considered as authoritative, with discussion of its content in the professional journals, and reference made to it in later parliamentary debates.[70]

Once established, the Durham Commission gathered information in two ways; firstly, general evidence was gathered in response to 'a public appeal through the press for comments from the general public'.[71] Secondly, in 1968 a questionnaire was designed,[72] and circulated to 'seventy-five different educational and ecclesiastical organisations and to a number of other public bodies who might be expected to be concerned with religious education'.[73] Before inviting respondents to record any further comments, the questionnaire posed ten open questions soliciting opinions over whether RE should be compulsory; if not, what type of ethical instructions should be included in the curriculum; how the consciences of children and teachers might be safeguarded; whether a daily act of worship should be 'a statutory obligation'; whether there was 'still a place … for the continuance of denominational schools'; and finally whether the 'dual system' should be replaced with a secular public education system.[74]

Of the questions posed, one is of particular relevance here; question 6 asked:

> In any future provision for religious education (on a compulsory or non-compulsory basis) should anything be done to protect the rights of children (mostly immigrants) of other faiths? Should provision be made, in fact, where circumstances appear to justify it, for religious education other than Christian education? (c.f. some existing maintained Jewish schools).[75]

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[69] The full text reads: 'Its report will be offered for study to the Department of Education and Science, and the Parliamentary Education Committees. The Commission will also present recommendations to the Church of England Board of Education, to the National Society, and to Church Assembly' (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 4th Oct 1967). CERC, paper 61.

[70] See page 81 above.

[71] Ramsey, *The fourth R*, 287. Although the press release circulated in October 1967 includes no such invitation (NS/7/8/1/14: Press Release: 'New Commission on Religious Education in Schools. Bishop of Durham to be Chairman', undated (but prior to 4th Oct 1967). CERC, papers 61-63).

[72] Questionnaire design was undertaken with the help of J.G.M Allcock, (previously been Chief Inspector of Schools for DES).

[73] Ramsey, *The fourth R*, 287.

[74] Ramsey, *The fourth R,* 288.

[75] Ramsey, *The fourth R*, 288. Also CERC, NS/7/8/1/14: questionnaire.

Responses to this question were varied. Some respondents suggested that the case had already been made,[76] whilst others took issue with the phrasing of the question.[77] Some respondents were clearly against the inclusion of other faiths, (although such views are noticeably expressed anonymously), rehearsing a variety of arguments, including theological,[78] cultural,[79] and economic.[80] In addition, immigration was mentioned by a number of respondents.[81]

Evidence submitted by the National Society and the Church of England Board of Education, key sponsors of the Durham Commission, is emphatically supportive of the practice of teaching about non-Christian faiths:

> Certainly. There are no difficulties of principle here. Existing practice should continue (on some syllabus committees there are already representatives of other faiths), and Muslim children, for example,

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[76] A statement from the County Councils Association reports: 'We have already indicated that we would favour arrangements in school for education in other religions.' (CERC, NS/7/8/1/14: Response from County Councils Association, paper 16). Evidence from the Girls Public Day School Trust (GPDST) reported on their existing practice 'At the Fifth form stage, the centre of interest moves to such subjects as …ecumenism, World Faiths, Comparative Religion…' (CERC, NS/7/8/1/15: Evidence from GPDST, paper 15).

[77] For example, the Christian Education Movement state: 'The question is difficult to answer because of the indefiniteness of 'when circumstances appear to justify it'. Educationally valid religious education should be such as to enrich the life and understanding of <u>all</u> children. In the case of secondary education it is important for all pupils to understand something of the major faiths, especially those substantially represented in our own society. The more that this can take place in common rather than in separate religious communities the better. However, where there is sufficient demand (i.e. from parents) it should be made possible for pupils to be taught their own religion in school time on County School premises, by a recognised teacher.' (CERC, NS/7/8/1/15: paper 142, Christian Education Movement. Response to question 6).

[78] 'Underlying many of these questions is the fundamental issue of our national adherence to the Christian faith. This surely includes a recognition of the uniqueness of Christianity. While recognising the needs of children of other faiths, I hope we may maintain an educational system that is Christian in outlook, and not multi-faith in outlook.' (CERC, NS/7/8/1/14 paper 36, unattributed).

[79] 'A Christian country teaches Christian education.' (CERC, NS/7/8/1/14: paper 16, unattributed).

[80] A 'moderate view, expressed by Miss Mary Hart on behalf of the Christian Education Fellowship states 'The comparatively small number of immigrants and their very different cultural background perhaps makes it unjustifiable that the taxpayer be asked to contribute to their education in their own faith, but the timetable ought to offer opportunity for them to be withdrawn for instruction in their own community.' (CERC, NS/7/8/1/14: paper 60, Evidence from Christian Education Fellowship 16 Aug 1968. Miss Mary Hart, 'moderate' view).

[81] Wherever need for such arrangements is greater than in the past as a result of settlement of certain immigrant communities. Schools in areas concerned have a duty to respect non-Christian beliefs sincerely held and to facilitate instruction in these religions. At the same time, it seems to us clear that the religious education syllabus for most schools in this country will and should remain Christian and undenominational.' (CERC, NS/7/8/1/14: paper 15, Response from County Councils Association). Also 'Certainly the rights of children of other faiths must be safeguarded and are by the existing conscience clauses. In some areas however the numbers of such children are considerable.' (CERC, NS/7/8/1/15, paper 29, Submission from Free Churches Federal Council).

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should have the opportunity of systematic instruction in their own faith. This should apply equally to Church schools and County schools.[82]

The Council fully supports the idea of providing religious education for those of faiths other than the Christian. There can be no case for denying to some citizens what others enjoy. There is no new principle here, but simply an extension of a principle already applied to, e.g., maintained Jewish Schools.[83]

These responses to question 6 are informative; they suggest that, to some extent, the teaching of faiths other than Christianity was current practice and expanding, in some domains at least.[84] An analysis of the rhetorical construction of question 6 in the questionnaire suggests an attempt to normalize the practice of the study of religions other than Christianity through the explicit comparison between the *suggestion* that RE should 'protect the rights of children of other faiths' and the *existing practice* in relation to 'some existing maintained Jewish schools'.[85] However, these responses are not explicit with regard to the way that might be achieved; it is unclear, for example, whether individual children will receive instruction in more than one religion, or whether the teaching of different religions will take place in parallel, with each child learning about their own faith community in separated teaching from children of other faith backgrounds. Certainly, the comparison made in the originating question with 'existing maintained Jewish schools' could bear this interpretation.

Nonetheless, what is clear is that the study of religions other than Christianity is being discussed positively, and encouraged. There is an acceptance of the non-Christian at such a level that not only recognizes them as a religious other, but also desires that they should have the same rights as Christians have, to study their own faith. Such an approach is exemplified clearly in the initial discussions of the Birmingham Agreed Syllabus. Stephen Parker and Rob Freathy, based on a detailed examination of primary sources, describe how an approach to RE was considered whereby pupils would be taught about their own religious tradition (in reality, that of their parents) in some depth, as well as about

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[82] CERC, NS/7/8/1/18: National Society proposed evidence to Commission on Religious Education.

[83] CERC, NS/7/8/1/17 - *[Durham] Commission on Religious Education: Schools Council Evidence*: Church of England Board of Education, Schools Council meeting minutes, 27th Sept 1968. [Note, Schools Council in this context means Church of England Board of Education Schools Council].

[84] This will be explored in more depth in Section 6.2.3, on page 302 below.

[85] Ramsey, *The fourth R*, 288.

Christianity, with some 'simple basic knowledge of those other great world faiths which were represented in the city in significant numbers'.[86]

Further, the inclusion of representatives of non-Christian faiths in the devising of Agreed Syllabuses mentioned here, together with the consultation with other faith groups evident in the BCCED, suggests that this practice was also undergoing a process of normalization.

These emphases on existing practice, together with the suggestion in an early draft (dated March 1968,[87] and presumably written before the questionnaire responses were received) that older pupils should study non-Christian worldviews,[88] (probably in a non-separated way), and the evidence collected by the Commission, (especially from the National Society and Church of England Board of Education) suggests that the statement calling for the 'study other religions and belief systems' in the Durham Commission's work does not mark the beginning of the practice.

The investigation of the early draft, which includes, *verbatim,* many paragraphs that make up Chapter 4 of the published report,[89] is helpful in attempting to trace the origin of the statement. Committees were responsible for the preparation of many of the chapters of the *Durham Report*,[90] and among the drafting Committee responsible for the preparation of this chapter was Colin Alves,[91] who had earlier worked with the British Council of Churches, investigating the state of RE in secondary schools.[92] In addition, a copy of his report, *'Religion and the Secondary School',* was included in the Durham Commission's evidence files.[93] It is within this report that Alves states:

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[86] Parker, Stephen G, and Rob Freathy. 'Ethnic Diversity, Christian Hegemony and the Emergence of Multi-faith Religious Education in the 1970s.' *History of Education* 41, no. 3 (2012): 399.

[87] CERC, NS/7/8/1/7 - *[Durham] Commission on Religious Education*: 'Draft for Discussion – Chapter 4 'Religious Education in County Schools'. The draft was prepared by Rev. A.G. Wedderspoon who was both Secretary to the Durham Commission, and to the Education sub-committee which prepared Chapter 4 for inclusion in the report.

[88] 'With older pupils [the teacher] will study other religions and belief systems' (CERC, NS/7/8/1/7: 'Draft for Discussion – Chapter 4 'Religious Education in County Schools', p9).

[89] For example, §193-5; 198; 200; 205-210; 212-14; 217 from The Fourth R are all present in the same form (although a different order) in the CERC, NS/7/8/1/7: 'Draft for Discussion – Chapter 4 'Religious Education in County Schools'.

[90] Ramsey, *The Fourth R*, xv-xvii records the make up of each chapter committee.

[91] Ramsey, *The Fourth R*, xvii

[92] Colin Alves, *Religion and the Secondary School*, (London: SCM Press, 1968)

[93] 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.

> We can, and should, learn from men of other faiths theistic and non-
> theistic and they from us. This has always been true in its own right. The
> county secondary school ought to find room for it in its programme of
> religious education.[94]

Although the statement in *4ᵗʰ R* is not an *exact* repetition of this statement, there is clearly a repetition of the *idea.* There is a similarity of sentiment, not only in terms of the study of non-Christian religions, but also in terms of the argument that such a view is self-evident and has a long history of being so. Thus the Durham statement might best be considered, not as being the origin of the practice of all children studying a variety of religions including, but not limited to Christianity, but as being a part of the process of normalizing that practice. Knowledge that Alves was involved in the drafting of the relevant section strengthens the assertion that the Durham Report may be*,* to some extent, dependent on Alves. Consequently, in searching for the origins of the statement in the Durham Report, the role of the BCCED, and in particular, Alves' work, requires further consideration.

6.2.2 'Religion and the Secondary School': The Alves Report

The desire to investigate the nature and future needs of RE had been an on-going issue within the BCCED throughout the 1950s and early 1960s.[95] The Agreed Syllabus had quickly become the focus of such work, and within a year of its establishment, the Education Department of BCC was frequently expressing concern over their inadequacy.[96] By 1963 after earlier—and largely unsuccessful—attempts at collaboration with others,[97]

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[94] Alves, *Religion and the Secondary School*, 15.

[95] CERC, BCC/ED/7/1/46 - *Papers and correspondence re. investigation into the nature and future needs of religious education in primarily country schools re. working party, 1963-1966.* See also CERC, BCC/ED/2/1/1: *passim.*

[96] CERC, BCC/ED/2/2/1 - *Minutes (and papers) of the first 15 meetings of the Education Department Executive Committee*: Meeting 1 of the Education Department Executive Committee, 12th March 1952. Concern over the role and adequacy of Agreed Syllabuses was also being expressed elsewhere at this time, see for example '*Religious Education in Secondary Schools: A Survey and a Syllabus*' prepared by The University of Sheffield Institute of Education Published by Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd, London, 1961, the work for which began in 1956. Amongst other things, this report praises the role of the Christian Ecumenical Movement. The Agreed Syllabus approach 'reflected … a vastly improved relationship between the different Christian denominations in this country … The emergence of a World Council of Churches, a British Council of Churches, and many local council of churches was the essential background to the idea of an Agreed Syllabus. … Progress in inter-church understanding between different denominations has continued to be reflected in the revision of Agreed Syllabuses. The greater doctrinal content of the more recent syllabuses may be taken to reflect the growing appreciation among British Churches of their common heritage in the Christian faith.' (p1).

[97] CERC, BCC/ED/2/1/1: Minutes of 13th Meeting of Exececutive Committee, 17th March 1955; Item 112 details collaboration with ICE: Working Party on Secondary School Curricula.

the Education Department were discussing their own response to the issues.[98] Subsequently, a special Committee of the Education Department was set up, and late in 1963 the Department accepted an offer of funding for the project from the Gulbenkian Foundation (Lisbon), who had offered £5000 over two years.[99] Colin Alves, who was Lecturer in Divinity at King Alfred's College, Winchester, was seconded to the Education Department to act as Investigating Officer for the duration of the project.[100] The report '*Religion and the Secondary School*', (1968) has a complex standing with the BCC Education Committee, which requires some detailed contextualisation and discussion.

A full draft of the project report was considered by the Education Department in mid-1967.[101] As well as discussions over who should publish, at what price, and who should fund its circulation to LEAs, examining boards and others,[102] concern was expressed over certain aspects of the report's content,[103] although there appears to have been little scope for making changes:

> Mr Ayerst [chair of the Directing Body] said that it was not possible to amend the inferences without another meeting of the Directing Body. They had reached the limit of agreement by correspondence. It was of course open to Dr Bliss to negotiate with Mr Alves about changes in the Alves text.[104]

In addition, the exact relation of the report to the BCC was considered. As the 'main body of the report was to the Gulbenkian Foundation', it was 'agreed that a factual

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[98] CERC, BCC/ED/2/1/1: Minutes of 19th Meeting of Education Department 20th June 1963, item 63/18 'Programme of investigation into the nature and future needs of Religious Education'. Note that other analyses of Agreed Syllabuses were carried out during this time, including from 1956, University of Sheffield Institute of Education, *Religious Education in Secondary Schools: A Survey and a Syllabus*, (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd, 1961).

[99] CERC, BCC/ED/2/1/1 Minutes of 20th Meeting of Education Department, 12th Nov 1963, item 64/2 [Research of nature and future needs of Religious Education]; 'The Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation (Lisbon) had offered £5000 over two years, which was accepted'.

[100] CERC, BCC/ED/2/1/1: Appendix 1 to 44th Meeting of BCC, 12th March 1964, item 64/12 [appointment of Colin Alves as Investigating Officer] 'There is need, then, for a group of people adequately representative of the Churches, the university departments of education and the training colleges, and the teachers to carry out this work. In order that a group of sufficient weight may work quickly and adequately, it will have to be presented with detailed working papers, its conclusions must be drafted and written up and a good deal of personal investigation in schools will be needed. It is for this work that Mr Alves has been appointed'.

[101] CERC, BCC/ED/2/1/2: Minutes of 26th Meeting of Education Department, 14th July 1967.

[102] CERC, BCC/ED/2/1/2: Minutes of 26th Meeting of Education Department, 14th July 1967.

[103] CERC, BCC/ED/2/1/2: Minutes of 26th Meeting of Education Department, 14th July 1967. Dr Bliss pointed out that the report was very vulnerable to misquotation by the Press - especially on the question of authoritarian and permissive attitudes, suggesting that the chapter should be looked at again.

[104] CERC, BCC/ED/2/1/2: Minutes of 26th Meeting of Education Department, 14th July 1967.

statement that [the report] had been presented to the BCC would be adequate.'[105] Consequently, the 'Foreword' in the published report, written by Kenneth Sansbury (then General Secretary of BCC) emphatically distanced the report 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.[106]

The Foreword continues, suggesting that '[Mr Alves'] conclusions should be assessed on their own merits and not necessarily as representing the views of the British Council of Churches.'[107] The bulk of the Report describes in detail the quantitative survey that Alves undertook during 1965 and 1966.[108] As already disclosed in Chapter 4, the survey focused almost entirely on Biblical knowledge; Christian religious practice (including personal Christian affiliation); and Christian morality.[109] This section of the report concludes with a lengthy discussion of Alves' findings under the headings: 'Is it a Right and Proper Thing to Do?'; 'The New Approach Required'; 'Examples of Current Experiments'; 'Freedom to Choose and Grow' and 'Looking to the Future'.[110]

However, the Alves report is much more than this. Prior to the extensive survey report, it incorporates a 'Report of the Special Committee appointed by the Education Department of the British Council of Churches', which introduces Alves' work, reflects on its findings, and suggesting courses of action. In respect of this report a similar 'distancing' from the BCC is seen. Sansbury, in the latter part of the volume's Foreword 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.[111]

In some respects, the distance created between the BCC and the survey Report in the Foreword appears legitimate; what is being presented is a report produced by an

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[105] CERC, BCC/ED/2/1/2: Minutes of 26th Meeting of Education Department, 14th July 1967.

[106] Alves, *Religion and the Secondary School*, 11, emphasis original.

[107] Foreword to Alves, *Religion and the Secondary School*, by Kenneth Sansbury, Bishop, (General Secretary of the British Council of Churches) October 1967.

[108] Alves, *Religion and the Secondary School*.

[109] Alves, *Religion and the Secondary School,* Survey 65 and 66, 36ff and 129ff respectively.

[110] Alves, *Religion and the Secondary School,* Chapter headings of part two.

[111] 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; Alves, *Religion and the Secondary School,*Foreword

independent researcher, funded by a third party, and 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'.[112] 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 appears reluctant to be associated with it.

The *Report of the Special Committee* calls for a 'New Deal' for RE;[113] there is consideration of 'limiting factors which are within the power of the educational system to change' (including the limited supply of suitably trained teachers, the unsuitability of many qualifications that were in place, the lack of timetabled periods for RE and the loading of 'scales of professional advancement ...against religious education specialists').[114] In addition, a detailed critique of Agreed Syllabuses is undertaken, suggesting that there are too many in existence; that, as many predate the 1944 Education Act, they are from a time when school life was shorter; and that not enough attention is given to how they relate to GCE and CSE examinations.[115]

Furthermore, within the *Report of the Special Committee* there is an explicit statement regarding the study of non-Christian religions:

> Religious education in the particular sense in county secondary schools is to be interpreted as Christian. It cannot effectively be anything else in our country. Certainly pupils have a right to be put in a position where they can make their own minds up about the faiths for which so much is claimed or in which so many find satisfaction and inspiration. But this does not mean that God is absent from other religious experience or that those who are not aware of a personal God have no spiritual experience. *We can, and should, learn from men of other faiths theistic and non-theistic and they from us.* This has always been true in its own right. The county secondary school ought to find room for it in its programme of religious education. The presence among our fellow citizens of an increasing number of followers of other faiths make this provision urgent. In addition to Jews there are now other communities in Britain practising non-Christian religions.[116]

The argument for the study of other faiths is made on three grounds. Firstly, the argument is made on the basis that God is not 'absent from other religious experience', a position that echos Farquhar's fulfilment thesis, discussed in the previous chapter.[117] The

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112 Alves, *Religion and the Secondary School*, title page. Emphasis added.
113 §1 of The Report of the Special Committee (Alves, *Religion and the Secondary School*, 13).
114 Alves, The Report of the Special Committee §9, *Religion and the Secondary School,* 16-18.
115 Alves, The Report of the Special Committee, §11, *Religion and the Secondary School,* 19-20.
116 Alves, The Report of the Special Committee, §7, *Religion and the Secondary School*, 15.
117 See page 248 above.

resonance with Farquhar is even stronger when taking into account the Christian Supremacy that is rehearsed in the opening few sentences of this extract. Secondly, it is made on the grounds that 'this has always been true in its own right'. This rhetorical construction indicates a programmatic statement. As part of a process of normalizing the teaching of non-Christian perspectives, Alves appears to be suggesting that the case has already been made for such a practice, and that no further justification is necessary. Finally, the argument is based on the fact that there are 'an increasing number of followers of other faiths'.

As has been mentioned previously, there is a tendency in the ruling historiography to identify the inclusion of non-Christian worldviews in teaching with issues of immigration, and Alves' statement would appear to support such a view.

Whilst immigration is not a significant topic of discussion within the BCCED discourse during this time, the issue was mentioned. For example, during 1967 there had been a brief discussion of how best to meet the needs of immigrant children's religious education. This led to an implicit suggestion that children of different faiths should receive separated RE, however, this suggestion was not taken forward:

> It was stated that the Society of Friends was prepared to undertake a limited enquiry at the request of the BCC. But was it worthwhile if the Department of Education might be reluctant to implement its recommendations from fear of disturbing the comparatively peaceful religious situation?' The Chairman said that Mr Brigham and he had met members of the DES to discuss the situation. The DES had indicated that they would like an investigation of what the problems were but this should not be done hastily. Parents might not want their children separated from others; Heads might not want separation as it would clearly be a divisive influence in the school. There was no great enthusiasm for an immediate enquiry from the DES but they agreed that they might benefit greatly from objective findings.[118]

A few years earlier, catalysed by Governmental responses to immigration, and the release of DES Circular 7/65,[119] the BCCED had suggested that it would, 'if the Migration Committee wished, … co-operate in setting up a working group to consider the whole question.'[120] And, a little earlier, in 1962 there had been an invitation for the Secretary to be

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[118] CERC, BCC/ED/2/1/2: Minutes of 26th Meeting of Education Department, 14th July 1967, item 2/67 - Religious Education of Immigrant Children. Note that, despite exhaustive searches, no reference to this meeting has been found in the DES files.

[119] Department of Education and Science, *Circular 7/65 – The Education of Immigrants,* (London: HMSO, 1965). See also discussion beginning on page 206 above.

[120] CERC, BCC/ED/2/1/2: Minutes of 24th Meeting of Education Department, 6th Oct 1965.

involved in the formation of a working party 'on the problems of Race Relations and Immigration', set up by the BCC's Social Responsibility Department, 'in order that education problems involved should not be overlooked'.[121]

Statement Archaeology insists on the consideration of the novelty, and consequently the origin, of Alves' statement. Is there any evidence, for example, that the statement arose from the survey material that Alves collected? As already stated, the questionnaire that Alves produced and circulated focused on issues of Christianity; within the structure of the questionnaire, there was little scope for any other material to be considered.

However, he also undertook a number of conversations with pupils 'in the early months of the survey';[122] whilst much of this material foregrounds Christianity,[123] one phrase stands out. In response to the question 'Do you feel [RE] is a valid subject to be taught in school', posed to a group of Upper Sixth pupils, one responds 'I think comparative religion certainly, but close study of the Bible is purposeless'.[124] Beyond this, little more is said on the matter. In general, within the main body of the report, there is silence on the matter of the teaching of religions other than Christianity. For example, although two questions that relate to other religions are included (repeated from the West Riding Agreed Syllabus) no comment is made.[125]

In summary, the similarities between Alves' statement and the statement from *The Durham Report* are manifestly strong and, when combined with the knowledge that Alves was involved in the writing of the relevant chapter, indicate that the Durham Report statement may well originate with Alves, with the case of its inclusion in the final report being reinforced by responses to question 6 of the questionnaire.

However, the practice did not originate with Alves. It was not novel, as the examples above assert; the study of non-Christian worldviews was existing practice, even if

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[121] CERC, BCC/ED/2/1/1: Minutes of 18th Meeting of Education Department, 13th Nov 1962, item 62/17 [Race Relations]. Minutes of a meeting called to discuss Migration and Race Relations, 13th FEB 1963, are contained in CERC, BCC/ED/7/1/57. This meeting agreed to form a Standing Committee on Migration, which was directly responsible to the BCC, with Council appointing membership.

[122] Alves, *Religion and the Secondary School,* 145.

[123] See Alves, *Religion and the Secondary School,* 145-8.

[124] Alves, *Religion and the Secondary School,* 148.

[125] These were: 'how does Christian worship differ from Jewish and Moslem worship?' and 'what steps have been taken to make united acts of worship possible?' (Alves *Religion and the Secondary School* 174, citing West Riding Education Committee (WREC), *Suggestions for Religious Education: West Riding Agreed Syllabus,* (Wakefield, County Council of the West Riding of Yorkshire, 1966): 50).

limited to later phases of schooling. Whilst not being novel, Alves' statement does appear to be programmatic, encouraging the study of other worldviews, and in this respect the Alves Report *may be* an important watershed in the process of encouraging SWR, with the repetitions evident in the Durham Report, and subsequently WP36, contributing to on-going processes of Normalization. In order to assess the importance of Alves in these processes, a more detailed examination of the discourse relating to the study of the religious other is required.

6.2.3   The history of studying the religious other

By the end of the 1960s the BCCED was demonstrating some openness to non-Christian worldviews, both through the active promotion of SWR, and through consultation with faith community representatives. Reading these events against the 'ruling' historiography,[126] with its claim of a sudden and complete change, alongside the search for the origins of Alves' statement, prompts a detailed consideration of the discourse of the BCCED in relation to its construction of non-Christian worldviews.

At the beginning of the 1960s there are examples of openness towards the study of non-Christian worldviews. There is a short correspondence regarding a 'Conference on Teaching about World Religions in schools'.[127] The programme included sessions on 'knowing about religions', 'teaching about world religions in the secondary school' and 'report on work done with junior school children'.[128] An invitation was issued to the Education Department,[129] which was responded to positively, with an undertaking to 'let other members of the Department know about this'.[130]

An examination of the discourse of the BCCED suggests that this was not a new development. From before the establishment of the Education Department in 1951, there

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[126] As discussed in Section 2.2, starting on page 57 above.

[127] The conferene was held at the University of London's Institute of Education under the chairmanship of Professor W.R. Niblet, the then Dean (CERC, BCC/ED/7/1/7 - *School-church relationships: papers and correspondence, 1953-1965*: Programme of, and letters relating to, Conference on Teaching About World Religions in Schools, Saturday 9th December, 1961)

[128] These sessions were to be delivered by E.G. Parrinder, F.H.Hilliard and Mr B Cousin respectively (CERC, BCC/ED/7/1/7: Programme of Conference on Teaching About World Religions in Schools, Saturday 9th December, 1961).

