INTERNATIONAL COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVES ON

RELIGION & EDUCATION

Charl Wolhuter & Corene de Wet

Editors

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SUNBONANI SCHOLAR

International Comparative Perspectives on Religion and Education

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Published by Sun Media Bloemfontein (Pty) Ltd.

Imprint: SunBonani Scholar

This publication was subjected to an independent double-blind peer evaluation by the publisher.

First edition 2014

ISBN: 978-1-920382-37-7 (Print)
ISBN: 978-1-920382-38-4 (e-book)
DOI: https://doi.org/10.18820/9781920382384

Set in 9.5/13 Resurrectory
Cover design, typesetting and production by Sun Media Bloemfontein

Research, academic and reference works are published under this imprint in print and electronic format.

This printed copy can be ordered directly from: media@sunbonani.co.za
The e-book is available at the following link: https://doi.org/10.18820/9781920382384

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Religion in education: An international perspective

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Religion in education has, for a long time, been a controversial subject worldwide. The interest of academics in the topic may, according to Watson (2010:307), be credited to the awareness that it can lead to divisions between groups and countries, such as between Muslim and so-called Christian countries, but that religion can also be "the glue that holds a society together".

In nearly every society, before the state began to take responsibility for educational provision during the past century and a half, the earliest forms of schooling were based on religion. This is largely because religious leaders were often the only literate members of society (Watson, 2010:308). In early biblical times, Moses was told to teach the Israelites the laws and decrees of God and "to show them the way to live and the duties they are to perform" (Exod. 18:20). In Deut. 4:9 the Israelites were told to teach their children God's laws. In their discussion on the blending of education and religion Watson and Ozanne (2010:268) also refer to the fact that Brahmin priests taught the people of ancient India the Vedas and the exploits of the Hindu gods and schools attached to Hindu temples, developed over time. A comparable situation developed in Buddhist countries where reading, writing, memorisation, and crafts, such as carpentry and pottery were taught. In ancient China, Confucianism permeated every aspect of society and led to the tradition of literacy (Watson & Ozanne, 2010:269). In early and mediaeval Islam the mosque (*masjid*) and the *kuttab* were the main sources of education for Arab children (Findlow, 2008:340). Watson and Ozanne (2010:269) furthermore, mention that although the Greek and Romans developed formal schooling, it was not until the Romans embraced Christianity, and its spread across the Roman Empire, that religion, education and politics gradually became intertwined. Watson and Ozanne (2010:269) also point out that the

church was the founder of most formal education throughout Europe, and later by means of the missionary movement, in most of Africa, Latin America and parts of Asia.

Most modern education systems have thus been shaped by the interaction between religion and the state. However, as countries industrialised and modernised, there was a tendency for most of them to become increasingly secularised. In Seng Piew Loo's contribution to this volume, the author argues that the rise of compulsory mass formal schooling and the Enlightenment led to the reduction of the influence of the Church on education, especially in the first modern republics, the United States of America (USA) and France. One of the important educational reforms after the inception of mass schooling was the secularisation of the curriculum in the aforesaid counties. The power of religion in education can be placed on a continuum: at one end of the continuum is nations such as France and the USA that have excluded all faith-specific subjects in the public school curriculum. In the middle of the range are countries such as the United Kingdom and South Africa, where religious education is part of the curriculum of public schools but is non-proselytising and covers diverse faiths. Further along the opposite end of the continuum, is Malaysia. In this semi-secular state religious education is provided by the state for both Muslim and non-Muslim learners. At the opposite end of the continuum is mostly Muslim countries, such as Iran that have enforced the establishment of state religion and compulsory religious education in public schools, based on a single mainstream faith.

In the subsequent discussion, a review of the chapters will be followed by some concluding thoughts, comments and insights that have hopefully been learnt from the works of academics who have written about religion in their respective countries' education systems.

Yotam Hotam and *Philip Wexler*'s chapter traces the roots of education in Israel back to the Zionist worldview that originated in Europe in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, and that immediately promoted the first Jewish educational enterprises in contemporary Palestine. According to the authors, public education in Israel (in Hebrew "Chinuch Mamlachti") was defined as modern, Jewish secular and nationalistic education from its beginning, with the establishment of the state of Israel in 1948. In Hotam and Wexler's chapter, the tension between national "religious" and national "secular" schools, as well as the tense relations between national Jewish education and the Ultra-Orthodox and Arabic educational alternatives, is interrogated.

Shelley Terzian's contribution traces the effects of religious education in Armenia from ancient times to post-Soviet Armenia. She argues that the many political and religious reforms in Armenia led to varying religious influences in public schooling throughout its history. The chapter focuses on the role the Armenian Apostolic Church played in education prior to and after the Soviet Union era. Although the Armenian Apostolic Church is officially recognised as the national church of the post-Soviet Republic of

Armenia, the role of the Church has been separated from the role of the state by the 1991 Law on Freedom of Conscience and Religious Organisations. The law restricts the active presence of the Church in education; yet the concept of nationhood and the history of the Armenian Church are integrated into the curriculum. Terzian aptly uses citations from interviews to support her argument that the historical influence of Christianity in Armenia defines Armenians.

William A. L. Anangisye and *Augustino D. Mligo*'s study looks at the contribution of the Pentecostal churches in the Dar-es-Salaam Region of Tanzania, to the development of secular education in this African country. They report their findings against the background of a historical overview of the role of missionaries in the provision of education during the pre- and colonial era. The authors highlight the important role of churches in the provision of education during the post-colonial era. The churches are, for example, responsible for educating 71 percent of pupils. The authors applaud the government for following an open-door policy, in especially, least served areas.

In the chapter on religion and education in the USA, *Ralph D. Mawdsley* addresses four different basic areas of conflict which have arisen in religion and education; namely, the conflict between parents and public schools; government control of religious schools by various federal and state statutes and regulations; religious expression in public schools; and government aid to public schools from a legal perspective. In this chapter, Mawdsley sets out to explain the influence of the four key federal constitutional provisions on the religion and education conflict: the Liberty Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment; Free Exercise; Free Speech; and the Establishment Clauses of the First Amendment. He argues that the ebb and flow of constitutional interpretation, the relationship between religion and education over the past half century has depended on the constitutional claim being affirmed.

Bram de Muynck, Siebren Miedema and *Ina ter Avest*'s chapter explores the roots of the Dutch tradition of having schools of different (religious) denominations in the school system, while all schools are state-funded. They start by looking back at the origins of the Dutch nation-state in the sixteenth century, in which politics was dominated by protestant Christians. In this section they also present the roots of the so called pillarised system which started in the nineteenth century. Then they summarise the significant changes that took place after the Second World War in the domain of religion and education. Thereafter, they focus on the current changes that we observe in the context of the phenomenon of "religion" and of contemporary demographic changes. In the subsequent section, they give the following five examples of how Dutch schools are dealing with these changes, namely encountering "the other" in interreligious education, responding to multi-culturality in open Christian schools, responding to multi-culturalism in an orthodox Christian school, responding to multi-culturality in an Islam school, and a post-pillarised response to multi-

culturality and multi-religiosity. Next they place the Dutch position in a European context by summarising research data from a European project, called REDCO. They conclude with some evaluative remarks about the current place of religion in education and the tasks that await the government and the educational system.

Maria Sakellariou's contribution looks at the evolution of religious education in schools over the years from an extension of religious education of the dominant religious denomination to the current inter-cultural pedagogy and education which entails the analysis and the management of the multiculturalism; and refers to the traditional sides (existence of religious heterogeneity), as well as to modern elements such as the antagonism between different viewpoints and theories. Since the beginning of the twenty-first century there has been an expressed need for incorporating the dimension of a religious polymorphic education into a critical multi-cultural one. Sakellariou's study interrogates Greek parents and teachers' views on inter-cultural education in Greek schools, as well as in the society as a whole, and their assessment of the content of the religious education and its contribution to shaping modern emancipated citizens. She argues in favour of the philosophy of the religious dimension of intercultural education, which, according to her, broadens its field and takes into account the different forms of expression and behaviour in school, in the family, in the society; asserting that emphasis that should be placed on developing a critical ability, either accepting or rejecting the facts that form their cultural identity,

Andreia Lisboa de Sousa's chapter examines the main issues regarding Brazilian legislation on religious education in order to offer an understanding of the role that religious education has played in the history of Brazilian public education. It also discusses religious intolerance in the country and the struggle for ending discrimination against Afro-Brazilian religious traditions. The study shows that the Brazilian educational system and society remains intolerant and points out the need for the development of research into religious education in schools. Moreover, the state, school systems, teachers and school personnel are not well prepared for dealing with religious diversity, pedagogical materials and training, equally.

Lambertus P. Louw gives a survey of the state of Bible Education during the late Apartheid era (before 1994) and the problems encountered with its implementation in public schools in South Africa. The subject had a very low status against other subjects in the school curriculum, teachers were unmotivated, not well trained to teach it, and did not possess the necessary didactical skills to facilitate and enhance learners' learning. The themes in the curriculum were exclusively based on a Christian Reformed theology, excluding other denominations and religions. After the first democratic elections in 1994, Bible Education was replaced by Religion Education, not as an independent subject, but as themes in the subjects Life Skills in the first six years, and Life Orientation in the last six years of the school curriculum. Louw analyses these curricula and indicates a total overload of themes in the Intermediate Phase for Grades 4 to 6 (10- to 12-year olds), with the topics

well above the life and experience level of these learners. Very little emphasis is put on religious themes in the Pre-school and Foundation Phases (pre-school, and Grades 1 to 3 for 6- to 9-year olds), Senior Phase (Grades 7 to 9 for 13- to 15-year olds) and the Further Education and Training Phase (Grades 10 to 12 for 16- to 18-year olds). Louw also questions teachers' academic and professional training regarding religious contents.

Shin 'ichi Suzuki's chapter provides an overview of the tension between religion and education in Japan, a country the Constitution of which states that all the citizens are free to choose religious faith. The Fundamental Law of Education (enacted in 1947 and revised in 2006) prohibits all public schools from teaching any particulars regarding specified religious creeds. Nevertheless, the Law ensures that it is important and necessary for all schools to pay due attention to religious sentiments among people and children. By such legal procedures, the State-endorsed Shinto religion was nominally rejected from school education and freedom of religious choice was guaranteed for all the Japanese citizens. Shin 'ichi Suzuki, however, aptly illustrates how recent affirmation by the Ministry of Education on the worth of traditional culture, the historical background of modern society and respect for everything that is supernatural, has opened the door for embracing religious faith and moral criteria in extracurricular activities. Shin 'ichi Suzuki nonetheless, cautions that it is extremely difficult to discern between denominational creeds and broad religious sentiments.

Seng Piew Loo's contribution focuses on Malaysia, a country which tolerates other faiths, but the Constitution of which states that Islam is the national religion of the Federation of Malaysia. Loo's chapter critically examines the state of the practice of religion and education in Malaysia and analyses the underlying contradictions. In Loo's discussion of religious education in Malaysia, a semi-secular state, he highlights the influence of Islam, the official religion, on education in this multi-ethnic, multi-religious country. The government, who provides religious education, provides *Pendidikan Islam* (Islamic Studies) as a compulsory subject within the national school system to Muslim pupils according to a government-approved curriculum, but does not provide religious education for non-Muslims according to their different faiths. Instead, all non-Muslims take *Pendidikan Moral* (Moral Education) as a compulsory school subject that is time-tabled to coincide with Islamic Studies. The subject matter of *Pendidikan Moral* is based on 10 universal ethical values that are supposedly neutral and not solely based on any one particular faith. Loo believes that the dual carriageway of religious education and moral education in Malaysia divides multi-ethnic Malaysia, instead of helping to facilitate social cohesion. He therefore recommends that the two subjects be scrapped and replaced with a common subject that explores all the religions of Malaysians.

In Iran, there is a symbiotic relationship between religion and education. The two are united and reflect those values deemed important for personal, societal, and cultural

growth. By means of an annotated bibliography *Shahrzad Kamyab* looks at the impact of the 1979 Islamic revolution and the ideological and value changes that it introduced to the Iranian educational system. He argues that the research articles he reviewed directly or indirectly addressed the historical and now contemporary context of religion and education in Iran and allow an understanding of the development of the Islamisation of education in Iran. His discussion highlights the tension between "the new Islamic person" and the emerging "global youth culture", as well as the discourses around the growing participation of women in higher education since the mid-1990s.

It is because of religious tension that many countries are in favour of entirely secular education and that any form of religious schooling should be private or independent (Watson, 2010: 307). Hotam and Wexler's, Shin 'ichi Suzuki, as well as Terzian's chapters have, however, shown that religion often defines the people of a country. The secularisation of education in these countries consequently ignores the cultural identity of those they are supposed to serve, which inadvertently, leads to tension. To alleviate this tension the Armenians, for example, integrated the history of the Armenian Apostolic Church into the curriculum. In another instance, in Japan, the ministry of education opened the door for embracing religious faith and moral criteria in extracurricular activities. The secularist approach, followed by countries such as the USA, rejects the presence of any religion within public educational instruction. A more progressive approach, followed in countries such as South Africa, advocates that learners are taught about a range of religions, not as fact or dogma, but as interesting social phenomena and aspects of culture (Coulby & Zambeta, 2008:293). Public schools in countries that acknowledge Islam as the official religion in Arab countries such as Iran, as well as culturally diverse Malaysia, are religious. This does not mean that non-Muslim children do not have access to (private) non-Muslim education, or as is the case in Malaysia, are exempted from Malaysian Islamic religious education.

Every learner, as a human being, is essentially *homo religiousus*. Religion thus forms an essential part of being human (Van der Walt, 2011:7). Van der Walt (2011:7) thus argues that learners should encounter all the religions represented in their school in order to "understand, know and respect their own religion, as well as those of others". Yet it seems as if in some countries characterised by religious diversity, such as the USA, prohibit the teaching of religion. Van der Walt (2011:6) argues in favour of introducing religious instruction in schools to promote a deeper understanding and tolerance of others. He believes that "inter-faith" dialogue can counteract ignorance and suspicion of learners of dissimilar religious convictions.

This book has scrutinised religion in education in ten countries. We have learned much about the tension between religion and education in secular countries, and the blending between religion and education in religious countries, such as Iran and Malaysia, as well as secular countries such as the Netherlands. We have also learned about the important

role the church currently plays in education in developing countries, such as Tanzania. The authors furthermore highlight the important role of religious groups in the establishment and maintenance of public and private educational institutions. Despite the wide variety of ways the authors have looked at the theme in this volume, what appears predominant is that religion and education is an important topic in many parts of the world. Even in the so-called secular countries religion is an important educational issue.

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Education and religion in Israel: Blurring the boundaries of "secular" and "religious"

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Theoretical context: Education in society

The temptation in such a comparative survey volume is to provide a descriptive account, devoid of theoretical framing. Perhaps even more because of the empirical complexity of the Israeli case, it may be valuable to begin with some way of contextualising our description of Israeli education and its historical development, and of making explicit the theoretical interests from within which we read the current state of education and religion in Israel.

We read education, socially and theoretically. The social context of education, no less than the structure and history of education, is not a given, taken-for-granted "social", but is understood variously, from the vantage-point of different and competing ways of grasping education in society. We suggest three paradigmatic traditions of thinking about education in society, which begin with the core figures in the sociological canon, and which have developed into exemplary researches in the social analysis of education (Wexler, 2009).

The leading paradigmatic tradition – often unspoken in specific empirical research in both educational and in sociological research on educational questions – is the Durkheimian tradition. Too simply and erroneously labelled as the "Functionalist" paradigm (for an analogous view, see Collins, 2004), this tradition does, nonetheless, direct us toward questions of social solidarity, integration and cohesion. At the same time, however, it emphasises the importance of collective events that are ritually organised, and at their

heart is focused on, key-shared symbols which represent that collectivity's particular definition of what is sacred. In mainstream, particularly American sociology of education, the Functionalist angle has been accentuated, by seeing schooling in terms of socialisation and the transmission, especially informally in the "hidden curriculum", of everyday school social life, of shared norms and values. But as Collins correctly points out, Durkheimianism is centrally about the creation and reproduction of social energy, through ritualised interaction.

The implication that we want to draw from the Durkheimian tradition for the analysis of education in Israel is that collective life centres on symbolic representation and the production and reproduction of the social energy, which fuels the mass motivation of individuals and originates in an active concentration on the symbolically sacred. If, as we want to suggest, the place of religion in society seems to have been ignored in social analyses of education, only to return to both empirical social history and to the theorisation of education in society, there is clear precedent for such an emerging view in the foundational sociology of Durkheim, and its connection to education, which takes religious activity as fundamental in the creation of social symbols and energy, and then sees education as a continuation of this process of societal creation.

The counter-position to Durkheimian sociology and social analyses of education has been Marxism, in its many faces and in its late twentieth century implications for education, especially as a "new sociology of education" (Wexler, 2008). The Marxist challenge, a sociological tradition long-excluded from social theorising in American sociology and widely absent from sociological analyses of education, more generally, is also often simplistically and erroneously presented as the "Conflict" other to Functionalism. What is sometimes forgotten in this appropriation is the centrality in Marx's own work of historical materialism and his antipathy to idealist German philosophy, in favour of explanations that are not only more social, and historically specific and concrete than the philosophical tradition which he opposes, but give causal priority to "production" and the social dynamics of work.

In Education, some of this "forces of production determinism" (McLenan, 2000) is represented, for example, in such social-educational analyses as those of Bowles and Gintis or Willis (see Wexler, 2009; 2008). Other pathways from the Marxist tradition that appear in Education include class analyses of textbooks, everyday school life, and, in the most well-known recent theoretical instance, that of Bourdieu (1992), efforts to show the cultural transformations of social class and their manifestations in schooling. What is less evident, however, in the now accepted paradigm of applications of the Marxist tradition to Education, however, is Marx's own emphasis not only on labour, exploitation, alienation and the reproduction of the structure of capitalist relations of production, constitutively including class, but his emphasis on the centrality of social movements for social life.

"*Mor immortalis*", Marx writes (in Bottomore & Rubel, 1956), incessant social movement, transforming all the elements of the "totality of social relation".

If from the Durkheimian tradition we want to reprise the centrality of the sacred for social interaction and the ways in which collective, ritual interaction generate social energy and create social symbol, from Marxism, we want to reassert the importance of dynamic social movements, alongside the structured social relations of class inequality, exploitation and alienation which are said to characterise Feudalism's successor as the dominant social formation, as Capitalism. In both instances, we want to bring these core social analytics to bear on the question of education and religion, since we see the Israeli case as a recurring historical example of the power of these insights – of the centrality of the sacred and social movements as constituting and reconstituting society, and with it the social character of education. Furthermore, contrary to the stereotypical contrarian juxtaposition of Marxist movement and Durkheimian sacred, we see them both, together, in dynamic interplay and fusion, in the social history of Israel and in Israeli education in particular.

The third paradigmatic founder of sociology, Weber, is least well-represented in social analyses of education. We want to remind ourselves of his contemporary relevance for understanding the social context of education, for theorising education and pedagogy itself, and for its special appropriateness to the Israeli case. Taught traditionally as the premier analyst of bureaucracy and the advocate of a value-free social science, Weber is the pre-eminent theorist of the centrality and deep interweaving of religion and society. It is true that his social evolutionism is one that charts the course from magic through transcendental religions to their intellectualisation and final emptying of religiosity, and indeed, of humanity, in the modern condition of societal rationalisation. Religion, in its final stages, is historically displaced from history (and Weber defines himself as "a product of European civilisation"), but retains its powerful potential for erupting and changing history's social course in manifestations of secularised grace or personalised magic, that he famously called "charisma". Now – meaning the modern era – is, however, not charisma's time, despite occasional personalised and small-scale expressions. Societal rationalisation belongs instead to the world of experts and specialists, for whom, against the view of his "neutrality", Weber expresses nothing but disdain. Still, he does not forget, albeit in the era of disenchantment or, more precisely, de-magification (*Entzauberung*), the foundational social importance of religion, as a type of meaningful social action, mode of leadership and basis of authority and societal legitimacy.

While there has been a remarkable paucity of examples of the application of the Weberian tradition to Education (see Wexler, 2007; 2009), Weber himself does offer, within his essay on Confucianism (Weber, 1946), a direction for how his social theory can be applied to education. He transposes his typology of authority and legitimacy – which is itself derived from the evolutionary stages and complexities of the magic-religion-rationalised

society of modernity – to a typology of pedagogical ends, or, education. Predictably, the contestation between successful rationalisation and sporadic charisma continues here too, with a third term, corresponding to his model of tradition, of a "pedagogy of cultivation", of educational formation through immersion in the ideals of cultural traditions. Contemporaneously, Weber observes, the central fault line for understanding education is in the opposition between the triumphant rationalisation of the experts on one side, and cultivation and occasional charisma on the other. Education then can be analysed, in all its aspects in broadly cultural terms, showing how the cultural context infuses its aims and pedagogical relations.

The importance of ideas and beliefs in Weberian sociology is a valuable key, we suggest, for understanding Israeli society and perhaps also for drawing analytic implications for education. And, among those beliefs, it is religious belief which has once been culturally formative, as Weber argues in The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism (1958), and as he suggests in concluding that canonical essay on the basic importance, even after its historical passing, of religion for the organisation of society and social action within it. Both in the foundational importance of religion for culture, the feint, but hopeful, prediction of a return of religion, and in the expression of the varieties of socio-cultural-religious educations, the Weberian tradition provides us with at least as valuable a heuristic for a social analysis of the education and religion relation as Durkheimianism and Marxism – if not more.

Israel as a case study

The theoretical contextualisation pointed to the centrality of the sacred (in following Durkheim), of social movements (in following Marx) and of the cultural context for the analysis of education (Weber). As such, it informs our understanding of the relations between "the secular" and "the religious", in the main sector of state financed public education in Israel. In following this theoretical contextualisation we will combine cultural, social and educational analysis by first offering a short descriptive account of the structure of Education in Israel, followed by an excursus into the relations between the secular and religious in Zionism (i.e. the Jewish national movement) which provided the cultural basis for Israeli education. We will conclude the discussion in this section with some implications regarding education in Israel today. This composite discussion aims at demonstrating that any simplistic separation between the "religious" and the "secular" falls short of a comprehensive understanding of the entanglement of the religious and the secular which characterise, more profoundly, the Israeli case.

The structure of education in Israel

From its beginning, with the establishment of the state of Israel in 1948, public education in Israel (in Hebrew "Chinuch Mamlachti") was defined as modern, Jewish secular and nationalistic education. As such, it was rooted mainly in the Zionist worldview that originated in Europe of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, and that immediately boosted the first Jewish educational enterprises in contemporaneous Palestine. Thus, as early as 1889 the first modern Jewish school in Palestine to teach subject-matters such as Geography, History, and Biology in Hebrew was established, and in 1903 "The Federation of the Hebrew Teacher in Palestine" was founded (Reichel, 2008; Dror, 2008). In the following decades leading to the establishment of the State of Israel, national Jewish education in Palestine was divided into three major ideological fractions: general-Zionist; socialist-Zionist (also called "Workers" education, which included the unique education of the rural settlements called "Kibutzim"); and religious-Zionist (or else "Mizrachi") education (Elboim Dror, 1985; Reichel, 2008; and Dror, 2008). Notwithstanding many differences, these sectors were united in their aim to convey to the next generations the beliefs and values of the Zionist (i.e. national Jewish) worldview; national Jewish education provided the basis for socialisation (Lam, 2002). This pedagogic strategy informed the formation of what we will refer to in this chapter as the main sector of state financed public education in Israel.

To the extent that the main sector of state financed public education in Israel was an upshot of the Zionist worldview, it is imperative to discuss Zionism for a further understanding of this type of education. Yet, before we do so, we should note two historical and sociological points regarding the structure of Israeli education. First, from its outset, national Jewish education stood over and against two traditional education systems which were present in the region. The first is the traditional religious education system of so-called Ultra-orthodox Jewry. The second is that of the Arab population in Palestine/Israel. The first represented a traditional religious education, at the core of which lay devoting to the study of the Jewish rabbinic scriptures (e.g. Mishna, Gmara, Talmud), and which contradicts the national and secular character of the national education. The second addressed the culture and identity of the local Arabic inhabitants (later to become a minority in Israel), contesting the national Jewish narrative and self-definition. In the years following 1948, these two types of education subsequently acquired a complex position of independent or semi-independent schooling systems within Israeli public education (Sbirsky, 1990). Interestingly, the most recent demographic surveys predict that starting with 2013 these schooling systems will host the majority of students in Israel. Still, following Dror's (2008) approach to the study of Israeli education, we focus on the relations between the secular and religious within the secular and national education in Israel (i.e. what we termed as

the main sector of public education in Israel) because this type of education still informs Israel's political cultural and social self-image as a "Democratic Jewish State".

Second, and more important, within the main sector of public education in Israel, the relations between the secular and religious are characterised by two somewhat contesting motives. The first could be defined as a stark institutional distinction between national "religious" and national "secular" schools. The second somewhat contesting motive however could be defined as the *tacit* endurance of religiosity within the most intimate aims and contents of the secular education. This second motive is of great scholarly significance because other works commonly emphasise the institutional dimension (e.g. Raichel, 2008; Dror, 2008), while overlooking the challenging way in which "enduring religiosity" (in a play on Steve Bruce's (2003) concept of "enduring secularisation") characterises the secular educational imperative itself.

The first motive, namely the institutional distinction between religious/secular schools in Israeli public education, was officially institutionalised in August 12 1953, five years after the establishment of the new State of Israel, when the elected parliament approved the new "Law of Education" (in Hebrew "Chok Chinuch Mamlachti"). Advocated by Ben Zion Dinur (1884-1973), the third minister of Education in Israel and a well-known Zionist intellectual (we shall return to the figure of Ben Zion Dinur), the law of education was explicitly designed to overcome the prevailing three ideological schooling fractions uniting them into a one national (Jewish) education system (Dror, 2008; Raichel, 2008; Albaum Dror, 1985). Its actual success in uniting all educational fractions in reality remained under some dispute (Dror, 2002). Still, the more important point to note is somewhat different. In one of its core elements, the law was also designed to reflect a motivation other than that of unification. It was designed to reflect a separation between "religious" national education and "non-religious" (or else "other") national education (Law of Education paragraph 1). Thus, in the preliminary stages of parliamentary discussion, the law was campaigned for as "ensuring the founding of a national and unified education in the state, with two orientations – one of which will be religious" (Reichel, 2008). National schools were thus separated institutionally, between two orientations: "religious-national" and "non-religious-national" schools; the first offering schooling for the small national-religious community, and the second to the secular majority group. The institutional separation between the national religious and non-religious enabled a curricular divergence within the national public schooling, in particular in relation to religious studies. Thus, for example, while "religious" studies in the "national-religious" schools meant a study of the Jewish religious law (Hallacha), this content of study was made obsolete in the national-secular schools. Devoid of any knowledge of Jewish religious law and the rabbinic tradition, the students of these schools were left with Bible classes as part of their weekly programme.