[129] hoping that he, or 'an observer' from the Department to attend the conference, 'the first of its kind' (CERC, BCC/ED/7/1/7: Letter from Mr Cousin to Rev Stanford, Nov 22nd 1961).

[130] In the absence of Rev Standford, (outgoing Secretary), Nina Borelli (acting Secretary) replied (CERC, BCC/ED/7/1/7: Letter from Nina Borelli to Mr B Cousin, 28th Nov 1961).

are indications that the study of religions other than Christianity was being sanctioned by the BCC; particularly the teaching of Judaism.

Tissington Tatlow, who was Director of the Institute of Christian Education (ICE),[131] wrote in 1946 to Sir Walter Moberly, (who had been Chair of the BCC's Committee on Christian Education[132]), expressing his concerns regarding some Agreed Syllabuses.[133] This letter serves as an example of two issues; firstly it provides evidence that the particular Agreed Syllabus under scrutiny included non-Christian materials; it refers to one syllabus where 'a year at the inappropriate age of fifteen is given to Comparative Religion when much is made of Primitive Religion, Totemism, Animism etc'.[134] Tatlow's concern seems to focus more on the 'inappropriate age' at which the material is introduced, rather than an objection to its inclusion *per se*. Furthermore, the letter expresses less concern that the teaching of 'Primitive religions' is taking place, but that this is diverting from the teaching of both 'Judaism and Christianity'.[135] The letter continues, suggesting that

> there is a strong feeling in certain quarters among teachers that Jews should not use the Conscience Clause, but should attend Agreed Syllabus teaching, and that the Agreed Syllabus should be one acceptable to Jews as well as Christians.[136]

Thus, the letter explicitly claims that, in *some manner*, Judaism is being taught alongside Christianity during the mid-1940s. What is not clear from this letter is whether the teaching of Judaism and Christianity are happening together (that is in the same classroom at the same time) or in parallel, with the two groups being taught separately. Regardless, what *is* clear is that Jews are being considered as a discrete group, separate from Christians, with Tatlow arguing for a form of RE that allows the participation of Jewish children, rather than them exercising their right to withdraw. This is suggestive of a form of tuition aimed

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[131] Tissington Tatlow (1876–1957) was honorary director of the Institute of Christian Education for more than 20 years and was involved in the World Missionary Conference (Edinburgh, 1910), honorary secretary of the Faith and Order conference (Lausanne, 1927), European treasurer of the Faith and Order Movement, and one of the chief architects of the British Council of Churches. HUGH MARTIN: Tatlow, Tissington (1876–1957), in: Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/36422, accessed 13th January 2012].
For a historical account of the ICE see Stephen Parker, Rob Freathy, and Jonathan Doney, 'Professionalizing Religious Education in England', in preparation.
[132] See page 281 above.
[133] CERC, BCC/ED/7/1/3 - *Papers and correspondence re. agreed syllabuses, 1947 – 1964*: Letter from Tatlow to Moberly, 28th Nov 1946.
[134] CERC, BCC/ED/7/1/3: Letter from Tatlow to Moberly, 28th Nov 1946.
[135] CERC, BCC/ED/7/1/3: Letter from Tatlow to Moberly, 28th Nov 1946.
[136] CERC, BCC/ED/7/1/3: Letter from Tatlow to Moberly, 28th Nov 1946.

at meeting the needs of Jewish children that is not satisfied by the study of the Old Testament alone.

On its own, the letter from Tatlow might be considered an anomaly. However, other material supports the claim; there are examples showing that teaching material dealing with other faith traditions was available, although it remains unclear whether it was envisaged as a parallel provision, or was to be undertaken as a separate enterprise. Further, it is clear that the BCC Education Committee were aware of its existence and that there was an active promotion of it that went beyond a simple acknowledgement of the materials existence. One list, of 1948, which was headed 'Publications can be ordered from BCC', includes the following titles:

> *The Mind of Japan* - Marcus Knight.
> *Ancient Faiths and Lore of India*, Milford and Garrad, 1947.
> *Chinese Philosophy and Religion*, F.A. Smalley, 1947.
> *The Mind and Ways of Islam*, Miss Mabel C Warburton 1947. [137]

Further, within a report published by ICE in 1954 on Agreed Syllabuses,[138] there are examples of the inclusion of Jewish material: '[o]ne County Borough has adopted the

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[137] CERC, BCC/ED/2/3/3: Publications can be ordered from BCC, 1948.

[138] The Education Department had been discussing an assessment of the content of Agreed Syllabuses from at least as early as 1952; considering it 'advisable to study the material gathered by the ICE Research Committee in order to consider what action arises therefrom' (CERC, BCC/ED/2/1/1: Minutes of 4th Meeting of Executive Committee, 2nd Dec 1952, item 4). A few months later, in February 1953, 'Miss Sladden pointed out that the I.C.E. have material on this which they hope to issue before long, partly in the form of an interim report by Dr Yeaxlee on the I.C.E Research Project on Religious Instruction in Secondary Schools. It was hoped to circulate this report to members of the Department in due course, and that the Department would collaborate in following up issues raised thereby.' (CERC, BCC/ED/2/1/1: Minutes of Second Meeting of Education Department, 10-11th Feb 1953, Item 7). Details of formal collaboration on Working Party on Secondary School Curricula, between BCCED and ICE Research Department are not recorded until March 1955 (CERC, BCC/ED/2/1/1, Minutes of Thirteenth Meeting of Executive Committee, 17th March 1955, item 112). In contrast to the Education Department's records, which suggest that they only became involved during the later stages, the ICE publication claims that they had worked closely with the BCCED 'for the purpose of investigation and the making of practical suggestions'. The ICE project begun in January 1949; the Research Committee surveyed the deployment of particular Agreed Syllabuses as well as LEA's plans to revise them. Four areas were investigated in detail; five counties around Birmingham were surveyed in 1948-9 by questionnaire sent to about 3000 schools (excluding Catholic institutions) by the University of Birmingham Institute of Education, with 1279 responses received; the rural areas of Norfolk and Norwich were surveyed by the Norwich ICE Association in 1949-50, 570 schools (including Catholic schools) were included with 380 responding; The University of Leeds Institute of Education made available an 'investigation of the amount of religious knowledge retained by boys and girls aged between 16 and 19'; A more detailed enquiry was undertaken by the University College of Hull's Institute of Education involving a series of school visits, personal discussions and conferences. In addition, the Joint Four Secondary Association circulated a questionnaire in 1950 to 1519 grammar schools. (ICE, *Religious Education in Schools: The Report of an Inquiry made by the Research Committee of the Institute of Christian Education into the working of the 1944 Education Act*, (London: for ICE by SPCK, 1954): §13 p6.)

Cambridgeshire Syllabus, adding to it special material for use with Jewish children'.[139] Here again, the way in which these issues were to be tackled is unclear; what is clear is a desire to provide RE that is suitable for those of the Jewish faith, rather than allowing them to exercising the right to withdraw. In short, there is a desire to provide RE that is appropriate to a variety of religious communities.

These examples stand counter to the existing historiography, with its claim that RE in the immediate post-war period was of a solely Christian nature. There is some evidence of Christianity occupying a dominant position within the Education Department's discourse. The ICE's analysis of the Agreed Syllabus content (1954), based entirely on frameworks such as 'The Biblical Order' or 'Biblical Doctrine', and with no discussion of any content other than that which is entirely Christian in its basis,[140] being just one example.[141] However, the existence of evidence for both the dominance of Christianity, and the inclusion of non-Christian religions within the ecumenical discourse suggests that the two views, to some extent, co-existed. This co-existence is important to highlight; there is not a broadening of one approach to include the other, but co-existing stands of discourse.

Thus, a corrective can be offered to the misconstruction within the existing historiography, which foregrounds the Christian content, and marginalizes the study of non-Christian faiths, which could be primarily a result of the current historiographies' heavy reliance on Agreed Syllabuses, which, as discussed earlier, are *prescriptive*, rather than *descriptive* documents.[142]

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[139] CERC, BCC/ED 7/1/3: Letter from Basil Yeaxlee (ICE) to Rev Standford (BCC) July 3rd 1953, enclosing report on ICE's work on Agreed Syllabuses, §30.

[140] In the section of the report headed 'Content of teaching' (pp21-54), the discussion is framed entirely from a 'Christian' perspective. A four-fold typology of syllabuses is set out, those of (i) a 'psychological approach' (which appears to mean with material 'selected and arranged in accordance with the interests of children), (ii) those based on 'The Biblical Order', (iii) those based on 'Biblical Doctrine' and (iv) those that combine characteristics of the first three. Debates in this section focus on the relative balance in syllabuses between Church History, Old Testament and New Testament, issues of church unity etc. Diocesan and 'private' syllabuses are mentioned and described as being of two types; both of which are heavily Bible based, the differentiation being whether they are thematic or 'orderly' (i.e. 'based upon the evolution of religious ideas in the Old and New Testaments.' (p30). No mention is made in this section of any worldview other than Christianity. For more detail on this report, see footnote 138, this chapter, above.

[141] Other examples include the University of Cambridge Diploma in Religious Knowledge of 1964. 'Designed as a test of University standard for teachers, for ordinands and for others', it included Inter-Testamental literature; New Testament study; Doctrines of the Christian faith and their Biblical foundation; Church History covering either the Fall of Jerusalem to the Council of Nicea or the history of the church in Nineteenth Century. Students chose from one of the following themes for an assessed essay: Medieval school men; Martin Luther; Early Methodism to 1850; The Oxford Movement; The Ecumenical Movement in the Twentieth Century; and Liberal Catholicism. University of Cambridge Diploma in Religious Knowledge, 1964. (CERC, BCC/ED/7/1/3: University of Cambridge Diploma in Religious Knowledge, 1964.

[142] See, Section 2.4.1, page 86 above.

Such a corrective is strengthened by an assessment of the materials that led to the inclusion of RE in the 1944 Education Act,[143] an aspect that is overlooked/marginalized in the existing historiography, as highlighted earlier.[144] The constraints of this present work prevent the undertaking of a detailed, and much needed analysis of that material, however, a brief assessment of some material from that time is instructive here.

Prior to the White Paper, *'Educational Reconstruction',* issued in 1943,[145] the Ministry of Education had issued a Green Book in 1941, which was circulated under conditions of 'strict confidentiality'.[146] This set out a variety of 'personal views', drawn from officers of the Board of Education, 'on the directions in which the educational system stands in needs of reform and their suggestions as to ways in which such reform might be effected'.[147] The issue of RE receives very little coverage.[148] Most of the Book is dedicated to matters administrative and financial, consistent with Butler's conclusion that 'the Bill was not designed to deal with what is taught in schools: it was designed to provide a new administrative framework'.[149] However, the content of the Book is of less interest than the discussions prompted by it.[150]

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[143] Great Britain, *Education Act*, 7&8 Geo.6 c.31, (1944), sometimes known as 'The Butler Education Act', reflecting Butler's role in preparing the legislation.

[144] See page 54 above.

[145] Board of Education, *Educational Reconstruction*, (London: HMSO, 1943).

[146] The National Archive (TNA), ED 136/214 - *Green Book*: Letter from M.G. Holmes to Miss Goodfellow, 19th June 1941. The decision to circulate the draft confidentially was the matter of some correspondence including, apparently, discussion in the Times Educational Supplement (TNA, ED 136/215 - *Presidents papers re green book*: draft letter from Butler to TES, July 19th 1941). On the Green Book and related discussions, see aslo TNA, ED 136/212 *Preliminary Papers;* ED 136/213 *Superceeded Drafts* and ED 138/20 – *Education After the War.*

[147] TNA, ED 136/214: Green Book, 5.

[148] The issue of 'the Dual System and Allied Problems' takes up a chapter of the Green Book; there is some discussion of the administration of denominational religious instruction and the question of 'religious tests' for teachers (TNA, ED 136/214: Green Book, 57).

[149] TNA, ED 136/692 - *Mr Butler's minute to Dr Weitzman summarising the background of the Education Act, 1944. 1945*: Minute from R.A.Butler to Dr Weitzman, May 1945.

[150] TNA, ED 136/217 - *Deputy Presidents papers Preparation of Green Book and misc correspondence*; TNA, ED 136/218 - *Summaries of green book discussions.*

Whilst discussions between the Board of Education and the Church of England are well documented,[151] other discussions have received significantly less attention.[152] For instance, the Chief Rabbi wrote to Butler in 1942 offering the help of 'Anglo-Jewry' in the 'reintroduction of religious education into all state schools', stressing that 'it should not be difficult to make it possible for Jews to benefit from the new arrangement'.[153] The two met in September 1942 to discuss 'the educational problems of the Jewish Community'.[154] Butler emphasized that negotiations were on-going, that 'the present exchange of views …was one of several exchanges with denominational interests' that were taking place,[155] and that he was 'concerned to secure one plan which, in one adaptation or another, would cover all needs and thereby avoid rivalry and jealousy'.[156] (The use of the term 'denomination' in regard to Judaism here is noteworthy, and will be discussed shortly[157]). There was some discussion of the ways in which the Agreed Syllabus could be adapted to include Judaism, including optional/extra material for Jewish children,[158] and in this regard the syllabus of the LCC was suggested as an appropriate model to follow.[159] This may suggest a parallel approach to teaching RE, whereby in the same classroom with the same teacher, children might study different materials, differentiated by their faith.

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[151] For example, Marjorie Cruickshank, *Church and State in English Education 1870 to the Present day*, (London: Macmillan & Co, 1963). Note that Cruickshank appears to have had access to Butler, and his papers. He wrote the Foreword to the book, in which many positive rhetorical constructions and affirmations can be found 'This excellent and objective study …'; 'It is with confidence and pleasure that I now entrust the Reader to be guided through the maze by the clarity and skill of the Author' (vii and viii respectively). The Preface begins 'This book is the outcome of invitations by the Rt Hon. R.A.Butler first to write the history of the religious settlement of the 1944 Education Act and then to extend my field of research to the origin and development of the dual system. I should like to express my very deep gratitude to Mr Butler who has given me most valuable information and advice and who has obtained for me access to source materials' (ix). See also S.J.D. Green, 'The 1944 Education Act: A Church-State Perspective', *Parliamentary History* 19, no.1, (2000): 148-164.

[152] Representatives of various Christian groups met with members of the Board of Education in November 1941 to discuss the Green Paper, (TNA ED 136/217; ED 136/218), including a 'Conference of Anglican and Evangelical Free Churchmen', (TNA ED 136/272 - *Conference of Anglicans and Free Churchmen); the National Society*), and others (TNA, ED 136/263 - *The National Society*; ED 136/271 - *Catholic Education Council*). The discussions continued into the following year, with the Free Church Federal Council representatives meeting with the Board of Education in January 1942 (TNA, ED 136/276 - *Free Church Federal Council*).

[153] TNA, ED136/240 - *Discussions with the Chief Rabbi:* Letter from Dr. J.H. Hertz to R.A. Butler August 1942.

[154] TNA, ED136/240: Interview Note, 15th September 1942.

[155] TNA, ED136/240: Interview Note, 15th September 1942.

[156] TNA, ED136/240: Interview Note, 15th September 1942.

[157] See page 310 below.

[158] TNA, ED136/240: Interview Note, 15th September 1942.

[159] The LCC syllabus had been prepared for use in 'County schools were there was a large majority of Jewish children' (TNA, ED136/240: Interview Note, 15th September 1942).

Subsequent correspondence focuses on the wording of the Act, especially in regard to the provision of a Jewish Agreed Syllabus,[160] with the Chief Rabbi expressing concern that the White Paper failed to make 'any specific reference to an Agreed Syllabus of other denominations other than that of the Church of England and Free Churches',[161] Butler offers reassurance, stating that:

> the White Paper for the sake of brevity mentions only the Church of England and Free Churches … but it is contemplated that the provisions governing the preparation of these syllabuses will be sufficiently widely drawn as to admit of other denominations being represented where local circumstances require it.[162]

It is unclear in this instance whether the plural use of 'syllabuses' refers to the possibility of more than one syllabus operating in a single area, or to the plurality of syllabuses across the country; the former reading is certainly possible, thus supporting the possibility of parallel or combined teaching of RE.

The final version of the Act made provision for the inclusion on Agreed Syllabus Committees of 'such religious denominations as, in the opinion of the authority, ought, having regard to the circumstances of the area, to be represented'.[163]

Other groups were also considering the impact of the proposed Act. In 1944, concerned that teachers were being overlooked, Mass Observation circulated a questionnaire to 1900 teachers to 'discover what the attitude of teachers really is to the problem of religious instruction'.[164] Amongst other questions,[165] teachers were asked 'Do you think 'agreed syllabuses' should make provision for instruction in the main elements of the chief Faiths of the world?' (it is not clear whether this meant in parallel, or together).[166]

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[160] TNA, ED 136/430 - *Correspondence with Chief Rabbi.*
[161] TNA, ED 136/430: Letter from J.H. Hertz (Chief Rabbi) to R.A.Butler, 12 Sept 1943.
[162] TNA, ED 136/430: Letter from R.A. Butler to J.H. Hertz (Chief Rabbi), 27th Sept 1943.
[163] 1944 Education Act, 5th Schedule, 2(a).
[164] Mass Observation Report, SxMOA1/1/9/2/4: FR 2014 'Teachers' Opinions on Religious Instruction in Schools', Feb 1944. The report begins 'In considering the problems of education, it should be a first principle that the opinions of the experts, that is to say, of the teachers themselves, should be given special attention'.
[165] Such as 'Do you think that denominational religious instruction should be provided in State-aided schools? (q1); 'Would you exclude religious instruction entirely from the school curriculum ?'(q3); 'Do you think that Dual Control should be retained/extended/completely abolished?' (q7); 'Are you in favour of or opposed to Reserved Teachers?' (q9b); 'Would you favour or oppose a system in which the State made provision for secular instruction only, and the denominations were given free use of the school buildings outside school hours for such denominational teaching as parents might desire?' (q10). Mass Observation Report SxMOA1/1/9/2/2: 2012 'Preliminary Figures for Opinions of Teachers of Religious Education', Feb 1944.
[166] Question 10; MO, SxMOA1/1/9/2/2: 2012.

In response, 62% of male (n=81) and 47% of female respondents (n=85) answered in the affirmative.[167] The report suggests that 'approval for this extended syllabus was probably higher than the figures suggest', citing some additional comments that had been recorded.[168] Furthermore, the 'chief objection was that there was not time for it in school life.'[169] These findings are consistent with other explorations of the pre-war situation, as discussed in Chapter 2 above.[170]

This examination raises the issue of whether a solely Christian mandate in the content of RE ever really existed. The sources examined suggest that a purely Christian mandate for RE, within this domain of discourse, is a post 1944 development, based on an assumption that where the term *religious* is used in the 1944 Act, it should be interpreted to mean *Christian*. This development is not straightforward, and the material is, at times, ambiguous, but the ICE report on Agreed Syllabuses (1954) serves as a useful example.[171] The report includes a clear statement emphasising that Christianity was not specified in the 1944 Act:

> In any case neither the committee of Privy Council, nor the Board of Education ever laid down officially what should be taught about any subject in the School Curriculum.[172]

This position is in accordance with a declaration made at the 'Conference on Christian Education' held at The Bossey Institute in 1952,[173] where 'it was agreed that [the Church] should never seek the imposition of any creed, whether denominational or otherwise'.[174]

A few years after the 1954 report, in 1958, the ICE approached the Education Department with a suggestion that

> the Churches might produce a basic outline, a 'highest common factor' of Agreed Syllabuses which could be presented as coming from all the

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[167] Reponses to Q10, MO, SxMOA1/1/9/2/2: 2012.

[168] 'A number of those voting against [the inclusion of instruction in other faiths] provided some mention of this type of instruction, for example: "No. At the same time, the elements might be mentioned but nor taught."; "No. History can cover study of other religions." and "A course for seniors would be of interest, but not in the Scripture lesson." (Responses to q10, MO, SxMOA1/1/9/2/4: FR 2014, p4.

[169] Responses to q10, MO, SxMOA1/1/9/2/4: FR 2014, p4.

[170] See the discussion of pre-war materials on World Religions Teaching, page 78 above.

[171] For more detail on this report, see footnote 138, this chapter above.

[172] CERC, BCC/ED/7/1/3: Para 29 of ICE Report on Agreed Syllabuses, enclosed in letter from Basil Yeaxlee (ICE) to Rev Standford (BCC), July 3rd 1953.

[173] See page 283 above for more detail on this Conference.

[174] CERC, BCC/ED/2/3/6: Conclusion of Study Groups on the Responsibility of the Church in Education: Report of the English Speaking Group.

> Churches and as embodying all on which they wanted to agree, to those
> who are concerned with Agreed Syllabus revision'[175]

This suggestion, to some extent at least, implies that the Agreed Syllabus should be entirely Christian, a position that is echoed a decade or so later:

> Religious education derives its substance from the teachings of the Church, and this is recognised in the present Education Act. No suggestions for the reshaping of religious education will be acceptable which do not commend themselves, so far as content is concerned, to the 'mainstream' Churches. Their representatives, therefore, must be fully involved in any work done.[176]

In summary, RE prior to 1944 does not appear to be, as the ruling historiography suggests, simply a solely Christian endeavour. Rather, the examples presented suggest that the relationship between Christianity and other faiths was complex, and that non-Christian positions have been studied, at different times and in different ways, since at least the 1920s. Further, they suggest that Judaism occupied a particular place, being treated positively, and constructed as a 'denomination'. This construction requires further scrutiny.

6.2.4   The re-construction of non-Christians: from 'denomination' to 'other faiths'

The material considered so far suggests that Judaism held a particular place in the understanding of non-Christian religions, and as such was constructed in a very specific way. For example, within a detailed analysis of the 'Right of withdrawal from RI' (on grounds of conscience),[177] undertaken in the early 1950s, a variety of groups are named including Roman Catholics, Nonconformist groupings and some that might be considered on the fringes of Christian orthodoxy.[178] Jewish children are also discussed, and their inclusion is constructed more positively: 'Jews often attend Old Testament lessons and sometimes New Testament as well',[179] although this might support the idea that Jewish RE is, to some extent at least, happening separately. This distinction between Christianity,

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[175] CERC, BCC/ED/2/1/1: Minutes of Executive Committee, 27th Oct 1958, Item 225.

[176] CERC, BCC/ED/2/1/1: Appendix 1 to 44th Meeting of BCC, 12th March 1964, 'Spring 1964. Programme of Investigation into the nature and future needs of Religious Education In Schools'.

[177] ICE, *Religious Education in Schools*.

[178] Christian Scientists, Christadelphians, Jehovah's Witnesses and Seventh Day Adventists are all mentioned (ICE, *Religious Education in Schools*, §20, 12).

[179] ICE, *Religious Education in Schools*, §20, 12.

Judaism and other positions remains clear into the later 1960s, with Alves' statement specifically mentioning Judaism, and differentiating it from other non-Christian religions.[180]

Key to understanding this differential treatment is an analysis of how the term 'denomination' is used within the discourse of the BCCED. Generally, the term 'denomination' is used to describe a recognized autonomous branch of the Christian Church, as it is in Chapter 5 above. The use of the term in the BCCED materials, as well as in the Ministry of Education discourse, (including the 1944 Education Act), specifically in relation to Judaism, and possibly in relation to Islam,[181] stands outside this usual understanding.

Using the term denomination in regard to Judaism indicates an attempt to construct Jews, not as *wholly* different from Christianity, but – in some way – as a sub-group related to Christianity, with an implication of some level of equality with other Christian groups. There are a number of possible explanations as to why this term might have been used.

It may represent ignorance. Whilst this is *theoretically* possible in the case of the Ministry of Education discourse, it seems very unlikely in the case of the BCC discourse; they would have been very familiar with the theological connotations of the term, as well as its use within the supranational ecumenical and the national ecclesiastical discourses. For similar reasons, even within the Ministry of Education discourse, this explanation seems unlikely.

Alternatively, it may represent a viewpoint, along the lines of the position expressed by Farquhar, that Christianity represented the fulfilment of all other religions; it is *possible* to see that the term 'denomination' might have been applied to those 'imperfect' religions, being – as it were – partial Christianity. This suggestion also seems unlikely. Nowhere in that particular domain of discourse are non-Christian religions constructed as 'denominations'; they are consistently referred to by their distinct titles.[182]

A more persuasive explanation is that there was a desire to *relate* to non-Christian religions (perhaps Judaism first and foremost, for both theological and socio-political

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[180] See statement from Alves, *Religion and the Secondary School*, on page 299 above.

[181] The occasional extension of the term in some materials to cover Islam is noteworthy, however the few examples are insufficiently clear in terms of their use of the term 'denomination'. For example, in the statement 'all denominations, except Moslems (sic), come to prayers in the hall' (ICE *Religious Education in Schools* 'denominations' could be interpreted in a number of ways.

[182] So, for example, J.N. Farquhar, *The Crown of Hinduism*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1913) also W. Wilson Cash, *The Moslem World in Revolution,* (London: Edinburgh House Press, 1925).

reasons), but the frameworks that were in place were insufficient. This deficiency can be seen in the discussion of an invitation, issued by UNESCO to BCCED, to contribute to a 'project on 'Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values'.[183] Contributions were specifically welcomed on:

> [the] attitude of the Christian towards cultural values of other people;
> Respect for different religious beliefs and creeds and Principles which
> should guide the missionary work in relation to different religious
> communities.[184]

It is notable that the Committee's deliberations are confined to only one of the three areas mentioned; the minutes record discussion of a joint project of the Church of England's Boards of Education and Social Responsibility, which related directly to the question of attitudes toward the cultural values of others.[185] In relation to the other two points there was no comment.[186] It is unclear as to why this is the case. In respect of the 'principles which should guide missionary work', one might expect a comment to be recorded, even if only that the issue fell under the remit of a different department.