Here, selected stories of the mythical Jewish past were learned with the aim of endowing the new national identity with an historical heritage.

The importance of describing this institutional separation between religious/secular schools is that this distinction – as an upshot of the 1953 law of education – still characterises the main sector of public education in Israel today, even though the law itself was amended several times since its initial approval. And yet, its importance lies also in that this institutional division is somewhat misleading; it not only unveils some obvious aspects regarding the relations between the religious and the non-religious, but it also veils more tacit layers in which the secular and the religious are intimately connected in Israeli education. This last point is crucial for the understanding of the second motive in the Israeli education, namely the tacit endurance of religiosity within secular education. Though for example the law clearly defines the meaning of "religious" education as education for "a life of obedience to Jewish law (Hebrew: *Torah ve Mitzvoth*), according to the religious tradition and in the spirit of religious-Zionism", no equivalent definition is offered as far as "secular" national education is concerned. Such education is declared simply to be "an education which is given by the state according to the programme of studies which is approved by the ministry of education" – certainly a more legalistic than pedagogic definition. We are invited then to make sense of this eclipse by clarifying what "secular" actually means.

"The dialectic of continuity and revolt"

This invitation to make sense of the "secular" brings us to Zionism. The reason for this turn from the description of the structure of education in Israel to a discussion of Zionist culture and ideology, lies in that such an eclipse in clarifying what "secular" means is not coincidental; nor should we reduce its meaning to what a leading Israeli scholar termed as a secular that is a "vague and perplex" self-understanding, devoid of a "positive definition" of secularism (Shvid, 1998:44). Rather, we should understand this eclipse as a direct upshot of the Zionist secular revolution's complex relations with its own religious origins – austerely negating and tacitly preserving these origins at the same time. This complexity was recently termed the "dialectic of secularisation" (Schmidt, 2009), pointing to the admixture of secular and religious notions which are embedded within the Jewish secular imperative itself. In Zionism, the "secular", in this sense, does not represent a negation of the "religious" in any simple way; thinking of a separation between church and state for example is not applicable to the meaning of the Zionist "secular". Rather the "secular" stands for the endurance of religiosity as the core of social cohesion within modern society and culture, but which does not conform to religious law and institutions. There is nothing neither perplexing nor "negative" in this understanding of the secular. Rather, a subtle

affair of what Gerschom Scholem (1897-1982), the renowned scholar of Jewish mysticism termed as "dialectic of continuity and revolt" (Scholem, 1988:9).

Scholem, a convinced Zionist from his youth, and a leading Jewish intellectual, is important to our discussion. He was not a political leader and did not openly aspire to the position of a socially committed intellectual like Ben Zion Dinur. Yet, he was one of the best-known scholars of his time, regarded by many historians to this day as the high priest of twentieth century Judaic studies (Aschheim, 2001:9; 2004:903; Mendes-Flohr, 1994). A wide bent of works have endeavoured, therefore, to make sense of the Zionist political and social imaginary by examining Scholem's scholarly writings (e.g., Lazier, 2009; Hotam, 2009; Schmidt, 1995; 2000; Biale, 1982; Mendes-Flohr, 1994). These endeavours accentuate Scholem's importance for our discussion of the relations between the secular and the religious in Zionism as well.

Zionism as a form of Jewish secularisation did not signify for Scholem a disengagement from religiosity. From the outset, that is, we are not speaking of the secular in the simple sense of liberation from religion, but of Scholem's attentiveness to an alleged inner theological layer that accompanies the concept of secularisation all along the way, and which endows it with significance. As Schmidt (1995) rightly argues, this awareness represented Scholem's "political theology", that is the manner in which social and political notions are a translation of former theological concepts (Schmidt, 1995). Yet, the important point to note is that in Scholem's political-theology, the religiosity that informs the Zionist secular mission was of the same type as that which erupted in seventeenth century Sabbateanism, a Jewish messianic movement that proclaimed one Sabbatai Zevi (Shabtai Zvi) to be the Messiah (Lazier, 2009; Schmidt, 2000; Biale, 1982). Put differently, the "religious" impulse within the "secular" is not the kind that is expressed in the religious law (Hallacha). Rather, it is anti-nomian – indeed heretic – impulse that erupted in mystical messianic movements in the past and in particular in the Sabbatean movement.

This last point requires further elaboration. The first point to note is that Sabbateanism encapsulated for Scholem perhaps the most important historical manifestation of Jewish mysticism. Mysticism, as Scholem sees it, is an ancient sphere of religious thought, which, among other issues, addresses the hidden ways in which God is revealed in the world and the occult knowledge (and the ways, namely the experiences, through which such knowledge may be gained) of these revelations. The mystic experience, after all, is an experience of the human's numinous unity with God (Scholem, 1940:3-5). Sabbateanism, as such a mystical impulse, was for Scholem a form of a religious heresy, which he associated with the Gnostic heterodoxy. Thus, for Scholem, Sabbatean Messianism "is merely a new form of Gnostic dualism between the occult God and the God who is the creator of the world" (Scholem, 1940:322; Hotam, 2007; 2009).

The next point to note is that Scholem's interest in Sabbateanism was not merely a scholarly one, but rather historical and meta-historical. Bluntly put, Zionism, as a secular social, cultural and political phenomenon represented for him a re-emergence of an authentic Jewish mystical impulse which was invested in such historical phenomenon as Sabbateanism (Schmidt, 2000). Thus, only by encapsulating mystical categories of self-redemption, and numinous unity with the divine – albeit in a new guise – Zionism represented a secular social movement. It is in this specific sense that Zionism, like Sabbateanism is made of what Scholem termed a "dialectic of continuity and revolt" (Scholem, 1982).

Though certainly introducing an exceptional, tense, unique, and profound understanding of the (mystical) meaning of Zionism as a secular social and political movement, Scholem did not stand alone in treading this path. Similar metaphors and meanings, which were highly influenced by the early twentieth century Central European discourse, are to be found at the core of the works of other Zionist intellectual such as Yosef Kaufmann and Yosef Klausner, or Martin Buber (Hotam, 2009). These thinkers – who differed in many respects and who, in some cases, were profoundly divided in their concrete political conclusions – express a similar way in which the secular was understood within Zionism. Not as a turning away from religion in any simple sense but rather as a preservation of religiosity as the source for social cohesion. Thus, on the one hand these Zionist scholars regarded the secular as standing for "liberation" from the religious way of life and as being an essential foundation for the establishment of a new Jewish collective and national political existence. On the other hand, and concomitantly, they endowed this secular political existence with a religious meaning of redemption (Hotam, 2009). The "secular" way of life represented for them not a separation from religiosity, but rather a *reformulation* of the religious. A secular way of life represents, therefore, a dialectical move, not away from religiosity, but rather towards a new understanding of its enduring importance. Understanding this type of secular culture, represented by Zionist intellectuals such as Scholem, Klausner, Kaufman, or Buber represent in terms of a great divide between the secular and the religious might be somewhat misleading. Rather, we should acknowledge the admixture of religious and secular notions as constituting the most intimate elements in the new Jewish culture that Zionism, as a social movement, wished to advocate.

The dialectics of education

All this brings us back to education. Indeed if Scholem's writings provided us with insights into the "dialectic of secularisation", Ben Zion Dinur's life and work (Rein, 1999; Myers, 1995) provide an understanding of its connection to what could be termed as the "dialectic of education". To some extent, Dinur was both an intellectual and a practical politician, perhaps in a way reminiscent of Heinrich von Humbold's carrier and role in early nineteenth century Prussia. Thus, before entering his position as the Minister

of Education, Dinur was already a famed professor for Jewish history at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem – a position he held since 1936 (Rein, 1999; Myers, 1995). And like Humboldt in Prussia, from his high political position as the Minister of Education, he revamped the Israeli educational system in accordance with his ideological convictions. Yet, unlike Humboldt, he did not introduce a new-humanistic concept of *Bildung* to the educational system, but instead, a Zionist national worldview. As the following suggests he brought the dialectics of secularisation to bear on education in Israel.

As a convinced Zionist, Dinur had strong ideas regarding the way Jewish history, and the Jewish national present should be taught in schools. For him, the establishment of an Israeli national state represented a new type of Jewish unity which is based on secular identity and community. The 1953 Law of Education communicated this message, namely, that this new identity should replace the former diasporic, or else religious, way of life; hence, the distinctions between "religious national" and "non-religious national" schools, between one form of religious studies (i.e. based on the Hallacha and the rabbinic tradition) and a different form of such studies (based on excerpts from the Bible and the mythical Jewish past). Yet, what justified this so called "secular" form of schooling for Dinur was its redemptive role, in the most spiritual and pious meaning of the word (Shimoni, 2001:64; Raz Krakotzkin, 1999:263). Thus, while secular education means a refusal of the religious way of life (under the yoke of the Hallacha) it also means at the same time, no less than a fulfilment of the most powerful religious hopes of salvation of the Jewish people, as defined by the Jewish religious heritage, albeit in a secular reformulation. In his scholarly works, Dinur attributed the concept of "diaspora" to the period of the Middle Ages, and the title "redemption" to the modern age up to his own times (Dinur, 1966). In following this historical classification, he concluded that Zionism was a form of revelation of the immanent (true) forces of Judaism, which remained suppressed historically until modernity – denoting here perhaps the mystical energies that need to be rejuvenated by a renewed national existence (Dinur, 1966). These forces enabled the alleged "liberation" of Jews, as a secular interpretation of the original religious redemptive idea (Shimoni, 2001:64; Raz Krakotzkin, 1999:263; Katz, 1983:230-238). From a cultural perspective, Zionism as a social movement is for Dinur "secular" in that it does not only replace the religious way of life, but concurrently preserves an authentic religious impulse. In his pedagogic approach, Dinur thought that Zionist education should make these elements the pillar of Israeli social cohesion.

Exactly this understanding of the secular was imprinted onto Israeli schooling and curriculum. Secular schools were thus designed to oppose the clerical (i.e. Hallachic law and the Rabbinic tradition) while maintaining however the spiritual (i.e. a secularised religious sense of Jewish identity). This last point is especially significant if we turn back to the tense relations between national Jewish education and the Ultra-religious and

Arabic educational alternatives, which were discussed briefly above. A variety of works suggested different social, economic, historical or cultural explanations of the ongoing pedagogic and institutional differentiation between these three social groups in Israel (e.g. El-Or, 2002; Sbirsky, 1990; Dror, 2008; Elboim-Dror, 1985). Within this context, El-Or's (2002) anthropological studies of Ultra-Orthodox women represent a re-evaluate these differentiations in terms of the relations between the secular/religious. If we follow El-Or's approach, it seems that the Ultra-Orthodox opposition to the secular character of public education and the Arab resistance to Jewish self-definition represent a deep challenge to the social cohesion suggested by the imaginary of a renewed national education. More particularly, they confront the specific Zionist spiritual mission (i.e. the admixture of the secular and religious) that serves as the basis for the national social cohesion, either by negating the secular (Ultra-Orthodox) or by refusing the Jewish spiritual (Arabic). From this perspective, the social struggle between the secular, Ultra-Orthodox and Arab societal groups in Israel is informed by the tacit theological-political alternatives that they represent. Endorsing the national Jewish spiritual mission denotes the exclusion of its alternatives and eventually perhaps the saddening social exclusion of the minority groups which embody them.

Almost sixty years later, the relations between the secular and religious in the main sector of the state financed public schooling in Israel, still very much stands on the same principles that informed its origins. Some examples may elaborate this last point.

Consider the role of Bible studies in national secular education. As mentioned above, Bible studies aimed at defying the ideal "a life of obedience to the Jewish law", while maintaining a sense of spirituality that is based on the direct contact (i.e. spiritual unity) of the students with the Holy Scriptures. In this manner, the political legitimacy of the Jewish Nation State is taught to be confirmed, because it allegedly reflects God's will, without succumbing however to a religious understanding of this will. This is also true if we evoke the role of such Jewish holidays as Chanukah (celebrating Jewish rebellion against the Hellenistic rule in Judea of the second century BC) and 15 of Shvat (the fifteenth day in the fifth month of the Jewish calendar devoted to nature's rejuvenation) in Israeli elementary schools today. These holidays held rather minor significance within the traditional Jewish religious memory culture. Yet, in contrast, exactly these holidays regained importance in national Jewish education in that they were selected by the Zionist and later Israeli, educational leaders to signify key points in the yearly cycle. In being such key points, these holidays experienced a transformation of their original religious meaning, that is they became historical indicators of Jewish sovereignty (Chanukah), or else, for a "natural" union of the people of Israel with the Land of Israel (15 of Shvat) (Arie-Sapir, 2006; Dror, 2008).

Notwithstanding that these central moments in school life underwent broad educational changes and revisions, they still preserve their significant cultural and ethical meaning for elementary schools today. The fifteenth day of Shvat could serve as a case in point. This holiday is currently studied within the context of a new weekly program, "Mafte'ach Ha'lev" (double meaning "a key to the heart" as well as "a key to life in society"). This programme of studies was designed by the Ministry of Education as a central "socio-ethical programme for elementary schools" (Ministry of Education 2010). In this program, each month a new moral and social topic (such as "responsibility", "diversity", "charity") is discussed and experienced in class. In being influenced by current eco-pedagogic trends (Kahn, 2009; Orr, 1992; 1994; Gadotti, 2003) fifteenth of Shvat is discussed within this program, with the aim of transmitting to the students a lesson in human "responsibility" over nature and the importance of a "sustainable" way of life. However, the new eco-pedagogic concept of "responsibility" is studied in keeping with the holiday's previous national meaning, as a reminder of the Jewish people's intimate and "natural" connection with the ancient Jewish "homeland." Thus, all six grades of elementary school learn at this time of the year, about the cycle of nature. Nevertheless, the program induces them to do so within the context of the so-called "cycle of national life" (Ministry of Education, 2010). Under the title of "going back to the roots", fourth grade pupils for instance are invited in this context to learn about the early Zionist settlement in Palestine by interviewing elderly family members, thus associating nature, family and national life together (*Ibid.*). "Responsibility" over nature is, in this way, united with national implications, bringing together the wonders of "nature" with the rebirth of the "nation." This pedagogic strategy is not surprising. After all it is not coincidental that the Israeli parliament celebrates its "birthday" on the fifteenth of Shvat, linking a spiritual awe of nature's rejuvenation with a celebration of national sovereignty.