Speculation might lead to the suggestion that the silence regarding the issue of respect for 'different religious beliefs and creeds' is symptomatic of a negative attitude. However, the material already presented regarding the inclusion of other religious perspectives, suggests that the Department is content to accept the existence of other worldviews, and shows a degree of respect. Although it can only be conjecture, I suggest that the issue that led to the silence was not a negative attitude, but rather an insufficiency in framework. In short, there was not a way in which the discussion could take place.

As has been demonstrated in the previous chapter, discussions about the relationship between Christians and other religious worldviews were the subject of much discussion and theological reflection during the first six decades of the twentieth century.[187] The construction of the religious other as 'enemy' during the earliest period (prior to 1910) had acted as a substantial constraint, restricting the discussion of and with those of other

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[183] CERC, BCC/ED/2/1/1: Minutes of 26th Meeting of Executive Committee 9th Feb 1959, §235.

[184] CERC, BCC/ED/2/1/1: Minutes of 26th Meeting of Executive Committee 9th Feb 1959, §235.

[185] 'The Chairman spoke of a Church of England project of the Boards of Education and Social Responsibility jointly which was akin to subject (a). The Secretary was instructed to discuss the possibility of collaboration with Dr Bliss and the BCC Social Responsibility Department. It was emphasised that any contribution to UNESCO would need to be at the highest level of competence.'(CERC, BCC/ED/2/1/1: Minutes of 26th Meeting of Executive Committee 9th Feb 1959, §235).

[186] CERC, BCC/ED/2/1/1: Minutes of 26th Meeting of Executive Committee 9th Feb 1959, §235.

[187] See Section 5.2 starting on page 236 above.

worldviews. As the religious other became more positively constructed, especially during the 1920s and 1930s, these constraints were eased and, by the mid-1960s lifted. Until that time, a practical solution to the difficulty was, within the national educational discourse (both in the ecumenical domain and the national policy/governmental domain), to construct other religions as 'denominations'. An analysis of terminology appears to support this; in the educational discourse after 1965, this construction of 'denomination' disappears from the narrative, and religious groups are described by their titles.

The use of 'denomination' appears to be limited to the accommodation of religious worldviews. Within the discourse of the BCCED, non-religious perspectives not only appear to be treated differently from religious positions, they are also treated inconsistently. As a case in point, tensions between the Department and UNESCO in the mid-1950s, centring predominantly on UNESCO's secular positioning, result in a call for a stronger Christian influence in UNESCOs work.[188] Specifically, the Department suggested that a link between UNESCO and the World Council of Churches, which was recorded as 'creating a kind of supra-national Christian consciousness', would be beneficial, particularly

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[188] This is evident, for example, in relation to a discussion of a draft paper '*Christian Concern for UNESCO*' in 1954. The first part of this paper is essentially a 'Christian apologetic' setting out, how 'The Christian … must be concerned with the whole field of education', based on an exegesis of primary Christian beliefs: '(a) Since God is the creator and sustainer of the whole universe, the Christian has a concern for all studies because their subject matter is God's world; (b) Since God is truth, the Christian is committed to the extension of the boundaries of knowledge in all ways which lead to fuller understanding of His will and a deeper apprehension of His nature and His universe. Education cannot therefore be identified with or made the instrument of propaganda whether political or religious; (c) Since God is the Father of all, knowledge cannot be withheld from any individuals or societies who can understand'. The main concern expressed by the Department is that UNESCO, in the light of this construction of education, should be more directly influenced by 'Christian thought and action'. The claim was made that 'So far, scientific humanism has been more influential that Christian thought in the thinking of UNESCO' gave rise to the suggestion that 'Christians must be deeply concerned with the activities of UNESCO'. 'Christian Concern for UNESCO' It was considered that Christians had a great deal to offer, especially that 'the Christian view of the relationship between man and God could make a significant contribution', particularly as approaches to education that relied on administrative changes were insufficient and 'concentration upon these alone may lead to disaster'. What was required, according to the Education Department 'was a change in human attitudes: [The Christian] must insist that any educational programme must have as its first concern the personal moral development of individuals, and he deplores the omission of such a concern from some programmes of Fundamental Education.' (CERC, BCC/ED/2/1/1: Minutes of 12th meeting of Executive Committee, 31st Dec 1954, accompanying paper: 'Christian Concern for UNESCO').

in terms of 'stimulating education for living in a world community'.[189]. However such direct involvement seemed to be precluded by the constitutional structure of UNESCO.[190]

A slightly different response was evident when the Ethical Union wrote to the Education Department in Spring 1955,[191]

> enquiring whether [they] would be willing to sponsor jointly with the Ethical Union an informal conference on the handling of religious teaching in schools as related to the opinions of convinced non-Christians[192]

The Department turned down the opportunity to be involved, stating that 'the Council, being an official body, is unable to act informally in the way desired'[193]. Instead, the Department agreed to offer help to the Ethical Union by sending them 'a list of persons who would be able to make a useful contribution',[194] although it was made clear that the 'invitations will be in the name of the Ethical Union alone and will be addressed to individuals in their own capacity and not as in any sense the nominees of the BCC'.[195]

Nothing more is recorded about that episode, but a few years later, there was more resistance to another approach by the Ethical Union. A statement *'Religion in Schools'*, prepared by Harold Blackham, was received, together with a request for comment.[196] The discussion demonstrates that the document was seen as controversial, and the protection of the BCC's reputation appears to be a high priority. Rather than respond, the committee agreed that

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[189] CERC, BCC/ED/2/1/1: 'Christian Concern for UNESCO'§5.

[190] CERC, BCC/ED/2/1/1: 'Christian Concern for UNESCO'§5. 'The Commission of the Churches on international Affairs is officially listed as having consultative arrangements with UNESCO on behalf of the World Council of Churches and the International Missionary Council. A channel of communication therefore already exists which it should be our concern to develop' (CERC, BCC/ED/2/1/1: 'Christian Concern for UNESCO'§6).

[191] The Ethical Union, became the British Humanist Association in 1967, and had a generally anti-Christian position. The Ethical Union sponsored Mass Observation Report SxMOA1/1/10/5/6: 2245 ('Puzzled People. A study in popular attitudes to religion, ethics, progress and politics', Prepared by Mass-Observation for the Ethical Union. May 1945). For a more detailed discussion about the transition from Ethical Union to British Humanist Association, see Rob Freathy & Stephen Parker, 'Secularists, Humanists and religious education: religious crisis and curriculum change in England, 1963-1975', *History of Education*, vol 42, no.2, (2013):222-56.

[192] CERC, BCC/ED/2/2/1: Minutes of Meeting 13, 17 Mar 1955, §116.

[193] CERC, BCC/ED/2/2/1: Minutes of Meeting 13, 17 Mar 1955, §116.

[194] CERC, BCC/ED/2/2/1: Minutes of Meeting 13, 17 Mar 1955, §116

[195] CERC, BCC/ED/2/2/1: Minutes of Meeting 14, 2 June 1955, §121.

[196] CERC, BCC/ED/2/2/2 - *Minutes and papers of executive Committee of Education Department meetings 16-27*: Minutes of Meeting 24, 16 June 1958, §209.

> if asked for a reply, the Secretary should state that the Executive does not consider it appropriate that the department should, as a department of the British Council of Churches, make a statement.[197]

These examples, in combination show two things that are noteworthy. Firstly, there is a differential treatment of *secular* worldviews when compared to *religious* worldviews; the willingness to accommodate the 'other', seen above in terms of religious perspectives, appears to be less apparent in relation to secular worldviews. Secondly, there is a confused position with regard to non-religions positions; at times there is a degree of openness to other perspectives, as in the case of the Ethical Union. However, this is not consistent; the response to the earliest UNESCO episode is effectively an attempt to strengthen Christian involvement in the group. Whether this confused position evidences a gradual change of position is hard to assess; the limited number of episodes and their chronology make it very difficult to make such an assessment with any degree of certainty. However, what is clear from these examples is that the supposed binary of Christian:non-Christian is not reflected in the discourse, rather there is a complex taxonomy of worldviews, with Christianity, Judaism, non-Judaeo-Christian other faiths, and secular worldviews all being treated differently from each other.

This detailed exploration of the construction of non-Christian in the discourse of the BCCED is very revealing. It has exposed that the frameworks to support discussion of and with non-Christian worldviews were inadequate, highlighting the way in which a particular construction of other faiths as 'denominations' was used to overcome the issue, and uncovering a move away from this at around the time that the discursive reconstruction of the religious other in the supranational ecumenical discourse reached its pinnacle. In addition, it has shown that non-religions worldviews were subjected to different, and inconsistent, treatment in comparison to religious non-Christian positions.

6.2.5   Summary

The application of Statement Archaeology to the statement from The Durham Report, as cited in WP36 has enriched our understandings of how the adoption of SWR became possible in English RE in a number of ways. Investigating the origins, circumstances of production and rules of repetition, has provided answers to some of the key questions that

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[197] CERC, BCC/ED/2/2/2: Minutes of Meeting 24, 16 June 1958, §209.

arise from the repetition of national ecumenical statements in WP36. The Durham Report expressed a view on the study of non-Christian religions that appeared to be novel. However, the comparison of the statement to others in the discourse has shown that these ideas were not new, but are articulated a few years earlier in work undertaken by Alves for the BCCED, thus demonstrating a dependence on Alves that, so far as I have been able to ascertain, has hitherto not been articulated.

Whilst we can never be certain why the authors of WP36 chose the Durham Report rather than the Alves Report, or any earlier statement, to support their position, there are some issues that might inform any suggestions. The Alves Report appears to have been less widely circulated, and was restricted to county schools,[198] whilst Durham covered all schools, with differentiation between County and Church Schools being made in the text.[199] Finally, and perhaps most important, as disclosed in Chapter 4 above, the authors of WP36 were under some pressure to refer to the, then, newly released Durham Report, perhaps reflecting a wider view that the Bishop of Durham was a more authoritative voice in RE discourse than Colin Alves, or that the Church of England was a more authoritative voice in RE discourse than the BCCED.

Prompted by these findings, a more detailed analysis of Alves work shows that the practice of studying other religions and belief systems did not originate with him. Tracing the origins of the practice of studying non-Christian religions led back the inter-war period. There appears to have been a complex relationship between Christians and other worldviews, with evidence that non-Christian positions have been studied, at different times and in different ways, since at least the 1920s. The exploration has also revealed the lack of clarity over how this study of other religions was to be undertaken; were children expected to study all religions, altogether, or would they study their 'own', in parallel with others? Whilst this is an interesting question, which deserves further scrutiny, it is not of direct relevance to the key research question under scrutiny here.

Further, the findings suggest that Judaism occupied a particular place, being treated positively, and constructed as a 'denomination'. A forensic assessment of how this term was used revealed an inadequacy in the frameworks supporting discussions of, and with, non-Christian worldviews. Further, it highlighted the way in which a particular construction

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[198] Alves, *Religion and the Secondary School,* 13.
[199] Ramsey, *The fourth R,* Chapter 4 'Religious Education in Schools with Special Reference to County Schools' and Chapter 7 'Church Schools'.

of other faiths as 'denominations' was used to overcome the issue, and uncovering a move away from this at around the time that the discursive reconstruction of the religious other in the supranational ecumenical discourse reached its zenith. In addition, it has shown that non-religions worldviews were subjected to different, and inconsistent, treatment in comparison to religious non-Christian positions.

Thus, the assertion of the ruling historiography that the study of other religions and belief systems was a development differentiated in the 1960s has been shown to be specious; Statement Archaeology has shown that, in terms of *content*, at least, the practice has a long and interesting history. With this in mind, and in continuing the search for the relative beginning of the practice, a similarly detailed exploration of the second national ecumenical statement cited in WP36 is now required.

6.3 'The aim of RE is not to proselytize'

This section will focus on another statement repeated in WP36, an extract from a British Council of Churches (BCC) statement regarding the non-proselytizing aim of RE: 'It should be clear that the aim of religious education is to deepen understanding and insight, not to proselytize'.[200] (Proselytization being used here to emphasize 'conversion to a faith', as distinct from Confessional, which emphasizes 'nurture in a faith'.[201]) As with the statement from the Durham Report discussed above, the authors of WP36 used this statement as part of their justification for the approach to RE they advocated; as such it demands a detailed and thorough investigation.

6.3.1 Circumstances of production of BCC Interim Statement

During the late 1960s RE was the subject of much discussion at a number of levels. For example, Rob Freathy and Stephen Parker enumerate questions and debates relating to RE in the House of Commons, showing that in the sixteen years prior to 1966 there were 16, in comparison to 15 in the 3 years following.[202] This ferment of debate and discussion was

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[200] Schools Council, *Working Paper 36*, 17. Note that in WP36 it is suggested that this statement is drawn from a joint statement issued by the Christian Education Movement and the British Council of Churches. The (in)accuracy of this claim is discussed at length in Section 4.4.1 starting on page 211 above.

[201] See discussion of these terms in Section 1.3.1, starting on page 35 above.

[202] Rob Freathy and Stephen 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.

brought to a head by Edward Short who, as Secretary of State for Education,[203] in early 1969 revealed that he 'and the government intend to preserve compulsory provision of religious education in county schools and the daily act of worship in the new education act'.[204] A little while earlier, in March 1966 whilst serving as Chief Whip and Parliamentary Secretary to the Treasury, Short had delivered a speech to The College of Preceptors. He used this platform to express his concerns over the state of RE, particularly the 'growing demand that religion, in the sense of religious dogma, however non-denominational, should no longer find a place in the school curriculum as, by law, it does at present'.[205]

In February 1969, the DES appealed to a number of organizations, including the BCCED, welcoming 'comments … on a New Education Bill'.[206] The Department organised a special meeting in response,[207] at which the discussion centred on three main issues: increasing flexibility and timing of the daily act of worship; the nature and role of the Agreed Syllabus, and the name of the subject, with a suggestion of changing from Religious Instruction to Religious Education.[208] Within this discussion, the need to 'cater for the presence of non-Christian Immigrant children' was highlighted.[209]

Ultimately, the BCCED responded to the DES invitation, producing a series of 14 suggestions.[210] These began with the recommendation that the drafting stage of the Bill be delayed to coincide with 'a number of commissions and working parties … [that] will not

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[203] Edward Short was Secretary of State for Education and Science in Harold Wilson's Labour Cabinet from April 1968 until June 1970.

[204] Speech given by the Secretary of State for Education and Science at the Opening of Alnwick C.E. Junior School, 4pm Friday 10th January 1969 (The National Archive (TNA), ED 183/5 - *DES. Schools Branch. Registered Files. Correspondence on revised ed bill & provisions for RE in schools. 1969-70*). This speech has been interpreted as the announcement of the intended Act; there is no mention of such an Education Act included in Cabinet discussions in the 12 months prior to this announcement (The National Archive (TNA), CAB 128/43 Cabinet conclusions: CAB 128/43/1 to CAB 128/43/52. Cabinet Conclusions 1(68) - 52(68). January to December 1968.

[205] 'The Essence of Democracy' A Speech given by The Right Honourable Edward Short, M.P. at the Annual Dinner of The College of Preceptors, 9 March, 1966. Copy of the published speech held in CERC, BCC/ED/7/1/49.

[206] Responses were received from, Catholic Education Council; Catholic Teachers Federation of England and Wales; Church of England Board of Education and The National Society; Methodist Education Committee; Free Church Federal Council; National Union of Teachers; National Union of Studnets; National Secular Society; Workers Education Association; National Association of Division of Executives of Education (The National Archive (TNA) ED 183/5). CERC, BCC/ED/7/1/49: Draft Reply to Mr Fletcher of DES. Undated letter. On the new bill, see also Freathy and Parker, *Prospects and Problems*.

[207] CERC, BCC/ED/2/1/2: Minutes of Special Meeting of British Council of Churches Education Department, 18th March 1969.

[208] CERC, BCC/ED/2/1/2: Minutes of Special Meeting of British Council of Churches Education Department, 18th March 1969.

[209] CERC, BCC/ED/2/1/2: Minutes of Special Meeting of British Council of Churches Education Department, 18th March 1969.

[210] CERC, BCC/ED/7/1/49: Draft Reply to Mr Fletcher of DES. Undated letter.

be ready to report until 1970...or 1971' (of which the Durham Commission's report was presumably one).[211] Further, they suggested that there was a need for a radical revision of the 1944 provisions, with a number of suggestions as to how the new Act should differ from the 1944 Act. The citation of the BCC statement regarding non-proselytization in WP36 is from this document; in the draft, 'conversion' is used, but this is changed to 'to proselytize' in subsequent versions.[212]

Prior to its inclusion in WP36, the BCC statement is repeated elsewhere. It is included in the published report of the Windsor Seminar on '*Prospects and Problems for Religious Education*' held at Easter 1969.[213] Unlike the CEM statement (discussed in Chapter 4), the BCC statement is not recorded in the session-by-session accounts, neither is it in the preliminary report sent only to the seminar attendees.[214] However, the inclusion of the statement at the drafting stage of the 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. Also, in contrast to the CEM statement,[215] the statement is fully attributed to BCC in the Windsor Seminar Report.[216] That this was the case suggests that – to some extent at least – the DES, as publishers of the Report, saw the BCCED as a legitimate authority in relation to RE policy.[217]

Other groups also appeared to have seen BCCED as authoritative; the statement was included (in the context of the original document setting out the 14 suggestions[218]) in a document of the CEM Executive.[219] This inclusion implies that there was a general agreement with its content amongst the CEM Executive, perhaps reflecting the CEM's position, it being more expedient to adopt the statement in its entirety than for CEM to

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[211] CERC, BCC/ED/7/1/49: Draft Reply to Mr Fletcher of DES. Undated letter, Point 1.

[212] CERC, BCC/ED/7/1/49: Draft Reply to Mr Fletcher of DES. Undated letter, Point 7.

[213] For a more in depth discussion of the Seminar, see page 214 above, also Freathy and Parker, *Prospects and Problems for Religious Education in England*.

[214] See page 214 above.

[215] CERC, BCC/ED/7/1/49: CEM Executive statement, October 1969.

[216] See page 214 above.

[217] Other groups specifically named in the Windsor Seminar Report were the Farmington Trust and the Sheffield Institute of Education's survey of 1961 (Department of Education and Science, *Prospects and Problems for Religious Education,* (London: HMSO, 1971).

[218] CERC, BCC/ED/7/1/49: Draft Reply to Mr Fletcher of DES. Undated letter.

[219] CERC, BCC/ED/7/1/49: CEM Executive statement, October 1969.

devise and agree their own statement. A similar view on the non-proselytizing nature of RE is also included in the Durham Report.[220]

Through this series of repetitions, the statement contributes to a process by which a non-proselytizing approach to RE is normalized. The degree to which this view had become adopted as 'normal' is shown in a later report of the Education Department to the BCC: 'the definition of religious education which emerged [from the 1972 Leicester Conference] was consistent with that stated in the Department's evidence to the Secretary of State in 1969.[221]

So far, these examples demonstrate that the *Interim Statement* represents a particular construction of RE as non-proselytizing. An examination of the extent to which this statement was representative of the BCCED's view at the time requires further examination.

In addition to the statement to the DES, the Education Department was involved in further discussion of the prospective Act. During a Departmental meeting in mid-1969,[222] two speeches were delivered, one by Harold Loukes and the other by W.J.H. Earl. The body of Harold Loukes presentation, '*Moral Education and the Christian/Humanist Dialogue*', was concerned with the issue of moral education for non-Christians: 'In the old days it had been sufficient to argue that if a man was not a Christian, then he ought to be one. This sort of argument was obviously no longer possible'. [223] Loukes critiqued the status quo in RE, framing it in terms of 'goodness' and suggesting that it was out of date.[224] Mr Earl, speaking about '*The New Education Act*' began with the religious provisions of the

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[220] Following immediately from the statement 'Where appropriate he will study other religions and belief systems', discussed at length above, the Report continues '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.' Ramsey, *The fourth R,* §216, cited in Schools Council, *Working Paper 36,* 19.

[221] CERC, BCC/ED/2/1/11: 61st Meeting of BCC Autumn 1971 Ed Dept Report, 10 - WCC/BCC Conference on Interfaith Dialogue in Education, 10-14 July 1972, Stamford Hall, Leicester. Paper M.

[222] Held at Digby College of Education, July 15th and 16th, 1969 (CERC, BCC/ED/2/1/11).

[223] CERC, BCC/ED/2/1/11: Presentation given by Harold Loukes at Department Meeting, July 15th and 16th 1969 'Moral Education and the Christian/Humanist Dialogue'.

[224] CERC, BCC/ED/2/1/11: Presentation given by Harold Loukes at Department Meeting, July 15th and 16th 1969 'Moral Education and the Christian/Humanist Dialogue'.

1944 Education Act, [225] and like Loukes, highlighted the extent to which things had changed. Not only had ecclesiastical politics moved on to the point where 'the churches could agree more or less about what they wanted to do and say',[226] there were new players on the stage, both secular and of non-Christian faith positions.[227] Alongside these changes, the relationship between education and Theology had changed, with education shifting in emphasis away from teaching and towards learning, and Theology itself become less authoritarian.

Within this changing context, the work of Loukes and Goldman, together with the publication of 'Honest to God',[228] had all had a significant effect; 'Religious Instruction had changed to Religious Education'.[229]

Against this background, Earl challenged the Education Department on the matter of Agreed Syllabuses, contrasting the 'original Agreed Syllabuses' which had caused many to think 'the end of Religious Instruction was the adult in communion with a local church', with the 'latest syllabuses … [which] talked about such aims as satisfying 'the needs of growing children' (West Riding), or the 'needs of children and teachers' (Lancashire).'[230] The nature of Agreed Syllabuses, as discussed elsewhere, is that they both reflect the ideas of the Agreed Syllabus Committee and act as programmatic statements, attempting to normalize those ideas.[231] Earl's comment here foregrounds what appears to be a change in thought; a shift from RE as 'confessional' to RE as informative.

This examination of the circumstances of production of the BCC Interim Statement foregrounds the extent to which RE was under public scrutiny at the end of the 1960s, and shows that significant changes to the status quo were being suggested by

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[225] Earl suggested that the religions provisions were included for two reasons; 'that the country was at war, and the enemy and some of our allies had a coherent philosophy, and that although Britain was theoretically a Christian nation, there was a great deal of ignorance - to teach about religion might lead to an improvement in morals and morale. Secondly, that ecclesiastical politics were such that a bargain between the factions was possible.' (CERC, BCC/ED/2/1/11: Presentation given by Mr W.J.H. Earl at Department Meeting, July 15th and 16th 1969 'The New Education Act').

[226] CERC, BCC/ED/2/1/11: Presentation given by Mr W.J.H. Earl at Department Meeting, July 15th and 16th 1969 'The New Education Act'.

[227] 'In 1944 it had been assumed that the country was a Christian state, but now it was assumed that the country was basically secular. In addition, there were now much larger pockets of representatives of other religions.' (CERC, BCC/ED/2/1/11: Presentation given by Mr W.J.H. Earl at Department Meeting, July 15th and 16th 1969 'The New Education Act').

[228] John A.T. Robinson, *Honest to God,* (London: SCM Press, 1963). See also Section 2.3.1, beginning on page 69 above.

[229] CERC, BCC/ED/2/1/11: Presentation given by Mr W.J.H. Earl at Department Meeting, July 15th and 16th 1969 'The New Education Act', page 1.

[230] CERC, BCC/ED/2/1/11: Presentation given by Mr W.J.H. Earl at Department Meeting, July 15th and 16th 1969 'The New Education Act', page 2.

[231] See Section 2.4.1 on page 86 above.

BCCED, with a particular emphasis on the adoption of non-proselytizing approaches to RE. The narrative suggests that such an approach was novel, and this requires further investigation.

6.3.2   The rise and fall of Proselytizational RE

A more detailed examination of the Alves Report, introduced and discussed earlier, reveals that the call for a non-proselytizing RE was not a novelty of the late 1960s. A tension is exposed, particularly in the later part of the decade, between proselytizing approaches, whereby the aim of teaching Christianity was that children should become committed to the Christian faith, and join a local church community,[232] and non-proselytizing approaches to RE. Alves states that

> pupils have a right to be put in a position where they can make their own minds up about the faith for which so much is claimed or in which so many find satisfaction and inspiration.[233]

Yet, later in the same report, Alves highlights that an objective approach to the teaching of religion demands 'the rejection of anything which smacks of indoctrination or proselytization',[234] citing the secondary-focused Spens Report (1938).[235] The Spens Report discusses the place of 'Scripture' at some length,[236] arguing for – as Alves suggests – an objective approach; it advocates Biblical study, undertaken in a 'historical and objective manner',[237] and discusses the importance of appropriately qualified teachers (such qualification based on their scholarship of Christianity and Biblical knowledge, rather than their personal confessional position).[238] However, there is no mention of RE having a proselytizational aim here or in legal documents; the 1870 Education Act is silent on the matter, as are the Education Acts of the intervening years.[239] Similarly, the provisions of the

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[232] See definitions of Proselytizing and Confessional, in Section 1.3.1, page 35 above.

[233] Alves, Report of the Special Committee §6, *Religion and the Secondary School*, 15.

[234] Alves, *Religion and the Secondary School,* 148.

[235] Board of Education, *Report of the Consultative Committee on Secondary Education with Special Reference to Grammar Schools and Technical High Schools (The Spens Report),* (London: HMSO, 1938).

[236] Board of Education, *The Spens Report*, Chapter 5

[237] Board of Education, *The Spens Report*, 213.

[238] Board of Education, *The Spens Report*, 210-15.

[239] Including Great Britain, *The Elementary Education Act,* 43 & 44, Vict. c. 23, (1880); Great Britain, *The Elementary Education Act,* 54 & 55, Vict. c. 56, (1891); Great Britain, *Education Act*, 2. Edw. 7 c.42, (1902).

1944 Education Act do not specify that RE should aim for conversion.[240] Further, in correspondence with Temple, Butler 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.[241]

However, an analysis of the stated aims of early Agreed Syllabuses suggests that during the 1940s a proselytizational aim for RE had indeed developed. The authors of the 1954 ICE report state that:

> the agreed syllabuses from 1940 onwards reveal a great change of emphasis .. *the aim of the teaching is declared to be that children should understand and accept the Christian faith and follow the Christian way of life*, while in more recent syllabuses the hope is expressed that school worship and religious instruction will, … "increasingly *lead pupils to become and remain full members of a worshipping community outside the school*.'"[242]

A similar position is expressed elsewhere in the report: 'several of the agreed syllabuses say explicitly that worship and religious instruction at school should help boys and girls to find their way into membership of the Christian Church.'[243] The authors appeal to a Ministry of Education publication to justify the position, '[it] plainly says (p.10) that Christian belief and practice are the most secure foundations for the building of a true and enduring citizenship'.[244]

Furthermore, the 1954 report begins by describing the diversity of views regarding the 1944 Act five years after its passing; here a very simplistic binary approach is adopted; on the one hand

> There were the pessimists who declared that the statutory demands would not be taken seriously, and that things would be much as before.[245]

and on the other

> There were optimists who thought that the future of every child leaving school would certainly possess a creditable knowledge of the Bible and

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[240] 1944 Education Act.

[241] Lambeth Palace Library, William Temple Papers, 20/198, Butler to Temple, 2 Feb 1943.

[242] ICE, *Religious Education in Schools*: §35 p27. Emphasis added. For more detail on this report, see footnote 138 earlier in this chapter.

[243] ICE, *Religious Education in Schools*, §17, 8.

[244] ICE, *Religious Education in Schools,* §17, 8. Appeal is made to Ministry of Education Pamphlet No. 16, *Citizens Growing up*.

[245] ICE, *Religious Education in Schools*, §2, 1.

the Christian faith and would be well on the way towards Church membership.[246]

Reading this dichotomous analysis against Foucault's notion of Normalization,[247] it is evident that through the operation of disciplinary power, a proselytizational approach to RE is being normalized. In associating the 'optimistic' view with what might be characterised as a Christian confessional position, the authors of the report are identifying a particular construction of 'success'; this is reinforced when set against the 'pessimist' positions whereby the status quo is preserved.

A detailed investigation of the way in which, and timing of, the introduction of this proselytizational aim is urgently needed. Central to such a study would be questions relating to the processes by which a proselytizational aim for RE, despite its absence from the guiding legislation, was included in Agreed Syllabuses, and the relationship between Christian practice and the development of national identity. Sadly such an investigation is beyond the scope of this current work.

For now it is sufficient to highlight that by the mid-1940s there had been a shift towards a more overtly proselytizing aim in RE. It is possible that in the period following the 1870 Education Act, the religious constituency of society was such that there was no need for RE to be of a proselytizing nature, but there was a need to perpetuate a confessional approach; that is to say, there was no need to convert, but there was a need to nurture. However, in later periods, especially as the effects of de-Christianisation took hold, the aim of RE shifted, to—in essence—re-Christianize a society that had lapsed.

Being normalized through reports and practice, this proselytizational aim appears to have become widely adopted, as is exemplified in detailed discussions about the ways in which RE might be employed in service of the Church, which occur within a few years of the 1944 Act. At the second meeting of the Education Department (Feb 1953) under the heading 'Church-School Relationships',[248] there is an almost tangible sense of frustration expressed; 'The nation has decided that it wants religious education for its children. It does not yet know how to secure it'.[249] This was combined with a sense of urgency: 'Time to deal with this situation is not unlimited: unless the 1944 Act can succeed in making the nation

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[246] ICE, *Religious Education in Schools,* §2, 1.
[247] See Section 2.5.3 on page 114 above.
[248] CERC, BCC/ED/2/1/1: Minutes of Second Meeting of Education Department 10th and 11th February 1953.
[249] CERC, BCC/ED/2/1/1: Minutes of Second Meeting of Education Department 10th and 11th February 1953.

conscious of the value of Christianity the time must come when people will say "Is this Act worthwhile?"'.[250]

Suggestions were made as to how the difficulties could be addressed which also portray the discourse of the BCCED as being more explicitly proselyitizational. The relationship between church and school is considered key to resolving the problem, and the emphasis on linking the two is strong.[251] In response to the suggestion that local clergy become more involved in daily act of worship, HMI Ayerst makes a suggestion that might be construed as evidence of HMI colluding with the BCCED to circumvent the legislation:[252]

> It is probably not legal for the clergy to take the opening act of worship
> but they may take part in it with the Head in charge. The clergy cannot
> be invited into the school to give R.I. in County Schools, but it is good
> that they should go in and see what is being done.[253]

This construction of RE as being in the service of the Church, effectively training pupils to become members of the church (with the active support of HMI) is consistent with the construction of RE as predominantly proselytizational, although it is complex. Whilst it is possible to imagine proselytization within Church schools, it is harder to imagine how it could have been possible within non-denominational RE; what might it mean to promote conversion to a non-denominational Christianity? This question deserves more attention than can be devoted to it here.

Having adopted a proselytizational position, the Education Department soon became frustrated with a lack of success in RE, and by the early 1960s it was concluded

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[250] CERC, BCC/ED/2/1/1: Minutes of Second Meeting of Education Department 10th and 11th February 1953.

[251] 'What is to be done to link church and school? …It would be valuable if church and school were mutually informed about one another's activities.' Further, arising from a discussion over the extent to which RE (both Religious Instruction and Collective Worship) prepare students for a later relationship with the church, Dr T B Shepherd suggests that schools' attempts do not connect students with church life well enough, so that 'They leave having no connection with churches.' (CERC, BCC/ED/2/1/1: Minutes of Second Meeting of Education Department 10th and 11th February 1953).

[252] Evidence elsewhere suggests that Ayerst adopted a particular position in regard to the Church's relationship with the school. He places the responsibility for the lack of suitable, appropriately trained teachers - in part - at the door of the church: 'Are the Churches taking seriously enough the supply of teachers who are convinced Christians, and methods of equipping Christians for doing Christian education?' highlighting that 'Christian teachers should be encouraged to feel a sense of vocation to qualify in R.I.' He also suggests that although a good number at Training Colleges (9% compared to 16% for English) take Scripture at advanced level, they 'come less well prepared than for any other study. The reasons for this must be partly sought in grammar schools and their staffs.' (CERC, BCC/ED/2/1/1: Minutes of Second Meeting of Education Department 10th and 11th February 1953).

[253] CERC, BCC/ED/2/1/1: Minutes of Second Meeting of Education Department 10th and 11th February 1953.

that: 'From neither the statutory nor the independent stream do we find an influx of committed Christians commensurate with the effort made in schools'.[254] Against this background of dissatisfaction a further review of the religious provisions of the 1944 Education Act was undertaken in 1964 by the Education Department.[255] After twenty years, it was reported that 'Among teachers, clergy and ministers, and in the public generally there is widespread agreement that the results have fallen below expectation, and growing concern at this failure'.[256]

A number of causes for this failure were discussed, including lack of support from home; lack of resources; insufficient teachers, especially 'the serious shortage of teachers trained as specialists in religious education'; severe shortage of timetabled periods and isolation from other curriculum subjects.[257] Yet, the listed causes are not considered sufficient to explain the difficulties being experienced:

> 'It is becoming clear that somehow or other even good teaching is failing
> to communicate to more than a small minority of boys and girls the real
> meaning of Christianity and its significance for the life of the individual
> and of society in the twentieth century.'[258]

A more detailed analysis of the situation highlights deep-rooted issues that are seen to be responsible for the lamentable state of the subject; the fact that the 1944 Education Act was seen, in part, as an attempt to settle denominational differences at the time is considered, together with the development of better understandings between the churches. This results in the possibility of 'a more fully educational approach to religious education'.[259]

The nature of this approach is not set out in detail, but there is an apparent shift in emphasis from *proselytizational* to *educational* approaches. Whilst the role of the Church in

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[254] CERC, BCC/ED/2/1/1: Mins of 17th Meeting of Ed Dept 21-22 June 1962: 1962 - Nature of Religion & Religious Instruction report.

[255] CERC, BCC/ED/2/1/1: Appendix 1 to 44th Meeting of BCC 12th March 1964: 'Spring 1964. Programme of Investigation into the nature and future needs of Religious Education In Schools'.

[256] CERC, BCC/ED/2/1/1: Appendix 1 to 44th Meeting of BCC 12th March 1964: 'Spring 1964. Programme of Investigation into the nature and future needs of Religious Education In Schools'. Emphasis added. There is no discussion in this document over the evidence to support these claims.

[257] CERC, BCC/ED/2/1/1: Appendix 1 to 44th Meeting of BCC 12th March 1964: 'Spring 1964. Programme of Investigation into the nature and future needs of Religious Education In Schools'.

[258] CERC, BCC/ED/2/1/1: Appendix 1 to 44th Meeting of BCC 12th March 1964: 'Spring 1964. Programme of Investigation into the nature and future needs of Religious Education In Schools'. Emphasis added.

[259] CERC, BCC/ED/2/1/1: Appendix 1 to 44th Meeting of BCC 12th March 1964: 'Spring 1964. Programme of Investigation into the nature and future needs of Religious Education In Schools'.

this shift is considered to be central,[260] there is also a renewed interest in the role of the teacher:

> The initiative for a fresh approach must come from the Churches acting together and *in the fullest co-operation with teachers*…a good deal of experimental work is being done by teachers at work in schools … For the most part this is being done in isolation, if more widely known it would undoubtedly be welcomed by many who are looking for help and guidance.[261]

This contrasts with earlier discussions about the role of teachers. In 1953, certain tensions between teachers and clergy had been exposed:

> Teacher and clergy relationships have not always been good and memories linger of the Vicar who looked on the teacher as the odd-job man, there has been snobbishness between graduate clergy and the non-graduate teacher.[262]

The Education Department's subsequent discussions centre on the ways in which the Churches could help teachers. Three specific considerations were discussed; it was suggested that teachers would welcome advice from clergy on the 'philosophy of education'.[263] Further, it was supposed that teachers would welcome help from the church in interpreting the Agreed Syllabus.[264] In return for all this support the clergy might 'learn from the teachers how to teach children.'[265]. These suggestions were to be facilitated through an encouragement to 'ask local Council of Churches to take steps to bring parsons and teachers together in conference'.[266]

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[260] 'Religious education derives its substance from the teachings of the Church, and this is recognised in the present [1944] Education Act. No suggestions for the reshaping of religious education will be acceptable which do not commend themselves, so far as content is concerned, to the 'mainstream' Churches. Their representatives, therefore, must be fully involved in any work done.' (CERC, BCC/ED/2/1/1: Appendix 1 to 44th Meeting of BCC 12th March 1964: 'Spring 1964. Programme of Investigation into the nature and future needs of Religious Education In Schools').

[261] CERC, BCC/ED/2/1/1: Appendix 1 to 44th Meeting of BCC 12th March 1964: 'Spring 1964. Programme of Investigation into the nature and future needs of Religious Education In Schools'. Emphasis added.

[262] CERC, BCC/ED/2/1/1: Minutes of Second Meeting of Education Department 10th and 11th February 1953. A similar sentiment is expressed by Sir Frederick Mandler (General Secretary of the National Union of Teachers): 'Times have changed since 1870 … the clerical profession can no longer claim any particular intellectual advantage over the teaching profession' (Frederick Mandler, 'Religious Instruction Controversy', *Schoolmaster and Woman Teacher's Chronicle*, (Jan-Feb 1942): 9.

[263] CERC, BCC/ED/2/1/1: Minutes of Second Meeting of Education Department 10th and 11th February 1953.

[264] 'Such guidance would be better from a body like B.C.C. than from lay sources as at present' (CERC, BCC/ED/2/1/1: Minutes of Second Meeting of Education Department 10th and 11th February 1953).

[265] CERC, BCC/ED/2/1/1: Minutes of Second Meeting of Education Department 10th and 11th February 1953.

[266] CERC, BCC/ED/2/1/1: Minutes of Second Meeting of Education Department 10th and 11th February 1953.

These suggestions are indicative that the aforementioned 'snobbishness' was still present; at the very least they are indicative of a perception that the Church is authoritative in matters of RE. There remains an underlying assumption that the philosophy of education would be a Christian philosophy, and there are assumptions implicit about the authority of the Church to interpret the syllabus, and the credentials of individual clergy to communicate this efficaciously. All of this overlooks the role of teachers in developing teaching materials in the first place, although within the discussion, one lone voice suggests that it is the clergy who 'need help to understand Agreed Syllabuses.'[267]

The existing historiographical analysis appears to claim, almost without question, that prior to the 1960s RE was confessional, yet there is a lack of adequate differentiation and description of the term and how it is used. In particular, the the distinction that I have emphasized between 'confessional' as nurture, and 'proselytizational', as conversion has been generally overlooked.

The application of Statement Archaeology to statements from this period has revealed that the relative beginnings of proselytizational RE are located in the period immediately following the introduction of the 1944 Education Act, with BCCED playing an important role in normalizing the practice. This process is exemplified in a series of discussions about the relationships between Church, School, and State. Consequently, the changes seen in the 1960s may be better described as a 'return to' non-proselytizational RE. However, the practice becomes the focus of dissatisfaction within the discourse, on the basis that such an approach is not successful in achieving its aims. The role of teachers becomes more prominent in the BCCED's discussions, together with an apparent releasing of the 'clergy grip' on RE, perhaps allowing teachers to be driven by educational rather than any other agendas. Whilst this analysis problematizes the *origin* of proselytizational RE in comparison to the ruling historiography, it appears to confirm the suggestion that there was a move - of some kind - *away* from proselytizational RE during the 1960s. It also highlights a lack of precision over terminology.

6.3.3   The role of BCCED in influencing RE policy

The existing narrative suggests, to some degree, that the adoption of non-proselytizing RE may have resulted from the Church being pressured by secular forces. However, the source

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[267] CERC, BCC/ED/2/1/1: Minutes of Second Meeting of Education Department 10th and 11th February 1953.

material shows a different understanding, with the BCCED playing an active role in the adoption of non-proselytizing RE. To fully explore this issue requires an exploration of the BCCED's authority and influence.

The discourse of the BCCED suggests that during the late 1960s there was a pre-occupation with developing authority and influence. This is apparent in the establishment of the project on Religious Education in the Secondary School, (led by Alves, as discussed above); the Department was particularly concerned that their project should be seen as 'authoritative' by stakeholders, including 'teachers, Local Education Authorities and the Ministry of Education, and the Churches'.[268] A similar desire is expressed in relation to the Working Party on recruitment discussed earlier. The Department had invited Secretary of State for Education, Edward Short, to attend the first meeting.[269] Unable to attend, Short did ask that his 'best wishes for the success of your project' be passed on.[270] Minister of State, Shirley Williams, was also invited,[271] as was Mr Toby Weaver, who had been invited in case that the Secretary of State was unable to attend; both also declined.[272]

It is helpful here to contrast the events of 1969, where the BCCED was included as one body amongst many in the DES consultation on the Education Act,[273] with a Parliamentary discussion in August 1965.[274] The Secretary of State (Anthony Crosland), in responding to the suggestion from Mr Newens that there should be a review of 'provisions governing religious education in State Schools',[275] makes explicit that, despite the high levels of dissatisfaction 'both in the denominations and in the teacher-training colleges and

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[268] CERC, BCC/ED/7/1/3: Proposed investigation into the revision of agreed syllabuses, 1963, which includes the statement: 'In view of the interdenominational character of Agreed Syllabuses, this seems to put the onus onto the British Council of Churches'.

[269] CERC, BCC/ED/2/6/3: Letter to John Prickett, from T.R.Weaver, Department of Education and Science, dated 28 Apr 1969.

[270] CERC, BCC/ED/2/6/3: Letter to John Prickett, from T.R.Weaver, Department of Education and Science, dated 28 Apr 1969.

[271] CERC, BCC/ED/2/6/1: Minutes of First meeting of Working Party on Recruitment, Training and Employment of Teachers concerned with Religious Education in Schools, 27 May 1969. On the issue of funding, it is recorded that DES provided £1250 pa in both 1969/70 and 1970/71 (CERC, BCC/ED/2/6/3).

[272] CERC, BCC/ED/2/6/3: Letter to John Prickett, from T.R.Weaver, Department of Education and Science, dated 28 Apr 1969.

[273] See Section 6.3.1 on page 317 above on the inclusion of BCC in consultations over the proposed Education Act.

[274] A cutting from TES, Aug 13 1965 '*A New Religious Syllabus - Mr Crossland awaits agreement*' which summarises the parliamentary discussion, was discovered in CERC, BCC/ED/7/1/3.

[275] Hansard, House of Commons, 5th Aug 1965, vol 717 cc1861-3.

elsewhere', he is *waiting for consensus between the denominations* before he is willing to act.[276] In response to Mr Maxwell asking 'what can [you] do to induce the various denominations to give some practical effect to bringing in a new curriculum and a better way of teaching religion than is being done at present?', Crosland restates his position:

> There is nothing that I can do or wish to do in this matter. The fact is, as my hon. Friend mentioned, that a great deal of thought is being given to the question of the curriculum. Almost everybody agrees that as now taught the subject is unsatisfactory in relation to the modes and ideas of today. A great deal of thought is already being given to this. Until this has emerged in some kind of consensus, I would not myself take any initiative in the matter.[277]

This earlier episode, in comparison to the 1969 consultation, demonstrates that in the space of less than five years, the united Church has been repositioned from being a *leader*, upon whom the Government waited for consensus to be achieved *before* it was willing to act, to being a *follower*, one amongst many who are *consulted* by Government. However, even to be in this position, with the support of the DES (shown through their backing of the Working Party on teacher recruitment,[278] and their repetition of BCC statements in the various iterations of the Windsor Report) suggests that the Department had retained a degree of authority and influence. Furthermore, it must be remembered that during the discussions prior to the 1944 Act, united Church groups had been amongst others who were consulted.[279]

A careful reading of earlier material shows that the BCC Education Department (and its predecessor, the Education Committee) had been considered as authoritative and influential for some while. For example, the 1946 letter from Tatlow to Moberly, introduced and discussed earlier,[280] states that:

> some kind of memorandum ought to be put out jointly by Anglican and
> Free Churchmen relative to the making of Agreed Syllabuses, and the

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[276] "Until some consensus view has emerged out of the discussion which is now going on, I do not think that any action on my part would be called for." Hansard, House of Commons, 5th Aug 1965, vol 717 cc1861-3. Emphasis added

[277] Hansard Commons, 05 Aug 1965, vol 717 cc1861-3.

[278] It is noted that 'The DES had given considerable support in setting up the Working Party' (CERC, BCC/ED/2/6/1: Minutes of First meeting of Working Party on Recruitment, Training and Employment of Teachers concerned with Religious Education in Schools, 27 May 1969).

[279] See discussions of the Green Book, beginning on page 306 above.

[280] See page 310 above.

> proper body to do this is, surely, the Education Committee of the British Council of Churches.[281]

A similar suggestion has already been discussed, originating with the ICE in 1958.[282] In both cases, the suggestions are built on the implicit assumption that the Churches are authoritative, *particularly* when they work together.

This theme of the power of unity runs across the domain of discourse, but is most evident in the mid-1950s, although a similar sentiment had been expressed during the 1930s.[283] At the 1952 'Conference on Christian Education',[284] for instance, the issue of the 'divided state of the church' was recognised as a major issue in the 'provision of Christian education'; 'the success of the Ecumenical Movement is a necessary condition for the adequate recognition of religion in education.'[285] Similarly, a discussion of '*The Challenge of Youth: Citizens of Tomorrow*', produced by the King George's Jubilee Trust,[286] lays responsibility for difficulties 'in regard to the partnership of the church and day school in religious education, and to the aftercare of school leavers' on the disunity of the Church.[287]

The unity to which the Department aspired was not always evident; aside from the unbalanced representation of the Anglican Church on the Department's committee,

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[281] CERC, BCC/ED/7/1/3: Letter from Tatlow to Moberly, 28th Nov 1946.

[282] See suggestion in 1958 of a 'highest common factor' of Agreed Syllabuses, on page 309 above.

[283] The 'Report of an Unofficial Conference between Anglicans and Evangelical Free Churchmen on Religious Education held during 1937 and 1938' begins with the statement: 'In the first place, they deemed it deplorable that the cause of Christian Education should be injured by the controversies between Christian communions upon the subject'. (CERC, NS/7/8/1/5 - *[Durham] Commission on Religious Education: General correspondence 1966 - 1971*).

[284] See page 283 above.

[285] CERC, BCC/ED/2/3/6: Conclusion of Study Groups on the Responsibility of the Church in Education: Report of the English Speaking Group.

[286] King George's Jubilee Trust. *Citizens of Tomorrow: A Study of the Influences Affecting the Upbringing of Young People*. (London: Odhams Press, 1955). The work that led to the report was prompted by a correspondence in *The Times* newspaper which 'expressed the view that the quality of young people was deteriorating because of the circumstances in which they were being brought up'. (*The Tablet*, 29th October 1955, p10. See also The National Archive (TNA), LAB 19/464, 'King George V Jubilee Trust: discussion over report `Citizens of Tomorrow''). The report discusses influences affecting the upbringing of young people, covers three main themes: (i) The responsibility of all adults for the nation's young people and the importance of the home; (ii) The need for the Christian faith in the lives of individuals and of the nation; and (iii) The problem of the gap between school and adult life - in the period from 15-18 years of age when much good previously achieved can be weakened or destroyed. The BCCED conclude that 'fundamentally the road back to responsibility is the road back to Christian principles, … that for us in Britain the revival and renewal on a much larger scale of such an attitude to life amongst young people is essential'. It makes a number of recommendations, including one '[t]hat there should be further studies to discover what can be done within the present law towards the integration of religion with the life lived at home, at school and at work' which `The Department wholeheartedly welcomes … and sees in it an invitation to the churches to think afresh about the relationships of church, school and home in the education of children.' (CERC, BCC/ED/2/1/1: Minutes of 17th Meeting of Exececutive Committee, 21st March 1956).

[287] CERC, BCC/ED/2/1/1: Minutes of 17th Meeting of Exececutive Committee, 21st March 1956.

referred to earlier,[288] there were occasional episodes of disunity with the Department, often on denominational lines. During the discussion of *The Challenge of Youth*, for instance, the claim is made that the Church of England's desire to move away from Agreed Syllabuses had been held back by the Free Churches, who 'have rather tended to remain content with [their] provision'.[289]

The extent to which the BCCED considered themselves to be authoritative and influential is harder to assess, although the circulation of a book list in 1948 offers some insight.[290] The way in which these materials are promoted by BCC is suggestive of an *assumed* authoritative position; by actively making particular resources available and accessible, the Department is acting as arbiter, not just of the physical books, but of the knowledge they 'contain'. Whilst this would have been the case regardless of the nature of the material, the fact that these books related to non-Christian religions makes it all the more relevant to this study.

By the 1960s this self-understanding is a little clearer. One episode in particular exemplifies this; in October 1963 the BCC issued an instruction to the Education Department:

> The Council instructs the Education Department, as a matter of urgency, to consider what action is necessary to bring together bodies concerned with the promotion of Christian education to ensure co-operation and purposeful practical action in meeting the ever-increasing need for effective Christian witness in education, and to submit appropriate recommendations for approval to the next meeting of the Executive Committee of the Council.[291]

Talks had been underway between the Institute of Christian Education and the Student Christian Movement in Schools with a view to amalgamation, possibly together with other groups working in the same field and with similar aims,[292] however, the conversations had

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[288] Refer to page 282 above.

[289] CERC, BCC/ED/2/1/1: Minutes of 17th Meeting of Exececutive Committee, 21st March 1956

[290] See page 304 above.

[291] CERC, BCC/ED/2/1/1: Report on Education Department, Executive Committee, Dec 11th 1963. The resolution had been proposed by The Bishop of London and Seconded by Dr Baker at the October meeting of the British Council of Churches Council meeting.

[292] The work undertaken by the different groups was discussed in some detail, with the overlap between ICE and SCMS being highlighted, along with the fact that 'there are large areas - educational and geographical - where little is done. (CERC, BCC/ED/2/1/1: BCC Paper - Report on Education Department, Executive Committee, Dec 11th 1963. On the amalgamation, see also Parker, Freathy and Doney, *Professionalizing Religious Education in England*.

slowed.[293] In order to regain momentum, the Education Department suggested the formation of a 'Standing Conference of all bodies working in the field who wished to join, for co-ordination and consultation', for which it would take responsibility,[294] seeing its role primarily in terms of considering what 'future structure is likely to prove most acceptable to the Churches, schools, Education Authorities, Ministry of Education, and possible donors of funds.'[295]

> the most practical arrangement would be the setting up of an independent body, *with strong representation of the Churches* through the Education Department of the Council, having, and being clearly seen to have, the support of and authority to act as the agent of, the Churches in this field.[296]

The proposal that, assuming the scheme to be both 'satisfactory' and 'approved by the Council', 'the new body would be officially recognized by the Council as their recognised arm for work, in the first instance, in schools',[297] suggests that by this point the BCCED saw themselves as both authoritative and influential in the sphere of RE.

However, it clear is that the BCCED's discussions during the early part of the 1960s take place in a context of challenge. As well as the perceived lack of success in RE, discussed above, there was pressure on the Church from secularism, epitomised in the BCC response to Secular Education Month.[298] Nevertheless, throughout the discourse at this time there is evidence of a clear desire to influence the development of RE in such a way that is consistent with the Church's own perceived position of authority.

The relationship between Church and school, particularly the expansion of state control of education, becomes a focus of discussion in the Department during the early 1950s and continues through into the 1960s. The period is marked by a changing relationship between Church and State at a supranational level, as discussed in the previous chapter,[299] and tensions over the State's expansion into education and the Churches' role

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[293] The earlier formation of an Interim Body with the intention of facilitating a period of 'growing together', was seen by the Education Department as the major cause of the impasse. (CERC, BCC/ED/2/1/1: Report on Education Department, Executive Committee, Dec 11th 1963.

[294] CERC, BCC/ED/2/1/1: Report on Education Department, Executive Committee, Dec 11th 1963.