These educational examples have implications for our discussion regarding the relations between the secular and the religious. Here, it is the dialectic of secularisation that eventually informs the concrete curricular practice regarding the fifteenth of Shvat. On the one hand, this former religious holiday was selected because it enabled the maintaining of a spiritual essence in the national-secular self-assertion ("continuity"). At the same time, it was selected over and against its marginalisation in the Jewish religious tradition, and in explicit deviation from the substance with which this tradition endowed it ("revolt"). Moreover, the new eco-pedagogic message that is currently associated with this holiday does not transcend this enduring admixture of spiritual and secular notions. Rather, it is being taught within the context of the so-called "national cycle of life" and concurrently as an indication for the alleged Jewish (spiritual) belonging to the specific "land of Israel." In being taught in this way, the concept of "responsibility" acquires spiritual meaning, and consequently accentuates the dialectical relations between the religious and the secular.

Perhaps the latest attempt by the current Israeli minister of education to "restore" Zionist values to the curriculum, which were allegedly lost during recent decades, is the most salient example of the enduring dialectics of Israel Education today. Upon entering his new position as the new minister of Education in Israel, Gideon Saar, a member of the Nationalist ruling Likud Party, declared that the return to "Jewish and Zionist values" would be the overall aim of education under his administration. In doing so, he believed that he was echoing the general "public will" in today's Israel. Thus in 2009, he introduced into the Middle-School curriculum a new programme of studies which celebrates according to him (Knesset Protocol, 9 March 2010) "ideals for which people willingly give their life: the love of the homeland, the love of Israel and the love of freedom". In his interview three days before the opening of the Israeli schooling year on September 1st, he specifically called for the "intensification of education for values" by adding more studies in "Zionism and Judaism" (Ha'aretz, 27 August 2010). Inducing high school students to serve in the IDF, introducing a new subject called "the culture and heritage of Israel", commemorating of the "heroism" of young "freedom fighters" who were killed during the Israeli "War of Independence", alongside of the much debated shelving of a history textbook which gives some space to the Palestinian version of history, are examples of Saar's pedagogy (Van Leer, 9 November 2010).

To the extent that this pedagogy aims at reiterating and thus re-confirming the formative nationalistic aims and values of the Israeli education, it could be labelled a "neo-nationalistic" approach to education (Ram, 2005). Perhaps such a neo-nationalistic impulse could be investigated within the context of what seems to be the current rise of right wing politics in Europe in general. Nevertheless, the key point to notice is somewhat different; namely, the manner in which this neo-nationalistic approach preserves the meaning of the secular as discussed above. First, the so-called return to "Zionist" values such as "heroism", the personal sacrifice for the nation, and the "love of the homeland", represents modern secular values in that they perform an apotheosis of the nation, in which "nation" and "land" replace God and God's holiness in the simplest sense. Neo-nationalist values thus act as a form of secular-spiritualism because they involve a "pursuit after higher values worthy of devotion", in the same way as does any type of religiosity (Alexander, 2007). This combining of the secular and the spiritual ultimately facilitates Saar's reference to the national love of the "homeland" as an innate continuation of ancient Jewish "values and heritage".

In a more general sense, the current neo-nationalistic approach that the Minister of Education has expressed should be considered also as a response consistent with current international trends. Sociologist Uri Ram, for example (2005), pointed to globalisation as one of these trends, arguing that the "neo-nationalistic" impulse is one of the reactions to our "Global Era". Representing a rather prevalent view today, Ram sees in neo-

nationalistic education a reaction to "Globalisation", in that it resists the "Mc'World", that is the rationale of neo-liberal and post-fordistic market-based values, while endorsing the rational (albeit not necessarily the brutal practice) of "Jihad World" (which is the fundamentalist pious counter culture of such groups as El Qaida, and the Islamic Jihad (Ram, 2005; 2006)). Yet, from his own, perhaps overly, post-Zionist ideological point of view, Ram's pointing to the context of Globalisation is informed by a binary understanding of the relations between the secular and the religious in the Israeli context (either "Mc'World" or "Jihad World"). To some extent this type of binarism echoes also the dichotomous position which characterises sociological discourse in Israel, beginning with the seminal studies of Horowitz and Lissak (1978; 1983) in the 1970s (Cohen, 2006). Conversely, the pointing to an admixture of worldliness and sacredness suggests a more nuanced reading of the main sector of Israeli education. In following this nuanced reading, "neo-nationalistic" education is better defined as a response to "Globalisation", but not by simplistically aligning itself with the rationale of "Jihad World" and thus totally opposing the "Mc'World", but rather by reiterating its own spiritualism, of what we have termed as the "dialectics of secularisation".

If the post-modern sociology emphasises "globalisation", others, such as Ilan Gur-Zeev (2009), rightly underline the so called "post-secular" turn in contemporary culture, politics and social thought as the key to the understanding of Israeli social, educational and political, reality. Under such a "post-secular" turn stands the acknowledgment of today's global revival of religion, spiritualism and religiosity, on all fronts, which post-modern sociology overlooked (Gur-Zeev, 2009; Wexler, 2011). In Israel, this turn has induced accordingly the proliferation of "alternative" educational approaches, many of them explicitly and self-declared as "spiritual." One example of this "post-secular" growing interest in spiritualism is the mounting number of Waldorf schools – reflecting Rudolf Steiner's unreserved spirituality – in Israel in recent decades. Another example is the particular interest of various Israeli educators in the so-called "dialogue" educational approach. This approach originated in the Hassidic spiritualism of Martin Buber that calls for "authentic" and intimate encounters between human beings in which divine truth and being are ultimately experienced. Like Waldorf education, the "dialogical" education is based on a unique type of early twentieth century spiritualism, which has been garnering increased attention in pedagogic discourse and practice. Both types of schooling, though rather divergent in many pedagogic aspects, proliferate in the current Israeli educational landscape, in part due to the introduction of privatisation in Israeli education. It does appear, however, that they present a type of "post-secular" spiritualism, which offers religious confidence to secular parents and teachers who by now refuse to accept the absence of divinity in "a godless universe".

To the extent that the neo-nationalistic approach presents itself as a type of secular-spiritualism, it could be read against this overall educational background. As such, the neo-nationalistic approach should be regarded then as a response to a growing trend, since it wishes to challenge the variety of educational spiritual "alternatives". Differently put, the neo-nationalistic approach offers a voice of nationalistic hegemony as a response to current spiritual trends, in that it reiterates Zionist secular spirituality. In doing so, the current neo-nationalistic educational ideology offer, as Weber put it, an answer to the "demands of the day".

Concluding note: Education and religion

Characterised by the admixture of the secular and the religious in education, the Israeli case invites us to rethink education today. To some extent such a rethinking, which is based on the nexus of secularism and religiousness, calls first and foremost for a more fined-tuned understanding of the secular and modern in general. Leading historians such as the late Amos Funkenstein (1988) and more recently David Sorkin (2008), point in their studies exactly to the need to surpass the mythological great divide between the secular and the religious. Thus for Funkenstein the early modern scientific approach of such central figures as Newton, Leibniz, and Descartes, was "secular-theological of sorts" (Funkenstein, 1988:12). In using this characterisation Funkenstein's aim was to argue that the origins of science at the threshold of modernity (i.e. the sixteenth century) were informed by the entwining of the belief in God with secular interest, combining theology and cosmology, rational explanations with Godly presence (Funkenstein, 1988; Moyn, 2003). Sorkin's fresh insights (2008), also argue this point; namely, the persistence of secular-theological traditions in the writings of key figures of the Enlightenment, and thus in the origins of the secular rational worldview as such. For him "if we trace modern culture to the Enlightenment, its foundations were decidedly religious" (Sorkin, 2008:3).

While the "blurring of boundaries" between the secular and the religious in Israel may be an unusually apt case for postmodernity, in the relation between education, religion and society, our "modernist", classical sociology prologue is borne out by the contemporary socio-educational dynamics of Israeli society. Even now, more than sixty years since the establishment of a sovereign, independent state, historic social conflicts raise anew, and threaten the legitimacy of this nation. Simultaneously, what we have called "neo-nationalism" represents a reassertion and call for the revitalisation of the historic social movement, Zionism, which led to the independence of the state and nation-building, both before and after its independence, in 1948. The ideals of this social movement, while not unitary, are still rallying cries for both societal and sectoral cohesion and unity, now less in terms of socialist-Zionism and more in the vernaculars of religious-Zionism.

In all this, we see the continuing analytical value of the society-education classical social analytics with which we began: integration, solidarity and cohesion and the importance of collective ritual; social movements and social conflict; and the centrality of religion as a basis for culture, even, or perhaps, especially now, after the age of postmodern secularism. And again, educational institutions and practices show themselves to be arch playing fields for the articulation of these enduring, general social processes, however uniquely they may be configured in historical and local contexts and in the contemporarily salient and complex interactions that constitute the field of "education and religion".

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Central effects of religious education in Armenia from Ancient Times to Post-Soviet Armenia*

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Introduction

Historian Kevork Sarafian asserts that because historical records before the Christian era in Armenia do not exist, it is not possible to cite a firm date for the origin of formal schooling. Further, Sarafian reports that later, early Christian era records are also unable to provide completely reliable descriptions about education, culture, and social life.[1] However, research over time does indicate that formal, public schooling in Armenia was initiated after the adoption of Christianity as the official state religion (301 CE).[2] While questions remain about the level of the country's educational development prior to the Christian era, it is certain that Armenian was firmly established as a spoken language.[3]

The Armenians are thought to have originated from the Kingdom of Urartu (870-590 BCE), a polytheistic society. John Douglas claims that Urartians, a nomadic culture situated in Anatolia who first appeared as a distinct group in archaeological research around 1350 BCE blended with the earliest Armenians.[4] Eventually, the Armenian component of this

* Some portions of this chapter were included in Shelley Terzian, *Curriculum Reform in Post-Soviet Armenia: Balancing Local and Global Contexts in Armenian Secondary Schools,* (Berlin: VDM Verlag, 2010).

1 Kevork Sarafian, *History of Education in Armenia* (Laverne: Press of the Laverne Leader, 1930), 25.

2 *Ibid.,* 28.

3 *Ibid.*, 28.

4 John Douglas, *The Armenians,* (New York: J.J, Winthrop Corporation, 1992), 30-31.

population dominated the union between the two groups.[5] When the Persians conquered the city-states of Asia Minor in 550 BCE, the Armenians became a component of the Persian Empire and Zoroastrianism began to influence the pagan Armenian satraps.[6] Armenia's geographical position in Asia Minor placed it at the intersection of the Persian, Greek, and Roman Empires' quest for control. The resulting encounters with diverse cultural values of the three Empires enhanced the Armenians' intellectual and religious practice.[7]

The Armenian Apostolic Church has played an important part in the formation of Armenian national identity for 1600 years, asserting a major influence on education. Beyond its role as a religious institution, the Apostolic Church has traditionally been seen as the foundational core in the development of the Armenian national identity as God's uniquely chosen people. Further, historian Razmik Panossian posits that, as the first nation to "officially accept Christianity as the state religion," Armenians believed they were entitled to claim themselves as a chosen race.[8] As Ronald Suny puts it, Armenians are people both of a "Christian State and the recipients of the word of God from the apostles Thaddeus and Bartholomew".[9]

In addition to the Apostolic Church, other religious and philosophical movements such as Hellenism, paganism, the Catholic Mekhitarists, and Protestantism impacted the development of formal schooling in Armenia.[10] Over the centuries, the Armenia's political climate determined the ascendance of each of these religious frameworks. In the current, post-Soviet Armenia, recent religious demographic studies indicate that ninety-four percent of the population is Armenian Apostolic, four percent are other Christian denominations (Catholic and Protestant), and 1.3 percent are Yezidi, a monotheist belief system with elements of nature worship.[11]

5 Razmik Panossian, *The Armenians: From Kings to and Priests to Merchants and Commissars,* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 34-35.

6 A Satraps are the Persian term for city-states. See Razmik Panossian, *The Armenians: From Kings to and Priests to Merchants and Commissars, 35;* John Douglas, *The Armenians,* 33-35.

7 *Ibid.*

8 Razmik Panossian posits that the idea of God's chosen people originated in the fifth century from Agathangelos, an early Armenian historian, who wrote several texts on the Armenian conversion to Christianity. According to Panossian, Agathangelos wrote that "God's grace was manifested when the Armenians became Christians." Razmik Panossian, *The Armenians: From Kings to and Priests to Merchants and Commissars,* 356.

9 Ronald Grigor Suny, *Looking Toward Ararat* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993), 6.

10 See Kevork Sarafian, *History of Armenian Education,* 61, 138, and 135.

11 The Central Intelligence Agency, *The World Factbook,* (Washington, D.C.: US Government Printing Office, 2008); For more information on the Yezidi population and their religious practices, see Philip G. Kreyenbroek, *Yezidism In Europe: Different Generations Speak About Their Religions: Different Generations Speak About* Their Religion, (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2009).

Pre-Christian, religious influence on Armenian education

Armenians borrowed ideas and techniques from both the Persian and Greco-Roman belief systems, each of which centred on cosmologies and mythological representations specific to their civilisations.[12] For example, the Temple of Garni, close to modern Yerevan in Armenia, was a temple of pagan worship built in first century CE that reflected the structure and architecture of the Greco-Roman style of theatres and temples. Significantly, pagan Armenians adapted key aspects of the Persian Zoroastrian belief system, notably the tenet that "man is responsible for his acts and at the end of time a Messiah will appear and will resurrect the dead".[13]

Persian influences on Armenian culture and pagan religious belief were strong during the dominance of the Achaemenid empire (550-330 BCE), though Armenians lived peacefully under their rule. Although the Armenians did not govern themselves independently, their community was fundamentally stable and prosperous.[14]

After the conquests by Alexander the Great of the Achaemenid Empire in 330 BCE and the later Roman conquest of Seleucid control of Armenia in 189 BCE, Hellenistic pagan concepts were slowly integrated into Armenia's polytheistic form of nature worship.[15] Armenian pagans worshipped three gods, Aramazd, Anahit, and Vahagn, who dominated the Armenian pantheon. These gods were seen as the triad that guided the destiny of the people and became over time, as Ronald Suny writes, an "amalgam of Iranian and Greek deities".[16] Armenian paganism was prevalent from the establishment of Urartu until the adoption of Christianity in 301 CE.

Historian John Douglas writes that King Artashes (189-160 BCE) founded the Artashesian dynasty (189 BCE – 10 CE), declaring himself King of an independent Armenian state in 189 BCE. Tigran the Great (94-54 BCE), grandson of Artashes, extended the Armenian frontier from the Caspian to the Mediterranean seas.[17] Throughout this period, Rome and

12 Zabelle C. Boyajian, Aram Raffi, and James Bryce, *An Anthology of Legends and Poems in Armenia,* (New York: Columbia University Press), 118.

13 John Douglas, *The Armenians,* 36.

14 *Ibid.*, 37.

15 Bonnie C. Marshall and Virginia A. Tashjian, *The Flower of Paradise and Other Armenian Tales,* (Westport: Greenwood Publishing Company, 2007), 203. John Douglas, *The Armenians,* 35-45.

16 Ronald Grigor Suny, *Looking Toward Ararat*, 8.

17 John Douglas, *The Armenians,* 50-52.

Parthia battled to determine who would dominate the Seleucid Empire, a clash in which Armenia was in the middle until 10 CE.[18]

Under the reign of Tigran the Great, formal, elite education in Armenia integrated classical Greek language and literature throughout the educational institutions of the Artashesian Dynasty. Schools in this period emphasised Greek, and later, Roman arts, theatre, and literature; influence of these cultures prevailed in Armenia until the introduction of Christianity in 301 AD.[19]

Early Christianity in Armenia

Paganism was the foundation for all political and social systems during the pre-Christian era in Armenia.[20] In the pagan political structure, priests had the most power and were considered nobility; in addition to their governing functions, they administered pagan festivals in the temples, the main places of worship. Because priests had complete control of pagan rituals, they were seen by believers as representative of the gods themselves.[21]

The transition from paganism to Christianity in Armenia that began in 301 CE was not only a religious transformation, but, also a social transformation that helped to shape the Armenian culture. In addition, the change from paganism to Christianity had political as well as spiritual implications. For instance, the political anarchy that swept Armenia immediately after the civil war that overtook the Roman Empire in 192 CE resulted in Armenians searching for a new theological base. Christian concepts entered the Armenian lexicon as early as 185 CE, when apostolic missionary work took Paul of Tarsus and two Christian apostles, Thaddeus and Bartholomew, into Armenia to convert the pagan population.[22] They were met with strong opposition, however, pagan priests opposed not

18 At this time, the Romans from the west and the Parthians from the east overtook the Seleucid Empire. Armenia became independent under Artashes, who balanced his relationship between the Parthian and Roman Empires. John Douglas, *The Armenians,* 48-50; Razmik Panossian, *The Armenians: From Kings to and Priests to Merchants and Commissars,* 37.

19 Hellenism is a concept explaining how Greek thought, ideals, and practices traveled and then were adopted throughout Asia Minor. Hellenic thought included arts, politics, philosophy, religion, and science. Kevork Sarafian, *History of Education in Armenia,* 61-62; Telemachus Thomas Timayenis, *A History of Greece from the Earliest Times to the Present,* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1877), 147-148.

20 Mardiros Harootion Ananikian, *Armenian Mythology: Stories of Armenian Gods and Goddesses, Heroes and Heroines, Hells and Heavens, Folklore and Fairytales,* (Los Angeles: Indo-European Publishing, 2010), 36.

21 John Douglas, *The Armenians,* 102; Vahan M. Kurkjian, *A History of Armenia,* (Los Angeles: Indo-European Publishing Company, 2008), 98.

22 John Douglas, *The Armenians,* 88-89.

only the religious tenets of Christianity, but the obvious threat to their religious domination and political control.[23]

As a province that had been governed by the Roman Empire since 66 BCE, Armenians embraced the new sense of hope conveyed by the Christian faith. Unlike paganism, Christianity did not support the entrenched hierarchical system, and the idea of Jesus and salvation was accessible to both rich and poor alike. This new direction of thought served to move Armenia toward a homogenous society.[24] Nevertheless, some Armenians struggled to remain faithful to the non-Christian, Roman Empire.[25] Religion and politics collided due to conflicts between loyalty to Christianity and loyalty to the Roman Empire. Though persecution by the Romans ensued, Armenian Christians continued to educate citizens about Christianity.[26]

Christianity's influence over education

The Armenian Apostolic Church's earliest influence over education in the country was initiated in 301 CE, when King Trdat introduced Christianity as the official state religion.[27] Gregory the Illuminator (257-331), the first Armenian Katholicos, or Apostolic Head of the Church, had converted the King and convinced him that in order to eliminate the practice of paganism, all the pagan temples throughout the country should be destroyed.[28] In addition, after his conversion King Trdat believed that, without educating the Armenian citizens to Christian precepts, the practice of paganism would continue. Thus, the introduction of Christianity necessitated a mass system of education that was the first system of formal, universal schooling in Armenia.

23 Vahan M. Kurkjian, *A History of Armenia,* 98.

24 *Ibid.*, 103.

25 In 206 CE, the Holy Roman Emperor, Gallenius, issued the edict of toleration that left Christian followers unharmed as long as their religion did not conflict with the political structure of the Holy Roman Empire. However, in 303 CE , the Holy Roman Emperor, Diocletian, removed the edict and ordered Christians in the region to be persecuted because he viewed belief in the Christian faith as a threat to his power. See John Douglas, *The Armenians,* 100-102; Vahan M. Kurkjian, *A History of Armenia,* 97.

26 *Ibid.*, 103.

27 In 285 AD, the Roman Emperor, Diocletian, sent Trdat to inherit the throne of the Armenians. See Kevork Sarafian, *History of Education in Armenia* (Laverne: Press of the Laverne Leader, 1930), 20-21.

For more information see John Douglas, The Armenians, (New York: J.J. Winthrop Corporation, 1992), 99; Vahan M. Kurkjian, *A History of Armenia*, (Los Angeles: Indo-European Publishing Company, 2008), p. 364.

28 Gregory the Illuminator was born in Parthia. Legend has it that though his father killed King Trdat's father, he later converted the King to Christianity. Gregory was made Katholicos, the Head of the Armenian Church, after the Trdat declared Christianity the religion of the nation. The term 'Katholicos' is still used today to signify the head of the Armenian Apostolic Church who resides in Armenia. See Douglas, *The Armenians*, 101-102.

Since traditionally, pagan priesthood was gained by inheritance in Armenia, Trdat and Gregory considered it essential to educate the children of the pagan priests to ensure that the belief system would be effectively diminished.[29] Thus, Gregory gathered the children of the pagan priesthood first, because the issue was of great significance to the survival of Christianity.[30]

Resulting from the development of mass schooling, the Royal Schools for royal and elite children were created. Kurkjian asserts that the Royal Schools were international in character due to the Greek and Syraic influence over curriculum.[31] An Armenian translation of the Bible did not yet exist and Armenian scriptures were written only in the Greek and Syraic languages.[32] Curriculum was based on the Bible and formal lessons were oral, similar to a lecture style.

Christianity flourishes in the Golden Age

The first so-called Golden Age of Armenia (390-439 CE), begun under King Vramshapuh (389-417 CE), was a period of intellectual creativity, and literary, and religious development. Advancing education and a burgeoning culture contributed to the re-birth of an Armenia that had been under siege by the Roman and Persian Empires for centuries.[33] Major literary achievements, such as the development of the Armenian alphabet and the translation of major Armenian literary works into the Armenian language occurred during this time.[34]

The "Father of the Armenian alphabet" was Mesrop Mashdotz (361-440 CE), also known as the Tarkmanitch, (Armenian for "translator and teacher"), who worked a translator.[35] Mashdotz was a devoted Christian, promoting the education of children from the Armenian provinces into the Christian faith. However, translating the Bible to educate the population of Armenia was a daunting task; in addition, translator-teachers working under Mashdotz had difficulty reaching the provinces in remote areas due to harsh terrain. This was a particularly urgent problem since citizens were reverting back to pagan worship because

29 Kevork Sarafian, *History of Education in Armenia,* 22-23.

30 *Ibid.*

31 Vahan M. Kurkjian, *A History of Armenia,* 365-366. At this time, the Bible was only written in the Greek and Syraic languages.

32 Kevork Sarafian, *History of Education in Armenia,* 32.

33 For 1700 years, the Armenians used the Greek and Syraic alphabet to record their major historical events. John Douglas, *The Armenians,* 115.

34 Zabelle C. Boyajian, Aram Raffi, and James Bryce, *An Anthology of Legends and Poems in Armenia,* 155.

35 *Ibid.*, 39.

the curriculum in the schools of the rural areas was ineffective.[36] Mashdotz agonised that access to the Bible in the Armenian language was an issue prohibiting evangelisation of the Christian faith.

Mashdotz asked the Katholikos, Sahak, for his assistance to consult King Vramshapuh. He sought permission to begin the project of creating an Armenian alphabet so citizens could be taught about the Christian faith in the Armenian language.[37] Mesrop stressed to the King that the invention of an alphabet would make his reign memorable throughout history. The King suggested that a Greek calligrapher, Hropanus, assist Mashdotz in the creation of the alphabet. Historian Kevork Sarfian noted that Mashdotz discovered twenty-two letters in an archive of a Syrian Bishop, Daniel of Edesa.[38] In his analysis of this alphabet, Mesrop found the letters flawed as the characters for each letter did not express the phonetic components of the spoken language. Mashdotz and Sahak created fourteen more characters that served as vowels for the new alphabet.[39]

After creating the alphabet (404-406 CE), Mashdotz returned to the king and explained that a more sophisticated system of education than the schools created under King Trdat was needed. Around 406 CE, public schooling was made compulsory for citizens and two types of schools were created. Curriculum in the schools emphasised religious education, sacred music, scriptures, writing and copying. The first type of school, located in Vagarshabad (the capital of Armenia), was the School for Leaders and was responsible for the education of Armenian princes and nobility.[40]

In addition, elite students from all provinces travelled to this centre, considering schooling at this institution to be a call from God. Students attending this school received tuition that was set aside by the royal treasury. The second type of school, the Schools for Common Folk, was located throughout the various provinces of Armenia. The Schools for Common Folk advocated the fundamentals of reading and writing, thus creating efficient schooling to enhance knowledge of the Christian religion for the common citizenry.[41]

Mashdotz's purpose in changing the system of education in Armenia to a public one was both academic and an act of evangelisation to convert the Armenian citizens into Christianity. The creation of an alphabet permitted the Bible to be written in Armenian; Christianity thus spread throughout all the provinces, helping Mashdotz realise his ultimate

36 *Ibid.*, 38.

37 John Douglas, *The Armenians,* 116; Kevork Sarafian, *History of Education in Armenia,* 40-41.

38 *Ibid.*

39 Jon Douglas, *The Armenians,* 117 & Kevork Sarafian, *History of Education in Armenia,* 38-39.

40 Kevork Sarafian, *History of Education in Armenia,* 45-46.

41 *Ibid.*

aim to develop a curriculum for teaching the Scriptures to the pupils.[42] Sarafian notes the fact that students gained a "profound knowledge of the Scriptures is evidence that the teaching of the Bible was intensely emphasised in the curriculum".[43]

Religious influence of the Middle Ages

In 806 CE, Armenia was ceded to the Arabs by the Byzantine Empire; Arab control continued until the eleventh century.[44] With the Arab dominion over Armenia in 806, Islamic culture and religion were promoted in the region and they began to flourish.[45] The domination by proponents of Islam resulted in a conflict with citizens who had embraced Christianity and a civilisation based on Greco-Roman principles.[46] Arab rulers moved to replace Armenian churches with mosques, which then became the cultural and educational centres.

However, as regional Arab rule began to decline toward the end of the ninth century, Muslim influence weakened.[47] The authority of Arab rulers over the Armenians diminished which enabled the Armenians to lead a successful revolt. Following the revolt, the Bagratid Dynasty – an indigenous group – began its governance of Armenia.[48] During the Bagratid Dynasty (886-1045 CE), education was centred in the restored monasteries and much "cultural and material prosperity" resulted.[49] During the Middle Ages, these monasteries were instrumental in preserving Armenian culture; in addition to teaching, they copied manuscripts, and organised libraries, allowing Armenian literature and arts flourished.