[295] CERC, BCC/ED/2/1/1: Report on Education Department, Executive Committee, Dec 11th 1963.

[296] CERC, BCC/ED/2/1/1: Report on Education Department, Executive Committee, Dec 11th 1963. Emphasis added.

[297] CERC, BCC/ED/2/1/1: Report on Education Department, Executive Committee, Dec 11th 1963.

[298] Secular Education Month was held in November 1964; the Minutes of the 46th Meeting of the Education Department (1965) discusses the attacks on RE associated with activities relating to it. (CERC, BCC/ED/2/1/1).

[299] See Section 5.3.4, beginning on page 271 above.

are highlighted in the discussions at the 'Conference on Christian Education' held at The Bossey Institute in 1952.[300] Through the process of an inter-national comparison of the situation in the different countries represented, [301] the English speaking group had concluded that, whilst there were clearly significant reservations about expanding State involvement in education, it was necessary to admit that 'The role of the State [is] an indispensable one – no other body in the community possess the necessary resources to meet the problem'.[302] This implies that the Church considered itself unable to (if it ever had been) to fully resource education. Thus, to some extent, the Church here is accepting its dependence on the state. However, the group made both an unequivocal commitment to an 'unyielding opposition to a conception of the State which claims to mould all children in its image', and a demand for the

> recognition of the rights of other subordinate societies in the community in the field of education, and thereby attempts to prevent the undue self-aggrandisement of the State which endangers the very existence of other bodies within the community. In particular the group urges that the family, the Church and independent educational establishments, including universities, should have their autonomy guaranteed.[303]

The need for a guarantee of autonomy suggests that the Churches felt that their freedom to continue as they had done was under threat. The culmination of the discussions here centred on the need for safeguards that the Church should ensure were in place in any partnership with the State in matters of RE:

> It was however strongly emphasised that the Church should not depend upon a State which in different circumstances might withdraw its favours, to the extent of neglecting its own duty, while it should always be alive to any attempt by the State to manipulate it in the interests of any national or cultural idea.[304]

The questions raised about how Church and school relate were, within the Education Department, first discussed in the context of overseas education. For example a conference

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[300] See page 283 above.
[301] CERC, BCC/ED/2/3/6: Conclusion of Study Groups on the Responsibility of the Church in Education: Report of the English Speaking Group.
[302] CERC, BCC/ED/2/3/6: Conclusion of Study Groups on the Responsibility of the Church in Education: Report of the English Speaking Group.
[303] CERC, BCC/ED/2/3/6: Conclusion of Study Groups on the Responsibility of the Church in Education: Report of the English Speaking Group.
[304] Countries represented in this group were: Britain, USA, France, South Africa, Pakistan, Hong Kong, Kenya, Canada (CERC, BCC/ED/2/3/6: Conclusion of Study Groups on the Responsibility of the Church in Education: Report of the English Speaking Group).

on African Education held at Cambridge in the early 1950s prompted the following statement by Canon Stopford:

> The conference accepted the idea that education must have a religious basis affecting the whole school organisation. Discussing Church and State in education, the conference distinguished between ownership and user of schools and thought in terms of a scheme integrating Church and State in religious education. The State, accepting the Church as a full partner, will carry most of the cost.[305]

Here there is an unquestioned assumption that the state will be willing to 'serve' the authoritative Church by providing the necessary material resources; the extent to which this is perceived as being true in the national as well as overseas context is hard to assess.

During the following decade, the issues remained under discussion. In 1962 concern was again expressed about the changing place of education in the world resulting from national governments taking greater responsibility for it:

> The impression left after the Bossey Consultation on the Impact of Secondary Education was of the way in which Governments all over the world are seizing hold of education to plan in terms of community needs. There are pressures on the next generation from Government, trading bodies, administrators, teachers and not least from parents and families who want their children on the right educational ladder to lead to the 'right' kind of job in terms of power. It is more concealed here, but the same pressures will be felt by our next generation.'[306]

At the heart of the concern seems to be the construction of Education as an issue of 'social policy'. Concern was voiced in the BCCED that, in some way, this diminished the role of the Church.[307] The discussion of education in such terms, associated with the way in which

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[305] CERC, BCC/ED/2/1/1: Minutes of Second Meeting of Education Department 10th and 11th February 1953, item 4 [African Education Committee].
[306] CERC, BCC/ED/2/1/1: Minutes of 17th Meeting of Education Department, 21st -22nd June 1962.
[307] CERC, BCC/ED/2/1/1: Minutes of 17th Meeting of Education Department, 21st -22nd June 1962.

education was becoming increasingly a political, economic and social issue,[308] as well as a 'tool to control things and people',[309] prompted the BCCED to reflect:

> we cannot be complacent about our own position, and we ought to be looking at the world situation, not merely our own domestic affairs. [310]

This exploration shows that the existing historiography's claim, that non-proselytizing RE was adopted due to secular pressure, appears over simplistic. Re-reading these examples, against the Foucaultian notions of Governmentality and Normalization,[311] reveals a complex network of power dynamics whereby the authority and influence of the Churches was, to some extent, destabilized – but not undermined.

The increase in state control of education, (seen in England particularly through the expansion of the Ministry of Education to the Department of Education and Science; the establishment of the Schools Council; and the general expansion of education); together with other organisations, including secular groups,[312] religious groups,[313] and the wider social, economic and political changes of the time all put pressure on the Churches, who were already wrestling with a lack of success associated with proselytizational RE.

The analysis appears to show that, whilst by the late 1960s the authority and influence of BCCED had perhaps passed its peak, it preserved a firm foothold. Although no longer the *leader* the Department had, over a longer period, become a 'gatekeeper of the discourse' on the basis of the responsibility it took for repeating programmatic

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[308] See discussion of The establishment of the Schools Council, page 171 above.

[309] 'Education is at the front line policy for politicians - why? For the first time in the history of the world there are large numbers of people in positions of authority. Knowledge may be turned to become an instrument of power, a tool to control things and people. It can be used to bring about the sort of life that desired by personal, group or national ambition. It is thought that if technical expertise is not developed as fully as possible, a community will not take its proper place of power in the world. ("If we do not spend money on education we are wasting resources"). The community claims the right to train the next generation for the kind of power useful for this technical ambition, directing career choices of individuals so that they may obtain technical expertise and go where the community wants, rather than individuals shaping their own careers' CERC, BCC/ED/2/1/1: Minutes of 17th Meeting of Education Department, 21st -22nd June 1962).

[310] CERC, BCC/ED/2/1/1: Minutes of 17th Meeting of Education Department, 21st -22nd June 1962

[311] See Sections 2.5.2 (page 112) and 2.5.3 (page 114) above..

[312] See Freathy and Parker, *Secularists, Humanists and religious education.*

[313] Such as the previously discussed NATORK (see footnote 187 on page 80 above).

statements.[314] Despite the complex turmoil of the 1960s, BCCED retained some level of authority and influence, particularly in the eyes of DES; it is this positioning that is arguably most relevant in the question of how BCCED influenced RE policy in regard to the adoption of non-proselytizing RE.

Thus, it was the BCCED, as the Churches united, acting as gatekeeper that was ultimately the only body that could realistically sanction a move away from confessional RE. Rather than acquiesce on the matter of non-proselytizing RE, the BCCED played an important role in normalising the practice, a role that they played from a position of relative authority and influence.

6.3.4   Summary

This detailed consideration of the statement 'The aim of RE is not to proselytize', as repeated from the BCC Interim Statement in WP36, further enriches our understandings of how the adoption of SWR became possible in English RE. The examination of the origins, circumstances of production and rules of repetition of the statement, together with a consideration of how the statement relates to others in the discourse, exemplifies some previously identified trends, but also provides new insights.

It is well established that, during the 1960s, RE was under pressure, and under scrutiny. A complex network of power dynamics (Church, State, Schools, and other groups) interact with a multiplicity of socio-economic factors, (such as the increased in state control of education, religious and social pressure groups, economic, technological and other changes) whereby the authority and influence of the Churches was, to some extent, destabilized – but not undermined.

The application of Statement Archaeology has revealed a confusion over the terms 'confessional' and 'proselytizational', and shown that proselytizational RE is not, as some imagine, prescribed by legislation, but the relative beginnings of the practice are located in the period immediately following the 1944 Education Act, with BCCED playing an important role in differentiating and normalizing the practice. Further it has shown that the

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[314] Based on a Foucaultian notion of discourse, repetition of programmatic statements and the quote 'those who take responsibility for repeating programmatic statements become gatekeepers of the legitimacy of the discourse', (James Joseph Scheurich ('Policy Archaeology: a new policy studies method', *Journal of Education Policy* 9, no 4 (1994): 310). He discusses 'the governmental and policy agents who serve as the legitimacy gatekeepers of the policy discourse'. The quote is my combination of that with the idea that these policy agents are taking responsibility for the propogation of the gird of regularities (Scheurich's term, which equates to my framework of repeating programmatic statements).

shift to non-confessional RE was not a sudden response to a changing world at the end of the 1960s, but had taken place gradually over the preceding years, in part due to a frustration that the practice of confessional RE was not successful in converting children to Christianity. Consequently, the changes seen in the 1960s are better described as a 'return to' non-proselytizational RE. Alongside these changes, there is a renewed interest in the role of teachers.

Whilst this analysis problematizes the *origin* of confessional RE in comparison to the ruling historiography, it appears to confirm the suggestion that there was a move - of some kind - during the 1960s. Moreover, it shows that the BCCED, whilst arguably having passed the peak of its power, did retain sufficient authority and influence with the DES to be able to influence policy. Further, it suggests that rather than acquiesce on the matter of non-proselytizational RE, the BCCED played an important role in normalising the practice, a role that they played from a position of relative authority and influence.

In considering why the authors of WP36 used this particular statement to support their position, and whether they could have used statements from other discourses as appropriately, the analysis here suggests that the BCCED were, as the voice of the Churches united, acting as 'gatekeeper', thus to repeat a statement from this particular discourse was to choose a statement that was seen as representative, authoritative and that would appeal to the potential audience of WP36, which as has been identified already, would include some with theological training and/or some with commitments to faith.[315] Ultimately, only a statement from this non-denominational discourse could speak with sufficient authority on the issue of non-proselytization.

6.4   Conclusion

This chapter demonstrates the importance of being attentive to hitherto overlooked national ecumenical discourses in the development of historiographies of RE. In this respect, the application of Statement Archaeology to two specific documents (*The Durham Report* and the *Interim Statement of the BCCED*) has enriched understandings of the development of SWR in English RE during the 1960s and 1970s.

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[315] See page 275 above.

Specifically, the method has allowed consideration of the questions raised at the end of Chapter 4,[316] including: 'What are the origins, circumstances of production and the rules of repetition for these statements?'; 'How do these statements relate to others within the ecumenical discourse?'; and 'To what extent do these statements have an educational orientation?'. This detailed exploration of the provenance and origins of the statements repeated in WP36 demonstrate the extent to which the BBCED was involved in the adoption of SWR. A brief account of the background of the BCCED has established the extent to which the statements from this discourse have an educational orientation. The statement from the Durham Report, when compared to others in the discourse, revealed the extent to which the practice of encouraging the study of non-Christian religions was not new in the 1960s. Tracing the origins of the practice led back the inter-war period, and revealed a complex relationship between Christians and other worldviews, with evidence that non-Christian positions (especially Judaism) have been studied, at different times and in different ways, since at least the 1920s. Consequently, the assertion of the current historiography that the study of other religions and belief systems was a development differentiated in the 1960s has been shown to be specious; rather, the practice has been shown to have a long, complex and interesting history. The analysis of the statement from the *Interim Statement* (1969) and its background, has confirmed some existing knowledge, and added to it, demonstrating that proselytizational RE was not, as some imagine, prescribed by legislation, but a practice which developed in the period immediately following the 1944 Education Act, with BCCED playing an important role in its normalization. Further it has shown that the shift to non-confessional RE was not a sudden response to changing world at the end of the 1960s, but had taken place gradually over the preceding years, catalysed by a complex melange of change, with BCCED playing a central in normalising the practice, undertaken from a position of relative authority and influence.

In response to the questions 'Why repeat national ecumenical statements as justification for moving away from a confessional approach to RE' and 'Could statements from other discourses have been used as/more appropriately?', the findings are relatively straightforward. The inclusion in WP36 of material from the Durham Report, although authoritative and influential in its own right, appears to be a result of political pressure applied to the authors, whilst the inclusion of the material from the BCCED is ostensibly

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[316] See page 221 above.

based centrally on its position as an authoritative agent for the united Church *Interim Statement*; through the repetition of programmatic statements the group had become *de facto* a 'gatekeeper' to the discourse.

As in the previous chapter, it is impossible provide a definitive answer to the question; 'Why, in a context of pluralism (both as a reality and as an aspiration), would the authors of WP36 look to Christian ecumenical statements for endorsement of their approach?'. Nonetheless, this investigation of the national ecumenical discourse has exposed some issues that are relevant. First and foremost, the binary division between pluralism and the Christian ecumenical movement implied in the question has been shown to be absent; as illustrated through the discussion of the study of non-Christian religions. With regard to a statement on non-proselytization, as has already been rehearsed, the authors of WP36 were limited in choice to statements from a discourse that could speak on the matter with authority. Moreover, as suggested in the previous chapter, they may have sought a non-denominational statement with the widest possible constituency. On both these grounds the BCCED being the clear choice, and within its discourse, the Interim Statement was both the clearest expression of the view, and – at the time of writing WP36 – the most recent. In addition, the oft repeated refrain throughout the BCCED discourse, that any changes to RE must be 'acceptable to the "mainstream" Churches',[317] may also have been influential. Furthermore, much of what has been said in regard to the supranational discourse is also relevant here in respect to the theological positioning and faith commitments of the potential readership.[318]

One question, however, remains unanswered. Whilst the analysis of both statements is illuminating, and indeed enriches our understandings of the historiography of English RE, the extent to which this assessment has enriched our understandings of how the adoption of SWR *became possible* in English RE has so far not been discussed. Neither the study of non-Christian religions, nor the return to a non-proselytizing approach to RE, *in their own right*, adequately explain how the adoption of SWR became possible. However, the maturation of the study of non-Christian worldviews (epitomized in the change of language where the term 'denomination' was dropped in favour of the specific and appropriate religious title, and associated with the zenith of the discursive reconstruction of the religious other in the supranational ecumenical discourse other), *in combination with* the

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[317] See page 310 above.
[318] See page 275 above.

return to a non-proselytizing aim for RE (associated with a changing position for the Church within education, both nationally and supranationally), *within the context* of a complex melange of socio-economic change created circumstances in which the adoption of SWR could be normalized.

In this regard, I suggest that the work of Colin Alves has a hitherto overlooked importance. By bringing together programmatic statements about the study of non-Christian faiths, and the rejection of proselytization, Alves' work marks a differentiation of the practice within the *national ecumenical discourse*, positively articulating for the first time in the BCCED what later becomes operationalized policy. However, this is not a claim that in Alves we find *the* relative beginning of the practice of SWR; to make that claim would require as detailed analysis of every discourse relating to the adoption of SWR, which is far beyond the scope of this work.

Further discussion of these findings in relation to the adoption of SWR together with the comparison between supranational and national discourse, and an evaluation of the methodology are required. These will be taken up in the next chapter.

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Chapter 7

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The application of Statement Archaeology to Schools Council WP36 foregrounded the importance of statements repeated from the national and supranational ecumenical discourses. A forensic and detailed exploration and examination of each of these has now been undertaken. The main findings from these explorations have been set out in the two previous chapters respectively. However, thus far they have been discussed in isolation. In this chapter, four key jigsaw pieces will be brought together in one place, and assembled in such a way that a 'big-picture' is clear.

This chapter will show that this study, by being attentive to hitherto overlooked ecumenical discourses, has enriched our understandings of how the changes in English RE during the 1960s and 1970s became possible. It has, by adding detail and depth to the existing historiography, pinpointed points where developments in thinking have made it possible for unprecedented shifts in understanding to take place, irreversibly changing the course of events, and creating new circumstances of possibility. As well as contributing to our knowledge; it has, at times, disturbed the existing historiography and unsettled the prevailing narrative of a sudden adoption of SWR.

In this chapter I will bring together the findings from earlier chapters, differentiating between those contributions to knowledge that enrich our understandings of how SWR became adopted and those contributions to knowledge that expand methodological horizons. I will show how these findings lead to my central thesis, and set out the original contributions to knowledge made by this study. I will then explore the implications of these findings and the limitations of the study which they expose. Finally, I will suggest fruitful areas for further research based on the findings in relation to supranational and national discourse, and on the methodological advances made. Here I will emphasize the potential for the findings from the supranational ecumenical discourses

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to inform understandings of developments in Religious Education in other nationally bound sites where SWR has been adopted.

7.1   Enriching Understandings of the Findings

In this section, I will show how the key findings, as set out in the two previous chapters intersect, demonstrating firstly, that changes in supranational ecumenical discourses create 'historic conditions of possibility' in national ecumenical discourses, and secondly that it is at the nexus of two developments within the national discourse, made possible by these newly created 'historic conditions of possibility',[1] that a relative beginning of SWR can be found. Thus I will establish that the ecumenical discourses (at both supranational and national levels), *in combination*, play a more significant role in the adoption of SWR than has hitherto been acknowledged. Consequently, I will show that it becomes possible to provide an answer to the main research question: 'In what ways does an exploration of ecumenical discourses enrich understandings of how the adoption of SWR became possible in English RE in the 1960s and 1970s?', and thereby to make a significant and original contribution to knowledge.

7.1.1   *Mapping the findings*

In the previous two chapters I have, metaphorically speaking, collected together pieces of a jigsaw puzzle, turning each the right way up so that the picture-portions are visible. Here, these partial pictures will be rearranged in such a way that a bigger picture is clear. Four key 'jigsaw pieces' have been set out; in relation to supranational ecumenical discourses, I have discussed the discursive reconstruction of the religious other,[2] and the de-marginalization of education.[3] Then, in relation to national ecumenical discourses I have discussed the encouragement to study other religions and belief systems,[4] and a return to a non-proselytizing purpose for RE.[5]

    Bringing together these findings, foregrounding the connections between them, and highlighting the ways in which the developments in the supranational ecumenical

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[1] Michel Foucault and Anthony Nazzaro, 'History, Discourse and Discontinuity.' *Salmagundi* 20, Psychological Man: Approaches to an Emergent Social Type (1972): 245.
[2] See Section 5.2, beginning on page 236 above.
[3] See Section 5.3, beginning on page 257 above.
[4] See Section 6.2, beginning on page 291 above.
[5] See Section 6.3, beginning on page 317 above.

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movement (exemplified in the discourses of the WCC and the Second Vatican Council), create 'historic conditions of possibility'[6] in the national ecumenical movement (exemplified in the discourse of the British Council of Churches Education Department), shows how developments in this domain of discourse act as a relative beginning of SWR in English RE.

How, then, can we be sure that developments in the supranational ecumenical discourse create circumstances of possibility in the national ecumenical discourse, and not the other way around? Although the complete discursive reconstruction of the religious other is located in the mid to late 1960s (a similar time to the key developments in the national discourses), the processes of normalization which led to this point originated in the supranational discourse in the early years of the twentieth century.[7] Furthermore, the materials in the national ecumenical discourses examined repeat statements from the supranational discourse, and operationalize the ideas in a national context, rather than the other way around. I have discovered no relevant allusions to the national discourse in the supranational discourses, although it must be acknowledged that for various reasons (including the denominational rather than national make up to the WCC) that those contributing to and constituting the supranational discourse might not want to draw upon, or align themselves with, the discourse of one national body.

It cannot be stressed enough at this point that the claims made here are *not in any way* an argument based on *inevitable causation*.[8] I am emphatically not saying that developments in the supranational ecumenical discourse *caused* developments in the national ecumenical discourse, which in turn *caused* changes in the educational discourse relating to English RE.

Rather, the argument I make is one based on *Contingency*,[9] that is to say: certain developments in the supranational ecumenical discourse created 'historical conditions of possibility',[10] which—by lifting constraints on thinking—allowed the development of new directions of thinking in other domains of discourse, including (but not limited to) the national ecumenical discourse. For as long as the *religious other* was constructed as 'enemy', any discussion with, and about them, was constrained. This constraint also acted on the

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[6] Foucault and Nazzaro, *Discourse, History and Discontinuity*, 245.
[7] See Section 5.2.2, page 242 above.
[8] See Section 3.2.1, page 133 above.
[9] See Section 3.2.1 above, particularly page 140 above.
[10] Foucault and Nazzaro, *History, Discourse and Discontinuity,* 245.

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educational discourse; the study of non-Christian religions for any reason other than to assert the supremacy of Christianity, was virtually impossible. However, the discursive reconstruction of the *religious other* lifted these constraints, both within the ecumenical discourses (at supranational and national levels), and educational discourses. Thus, with the constraints lifted, for people to think about studying, and to study other religions and belief systems became a legitimate, and encouraged, activity.

Figure B and Figure C (below) offer visual representations of the relationship between these four key findings and the adoption of SWR in English RE.

Whilst these graphical representations are helpful in conceptualizing developments, they are—inevitably—inadequate. In particular, they fail to represent the interactions between discourses. In Figure B, the spiral arrows around the edges of the inverse hourglass, attempt to show the permeability of the discourses under scrutiny, whereby they are both open to influence of, and able to influence, other discourses. In Figure C the same point is made through the dotted arrows, some of which 'point' away from the boxes, portraying how these discourses affect others, and some of which 'point' towards the boxes, portraying the way in which other discourses influence those upon which I have necessarily focused. However, these figures are not complete and total representations of the developments; they should be considered therefore as illustrations which illuminate, rather than a full and final pictorial representation.

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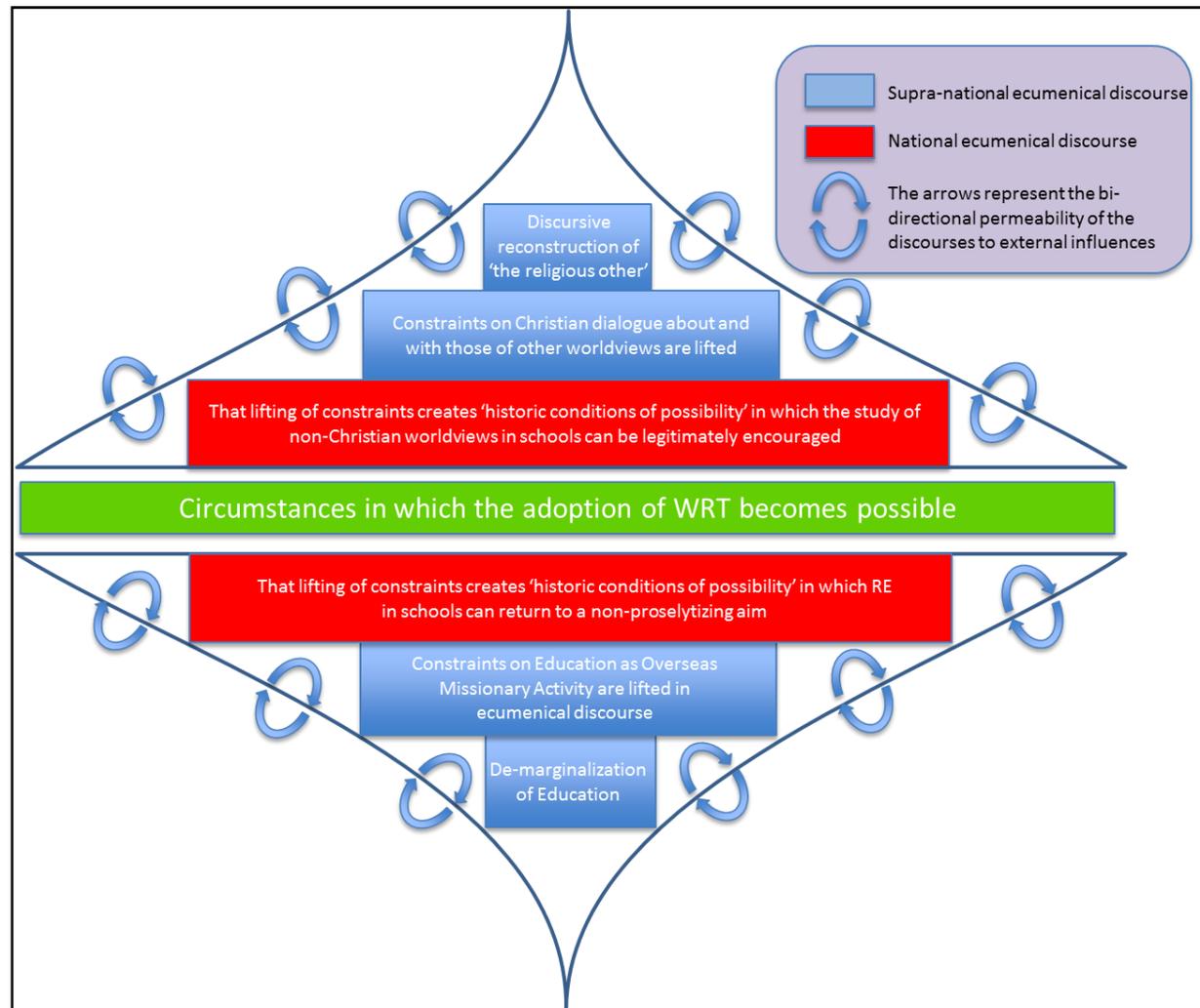
Figure B - Relationships between the adoption of SWR in English RE and ecumenical discourses at national and supranational levels.

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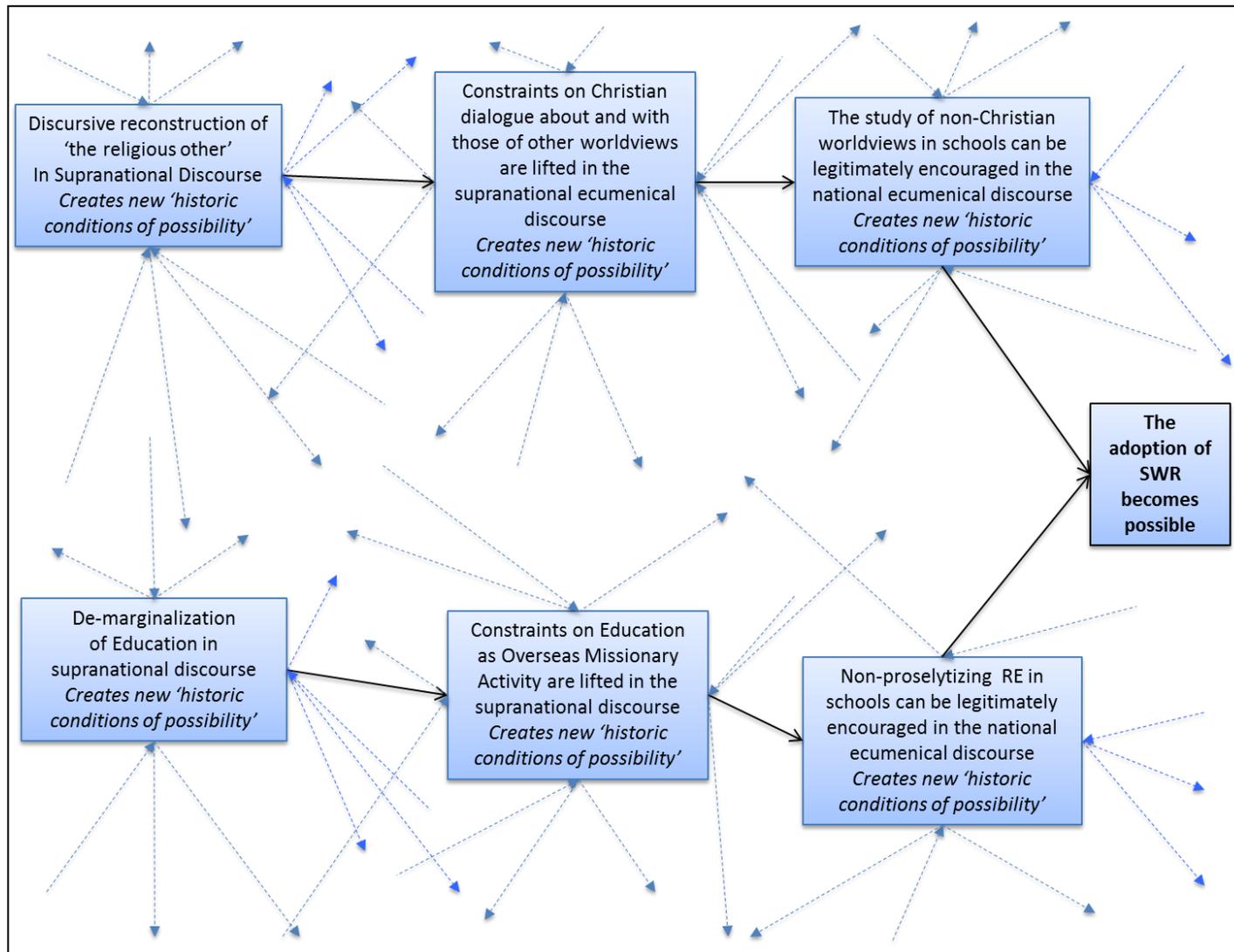
Figure C - Relationships between the adoption of SWR in English RE and ecumenical discourses at national and supranational levels. An alternative viewing

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The difficulties of representing the findings pictographically recur in attempting to represent them textually. To further disturb any implication of a linear and inevitably causal argument, I have attempted to map the findings here as a tandem narrative, presented in two, parallel columns. The left column foregrounds the *content* of RE, whilst the right, the *purpose* of RE. It should be possible to read this table in a number of ways, and for it still to make sense. For example, it could be read: column 1 from top to bottom and then column 2 from top to bottom. Equally, it can be read across the columns (row 1, column 1, column 2, then row 2, column 1, column 2, etc.).

Table 4 - Mapping findings

Content		Purpose
The application of Statement Archaeology to the supranational ecumenical discourses of the relationship between Christianity and the religious other has highlighted the way in which a discursive reconstruction of the religious other from 'Enemy' to 'Ally' took place during the period between 1910 and the 1930s.		The application of Statement Archaeology to the supranational ecumenical discourse of the changing understanding of education foregrounds a change in the Church's motivation for involvement in education.
A complete discursive reconstruction being epitomized in the development of groups in the Catholic *Secretariat* and WCC's *DFI*, and the subsequent collaboration between Protestant and Catholic Christians in relation to the religious other, being motivated by a desire to understand how Christianity and other worldviews might appropriately relate.		In particular, it has foregrounded a concern about the failure of education as a means of proselytization on a global scale, and, in response to the increased control of education by the state, proposes a changed understanding of education away from a missionary orientation.
The application of the same methodology to the domain of the national ecumenical discourse that centered on the study of non-Christian religions in educational settings has shown that the study of non-Christian religions was normalized, particularly during the later 1960s.		The application of the same methodology to the domain of the national ecumenical discourse that centers on the purpose of RE has shown that during the 1960s there was a return to an earlier construction of Religious education as a non-proselytizing activity.
Prior to the mid 1960s, the study of, and discussion of, non-Christian		That is to say, the aim of RE moved away from converting children to

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worldviews within the national discourse of education, (both in the ecumenical sphere and more widely), was constrained by the lack of a potent framework for discussion. Further, this constraint was lifted in the mid 1960s.		Christianity, and encouraging and nurturing their faith and involvement in a local church. The motivations behind this change are complex.
I contend that the discursive reconstruction of the religious other in the supranational ecumenical discourse acted to lift the constraints that limited the national ecumenical domain of discourse.		I contend that the discourse around the demarginalization of education in the supranational ecumenical discourse acted to lift the constraints that limited the national ecumenical domain of discourse.
In other words, for as long as the religious other was constructed as 'enemy', there was a limit on the encouragement to study the religious other (i.e. it could only be carried out for reasons of missionary endeavour) Once the religious other was constructed more positively, as an ally, and that construction was actively operationalized through processes of dialogue and co-operation, and legitimized by both Protestant and Catholic groups within Christianity, that limit was lifted, and it became possible to promote the study of the religious other in a way that had previously not been possible.		In other words, for as long as the aim of education was seen in missionary terms (to convert to Christianity), this acted as a constraint on the scope of the aim of RE at a national level [it could only be carried out for reasons of missionary endeavour]. The reconstruction of education as 'non-missionary' at the supranational level lifted the constraint at the national level.
Thus the supranational ecumenical discursive reconstruction of the religious other *created circumstances* in which the expansion of the national ecumenical discourse relating to the study of non-Christian worldviews *became possible.*		Thus the supranational ecumenical discursive reconstruction of the aim of education *created circumstances* in which the expansion of the national ecumenical discourse relating to the aims of education *became possible.*

The mapping of the findings set out in the parallel columns above shows that, through processes of normalization which lift constraints on thinking and create 'historic conditions of possibility',[1] two key practices which develop in the supranational ecumenical

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[1] Foucault and Nazzaro, *History, Discourse and Discontinuity*, 245.

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discourse create 'historical conditions of possibility' in the national ecumenical discourse during the 1960s. However, it is only when the development of the study of non-Christian worldviews elides with the return to non-proselytizing purpose of RE in the national discourse (specifically associated with Alves' work and its later repetition) that the practice of SWR becomes differentiated,[2] and that the adoption of SWR becomes possible in English RE.

On the basis of this, I contend that—to some extent—the adoption of SWR in English RE *became possible*, as a result of developments in the national and supranational ecumenical discourses. It is important to note at this point that whilst this study has located *a* relative beginning of SWR, it does not claim to have identified *the* relative beginning. What has been identified here is one route of adoption; 'there are always multiple points of origin'[3]

7.1.2   *Summary of thesis*

Thus, in summary, my central thesis is that, on the one hand, developments in the supranational ecumenical discourse of the relationship between Christianity and those of other worldviews (both religious and non-religious) create 'historical conditions of possibility' which lift constraints on the national ecumenical discourse, allowing the study of non-Christian religions to be encouraged. On the other, developments in the supranational ecumenical discourse of role of the Church in education, create 'historical conditions of possibility' which lift constraints on the national ecumenical discourse, allowing non-proselytizing RE to be encouraged. When these two practices in national ecumenical discourse elide, their combination performs as a relative beginning of SWR.

7.1.3   *The adoption of SWR: The importance of being attentive to ecumenical discourses*

Having brought together the main findings, it is now necessary to discuss them against the backdrop of the main research question of this study:

> In what ways does an exploration of ecumenical discourses enrich
> understandings of how the adoption of the Study of World Religions

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[2] See Section 6.4, page 338 above.

[3] Michel Foucault, 'On The Archaeology of the Sciences: Response to the Epistemological Circle'. In: James D. Faubion (Ed) *Michel Foucault Essential Works of Foucault 1954-184, Volume 2 – Aesthetics*, (London: Penguin, 1998): 306.

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I have shown earlier that the existing historiography of English RE overlooks the issue of
how the adoption of SWR becomes possible, focusing instead on 'what happened'.[4]
Further, I have shown that the existing historiography has failed to take account of the
ecumenical background to the adoption of SWR.[5] In contrast, by being attentive to
ecumenical discourses in relation to how it became possible for the practice of SWR to be
adopted this study has enriched our understandings in a number of ways.

The study has revealed that developments in the supranational ecumenical
discourse create historical conditions of possibility in the national ecumenical discourse by
which it becomes possible for the national ecumenical discourse to break out of earlier
constraints relating to the discussion of, and with, those of non-Christian worldviews, both
religious and secular.

It has consequently revealed that the relative beginnings of SWR in English RE are
to be found, to some extent, in the national ecumenical discourse exemplified in the
materials of the British Council of Churches Education Department. It is within this
national domain of ecumenical discourse that the encouragement to study other religions
and systems of belief elides with a non-proselytizing purpose of RE, thus functioning as a
relative beginning of the practice. Further, the national ecumenical movement played an
active role in normalizing SWR, encouraging co-operation and inclusion of other faith
community representatives, and was influential, at different times and to different extents,
in parliamentary processes, being the 'gatekeepers of discourse'.

It has therefore been established that ecumenical discourses play a more significant
role in the adoption of SWR than has hitherto been acknowledged and that consequently it
is important that historiographies of RE are duly attentive to them.

Thus the key research question (In what ways does an exploration of ecumenical
discourses enrich understandings of how the adoption of the Study of World Religions
become possible in English Religious Education during the 1960s and 1970s?) has been
answered by bringing together the findings from three of the subsidiary research questions:

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[4] See Section 2.4, beginning on page 86 above.
[5] See Section 2.3.4, beginning on page 83 above.

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[RQ3] What is the role of Schools Council Working Paper 36 in the adoption of the Study of World Religions in English RE during the 1960s and 1970s?

[RQ4] In what ways does an exploration of supranational ecumenical discourses enrich understandings of how the adoption of SWR became possible

[RQ5] In what ways does an exploration of national ecumenical discourses enrich understandings of how the adoption of SWR became possible in England during the 1960s and 1970?

Thus it seems that these subsidiary questions were appropriate. Further, the findings listed above suggest that the application of the newly devised method has been effective, the issues revealed being the fruit of Statement Archaeology. However, using the method has also revealed much more; a discussion of these additional findings demands further consideration.

7.2   Enriching methodological understandings

The evaluation of the existing historiographies of RE (in Chapter 2 above) identified some key issues with methods associated with them. In addition to the lack of ecumenical contextualisation and the issue of source selection, these criticisms included: a tendency towards presentism and historical revisionism, a dependence on binary oppositions, and a reliance on 'character studies'.[6] This gave rise to a subsidiary research question centring on the identification of a suitable methodology for this study:

> What historical method places sufficient emphasis on how practices become adopted and would therefore be appropriate in assessing how the adoption of SWR became possible in English RE during the 1960s and 1970s?

Subsequently 'Statement Archaeology', a new method based on Foucault's historical work, was devised,[7] with the intention of overcoming the methodological limitations identified, providing a robust response to the subsidiary research question, and ultimately, enabling the key research question to be answered. The success of the method therefore rests on whether it was successful in meeting these objectives.

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[6] See Sections 2.4.1 (page 86), 2.3.4 (page 83), and 2.4.2 (page 94) respectively, above.
[7] As set out in Chapter 3 above.

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The material set out in the previous section demonstrates that the method was indeed efficacious. Whilst other methods may well have the capacity to reveal all that the new method has exposed, hitherto that capacity has not been realised. The use of Statement Archaeology has indeed enriched our understandings of how it became possible for the practice of SWR to become adopted. However, its application has not only allowed contributions to knowledge in regard to the key research question(s) set out in the previous section; the new methodological approach has also revealed a number of other things that have not previously been articulated, most prominently, a hitherto overlooked complexity of the processes involved in the adoption of SWR in English RE, and the problematization of a series of assumptions connected with existing historiographies. This section will elucidate each of these contributions in more depth, and undertake a detailed evaluation of the method, with contributions made to the methodological sphere of knowledge being highlighted.

7.2.1   *Revealing a hitherto overlooked complexity*

According to Paul Veyne, Foucault has only one thing to say to historians:

> You may continue to explain history as you have always done. But be careful. If you look very closely, if you peel away the banalities, you will notice that there is more to explain than you thought; there are crooked contours that you haven't spotted.[8]

This complexity is discussed by Foucault; in his exploration of the emergence of psychiatry he foregrounds how,

> On examining this new discipline … what made it possible at the time it appeared … was a whole set of relations between hospitalization, internment, the conditions and procedures of social exclusion, the rules of jurisprudence, the norms of industrial labour and bourgeois mentality'.[9]

However, existing historiographies of English RE have tended to be written from the perspective of a single factor analysis; that is to say, where the reasons for change have been considered, they have been considered singly. So for example, changes have been considered from the perspective of political change, from the perspective of changes in

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[8] P. Veyne. 'Foucault Revolutionizes History'. In A.I. Davidson, (ed), *Foucault and his Interlocuters*. (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1997): 156.
[9] Michel Foucault, *Archaeology of knowledge*, (London: Routledge, 2002).

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educational theory, or from perspective of wider social changes, such as mass immigration. This approach is represented in Figure D below, where the green shapes represent different factors.
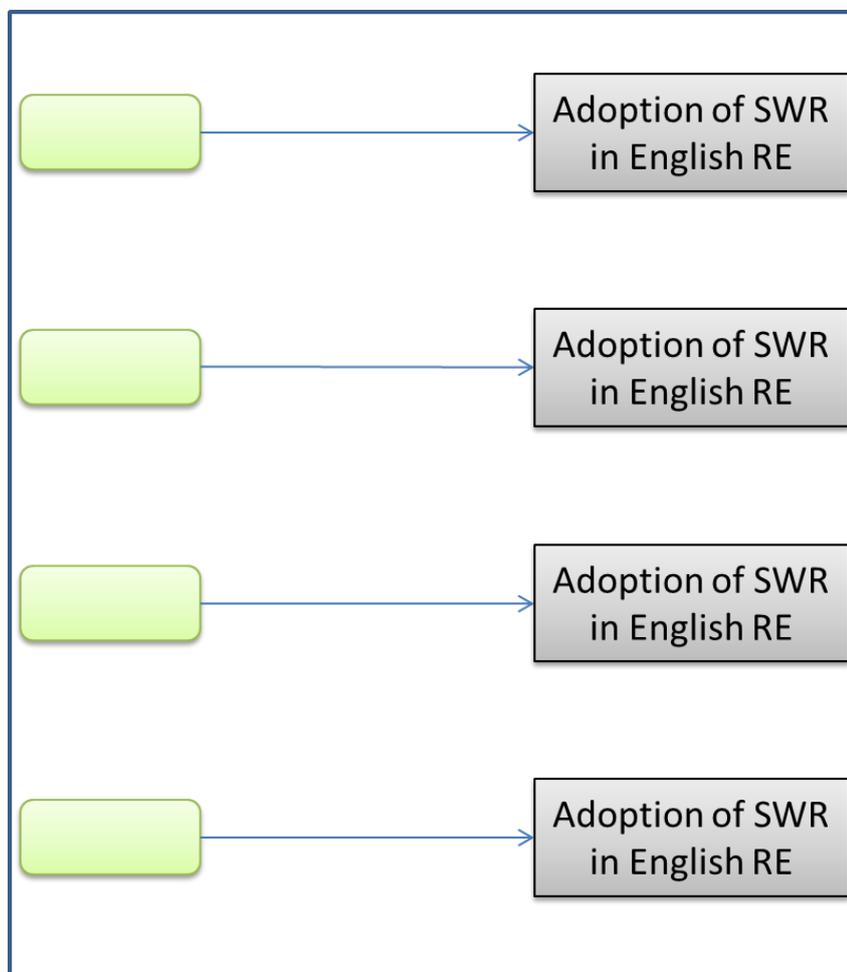
Figure D – Model of analysis whereby single factors are considered in relation to the adoption of SWR in English RE.

More recent work, especially that undertaken by Rob Freathy and Stephen Parker, has been undertaken on the basis that such a single factor analysis is insufficient, and that there are multiple factors at work in the development of English RE. For example, in their work on Secular and Humanist movements, and their effect on English RE during the 1960s and 1970s, they identify a number of sub-factors (such as pressure groups, individuals, arguments), which contribute to the *main* factors under examination.[10] Their emphasis is primarily to establish and support claims that these factors are relevant to the

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[10] See, for example, R. Freathy and S. Parker,'Secularists, Humanists and religious education: religious crisis and curriculum change in England, 1963-1975', *History of Education* 42, no. 2, (2013): 222-56.

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exploration of RE. This might be represented schematically as in Figure E below, with factors and sub-factors being represented by green shapes.
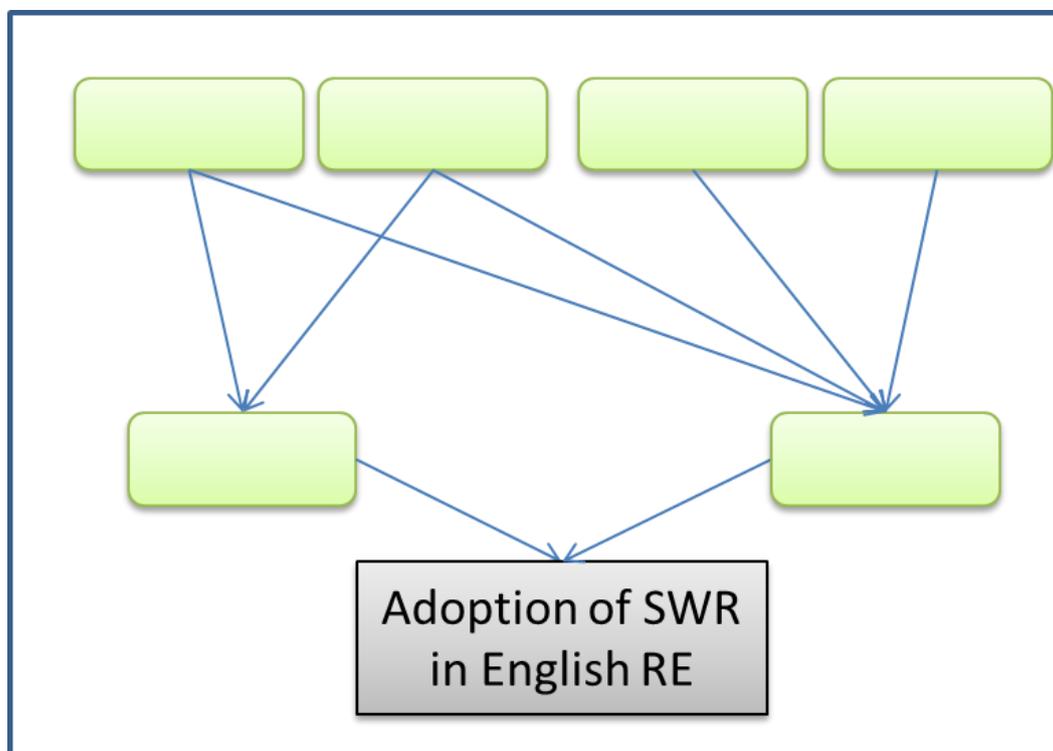
Figure E - Model of analysis whereby multiple factors, and their sub-factors are considered in relation to the adoption of SWR in English RE.

The current study *could* be interpreted as following in this pattern, by focusing on the ecumenical movement as a (single) factor, in the development of SWR, with due consideration being given to the *sub-factors* which make it up.

However, it does not do this. Rather, by employing Statement Archaeology*,* the study departs from *factorial analysis* altogether, and focuses on *discourses*. The focus of the study is one *domain of discourse* (the ecumenical discourse) AND the bi-directional relationships between this domain and other domains of discourse (including in this case, discourses of education, national policy development, social change, immigration, and so on). This necessitates a different approach, entailing a detailed consideration of the complexity within these discourses, for example the different types of ecumenical discourse; the different levels at which these operate (supranational and national); the ways in which they interact and operationalise in different nationally-bounded spaces.

In this way, the focus shifts from 'proving' that factor X affected the development of RE, to considering *how* one domain of discourse contextualises and interacts with another. This requires much more careful attention to the ways in which ideas are diffused.

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The findings set out above demonstrate that multiple discourses are involved in the adoption of SWR; changes in the supranational ecumenical discourse create historic conditions of possibility in the national ecumenical discourse, ways of thinking become normalized and elide in new combinations allowing new practices to become possible. Had this study been undertaken with a focus on *factors*, we might know more about how each factor, in isolation, had contributed to the development of SWR. By borrowing terms from the discourse of genetics, this approach might result in a *polygenic* understanding of how it became possible for SWR to be adopted. (Polygenic here being used to mean a genetic trait that is controlled by the presence of at least two genes.)[11] However, even this model does not sufficiently articulate the findings; such an analysis does not adequately account for the *interactions* between factors, an issue that is highlighted by the application of Statement Archaeology.

Here the term *epistasis,* (also appropriated from the discourse of genetics) is helpful. The term relates to genetic traits resulting from interactions between multiple genes, leading to non-additive effects.[12] The importance of the *interactions* between discourses in contributing to the creation of circumstances in which the adoption of SWR became possible, has already been articulated.

The adoption of SWR in English RE can be shown to be a result of a complex bi-lateral interactions between discourses of: national government policy; local government policy; Church policy; supranational development; social change; globalisation of ideas; national identity; technological; education; de-Christianization. Each of these domains of discourse is dynamic and changing, rather than static and fixed, and consequently the relationships between domains are dynamic and constantly changing.

Within this framework of analysis, it is important to note that asking about which discourses are the most important is to misunderstand the centrality of the interaction; whilst undoubtedly some discourses have greater weighting, it is not because of their own relative importance, but because of the effect they have on interactions with other discourses.

Thus, applying the concept of epistasis to *discourse* foregrounds the potentially huge complexity behind the adoption of SWR in English RE; this is shown schematically in Figure F overleaf, where the pink shapes represent domains of discourse.

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[11] "polygenic", *The Oxford English Dictionary,* online. URL: www.oed.com. Last accessed 20-04-2014.
[12] "epistasis", *The Oxford English Dictionary,* online. URL: www.oed.com. Last accessed 20-04-2014.

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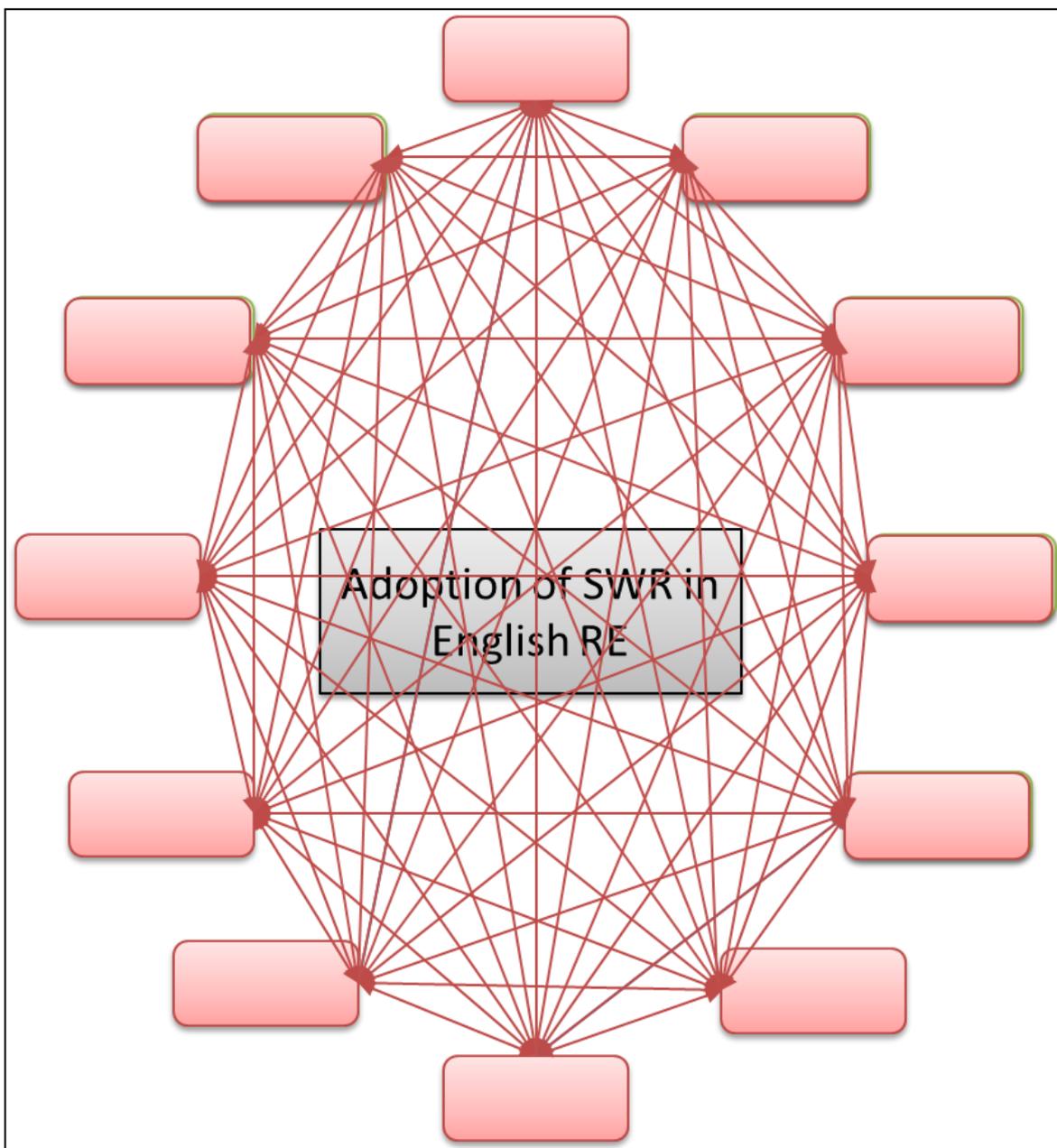
Figure F – Model of interactions between domains of discourse, based on application of 'epistasis' to the adoption of SWR in English RE.