42 John Douglas, *The Armenians,* 115-118; Kevork Sarafian, *History of Education in Armenia,* 49-59; Vahan M. Kurkjian, *A History of Armenia,* 451

43 Kevork Sarafian, *History of Education in Armenia,* 45-46.

44 *Ibid.*

45 John Douglas, *The Armenians,* 162.

46 *Ibid.*

47 John Douglas, 163.

48 The Bagratid dynasty reigned from 886-1045 CE. It was founded by Ashot the Great, who was first appointed as governor over the Armenians by the Arab rulers. The Bagratid dynasty is considered by historians to have rebuilt Armenia and initiated a second golden age of the Armenian people. See John Douglas, *The Armenians,* 164; Louise Nalbandian, *The Armenian Revolutionary Movement: The Development of Armenian Political Parties through the Nineteenth Century,* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1963), 14.

49 Louise Nalbandian, *The Armenian Revolutionary Movement: The Development of Armenian Political Parties through the Nineteenth Century,* 13-14.

Kingdom of Cilicia

In 1045, the Byzantine Empire annexed the Armenian territory; within a decade, the Seljuk Turks invaded Armenia, massacring its citizens. The Bagratid Kingdom had collapsed as a result of its location between the Byzantine Empire and the Seljuk Turks, which culminated in the conflict of 1071 CE.[50] The Seljuk victory permitted the Turks to invade the Bagratid Kingdom causing Armenians citizens to flee. As a result, a large part of the population began a mass migration toward the south-eastern shores of Turkey where they formed a new kingdom, Cilicia, where Armenians had lived since their earlier successful conquest of the territory from the Arabs in 973.[51] Because they embraced the Christian faith, the Byzantine Empire welcomed the Armenian occupation in the Taurus Mountain region and appointed their nobility to be governors and military commanders.[52]

Cilicia is significant in Armenian history because it developed a cosmopolitan culture based on numerous monasteries and their associated educational centres.[53] Interestingly, however, Sarafian notes that formal schooling was geared toward educating priests, not children.

The advancement of Cilician society drew the interest of Christians throughout Europe, resulting in much political and cultural interchange. This became particularly important to Christian Europeans, especially at the time of the Crusades. The strategic location of the Cilicia permitted crusaders to travel freely throughout the Armenian territory to fulfil their mission to halt the domination of Christian lands by Islam.[54]

Dark Ages in Armenia (1375-1800)

In the thirteenth century, the Tartars and Mongols invaded Asia Minor and Armenia. Later, during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the increased barbaric activities of the Ottoman-Turkish warlords destroyed the houses of Armenian nobility and shattered

50 *Ibid.,* 14.

51 Cilicia, pronounced Kilkia or Giligia in Armenian, was located on the northeast corner of the Mediterranean Sea. Cilicia was historically a Hittite territory. During the reign of Alexander the Great (331 BCE) the Seleucids conquered the area. It was taken over by the Arabs in the ninth century and later captured by the Armenian Byzantine Emperor Tchmiskik in 973 CE. See Simon Payaslian, *The History of Armenia: From Origins to the Present,* (New York: Palgrave Macmillian, 2007), 78; John Douglass, *The Armenians,* 195.

52 Charles A Frazee, "The Christian Church in Cilician Armenia: Its Relations with Rome and Constantinople to 1198," *Church History* 45, no 2 (June, 1976), 168.

53 Kevork Sarafian, *History of Armenian Education,* 98.

54 Simon Payaslian, *The History of Armenia: From Origins to the Present,* 78.

religious and cultural life.[55] Further, in 1375, the Kingdom of Cilicia collapsed after its long siege by the Seljuk Turks, which lasted over 400 years. Historian Harry Jewel Sarkiss refers to this period as the darkest age in Armenian education.[56] Further, Kevork Sarafian asserts that this "long siege of darkness in Armenia", can only be explained by the intense political strife in Armenia during this period.[57]

As non-Muslims living under Ottoman Turkish rule (1514-1918), Armenians were at first considered to be the most loyal subjects living in the Turkish *Millet-i-Sadika*, the "autonomous self-government of ethnic communities" residing in Turkey.[58] As Western ideas of democracy and freedom filtered into the region during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, however, Armenians residing in the Turkish *Millet* system once again became conscious of their own distinct nationality.[59]

Armenian Renaissance

Resulting from transactions and relationships developed with European nations by the commercial centres of Cilicia, Armenians had established colonies in several countries.[60] As religious and cultural persecution intensified in the region of Asia Minor, some Armenians relocated to these colonies in Europe. After the collapse of Cilicia in 1375, those who had fled incorporated the light of the European Renaissance into their Armenian culture in their new homes.[61]

The most culturally influential of the Armenian colonies were those in Italy. In 1423, the first Armenian Church was built in Rome; in 1512, the Armenian semi-scientific calendar was printed in Venice. Further, Hagop IV of Julfa (1655-1680), the Katholicos of Armenia was known for establishing schools, seminaries, and for sponsoring the printing of Armenian

55 Harry Jewel Sarkiss, "The Armenian Renaissance," *The Journal of Modern History* 9, no. 2 (December, 1984), 435.

56 Harry Jewel Sarkiss, "The Armenian Renaissance," *The Journal of Modern History*, 436

57 Kevork Sarafian, *History of Armenian Education,* 122.

58 Tarzian, "The Armenian Minority Problem," 31; John Douglas, *The Armenians* (New York: J.J. Winthrop Corporation, Publisher, 1992), 156; Suny, *Looking toward Ararat*, 95.

59 Tarzian, "The Armenian Minority Problem," 33. The Armenian monastery of San Lazzaro was founded in Venice in 1717 and was noted for teaching reading and writing to visiting Armenian students. In addition, Armenians who were educated at San Lazarro often returned to Armenia and were instrumental in teaching about the Armenian culture, promoting ethnic awareness in Ottoman Turkey.

60 As discussed in the previous section, Cilicia was a center of commerce and Armenians had established European colonies since the collapse the Bagratid Dynasty between 1045-1071. When Cilicia fell, Armenians fled to the established Armenian colonies in Poland and Italy.

61 Although the Armenians living in Asia Minor experienced a dark period, the European Renaissance (1350-1600) inspired Armenians living in Italy, Poland and other European countries. See Harry Jewel Sarkiss, "The Armenian Renaissance," 435; Margaret L. King, *The Renaissance In Europe,* (London: Laurence King Publishing, 2003), viii.

books in Europe.[62] Hagop encouraged an Armenian deacon to set up a printing press in Holland, and in 1660 Armenian hymns were published. In addition, Italian missionaries had great influence on the Armenia culture, helping to institute an "Armenian literary revival" when the first book written in an Armenian dialect was published in Venice in 1685."[63]

Another central component of the Armenian Renaissance was the revival of "Armenian classical literature and the creation of a vernacular" by the Mekhitarists, followers of Abbot Michitar (1676-1749).[64] Michitar, who founded the order in 1717, was inspired by the Armenian colonists in Europe and the Jesuits in Armenia, to establish a religious and cultural revolution. Michitar had been trained by the Jesuits and was converted to Catholicism. Under his leadership, Mekhitarists organised Catholic schools whose main purpose was to educate students about Armenian history and the language.[65]

Mary Mangigian Tarzian asserts that the idea of Armenian nationalism among citizens in the Ottoman Empire emerged specifically from the educational vision of the Mekhitarists from the Armenian Catholic Monastery in San Lazzaro, Venice, Italy.[66] As previously noted, the Armenian Monastery focused on teaching reading and writing to Armenian students who were influenced by the Enlightenment milieu of the period. Armenians who were educated at San Lazarro and returned to Armenia were instrumental in teaching about Armenian culture, promoting ethnic awareness to their countrymen in Ottoman Turkey in the nineteenth century. According to Gerard J. Libaridian, the Mekhitarists were "most conscious of the cultural backwardness of Armenians and strove to educate and enlighten them."[67] Interestingly, the emphasis of the Mekhitarists was to enlighten Armenians of Ottoman Turkey about their own nationalism.

Protestantism in Armenia (1846-1921)

American missionaries also played a part in bringing the religious and cultural renaissance to Armenia in the late nineteenth century. It was the intention of the Armenian

62 Kevork Sarafian, *History of Armenian Education,* 127.

63 Harry Jewel Sarkiss, "The Armenian Renaissance," 443.

64 Mekhitar was born in Sebastian, in Asia Minor and came from a prominent Armenian family. Kevorkian Sarafian, *History of Armenian Education, 138*; Harry Jewel Sarkiss, "The Armenian Renaissance, 441.

65 Hyde Clarke, "On Public Instruction in Turkey," *Journal of the Statistical Society of London* 30, no. 4 (December, 1867): 524; Kevork Sarafian, *History of Education in Armenia*, 138-150.

66 Mary Mangigian Tarzian, "The Armenian Minority Problem," (PhD dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1992), 33.

67 Gerard J. Libaridian, *Modern Armenia: People, Nation, State,* (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2004), 53.

Evangelical Union to reform the "old Armenian Church".[68] Protestant missionaries from the United States established advanced religious schools where Armenians were trained in the teachings of the Gospel.[69] Hagop A. Chakmakjian posits that establishment of the Armenian Evangelical Church in Constantinople on July 1, 1846 contributed to an awakening in "cultural, literal, political, and religious spheres of life."[70]

Further, Chakmakjian asserts that the modern Armenian nation "has been leavened by this spiritual movement".[71] However, Peter Balakian maintains that the American Protestant missionaries came to Turkish Armenia to convert the Muslims, but instead were more successful in converting the Armenians practicing in the Apostolic Church.[72] Protestants arrived at a time when the Armenian Apostolic Church was going through a reform to re-establish its spiritual vitality. Faced with the challenge of evangelism by the Protestant missionaries, the mother church in Armenia did not intend to abandon its power to another entity.[73]

However, by 1850, American Protestant missionaries in Turkey created stations in seven cities: Constantinople, the head of the Armenian Patriarchate, Bebek, Brusa, Smyrna, Trebizond, Erzrum and Aintab. At these sites were housed a total of eighteen missionaries, six native pastors and preachers, and eight churches, with a total communicant membership of about 240.[74]

Protestant schools were established under the auspices of the American Board of Missionaries. Armenians often viewed Protestantism as a way to seek protection from Turkish authorities and Armenian Protestants lived in their own *Millet-i-Sadika*.[75] In the public schools in the Protestant Millets, students studied French, Turkish, Armenian, and sometimes, English. Historian Hyde Clark found that instruction in the Armenian public schools of Ottoman Turkey was influenced by American missionaries. Public schools were

68 Kevork Sarafian, *History of Education in Armenia*, 156.

69 Julius Richter, *A History of Protestant Missions in the Near East,* (London: Felming H. Revell Company, 1910), 123.

70 Hagop A. Chakmakjian, *Armenian Christology and Evangelization of Islam,* (Leiden: Netherlands, 1965), 125; Kevork Sarafian, *History of Armenian Education*, 155.

71 Hagop A. Chakmakjian, *Armenian Christology and Evangelization of Islam*, 125.

72 Peter Balakian, *The Burning Tigris: The Armenian Genocide and America's Response*, (New York: Harper Collins Publisher, 2003), 14.

73 Hagop A. Chakmakjian, *Armenian Christology and Evangelization of Islam,* 125. Peter Balakian, *The Burning Tigris: The Armenian Genocide and America's Response,* 26.

74 Leon Arpee, "A Century of Armenian Protestantism," *Church History* 5, no. 2 (June, 1936), 153.

75 The term 'Turkish *Millet-i-Sadika*' refers to the "autonomous self-government of ethnic communities" residing in Turkey. See Hyde Clarke, "On Public Instruction in Turkey," 524-526.

organised by the Turkish government, but run by the individual *millets* and they were open to students from both the wealthy and lower classes.[76] Julius Richter states that the Turkish government left the organisation of schooling to the religious organisations.[77] In 1846, the Protestant community in Armenia focused its attention on education by establishing primary schools, educating both female and male students, and training teachers so they were qualified to teach children about the Protestant mission and faith. As Kevork Sarafian notes:

> Protestant missionaries were successful because by 1871 the number of protestant schools increased to 222 with 178 teachers and 6 391 pupils. The number of theological seminaries had increased to 9, with 153 pupils. The number of girls' boarding schools was 10 with 246 pupils.[78]

The Armenian Evangelical Movement in Turkish Armenia ended abruptly at the time of the Armenian massacres in 1877, 1895-1896, and 1908. Leon Arpee asserts that the massacres "drained the congregations of some of their best blood, until finally the butcheries and deportations of 1915 swept the Armenian race, and with it the evangelical churches, out of Asia Minor."[79]

The fall of Constantinople in 1453 to the Ottoman Turks changed the ethnic and political structure in Asia Minor, putting the Armenians of Asia Minor under Turkish control until 1917.[80] As discussed above, Armenians were loyal subjects who lived in the Turkish *Millet-i-Sadika* and retained their semi-independent self-governance.[81] In addition, historian John Douglas asserts that the Armenian communities in Turkey were governed by Armenian Church laws and schools were organised under the superintendence of the Armenian Patriarch.[82] Nevertheless, this control was tempered by the influx of new concepts and, by the nineteenth century, a growing sense of nationalism.

76 *Ibid.*, 524.

77 Julius Richter, *A History of Protestant Missions in the Near East*, (London: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1910), 124-126.