It would be impossible, even within the scope of this work, to discuss every one of these interactions, but in enriching our understandings of the adoption of SWR, the evaluation of the method and the development of curriculum histories, two outcomes from these complex interactions are of particular importance.

Authority

It is instructive at this point to recall that Statement Archaeology is a non-interpretative method; rather, it is a descriptive method, which serves to expose dynamics

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of power, rather than critique them.[13] Therefore, in this section, the discussion will focus on exposing issues of authority, rather than offering a detailed critique of them and their implications.

As has already been argued, the adoption of SWR in English RE became possible at the nexus of a series of inter-related and inter-acting discourses, something which challenges the understandings of authority in the established historical narratives. In particular, the findings challenge existing monolithic hierarchies where particular expressions of authority are privileged. For example, the emphasis on Locally Agreed Syllabuses in the existing historiography,[14] suggests a privileging of the authority of Agreed Syllabus Committees. Similarly, the emphasis on the 1944 Education Act (and the period following its introduction) suggests a privileging of national educational policy statements. These taxonomies are constructed with an implicit suggestion that a hierarchical, ordered, structure of authority exists. So, there is an assumption that national policy requires the teaching of Confessional Christianity, so Agreed Syllabus Committees produce Locally Agreed Syllabuses that centre on this type of teaching.

However, the use of Statement Archaeology here has shown the dynamics of authority to be far more complex than has hitherto been acknowledged within the historiographies of RE; this is illustrated in earlier discussions about the changing nature of relationship between Church and 'education' at supranational and national levels, and the consequent effects on the relationships between Church, State, and School,[15] together with the hitherto under-explored role of Colin Alves in the production of the Durham Report.[16] Further, although some groups act as gatekeepers of particular discourses, their role as such waxes and wanes, and systems of authority are seen as dynamic rather than static, monolithic structures.

Thus the detailed exploration of the interactions between domains of discourse exposes that there is not any *one* authoritative structure, but multiple routes by which practices become normalized, and multiple motivations that lie behind the processes of normalization.

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[13] See page 141 above.

[14] See Section 2.4.1, beginning on page 86 above.

[15] As set out in Chapters 5 and 6 above.

[16] Leslie Francis discusses Alves, but makes no mention of his role beyond the questionnaire survey for BCC ED that let to the Alves Report. (Leslie J. Francis, 'Research in Religious Education: A Perspective from England and Wales 1960-2000'. In Rune Larsson & C. Gustavsson (eds), *Towards a European Perspective on Religious Education*, (Skellefteå, Sweden: Artos & Norma, 2004): 279-295).

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Terminology

Through the unremitting focus on the statement, a complexity of terminology has also been exposed which does not appear to have been examined previously. This becomes especially clear when examining the intersections of domains of discourse, where the lack of precision over terminology further complicates analysis.

Within the material examined, the term Religious Education has been used without any adequate discussion of meaning, and the notions conveyed by the term have been ill differentiated and applied inconsistently. Distinctions between phase (primary or secondary) and types of school (with a faith foundation, or without) have been overlooked. A similar terminological complexity has also been highlighted. For example in the lack of separation between content and pedagogy;[17] in a fluidity of terms, such as 'education' in the supranational ecumenical discourse;[18] in lack of precision in terms such as confessional and proselytization;[19] and in relation to pluralism and immigration.[20]

This is not a criticism of the ruling scholarship alone; policy discourse at supranational, national, and local levels has perpetuated the practice. As well as those terms already discussed, in these discourses there are many examples of inappropriate homogenization of terms, resulting in a lack of distinction, for example between RE as classroom instruction, and RE as Collective Worship.

One particular example that has been foregrounded in this study is the lack of specificity in discussion of immigration, where in many places within the domains of discourse examined, what is discussed is 'immigration of the religious other'.[21]

Statement Archaeology has foregrounded the vital importance of being attentive to the terms used, and the meanings associated with them; in short it has exposed the need for a much more considered use of language in historical enquiry. That the laxity over terminology is seen in both the primary and secondary sources is no justification for the perpetuation of the lack of conceptual clarity. Rather, we should expose, and historicize, the issues.

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[17] See page 185 above.
[18] See page 262 above.
[19] See, for example, footnote 115 on page 38 above, also see discussion in Section 6.3.2, starting on page 322 above.
[20] See Section 4.3 starting on page 196 above.
[21] See Section 4.3.1 on page 198 above.

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7.2.2   *Problematizing assertions connected with the ruling historiography*

As well as revealing a hitherto overlooked complexity, Statement Archaeology, by being a
forensic detailed analysis which includes the wide domain of discourse also serves to
problematize aspects of the current historiography of English RE which are currently taken
for granted and/or accepted without examination. This is illustrated at a number of points
in the narrative set out above.

For example, as discussed in Chapter 4, WP36 has become identified as being
initiatory in relation to the adoption of SWR. However, through the application of
Statement Archaeology this has been demonstrated to be erroneous. Positioning WP36 as
part of a process of normalization is more appropriate. Likewise, the narrative that situates
Ninan Smart as the author of the Working Paper has also been problematized; rather, there
is a collegial authorship, with Colin Alves holding the final editorial authority.[22] More
central still to this study, is the way in which WP36's appeal to ecumenical statements has
been overlooked. They are clearly referred to, yet not seen; perhaps it is fair to say that they
were hiding in plain view.

A lack of detailed analysis of WP36 is a likely explanation for these erroneous
claims and oversights. The unexamined repetition of statements *about* WP36 have not, until
now, been examined in relation to the statements *within* WP36.

Another example of erroneous claims relating to the existing historiographies of
English RE relate to the intent of the 1944 Education Act. Again, statements *about* the Act
have been repeated without examination, yet even a cursory examination of the
circumstances of their production demonstrates their inaccuracy.[23]

As well as challenging specific, previously taken-for-granted, details of the existing
historical narratives, Statement Archaeology has problematized some more general aspects.
This is illustrated by the way in which the use of Statement Archaeology challenges the
dependence on inappropriate binaries identified in Chapter 2 above. In particular
Christian:non-Christian binaries are exposed as inappropriate. Statement Archaeology
exposes a complex dynamic of relationships between religions, with differential treatment
of Judaism, other religious, and non-religious worldviews, as discussed in Chapter 6.

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[22] See Section 4.1.4 on page 177 above.
[23] See discussion in Section 6.2.3, on page 302 above.

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The method also has exposed some other areas where such binaries are insufficient, for example, within the supranational ecumenical discourse, tensions *within* groups were identified as being as significant as those *between* groups. As well as being exemplified in discussions with and between Marxists and Christians,[24] this tendency is evident within the national ecumenical discourse in discussions relating to the development of Agreed Syllabuses.[25] These examples demonstrate the insufficiency of the current historiographical methods, which tends to homogenise groups inappropriately in order to construct binary oppositions, thus concealing the complex diversity of positions and viewpoints.

What is more, the method has also challenged some assumptions about the motivations behind the change in English RE in the 1960s and 1970s. The willingness to accept simple linear explanations has already been mentioned in relation to issues of authority, but it is also evident elsewhere.

For example, the issue of immigration has been discussed a few times already. Whilst a significant factor in the huge social change of the post-war years, Statement Archaeology demonstrates that focusing on immigration does not explain how the adoption of SWR became possible. To make this suggestion underplays the nature of the processes by which adoption of the practice became possible, and overlooks the complexity of discourses as discussed above.[26] Furthermore, such a suggestion conflates the *existence* of a change with the *nature* of that change. Whilst it *could* possibly be argued that this complex network of social transformation made *a* change necessary, it does not follow that the adoption of SWR was the only possible change that could have happened in England in the 1960s and 1970s. Examples recounted in the earlier chapters demonstrate that there was some consideration given to other possible patterns of religious education, and a comparison with other nationally-bound histories of RE shows that other possible patterns existed; the value of considering other international contexts will be taken up later.[27] To deliberately misquote Foucault, the question is 'how is that this practice developed, rather than some other one in its place?'.[28]

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[24] See Section 5.2.2 on page 242 above.

[25] See page 332.

[26] See Figure C - *Relationships between the adoption of SWR in English RE and ecumenical discourses at national and supranational levels. An alternative viewing,* page 347 above.

[27] See Section 7.5.1, page 370 below.

[28] The Foucaultian question is 'How is that this statement appeared, rather than some other one in its place?' (Foucault, *On The Archaeology of the Sciences,* 307).

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Moreover, the argument that the adoption of SWR was predicated on the aforementioned complex network of social transformation does not sit comfortably with the discourse of education in the British Council of Churches. I have already argued that the adoption of SWR in English RE was made possible, in part, by the eliding of the study of non-Christian worldviews and a return to RE as non-proselytising. The extent to which these developments were rooted in social change is difficult to assess; certainly, the changes took place *within the context* of those social changes, but what is recorded in the Education Department's narrative is not primarily a strategic response to that complex social change, but a frustration that children were not being transformed into church members, and this was constructed as a failure of the religious provisions of the 1944 Education Act.

Thus whilst it is inappropriate to suggest that the adoption of SWR took place in a context divorced from complex social change, it is clear that other factors are also involved. The use of Statement Archaeology has exposed the way in which the trope of failure to proselytize occupied a relatively prominent place in the discourse of the BCCED. This suggests that some weight should be attached to the failure of the proselytizing aim, yet at present, such aspects are underplayed in the existing historiography, although they are mentioned in the wider literature.[29] Further, as already discussed, the foregrounding of issues of terminology by the method is also relevant here; he suggestion that immigration 'explains' the adoption of SWR overlooks the clarification of the immigration of the religious other.

So, in a multiplicity of ways, the method devised for this study, by focusing on the intersections between domains of discourse has revealed a great deal that enriches our understanding of the development of RE above and beyond answering the main research question. In addition, other—previously overlooked—issues, such as the marginalization and de-marginalization of education in the supranational ecumenical discourse, and the key role played by Church groups in normalizing SWR, have been exposed.

7.2.3   *Evaluating the compound framework of Governmentality and Normalization*

So far in this section I have shown, through the discussion of a number of examples, that Statement Archaeology 'places sufficient emphasis on how practices become adopted and

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[29] See Section 2.3, starting on page 69 above.

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is therefore appropriate in assessing how the adoption of SWR became possible in English RE during the 1960s and 1970s'. Statement Archaeology has exposed a series of statements, allowing their relationship to other statements to be explored; essentially indicating what the statements are, where they arise, how they relate to other statements. Here, an assessment is required of the usefulness of the 'compound framework of understanding' (built on the Foucaultian notions of Governmentality and Normalization), in bringing these discoveries into clear focus.

As discussed in Chapter 2 above, the Foucaultian notion of Governmentality has been brought to bear on this study in order to better understand the issue of 'imposition', that is, the way that new ideas and practices are *imposed* on others. In particular, I suggested I would engage with the issue of 'imposition' by exploring motivation behind the changes that are exposed, considering 'who is governing, to what ends, and through what means?'. Thus, throughout the work, I have drawn attention to 'the technologies and techniques through which governing operates and attains its goals'.[30] In this regard, understanding the motivation behind particular statements has been essential. This is perhaps seen most clearly in the analysis of collaboration between the Catholic and Protestant groups in the later 1960s, in the changing motivations behind Church involvement in education arising from the 1968 WCC Conference in Uppsala, from an activity seen as being undertaken overseas and driven by missionary zeal, and in the motivations for returning to non-proselytizational RE in the national ecumenical discourse.

Reading the findings against the Foucaultian notion of Normalization has also been fruitful. The notion has been useful in re-positioning WP36, as discussed already. Further, it has been essential in understanding the processes leading to the discursive reconstruction of the religious other; central to understanding the processes by which it became legitimate to study non-Christian worldviews, and to undertake such a study from a non-proselytizing position.

Whilst each of these notions has been beneficial in enriching understandings of the findings, it is at the nexus of the two notions—at the intersection between the two, where they overlap—that the most important insights are revealed. The change in missionary motivation for RE (identified through the notion of Governmentality) whereby the return

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[30] See Saila Poulter, 'From citizenship of God's Kingdom to liberal individualism? A critical historical analysis of Finnish religious education', *British Journal of Religious Education*, (forthcoming), 5.

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to non-proselytizing RE becomes possible that, in combination with the widening practice of studying non-Christian worldviews (identified through the notion of Normalization) reveal the central thesis of this work. Thus the compound framework has allowed us to see more clearly what the 'archaeological artefacts mean' than a confessional framework would have allowed.

7.2.4   Summary

In summary, as shown in Section 7.1 and in the material immediately above, Statement Archaeology is indeed efficacious. The method is robust, coherent, and has enabled the answering of the main research question. Furthermore, the utilization of this method exposes things that hitherto have not been identified in the history of English Religious Education by those using more traditional methods. It is not my claim that *only* this method could reveal these things; whilst other methods may have the potential to, that potential has so far not been realized.

The method has revealed a hitherto overlooked complexity, has problematized existing, unexamined and repeated, assertions within the existing historical narrative, and has demonstrated the importance of a combined framework of understanding built on Foucault's notions of Governmentality and Normalization.

Therefore, the development, employment and assessment of this method also make a specific contribution to methodological knowledge. As such, the method has potential to contribute more widely; this will be discussed in more detail shortly.

7.3   Contributions to Knowledge

So far in this chapter, I have set out and contextualized the key findings of this research, answering the main research questions. As a result, a number of original contributions to knowledge have been made, both methodologically and in the sphere of the history of RE.

Firstly, Statement Archaeology has, though a forensically detailed analysis of primary source statements, drawn attention to the effects of complex and multiple interaction between different domains of discourse. This has exposed a much higher level of complexity relating to the adoption of SWR than has been hitherto recognized, making it possible to identify that the ideas and systems of thought rooted in the ecumenical movement play a much more significant role than hitherto acknowledged in the adoption of SWR. By exposing ecumenical discourses at both supranational and national levels, an

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enriched understanding of the processes by which SWR became adopted has been developed, as well as the motivations behind the processes. Thus, as articulated in my main thesis, which has been set out already, it becomes possible to show that the 'relative beginnings' of SWR are located – to some extent - in the national ecumenical discourse, highlighting the importance of being attentive to ecumenical discourses and ideas in exploring how SWR became adopted in English RE in the 1960s and 1970s.

The research also makes an original contributions to knowledge by problematizing some assertions which have become characteristic of the existing historical narrative. In particular it disputes the existing positioning of WP36 in relation to the adoption of SWR, highlights the problematic suggestion that 'mass immigration' is a causal factor in adoption of SWR, and shows a dynamic, rather than static, nature of the Church's influence over developments in RE, challenges existing taxonomic hierarchies where particular expressions of authority are privileged, and exposes a complexity of terminology which does not appear to have been examined previously.

7.4   Implications of Enriched Understandings

The earlier sections of this chapter focus on the ways in which our understandings of the adoption of SWR have been enriched by this study, both historically and methodologically. In this section, I will firstly describe and discuss the implications of the findings of this study in relation to the wider issues set out in Chapter 1, and then, discuss the study's limitations and finally identify areas for possible further research.

7.4.1   *Implications of the study: the diagnosis*

In terms of the original 'problem' (balancing a 'strong secularist trend towards the exclusion of religion from the public sphere',[31] and the inclusion of religion in education) this study has shown that in the English educational system, the current approach has been arrived at, not by carefully considered implementation of clear government policy. The findings from this study highlight the complex positioning of RE in the English school system, and foreground the ways in which policy change happens by unusual, strange, and sometimes indirect routes. There is not a 'top-down' hierarchical model of authority in

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[31] Poulter, *From citizenship of God's Kingdom*, 1. See also Jacqueline Watson, 'Religion, Spirituality and State-Funded Schooling: Revisiting a Fractured Relationship with Guidance From Habermas.' *Journal of Study of Sprituality* 2, no. 2 (2012): 186-202.

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operation, with Government making new policies and the teachers implementing them. Rather, there is an emergence of new ideas which are accepted by some, and resisted by others, and through various processes of normalization, become fairly widely adopted.

This has significant implications for the imposition of future policy initiatives. Here, the importance of understanding the complexity of how what happened *became possible*, helps to develop an enriched understanding and more nuanced and complex picture of *what is happening*,[32] highlighting 'how traces of the past are embedded in contemporary practices, discourses and experiences'.[33] This more comprehensive picture of the present offers to inform 'how we might live better in the present and the future'.[34] Furthermore, such a 'rear-view mirror' approach can prevent 'avoidable errors, not least in the re-invention of the wheel (a potentially flawed wheel) by educational reformers ignorant of the fate of previous similar schemes'.[35]

The detailed analysis of the adoption of a practice in history provides insights into how one national context manages the tension between secularization and religion in education, thus opening up the possibility of enriching understandings of how this tension is accommodated in other national contexts. One of the most important insights from this study is that the adoption of SWR was rooted in teacher and practitioner activity, becoming normalized before it was incorporated into policy, something which happened only after it was established practice. This has implications for development of practice; encouraging co-operation between teachers, through teacher meetings and teacher centres, enables new practices to be shared and honed; including policy makers and researchers is beneficial in this; the practictioner/researcher/policy maker interface is important.

7.4.2   *Limitations of the study*

As stated earlier, within the constraints of this study, it has not been possible to examine each interaction between every domain of discourse that might have influenced and affected the adoption of SWR; to do so would be a massive undertaking. However, even on a partial scale, the method has been shown to be efficacious. Each of the domains of discourse that inform the conditions of possibility are in their own right interesting and

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[32] For example, John Tosh, *The Pursuit of History - Aims, methods and new directions in the study of modern history*, Second ed. (London: Longman, 1991): 15.

[33] Penny Tinkler and Carolyn Jackson, 'The past in the present: historicising contemporary debates about gender and education'. *Gender and Education* 26, no.1 (2014): 72.

[34] Richard Aldrich, *Lessons from history of education*, (London: Routledge, 2006): 2.

[35] Aldrich, *Lessons from history of education,* 2-3.

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give rise to questions that could not be engaged with. It has not been possible, for example, to look at the circumstances behind the marginalization of education from the supranational ecumenical discourse in the mid to late 1940s, to examine how the developing discourse of the welfare state at the time affected developments, or to explore relationships between ecumenical politics and nation state politics.

Likewise, it has not been possible to explore the full context of two Acts of Parliament that are of direct relevance to the study. The marginalization of the period prior to the passing of the Education Act of 1944 has been highlighted a number of times, and has foregrounded the need for a much more detailed analysis of the circumstances of its production, together with a detailed assessment of the materials which explain how the inclusion of RE in the Act became possible; both are overdue.

The Education Reform Act of 1988 (as well as subsequent Acts which perpetuate SWR) also requires further scrutiny. Although beyond the scope of this work's focus on the *adoption* of SWR, research relating to the Act is important in understanding how SWR became incorporated into national policy. In the mid-1980s, by which time SWR had been widely adopted and was the standard approach in most state funded schools, Government discussions focused on education. The Education Reform Act, 1988 (ERA 1988) was the subject of long debates in Parliament, and RE was a key focus of discussion. It appears that in its draft form, the Act did not stipulate the content of RE, rather it depended on the local Agreed Syllabus Committees to make such decisions, strengthening their role, as discussed earlier. Questions also arise here in relation to the inclusion of RE in the *basic* curriculum, but not as a part of the *National* curriculum.

At an early stage of the Act's journey through Parliament, Baroness Cox, expressed great concern over, what she saw as, a marginalization of Christianity,[36] suggesting that RE had become a 'dilution of Christian teaching in a multi-faith mish-mash',[37] 'in which all belief systems are presented in a value-free hotch-potch'.[38] Cox was not alone in adopting this position; David Rose reports 'Lady Olga Maitland stated, 'We should not allow non-believers to undermine our traditions [...]. It is a tragedy that the teaching of the Christian faith has become woefully neglected in the face of multiculturalism which is promoting

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[36] Cox stated that 'Parents and teachers … have expressed grave anxiety over the failure of many schools to keep the law … to offer pupils opportunities for religious worship or instruction in the basic tenets of the Christian faith' (Hansard, HL Debate 26 February 1988, vol 493, col 1453).

[37] Hansard, HL Debate 26 February 1988, vol 493, col 1455.

[38] Hansard, HL Debate 26 February 1988, vol 493, col 1456.

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minority faiths at the expense of Christianity'. Cox further claimed that 'some of the developments are […] a result of confusion of multi-culturalism, multi-racism and multi-faith education'.[39]

Whilst others were also concerned about the lack of detail in the Act regarding RE, alternative views over the place of Christianity were offered;[40] for example, the Bishop of London spoke in detail of two cases where Christianity was central to the teaching of RE. The Hampshire Agreed Syllabus, which had been adopted by 'about 20 LEAs' was one, and the other was the contentious 1975 Agreed Syllabus from Birmingham, which stated 'It is important that all pupils should study Christianity in some depth since it is the faith which has moulded and had the greatest influence on British life and character'.[41] At a later point in the debates over the Act, Baroness Cox tabled an amendment, requiring the addition of the phrase 'Religious Education in all maintained schools shall be predominantly Christian'.[42] The amendment was eventually accepted, and included in the final version of the Act;[43] however, debates over the meaning of the word 'predominantly' continue.[44]

In this section I have shown how the main findings of the research relate to the contemporary scene and contribute to a diagnosis of the present. I have also set out some limitations of the study, leading to the identification of some areas which demand further investigation.

7.5   Areas for Further Research

By focusing on the key findings from this study, a number of areas for future research are revealed. These can be divided into two main areas. Firstly, this study has shown the importance of being attentive to supranational discourses. The application of these substantive findings to the historical narratives of other nation states, many of which, as has been discussed, are written from within those national boundaries. Being attentive to ecumenical discourses in these settings has potential to enrich understandings in those

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[39] Hansard, HL Debate 26 February 1988, vol 493, col 1456.
[40] Hansard, HL Debate 18 April 1988, vol 495, col 1232.
[41] Hansard, HL Debate 18 April 1988, vol 495, col 1232.
[42] Hansard, HL Debate 3 May 1988, vol 496, col 502.
[43] Education Reform Act, 1988, Section 8(3).
[44] For example, David Rose, 'The Voice of the Cultural Restorationists: Recent Trends in RE Policy-making.' *Curriculum Journal* 14, no. 3 (2003): 305-326.

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places. Secondly, the study has demonstrated the efficacy of Statement Archaeology; this method has potential to be applied productively in a range of settings.

7.5.1   *Application of the findings to other national contexts*

One of the key limitations of many of the existing historical studies of RE, as highlighted in Chapter 2, is that they are circumscribed by nation-state boundaries;[45] thus discoveries made in one national site tend not to be applied in another. From the outset, this study has attempted to overcome such limitations by focusing on a supranational movement that operates beyond the nation-state framework. As such, one important area for further research is the application of the findings from this work to other nationally-bound histories of RE; this has been expressed throughout the thesis in the form of a subsidiary research question: 'How does the exploration of supranational ecumenical discourses inform understandings of developments in Religious Education in other nationally bound sites where SWR has been adopted?'.

Here, the Norwegian and Finnish contexts offer fertile ground. In each of these nationally bound sites, there are some similarities to the English context, yet the historic development of RE has taken a different course in each locality. As has we have seen, in both of these settings, the nature of RE has changed since the 1960s from a confessional model of some sort, and whilst processes and timing have differed,[46] each context has adopted some kind of multi-faith pattern of RE. Likewise each has been affected by, and responded differently, to immigration, including immigration of the religious 'other'.

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[45] See section 2.4.3 on page 99 above for a more detailed discussion.

[46] Norway and Finland have developed the teaching of World Religions content in RE more recently than in England, for example: Haakedal, *From Lutheran Catechism to World Religions*; Skeie, *Religion and Education in Norway*; Bråten, *Towards a Methodology;* Norway, 2000. A similar argument can be made in the case of Germany, see for example: Thorsten Knauth, 'Religious Education in Germany: Contribution to Dialogue or Source of Conflict? A Historical and Contextual Analysis of Its Development Since the 1960s.' In Robert Jackson, (ed), *Religion and Education in Europe: Developments, Contexts and Debates*, (Münster: Waxmann, 2007); Henrik Simojoki, 'Out of School - Into University. The 1960s As a Watershed in Terms of Academization', *Seminar on Comparative History of Religious Education*, University of Worcester (Oct 2010); Markus Müller, 'The 1960s - Watershed for Religious Education in the UK and Germany? - the Catholic Development', *Seminar on Comparative History of Religious Education*, University of Worcester, (Oct 2010).