78 Kevork Sarafian, *History of Armenian Education,* 162.

79 Leon Arpee, "A Century of Armenian Protestantism," 162.

80 In 1512 CE, the Safavid Perisan destroyed the city of Baghdad. Ottoman Turks did not like the Safavids because as Shiite Muslims the Turks believed they were religious heretics. In 1639, the Ottoman Empire and the Persians signed the Treaty of Zuhab, which lasted about eighteen years. The treaty divided the Armenian province into eastern and western regions. The eastern part of Armenia was Persian until 1826.

81 Tarzian, "The Armenian Minority Problem, 31; John Douglas, *The Armenians,* 156; Suny, *Looking toward Ararat*, 95.

82 John Douglas, *The Armenians,* 256.

The Russian Empire (1826-1917)

After the Russo-Persian war (1826-1828), the Treaty of Turkmenchai (1828) provided for the annexation of the Persian Armenian provinces, Yerevan and Nakhichevan, in eastern Armenia to the Russian Empire.[83] At this time, the eastern Armenians welcomed Russian protection, believing it would lend support in their struggle for independence.[84] However, Emperor Nicholas I (1825-1855) refused them autonomy and created Armenian districts, placing Russian administrators in charge of the provinces and joining eastern Armenia to the bureaucratic structure of Imperial Russia.[85]

Prior to the nineteenth century, schools in Eastern Armenia had been controlled by the Armenian Apostolic church, but Russian imperial authorities sought to unify the Armenian schools and incorporate them into the Russian Empire. In 1836, Emperor Nicholas I (1825-1855) created the *Polojenye,* an internal constitution that granted Russia full control of the newly acquired eastern Armenian provinces' internal affairs.[86]

In addition, the *Polojenye* provided for the reorganisation and limitation of the Armenian Church's control of schooling.[87] According to Suny, by the middle of the nineteenth century, some Armenians became loyal supporters of Russian rule, adopting the cultural norms and programmes of Russification of the Russian Empire.[88] However, in 1885, Russification intensified under Alexander III (1881-1894), who viewed Armenian nationalism and flourishing culture as a threat to his power.[89] By 1897, the Armenian schools were closed and reopened a year later under the authority of imperial Russia.[90] Minor freedoms provided by the *Polojenye* of 1836 were eradicated, causing the genesis of Armenian revolutionary movements in eastern Armenia. These movements continued to ferment until the Russian Revolution in 1917.[91]

83 George Bournoutian, "Eastern Armenia from the Seventeenth Century to Russian Annexation," in *The Armenian People from Ancient to Modern Times,* ed. Richard G. Hovannisian (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 104. Cited in: Shelley Terzian, *Curriculum Reform in Post-Soviet Armenia: Balancing Local and Global Contexts in Armenian Secondary Schools,* (Berlin: VDM Verlag, 2010), 32.

84 *Ibid.*

85 Ronald Grigor Suny, "Eastern Armenia under Tsarist Rule," in *The Armenian People from Ancient to Modern Times,* ed. Richard G. Hovannisian (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 113.

86 *Ibid.*, 115.

87 Sarafian, *History of Education in Armenia,* 251-253.

88 Suny, "Eastern Armenia under Tsarist Rule," 112.

89 Suny, *Looking Toward Ararat,* 45.

90 Edmund Herzig and Marina Kurkchiyan, *The Armenians: Past and Present in the Making of National Identity,* (New York: Routledge Curzon, 2005), 83.

91 *Ibid.*, 84.

Christianity in the Soviet Union

Armenia became part of the Soviet Union in December of 1923. After the October Revolution, the socialist leadership's aim was to eliminate the influence of the Armenian Apostolic Church and Christianity.[92] With the victory of the Bolsheviks in 1917 began a twenty-year programme of intensive propaganda aimed at the elimination of religion in Soviet society.[93]

The Communist propaganda generated by this anti-religion policy reflected the Marxist –Leninist dogmas of "political realism and increasing reliance on Russian nationalism."[94] As a result, a rigorous Communist curriculum was taught throughout all the Soviet Republics, including Armenia, instructing children to honour the October Revolution, develop a collective spirit, and adopt the values of the Communist Party.[95] Further, teachers were directed to replace religious instruction with a sentiment of anti-religious feeling in both parents and students.[96] Thus, the establishment of the foundational precepts of the Christian church in the minds of students was replaced with Communist ideology in the schools.

Bohdan R. Bociurkiw posits that Soviet religious policy was affected by two distinct periods in history: The Bolshevik Revolution (1917) and the Second World War (1938).[97] He writes that after the Bolshevik Revolution, "mounting persecution and progressive weakening of organised religion" were instituted throughout the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR).[98] Adrian Hastings concurs, asserting that in January, 1918, the Soviet government issued a Decree on Separation of Church and State, which "opened the way to the confiscation of the Orthodox Church's schools and welfare establishments, the seizure of Church property and valuables and violence against clergy and believers."[99] As a result, Apostolic churches were closed and destroyed and priests were exiled or murdered.[100]

92 Dr John Anderson, *Religion, State, and Politics in the Soviet Union,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 22.

93 Bohdan R. Bociurkiw, "Church and State in the Soviet Union," *International Journal*, 14(3), (Summer, 1995), 183.

94 *Ibid.*, 182.

95 Suny, *Looking Toward Ararat,* 145.

96 Larry E. Holmes, in *Religious Policy in the Soviet Union,* ed.. Sabrina P. Ramet, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 125.

97 Bohdan R. Bociurkiw, "Church and State in the Soviet Union," 182.

98 *Ibid.*, 182-183.

99 Adrian Hastings, *A World History of Christianity,* (London: Wellington House, 1999), 316.

100 Dr John Anderson, *Religious Liberty in Transition*, 148.

However, Bohdan R. Bociurkiw asserts that by the 1940s "radical changes took place in the Soviet Church policy."[101] Edward Alexander posits that after the Nazi invasion of the U.S.S.R. in 1941, the Kremlin turned to the Armenian Church for support to put "patriotism above ideology" and assist the Soviet cause during the War.[102] Interestingly, Stalin praised the Apostolic Church for their efforts with supporting the war and called the Archbishop Chorekjian to Moscow honouring him with the Defence of the Caucasus Medal."[103]

Soviet policy toward religious practice became more relaxed by the end of the Joseph Stalin's regime. However, his successor, Premier Nikita Khrushchev (1953-1964) initiated a new ideological programme, changing Soviet religious policy.[104] According to John Anderson restrictions on the churches in the early Khrushchev years included "anti-religious propaganda, administrative suppression, and persecution of religious communities." While, Khrushchev's policies were eliminated by 1965, his successors, including Brezhnev, returned to conservative directives.[105] The Soviet embrace of the idea of Glasnost ("openness") in the 1980s finally brought change to Soviet religious policy. The leadership now worked to make their society more open and the practice of Christianity was, once again, tolerated.[106] In fact, Premier Mikhail Gorbachev (1985-1991) promoted role of the Christian Church as one that had been instrumental in enacting Soviet policy in the past. He went so far as to say that Christians "will only help in furthering the Soviet government's cause."[107] Following the collapse of the Soviet Union, religious policy-making power gradually returned to the control of the individual former satellite nations.

Curriculum changes in independent Armenia

In 2004, the Armenian Ministry of Education and Science developed the Armenian National Curriculum (Curriculum) and State Standards for Secondary Education (SSSE). According to the United Nation's *Human Development Report for 2006*, development of a post-Soviet curriculum in nations that were formerly part of the Soviet Union entailed: 1) eliminating the effects of Soviet policies that remained in school management, teachers'

101 Bohdan R. Bociurkiw, "Church and State in the Soviet Union," 182-183.

102 Edward Alexander, "The Armenian Church in Soviet Policy," *Russian Review* 14(4), (October, 1955), 359.

103 *Ibid.*. Joseph Stalin (1922-1953) assumed power of the U.S.S.R in 1922.

104 Otto Luchterhandt, "The Council for Religious Affairs," in *Religious Policy in the Soviet Union,* ed.. Sabrina P. Ramet, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 55.

105 John Anderson, *Religion, State, and Politics in the Soviet Union and Successor States,* 2. Yuri V. Andropov replaced Brezhnev in 1982 for 15 months, and Konstanin Chernenko replaced Andropov for 13 months.

106 Hannah Jackson, "Onion Domes and Labor Camps,"*Third Way,* June, 1988, V11, A6, 19.

107 *Ibid.*, 19.

instructional styles, and subject matter; 2) creating an instructional programme to rebuild an Armenian national identity; and 3) providing students the necessary skills to compete in a global world.[108]

By 2009, the Curriculum's basic school baseline teaching plan explains subjects that are compulsory for all Armenian secondary schools.[109] The Curriculum states:

> The sphere of the social sciences in the middle school shall be represented by the integrated subject of nationhood and the subject history of the Armenian Church. In grades sixth through ninth, three subjects are represented: Armenian history, Armenian Church history, and world history.[110]

The concept of nationhood and the history of the Armenian Church are integrated into the Curriculum to depict how independence from the Soviet Union brought changes to Armenian society. In my 2010 study, *Curriculum Reform in Post-Soviet Armenia: Balancing Local and Global Contexts in Armenian Secondary Schools,* I included nine teacher interviews; two teacher trainer/principal interviews; interviews with the Deputy Director of Education and the Director of Educational Programmes from the Open Society Institute Assistance Foundation-Armenia; and an interview with the Head Officer of Education from the World Bank. In addition, interviews were also conducted with the Head Teacher Trainer and the Director of Education from the Project Implementation Unit (PIU), an educational reform project, funded by the World Bank. In addition, I interviewed five participants from the Ministry of Education, including the Adviser to the Minister, the Director of Educational Development, the Director of General of Education, the Director of Education from the National Institute of Education, and an Armenian expert in social science who participated in the team that wrote the State Standard for Secondary Education in Armenia.[111]

Scott Amenyan, Deputy Educational Officer, from Open Society Institute Assistance Foundation-Armenia was part of the educational team in Armenia who developed the Curriculum to aid in Armenia's transition to independence from Soviet control.[112] He

108 Khachatryan *et al.*, "Human Development Report on Education," 21.

109 The basic school baseline teaching plan describes the amount of time primary, middle, and high school students spend on compulsory subjects in the Armenian Secondary Schools (see Appendix N).

110 Ministry for Education and Science, *State Standard for Secondary Education*, 45.

111 The interviews that follow are excerpts from full interviews in Shelley Terzian, *Curriculum Reform in Post-Soviet Armenia: Balancing Local and Global Contexts in Armenian Secondary Schools,* 55. Pseudonyms are used for the interview participants in this study.

112 Open Society Institute Assistance Foundation-Armenia (OSIAF-A) is a non-governmental organisation funded by the George Soros foundation and was essential to the study. Interviews with the Educational Program Coordinator and Deputy Educational Officer of OSIAF-A were conducted privately in their individual offices on June 19, 2008.

commented, "although religion in the Soviet Union was allowed, it was limited".[113] Amenyan viewed the Church, religion, and national identity as being interchangeable. For example, he explained:

Christianity has always been a huge part of our identity, and so when you say you are Armenian you are saying you are a Christian. I am a Christian of the Armenian Apostolic Church, which is unique from Catholic and Protestant churches. And they are trying to bring this into the schools because you need some type of philosophy and should have an identity as the foundation of the society.[114]

The idea that some type of philosophy was needed in the schools was significant because a Marxist-Leninist perspective had dominated the schools during the Soviet era. Independence not only permitted Armenian history and culture to flourish, but it revealed a void in the political and social structure of the schools. Thus, I asked Amenyan, "Is Christianity replacing Marxism in the schools?" He replied:

> Christianity, traditions, the Armenian family, roles of woman, man, and child are replacing Marxism. But these are only being used as a form of manipulation and are not real yet in Armenia. The ideas can be a real thing but we need to change our approach to how we are educating people about these subjects. There isn't a real approach to the religion, or belief as a Christian does not exist. This is being used for money, power, and business, for the government and not for anything real for the people.[115]

A second OSIAF-A respondent commented that the introduction of this subject area was a political move:

> From the OSI side, we are not supporting the Christian Church and it is also the reason Armenian education is politicised. We need to depoliticise education and for example, everyone knows the MOES are supporters of some parties. But we should have an education system that it is out of party-related things.[116]

Katayan touched on the same point – that the introduction of the subject was a political move:

> There was debate about the new subject which was introduced a couple of years ago, the history of the Armenian Church. Some specialists were against it because we have

113 Armenyan, interview. Terzian, *Curriculum Reform in Post-Soviet Armenia,* 115.

114 *Ibid.*

115 Armenyan, interview. Terzian, *Curriculum Reform in Post-Soviet Armenia,* 116.

116 Danelyan, interview. Terzian *Curriculum Reform in Post-Soviet Armenia,* 116.

> the topic in the textbooks, so why do we need to teach it. The second argument was that we are a secular society so we do not need this subject.[117]

Thus, Katayan indicated that some political parties wanted to keep the Church philosophy separate from the state. Our conversation about the Church explains how the new subject became a part of the Curriculum Framework's baseline teaching plan.