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Immigration in Norway and Finland has been of a different scale to England, and with a later peak,[47] but still it has affected the development of RE.[48]

Moreover, the ecumenical context of the developments in RE has generally been disregarded in these settings, although not ignored completely. Oddrun Bråten, for example, makes the argument that '[e]cumenical work is [a…] concept which …will reveal fundamental differences between countries',[49] suggesting that

> In Germany, ecumenical work is a very relevant issue, …whereas in Norway this is not important …[it] is seen largely as unrelated to the field of Religious Education…The difference is related to different histories of religion and different histories of Religious Education in those two countries'.[50]

This argument is persuasive, especially when considered within the prevailing framework of nationally-bound histories of RE, which focus on the historical question 'what happened *in this country*?'. In working within such a framework, there would appear to be little sense in exploring the ecumenical background to the development of Norwegian RE; the same could be said for Finland. In both sites, it could be argued that the *apparent* lack of denominational diversity makes a focus on ecumenism redundant.

However, whilst the Lutheran Church dominates Christian practice in Norway, other denominations are present.[51] Furthermore, even though there is not necessarily a

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[47] For example: G. Brochmann and K. Kjeldstadli, *A history of immigration: the case of Norway 900-2000.* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget. 2008); Ulla Schmidt, 'State, Law and Religion in Norway', *Nordic Journal of Religion and Society* 24, no. 2 (2011): 137-153. Anecdotally, mass immigration in Norway is considered to have begun in 1970 with the arrival in Oslo, of ten men of Pakistani origin, whose skills were required by the then developing oil industry. Free immigration from non-Nordic countries ended in 1975, when immigration was possible only on the basis of family reunion or as refugees (Thomas Hylland Eriksen, *Immigration and National Identity in Norway,* (Washington DC: Migration Policy Institute, 2013), available online; URL: http://www.migrationpolicy.org/pubs/TCM-Norwaycasestudy.pdf, last accessed June 9th 2015. Since 1985 Norway has been a signatory to the Schengen Agreement.

[48] See, as examples: Haakedal, *From Lutheran Catechism to World Religions*; Geir Afdal, *Tolerance and Curriculum*, (Münster: Waxmann, 2006); Skeie, *Religion and Education in Norway*; Lied, *The Norwegian Christianity*; Bråten, *Towards a Methodology*; Iversen, *Learning to be Norwegian*. See also Dag Thoskildsen, 'Religious Identity and Nordic Identity'. In, Ø. Sørenson and B. Stråth (Eds), *The Cultural Construction of Norden*, (Oslo: Scandinavian University Press, 1997): 138-60; Rune Slagstad, *De nasjonale strateger*, [The national strategists] (Oslo: Pax, 1998).

[49] Oddrun Bråten, 'Are Oranges the Only Fruit? A Discussion of Comparative Studies in Religious Education in Relation to the Plural Nature of the Field Internationally.' In Martin Rothgangel, Robert Jackson, Martin Jäggle, Geir Skeie, Philipp Klutz and Mónika Solymár (eds), *Religious Education at Schools in Europe Part 3: Northern Europe*, (Göttingen: V & R Unipress, 2014): 27.

[50] Bråten, *Are Oranges the Only Fruit?*, 27.

[51] Including Roman Catholic, Pentecostal, Baptist, Methodist, and Jehovah's witnesses, although numbers are very small; Catholics make up approximately 2.7% of the total population, and other groups listed comprise less than 1% each (Statistics Norway, Trus- og livssynssamfunn utanfor Den norske kyrkja,1. januar 2014. URL: https://www.ssb.no/kultur-og-fritid/statistikker/trosamf/aar/2014-11-18, last accessed 9th June 2015).

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great denominational diversity within Norway, there is a significant diversity within Lutheran Christianity; in some areas Pietistic Lutheranism is strong, there is a so-called 'Bible Belt' in the South West of the country, and local priests have a high level of autonomy, leading to a considerable level of diversity in practice.[52]

Nevertheless, I contend that consideration of the ecumenical background *can* enrich understandings of how RE has developed to its current nature *even* in these countries, especially when considering how the practice of SWR became possible. As a full member of the World Council of Churches since 1948,[53] with an involvement in ecumenical developments since at least the 1920s,[54] and having sent representatives at the World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh,[55] 1910, it is reasonable to assume that the Church of Norway has been exposed to the supranational ecumenical discourses discussed in Chapter 5 above.

Norway

Some of the similarities between the development of Norwegian RE and English RE have been discussed in Chapter 2 above.[56] To recap, Norwegian RE has historically been openly confessional in nature; with the complete separation of RE teaching in schools and Christian nurture of children baptized into the Lutheran Church being formalized in 1969. It was in the same year that the Law on Denominations outside the state Church (*Lov om Trudomssamfunn og ymist anna (Law on Religious Societies and other matters)*) was passed.

As already discussed, Elisabet Hakedaal suggests that prior to the 1969 Education Act, there had been some scope for the inclusion of material about World Religions, but only from the perspective of Christian supremacy. This resonates with the process by which the discursive reconstruction of the religious other took place; from enemy to ally, by way of other faiths being incomplete, and Christianity being supreme. However, a re-consideration of the development of Norwegian RE against the discursive reconstruction

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[52] For example, local priests have local decision making power regarding celebration of life events.

[53] World Council of Churches: list of member churches. URL: https://www.oikoumene.org/en/member-churches/church-of-norway, last accessed 9th June 2015.

[54] For example, a national Missionary Council was formed in Norway in 1922 (Kenneth Scott Latourette, 'Ecumenical Bearings of the Missionary Movement and the International Missionary Council'. In Ruth Rouse and Stephen Charles Neill (eds), *A History of the Ecumenical Movement 1517-1948,* (London: SPCK, 1954): 375).

[55] For example: Kim Caroline Sanecki, 'Protestant Christian Missions, Race and Empire: The World Missionary Conference of 1910, Edinburgh, Scotland', MA Thesis, Georgia State University, 2006. URL: http://scholarworks.gsu.edu/history_theses/10, last accessed 15th May 2014.

[56] See Section 2.4.3 on page 99 above.

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of the religious other, which creates circumstances in which it becomes possible for Christians to engage in dialogue about and with those of other worldviews, has not, hitherto, been described.

Asking how supranational ecumenical discourses might have been operationalized in Norway appears to have great potential. For example, what made the change in educational practice around 1969 possible? The fact that a change in education policy is happening at the same time as a change in Church policy is worthy of note, and further exploration; was there some reconstruction of the religious other going on here that makes the *Lov om Truddomssamfunn og ymist anna* (*Law on Religious Societies and other matters*) possible?

Ulla Schmidt's work traces the development of religious freedom in Norway; whilst she is inattentive to the ecumenical context, and the ways in which such changes *became possible,*[57] the findings from her work are helpful here. Schmidt describes the expansion of the boundaries of legitimate diversity in Norwegian religious practice, which can be seen to follow a similar pattern to that which is seen in the discourses of the supranational ecumenical movement. Under the 1845 Act relating to Dissenters, Norwegian citizens were permitted to withdraw from the State Church and form 'Christian communities outside governmental control, although at the cost of the denial of some of their civil rights'.[58] Jews were allowed to enter Norway from 1851,[59] (although there is no mention of Judaism in RE until the reformulation to KRL in 1997). However, it was not until forty years later that other non-Christian religions were allowed,[60] and Jesuits were banned until 1956.[61]

This differential treatment of non-Christian religions could be seen as similar to the situation in England. The extent to which these expansions, especially those from 1891 onwards, are an operationalization of supranational ecumenical systems of thought being operationalized in a nationally-bound site, remains unexamined. There is therefore much

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[57] Schmidt, *State, Law and Religion in Norway.*

[58] Schmidt, *State, Law and Religion in Norway*, 141. See also Haakedal, *From Lutheran Catechism to World Religions,* 89.

[59] The first Constitution of Norway, in 1814, stated that '*Jews are still prohibited from entry to the Realm',* presumably maintaining a prohibition that was established when Norway was under Danish rule. *Grunnloven undertegnet på Eidsvoll 17. mai 1814* §2: «Jesuitter og Munkeordener maae ikke taales. Jøder ere fremdeles udelukkede fra Adgang til Riget.» (Jesuits and monastic orders must not be tolerated. Jews are still prohibited from entry to the Realm), URL: https://stortinget.no/no/Stortinget-og-demokratiet/Lover-og-instrukser/Grunnloven-fra-1814/ ; last accessed June 9th 2015.

[60] Ingunn Folkestad Breistein, '*Har staten bedre borgere?', Dissenternes kamp for religiøs frihet 1891-1969* ['*Does the state have better citizens?', Dissenters' struggle for religious freedom 1891-1969*], (Trondheim: Tapir akademisk forlag, 2003): 49-51.

[61] Schmidt, *State, Law and Religion in Norway,* 141.

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potential for a more detailed examination of the development of Norwegian RE against the backdrop of the supranational ecumenical discourses uncovered in this study.

Finland

A re-examination of the development of Finnish RE in the light of these findings also has great potential. As described earlier, the current pattern of RE in Finland is quite different to the English pattern. Firstly, it is based on the teaching of 'a student's own religion' – as long as that religion is recognized by the Finnish State. Consequently, there are 13 different curricula for RE and secular ethics (which is the option for those who don't want teaching from a certain religious standpoint).[62] Secondly, this Finnish pattern was adopted much later than the changes in England; the introduction of their current model of RE began in the 1990s, and was formalised in 2006. Prior to this, RE in Finland was of a confessional nature.[63] More recently, I understand that there is much debate about the future pattern of RE in Finland.

The development of RE Syllabuses in both England and Finland is, and has been, a result of co-operation between the state and the religious communities. In England, the ecclesiastical power dynamics are very complex with multiple denominations and groupings of denominations of Christianity, other faith communities, a relatively strong Catholic presence, and where the State Church of England has a significant power advantage over other groups in the agreeing of RE syllabuses. In contrast, the situation in Finland appears (to an outsider, at least) relatively simple. Most Christians in Finland belong to the Evangelical Lutheran Church *(Suomen evankelisluterilainen kirkko)* with a small handful belonging to the Russian Orthodox tradition.[64] Catholicism accounts for less than 0.2% of the population, and non-Christian religious traditions about 1%. There is essentially no national ecumenical movement in Finland. Thus, there may seem to be little point in considering the ecumenical influences at work in Finnish RE.

However, the Evangelical Lutheran Church is a full member of the WCC; consequently, it is likely that there is some transmission of the ideas of the WCC into the Finnish context. Once again, looking at the development of Finnish RE against the

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[62] Although if you are a member of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland, you are compelled to study that form of RE. RE is supposedly non-confessional but, especially in the teaching of minority religions, I understand that it can be quite confessional.

[63] Tapio Puolimatka, and Kirsi Tirri. "Religious Education in Finland: Promoting Intelligent Belief?" *British Journal of Religious Education* 23, no. 1 (2000): 38-44.

[64] 1% of the population self describe as Orthodox, about the same as are Muslim.

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discursive reconstruction of the religious other, which creates circumstances in which it becomes possible for Christians to engage in dialogue about and with those of other worldviews, and then ask whether that idea has been taken up in Finland, and if so how has it been operationalized, what would we discover? Is there some reconstruction of the religious other going on here? Might supranational systems of thought be relevant in exploring this? Are we seeing a supranational system of thought being operationalized in a nationally-bound site? There is clearly also much potential for further work here.

7.5.2   *Application of the method to other issues*

By demonstrating the significance of being attentive to supranational processes, this study highlights the potential for Statement Archaeology, to reveal important—and currently overlooked—areas of interest which could enrich other supranational discourses. The discussion in Section 7.2 above shows Statement Archaeology to be an efficacious method in relation to questions about how practices become adopted. Consequently, there is a wide range of topics to which this method could usefully be applied. For example, there is scope for Statement Archaeology to be deployed in a wide range of spheres, both within educational history, the development of educational policy, and social sciences more widely. Such usefulness is not limited to British policy development, and the method has potential applications across and beyond national borders, as demonstrated in the preceding section.

With the emphasis on how practices become possible, there are endless possibilities on where the method could usefully be applied, as diverse as the development of geriatrics as a medical specialism; the development of a national curriculum; and the development of professionalism.

The relation between national identity and religious education

Another area where Statement Archaeology could usefully be applied, is the question of the relationship between RE and the development of national identity, especially in light of the current emphasis on the development of British Values in English schools.[65]

In other countries, especially Nordic countries, these links are very strong.[66] For example in Norway, the schools system has 'played an important role in the building of the

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[65] See Section 1.1.3 on page 27 above.

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modern Norwegian nation-state and the establishment of a national identity';[67] whilst in Finland, 'the purpose of teacher training was to educate model citizens who would teach and civilize the Finnish people and strengthen the country's national identity.'[68] Kathrine Kjærgaard records the close relationship between RE and national identity in Greenland. After 1953, when Greenland became part of the Kingdom of Denmark,[69] Danish 'was accepted or even encouraged as teaching language in the schools', yet it was mandated that religious education should continue to be taught in Greenlandic;[70]. 'In this way religion preserved its role as a cornerstone of the national identity-creating part of the new school'.[71] Further, Kjærgaard argues that inclusion of the Inuit Religion in RE rather than History, from 2004, demonstrates the way in which 'It is obvious that the Greenlandic authorities … want to use religious education as a mean to provide the population with a feeling of self-confidence and identity'.[72] Lars Laird Iversen notes that the multicultural globalisation and community cohesion inherent in SWR, potentially threatens the development of national identity.[73]

As Melissa Lovell points out national identity is a 'site of considerable and frequent contestation'; [74] an adequate unpacking of the term would require a study of its own. However, with Lovell's warning heeded, there is much to suggest that education can be,

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[66] As well as those areas discussed below, see: Johan Liljestrand and Maria Olson, 'Religious Education Teachers Conceptions of "Religion" and Its Implications For Citizenship'. Presentation given at Nordic Conference on Religious Education, June 10-13 2013. Anette Faye Jacobsen, 'Citizenship and national identity: Faith as an innovative force in elementary-school teaching from 1850 to 1920. In Mette Buchardt, Pirjo Markkola and Heli Valtonen (eds), *Education, State and Citizenship,* (Helsinki: NordWel Studies in Historical Welfare State Research, 2013): 56-80. On Norway, for example, see: Skeie, *An Overview of Religious Education Research in Norway'; Religion and Education in Norway*; Skottene, *Den konfesijonalle skole* [The Confessional School]; Skrunes, *Kristendomskunnskap for barn* [Religious Education for Children]

[67] Dag Thorkildsen, 'Religious Identity and Nordic Identity'. In, Ø. Sørenson and B. Stråth (Eds), *The Cultural Construction of* Norden, (Oslo: Scandinavian University Press, 1997): 142-3. See also: Rune Slagstad, *De nasjonale strateger*, [The national strategists] (Oslo: Pax, 1998); Elisabet Haakedal, 'From Lutheran Catechism to World Religions and Humanism: Dilemmas and Middle Ways through the Story of Norwegian Religious Education', *British Journal of Religious Education*, 23(2), (2001): 88-97; Lars Laird Iversen, *Learning to be Norwegian: A case study of identity management in Religious Education in Norway.* (Münster: Waxmann, 2012).

[68] See, for example, Saila Poulter, Kansalaisena maallistuneessa maailmassa. Koulun uskonnonopetuksen yhteiskunnallisen tehtävän tarkastelua. [Citizenship in a Secular Age. The Civic Dimension of Finnish Religious Education] Suomen ainedidaktisen tutkimusseuran julkaisuja 5. Helsinki: Suomen ainedidaktinen tutkimusseura. (PhD Thesis, Univeristy of Helsinki, 2013); also Poulter, *From citizenship of God's Kingdom.*

[69] Kathrine Kjærgaard, 'Religious Education, Identity and Nation Building – the Case of Greenland', *Nordidactica - Journal of Humanities and Social Science Education.* 2015:2 (Autumn 2015): 2

[70] Kjærgaard, *Religious Education*, 3.

[71] Kjærgaard, *Religious Education*, 3.

[72] Kjærgaard, *Religious Education*, 17.

[73] See Iversen, *Learning to be Norwegian,* 101 (citing Eriksen and Stjernfelt 2009: 298-306).

[74] Melissa Lovell, 'Settler Colonialism, Multiculturalism and the Politics of Postcolonial Identity.' Paper presented at *APSA Conference, Monash University, Melbourne.* (2007): 2.

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and is, used as a vehicle to develop national identity, as the examples above show. In this respect Gerd Baumann asserts:

> State-supervised schooling has long been recognised as the quintessential mechanism by which nation-states turn children into citizens or individuals into political persons.[75]

This idea does not originate with Baumann; writing in the 1960s, William Clark highlights the link between state education and the development of nationalism, 'Fundamentally, the educational system of a new nation must supply that country with its nationalism'.[76]

In the context of English education, there are a number of examples that appear to support Baumann's claim. In the late 1990s, Dr Nicholas Tate (Chief executive of the School Curriculum and Assessment Authority) explicitly argued that the school curriculum should be used to promote national identity and consciousness, with History as a particular focus.[77] More recently, and perhaps more implicitly, Michael Gove (then Secretary of State for Education), argued that the History curriculum in English schools should 'celebrate the distinguished role of these islands in the history of the world, later proclaiming that '[a]ll pupils will learn our island story'.[78] With hindsight, these discussions may be seen as a precursor to the development of British Values in the English education system.[79]

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[75] Gerd Baumann, 'Introduction: Nation-state, Schools and Civil Enculturation.' In *Civil Enculturation: Nation-state, School and Ethnic Difference in the Netherlands, Britain, Germany and France.* Edited by Werner Schiffauer, Gerd Baumann, Riva Kastoryano and Steven Vertovec. (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2004): 2.

[76] William Clark, 'Education for Development', *Ecumenical Review* 19, no.4 (Oct 1967): 415.

[77] N. Tate, 'The Teaching of History and National Identity'; speech given to Council of Europe Conference, York, (18 Sept 1995); N. Tate, 'Curriculum, Culture and Society', speech given at the SCAA International Conference: Curriculum, Culture and Society, at the Kensington Hilton Hotel, London, (7 February 1996).

[78] Michael Gove, 'All pupils will learn our island story', Speech given on 5 October 2010. (Available at: http://www.conservatives.com/News/Speeches/2010/10/Michael_Gove_All_pupils_will_learn_our_island_story.aspx Last accessed 14 Feb 2014 (since removed, available at URL: https://toryspeeches.files.wordpress.com/2013/11/michael-gove-all-pupils-will-learn-our-island-story.pdf, last accessed 30th June 2015). Note that in the speech, the term used is British, even though—as explained earlier—legislation that governs English schools is not the same as that which covers other British contexts. See also, Terry Haydn, 'History in Schools and the Problem of "The Nation"'. *Education Sciences*, 2(4) (2012): 276-289. For an interesting comparison, see Keith A. Erekson, 'Politics and the History Curriculum: The Struggle over Standards in Texas and The Nation, (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2012).

[79] Note that in the revised Teacher Standards issued by the Department of Education, and taking effect from September 2012, teachers are specifically required to: 'uphold public trust in the profession and maintain high standards of ethics and behaviour, within and outside school, by: not undermining fundamental British values, including democracy, the rule of law, individual liberty and mutual respect, and tolerance of those with different faiths and beliefs. Department for Education, *Teacher Standards: Guidance for School Leaders, School Staff and Governing Bodies,* (London: DES, 2011) URL: https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/301107/Teachers__Standards.pdf last accessed on 29 April 2015.

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However, these discussions have focused on education generally, or on specific curriculum areas beyond RE; discussion of the relationship between RE and national identity in England has been minimal.[80] Andrew Bolton, in reference to the role that RE might play in developing national consciousness and identity in England, suggests that

> since the 1988 Education Reform Act, with the centralisation of control of the curriculum in England and Wales, there has existed a temptation for government to extend further its ideological control of the population through education.[81]

Regardless of how the contemporary discourse constructs the narrative of nationalism, there are traces to be found in the ecumenical discourses. The way in which education is seen as constructive of national identities is important in relation to the increasing role of the State in education discussed above. Although a much wider issue, the link between Education, Mission (Christianization) and National life is evident at a number of points in the ecumenical discourse, for example, these issues are explicitly linked in the titles of both the 1910 WMC report *'Education in relation to the Christianization of National Life'* and the 1937 Oxford report *'On Church, Community and State in relation to Education'*. Nevertheless, beyond the explicit titling of reports, there is a deeper level of inclusion of ideas of national consciousness in the ecumenical discourse of education. At the 1910 WMC conference, for example it is recorded that there is 'an astonishing awakening of national consciousness among the peoples of all the regions we are specially considering [India, China, Japan, Africa and Near East]'.[82]

Moreover, as discussed a number of times above, the 1937 conference grew in great part out of a developing sense of national consciousness. The development of totalitarian regimes in various areas of the world was the cause of great concern in the ecumenical movement. The *supra-worldly* nature of the Church, overarching national, racial and class distinctions, is stressed, and the quest for unity is set both within the context of the Church and within the context of the state. However, the distinction between national consciousness as membership of an earthly State and a heavenly Kingdom is, at times,

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[80] For example, John White, 'Should religious education be a compulsory subject?' *British Journal of Religious Education*, 26(2) 2004: 151-164.

[81] Andrew Bolton, 'Should Religious Education Foster National Consciousness?' *British Journal of British Education* 19, no.3, (1997): 134.

[82] World Missionary Conference (WMC), *Report of Commission III:* Education in Relation to the Christianization of National Life, (Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1910): 6-7.

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unclear. In much of the report there is a 'mirroring' of descriptions of the State with descriptions of the Church.[83]

In other words, as the state takes greater control of education, it contributes more and more to the development of national identity, whereas in earlier times, when the Church had more control, it contributed to the development of citizenship of the heavenly kingdom. Dennis Bates, in his character study of J.H.Oldham accentuates the growing importance of national consciousness in the development of Oldham's career;[84] he records Oldham's perception that Nazism and Soviet Communism were 'religious faiths rushing in to fill the vacuum created by the decay of Christianity.[85] This resonates with the suggestion that nationalism is a religious phenomenon, an idea that permeates the historical narrative.[86] Here then, there is a great deal of scope for Statement Archaeology to be used fruitfully to explore and investigate the issues.

7.5.3   Summary

A number of areas for further research have been suggested, focusing on how the identification of the discursive reconstruction of the religious other in the supranational ecumenical discourse might enrich our understandings of the adoption of SWR in other national contexts; the extent to which other supranational discourses enrich understandings of how certain practices are adopted; and how the tracing of statements, discontinuities and relative beginnings using Statement Archaeology might enrich histories of RE, education, and social policy more generally. Finally, I have discussed in some detail the issue of national identity'.

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[83] For example, J.H. Oldham (ed). *The Churches Survey Their Task.* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd, 1937): 137.

[84] Dennis Bates, 'Ecumenism and Religious Education between the Wars: The Work of J.H.Oldham', *British Journal of Religious Education* 8, no.3, (1986): 130-9.

[85] Bates, *Ecumenism and Religious Education between the Wars,* 133.

[86] See Christopher Watkins, 'Inventing International Citizenship: Badminton School and the Progressive Tradition Between the Wars.' *History of Education* 36, no. 3 (2007): 315-338. Also T. Copley, Rediscovering the Past: Writings on Religious Education in Religion in Education Quarterly, 1934-39, Raise Some Questions for Today's Religious Educators, *British Journal of Religious Education* 20, no.2 (1998): 80-9.

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7.6   Conclusion

The study on which this thesis is based set out to respond to the question:

> In what ways does an exploration of ecumenical discourses enrich understandings of how the adoption of the Study of World Religions became possible in English Religious Education during the 1960s and 1970s?

The method devised for the study, Statement Archaeology, has been shown to be efficacious, robust, and coherent. As a result, a number of original contributions to knowledge have been made, both methodologically and in the sphere of the history of Religious Education. The application of Statement Archaeology, (in combination with a combined framework of understanding built on Foucault's notions of Governmentality and Normalization) has, though a forensically detailed analysis of primary source statements, drawn attention to the effects of complex and multiple interaction between different domains of discourse, thus exposing a much higher level of complexity relating to the adoption of SWR than has been hitherto recognized.

The exploration of these complex interactions has demonstrated the importance of being attentive to the, *previously* overlooked, ecumenical discourses; it has exposed developments in the supranational ecumenical discourse of the relationship between Christianity and those of other worldviews (both religious and non-religious) which create 'historical conditions of possibility', lifting constraints on the national ecumenical discourse, and allowing the study of non-Christian religions to be encouraged. Further, developments in the supranational ecumenical discourse of role of the Church in education, create 'historical conditions of possibility' which lift constraints on the national ecumenical discourse, allowing non-proselytizing RE to be encouraged. When these two practices in national ecumenical discourse elide, their combination performs as a relative beginning of SWR.

Thus, understandings of the processes by which SWR became adopted have been enriched, supranational and national discourses that affected these processes are unearthed, and motivations behind them are exposed. Consequently, it becomes possible to show that the 'relative beginnings' of SWR are located – to some extent - in the national ecumenical discourse, thus emphasizing its role, and consequently highlighting the importance of, being attentive to ecumenical discourses. Other contributions to knowledge have also been

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made, problematizing some assertions which have become characteristic of the existing historical narrative.

The main findings of the research have been related to the contemporary scene, and considered in terms of their contribution to a diagnosis of the present. Some limitations of the study, leading to the identification of some areas which demand further investigation, have been identified. In addition, a number of areas for further research have been suggested, focusing on how the identification of the discursive reconstruction of the religious other in the supranational ecumenical discourse might enrich our understandings of the adoption of SWR in other national contexts (especially Norway and Finland); the extent to which other supranational discourses enrich understandings of how certain practices are adopted; and how the tracing of statements, discontinuities and relative beginnings using Statement Archaeology might enrich histories of RE, education, and social policy more generally, with the relationship between RE and national identity being discussed as a specific, and detailed, example.

Thus, by developing and deploying a new method, focusing on discourses at supranational and national levels, I have successfully answered the key research question, enriching both our understandings of how the adoption of the Study of World Religions became possible in English Religious Education during the 1960s and 1970s, and our understandings of how Foucault's historical methods can be systematically operationalized.

References

Whilst it is customary to categorise sources as primary or secondary, some primary sources, especially those emanating from the supranational ecumenical movement, are published rather than unpublished. Thus, this list has been categorised into unpublished and published sources for ease of reference.

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British Council of Churches

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