> S: Yes, but they signed an agreement – the Prime Minister and the Katolikos signed an agreement for this subject and it was introduced in the schools. The subject was legalised, based on the agreement between the church and government. This was three or four years ago. Mainly, the textbooks are good and the topic is good.
>
> I: How are people from the different generation, who were not educated about God, responding to the new religious initiatives?
>
> S: Soviet society was anti-Christian, atheist. But many people still believed in religion, but there was oppression and the other thing is that people who were teaching atheism in Soviet times are now teaching about the Christian religion. This is an interesting shift. I had a professor who taught us that atheism is important and now he is teaching his students about Christianity, the Bible.
>
> I: Why do you think this is the situation?
>
> S: This is normal, because people are adapting to new conditions and change. Soviet culture was based on an obligatory culture – it was very oppressive. Many people changed their political parties too – they were former communists and now they are liberals and anti communists.[118]

However, not all of the policy specialists who participated in this study believed that it was practical to teach the history of the Armenian Church as a subject, especially due to Armenia's location in a region of the world that is predominantly Islamic. The response from a higher-level policy participant from the Ministry of Education and Science illustrates this point. Nijayan stated:

> The schools are now teaching the history of the Armenian Apostolic Church – our church. It is just the perspective of the role of the church and what was written in the New Testament. It should go beyond this and allow the students to interpret, translate, relate to the stories, and compare them with other religions. Understanding

117 Content-area specialists serve as experts in determining the content for subject matter as specified in the Armenian National Curriculum. Katayan, interview. Terzian *Curriculum Reform in Post-Soviet Armenia,* 116-117.

118 *Ibid.*

> Islam is another important thing. We are like the gateway to Christianity or Islam and we have to understand Islam as well as Christianity. In order to understand Islam, we have to be really savvy of what Christianity is all about and why our national identity is so linked to it.[119]

I then asked why there is a link between Armenians and Christian religion. She responded:

> I mean, because instinctively we always talk about this and that, there is no Armenians without Christianity. But, to say that it is a national value is something I agree with, but we do not see the roots. So, it is a very cosmopolitan movement – a very global movement. Somehow, we are able to internalise it into the idea that you do not understand an Armenian without Christianity or understand Christianity without Armenians.[120]

Madoyan, a psychology teacher on the secondary level, reflected similar sentiments, relating the Armenian people's relationship with Christianity to her own identity:

> Of course, Christianity and teaching about it is important. But everyone has his own opinion of Christianity, it is inside of them. We believe that our Christianity is sitting in us, we show it in our actions, and everyday lives. We do not have to talk about it and prove we are Christians.[121]

Other Armenian educators I interviewed also stated that, although they do not believe in God and consider themselves to be atheist, Christianity is an important part of the Armenian national identity. Tammy Kayseryan, an English teacher for twenty-four years, discussed her relationship with Christianity:

> I: What about religion or Christianity shaping identity in the schools?
>
> T: Now we have a subject for teaching about the history of the church and before we did not have anything.
>
> I: Is this an important subject in the schools?
>
> T: As for me, I do not believe in God and it is not important. But the pupils must learn that Armenia is the first country to adopt Christianity.
>
> I: So you think the history important even though you are not religious?

119 Nijayan, interview. *Ibid.* Terzian *Curriculum Reform in Post-Soviet Armenia,* 118.

120 *Ibid.*

121 Madoyan, interview. Shelley, Terzian *Curriculum Reform in Post-Soviet Armenia,* 116.

> T: Yes, of course. But, if you tell me that I am not a Christian, I would be offended, but I do not practice Christianity.[122]

Thus, many participants did not associate being Christian with being religious but, instead, saw Christianity as an inherent part of their Armenian identity. Although atheism was promoted during the period of Armenia's time as a client state of the Soviet Union, it is apparent that Christianity for Armenians is "deeply rooted in the culture, experience, mentality, even biology of individuals."[123]

Current impact of the Armenian Apostolic Church

Peter Rutland notes that, "Armenian society today is fairly secular, and it was the intelligentsia, as the bearer of the cultural heritage and the advocate of humanistic values, that emerged as the dominant social force in the nationalist movement."[124] Although the Armenian Apostolic Church is officially recognised as the national church of post-Soviet Armenia, its present role differs from the one it enjoyed historically. The Law on Freedom of Conscience and Religious Organisations, established by the Armenian government in 1991, separated the role of church and state in Armenia. The new law defined the role of the Armenian Apostolic Church as Armenia's national church, asserting that other minority religions can only exist if they are based on "historically recognised Holy Scriptures and if their doctrines form part of international contemporary religious-ecclesiastical communities."[125] Further, the law provides that the Armenian Apostolic Church has the sole right to prosthelytise within the nation. However, religious groups other than the Church are extended the right to conduct religious services and own property.

Interestingly, sociologist Paul Froese believes that "the most dramatic instance of religious growth occurred in Armenia due to a unique setback suffered by the Armenian Apostolic Church in the early twentieth century and its current restoration."[126] As I found in my earlier study, *Curriculum Reform in Post-Soviet Armenia,* the introduction of the history of the Armenian Church as a subject has created a compelling discussion about the role of the Church in current society. Interestingly, participants in my study posited that it

122 Kayseryan, interview. *Ibid.*

123 Ronald Grigor Suny, "Constructing Primordialism: Old Histories for New Nations," *The Journal of Modern History* 73, no. 4 (December, 2001), 876.

124 Peter Rutland, "Democracy and Nationalism in Armenia," *Europe-Asia Studies* 46, no. 5 (1994), 840.

125 Dr John Anderson, *Religious Liberty in Transition*, 149.

126 Paul Froese, "After Atheism: An Analysis of Religious Monopolies in the Post-Communist World," *Sociology of Religion* 62(4), (Winter, 2001), 57-58.

was more important to teach students about historical and current religious diversity throughout the region, than to focus on the history of the Armenian Church.

Conclusion

This chapter investigated the influence of religion on Armenian education. Because Armenia has undergone so many political and religious reforms, over time, religious influence over public schooling has been inconsistent throughout its history. Interestingly, it is these discrepancies that frame the history of educational reform in Armenia. As Leon Arpee writes in The *Armenian Awakening*, different time periods contributed to Armenian history, culture, and education. Education, politics, and religion are primary forces that continue to help form the Armenian identity.[127]

In the Artashesian Dynasty (189 BCE – 10 CE) and during the reign of Tigran the Great (94-54 BCE), interaction with the diverse cultures of Asia Minor impacted the Armenian polytheistic belief system that had first been established in the Kingdom of Urartu. Interaction with the Greeks, Romans, and Persians heightened Armenian awareness of religious worship, and they assimilated elements of Persian Zoroastrianism and Hellenistic beliefs.

It was the adoption of Christianity as the official state religion that changed the religious, political, and social structure for the Armenians. First, the establishment of the Armenian Apostolic Church as the state religion influenced the Armenian system of education; the adoption of a public schooling whose purpose was to transform the pagan citizens into believers in the Christian faith. Although Catholicism and Protestantism both played a role in the education of Armenian citizens, the Apostolic Church has had the greatest impact on the Armenian educational system. Further, the adoption of the Armenian alphabet in the fifth century enhanced the school curriculum, enabling children to learn about the Christian faith in their own language.

Education in Armenia in the Middle Ages existed, but it was often influenced by the respective Arab and the Seljuk-Turk conquests in the region. Over time, Islam made inroads into belief in Armenia; as a result of social, political, and religious upheaval, Armenia entered a period of darkness for four hundred years. During this time, literary works were not published and adherence to Christianity was actively discouraged, if not outright opposed. Subsequently, due to the educational vision of the *Mekhitarists* from the Armenian Catholic Monastery in San Lazzaro in Venice and the American Protestant

127 Leon Arpee, *The Armenian Awakening.* (Chicago: The University Of Chicago Press, 1909), 3.

missionary activity in Turkey, a religious awakening occurred.[128] Exploration into Catholic and Protestant thought produced Armenian students who returned to Turkish Armenia from schooling in France, Italy, and other Western nations, to spread ideas of "freedom, reform, and enlightenment".[129] A renaissance occurred, countering the effects of previous religious and political domination.

When Armenia was annexed to the Soviet Union, religious practice was not tolerated. By the end of World War II, however, Joseph Stalin changed his policy toward religion, allowing some religious participation. Stalin's successors were more conservative in this regard, working to eliminate the religious framework of thinking in the populace and advocating atheism. When Gorbachev aligned the acceptance of religious practice with *glasnost* or openness, tolerance for religious belief was restored. Although the Armenian Apostolic Church is officially recognised as the national church of the post-Soviet Republic of Armenia, the role of the Church has been separated from the role of the state by the 1991 Law on Freedom of Conscience and Religious Organisations. Although the law restricts the active presence of the Church in education, Armenians believe that it is not possible to understand an Armenian without understanding the historical influence of Christianity in Armenia.

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128 *Ibid.,* 33.

129 Kevork Sarafian, *History of Education in Armenia* (Laverne: Press of the Laverne Leader, 1930), 188-189.

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The contribution of religious institutions to the development of secular education in Tanzania: The case of Pentecostal churches in the Dar es Salaam region

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Introduction

In his speech to mark the 50th anniversary of the Tanzania Episcopal Conference (TEC) on 8 June 2008, the Premier of Tanzania, Mizengo Peter Pinda (MP), reaffirmed the government's unwavering support to all religious institutions in the provision of education country. This pledge is in recognition of religious institutions' a great deal to the education sector. The Catholic Church of Tanzania alone, for example, owns more than 413 pre-primary schools, more than 1 420 primary schools, 150 secondary schools, 200 vocational training colleges, two teacher training colleges, and one university with three constituent colleges. The Evangelical Lutheran Church of Tanzania (ELCT) has made a significant contribution to education in various ways. This ELCT owns 469 pre-primary schools, 10 primary schools for special education, 61 secondary schools, 35 teachers and vocational training colleges, and one university with six constituent colleges. Moreover, Moslem

denominations continue making significant contributions to the development of education in Tanzania; they have 500 pre-primary schools, three primary schools, 27 secondary schools, one teachers' college and one university.

Their contribution does not end with simply providing education: almost these religious institutions also provide sponsorship to students from poor families in addition to providing facilities and other aids to cash-strapped government schools and other education centres. In 2008, the Catholic Church enabled more than 5 000 students to graduate from religious schools, colleges and universities (*Daily News*, 9 June 2008). Apart from its primary goal of preaching the Gospel, the Church is also helping Tanzanians in the provision of social services such as education opportunities. TEC (1999) contends that the church will continue providing education to the sons and daughters of Tanzania. TEC (1999) has seen the number of its secondary schools grow from 105 in 1996 to 116 in 1999, with Loyola High School in Dar es Salaam one of the outstanding recent additions. In fact, the recent contribution of these religious institutions in establishing universities is helping to change the educational landscape in Tanzania. The Catholic Church has established St. Augustine University of Tanzania in Mwanza; the Lutheran Church Tumaini University with constituent colleges in Dar es Salaam, Arusha and Iringa; the Anglican Church has established St. John's University in Dodoma; and the Moravian Church Teofilo Kisanji University (TEKU) in Mbeya. This remarkable contribution belies the fact following the 1967 Arusha Declaration religious institutions had unjustly been sidelined in the provision of education, with their schools nationalised.

The participation of Christian agencies in education in Africa, Asia and America has been there for centuries now. Cobb (2002) indicates that in the United States of America (USA) for example, the Catholic Parochial schools were the largest Christian schools attached to Cathedrals and monasteries in the eighteenth century. For many years in Tanzania, religious institutions have been providing education at various levels, that is, from primary to secondary and recently following a change in government policy to university level. The role of these religious institutions in this crucial sector of education has been changing from time to time in line with the reformed policy of the government. Masudi (1995) argues that the education situation in Tanzania could have been worse off than it is without the intervention of Christian missions in the in the provision of education in Tanzania.

Christian missionaries introduced Western formal education in Tanzania in 1868. In fact, the missionaries introduced formal education ahead of the colonial administration. As Morrison (1976) points out, missionaries introduced Western education to what became Tanganyika. A decade before the establishment of German colonial rule in the area (Tanganyika), the French Roman Catholic Orders of the Holy Ghost Fathers had established a school at Bagamoyo. This created a domino effect as the University Mission to Central Africa, the Church Missionary Society, and the Lutheran Mission of Berlin soon

followed. Several Roman Catholic Orders founded schools to promote proselytisation. During this period, various religious groups were interested in spreading literacy and other forms of education as part of their evangelical work (Van Bergen, 1981). However, the education provided remained limited in terms of national coverage as, at the time of independence in 1961, the majority of Tanzanians were still in need of education for them to make meaningful contributions in administering the newly-independent country. In fact, the reality on the ground entailed that there was a need to overhaul the education system in the then Tanganyika to get the desired results (Cameroon and Dodd, 1970:170). One of the obvious change was to re-orient the education system from one based on the colonial mentality to one that reflected Tanzanian values. As a result, Cameroon and Dodd observe that the education based on the colonial system lasted only six years in the post-independence period.

The 1967 Arusha Declaration is often touted as the turning point. The adoption of Ujamaa, Tanzania's brand of socialism coupled with self-reliance as the country's development strategy had far-reaching implications for the education sector as well. The subsequent philosophy of Education for Self-reliance (ESR) was aimed at forging an education system that reflected the country's development vision. With this new policy came recommendations that resulted in several education reforms. As part of these profound reforms, the government nationalised all government-assisted voluntary agencies' schools. Indeed, the enactment of the Education Act of 1969 also marked the end of the participation of missionaries in public education, thus making education the sole responsibility of the state. The government also nationalised religious and private schools to implement the 1961 Ordinance that abolished racial and religious discrimination in education. However, taking over Church-run schools meant an over-load of the government, which relied on scant resources to run these institutions. Inevitably, the government was prompted to ask for help from non-governmental institutions (NGOs).

In fact, the Tanzania's Education and Training Policy (TETP) of 1995 notes that the tradition that saw the colonial government provide social services, including education, with the help of NGOs had to be discontinued in the post-independence Tanzania, especially after the Tanzania government committed itself to providing free education at all levels. Part of the problem was that the government also needed to provide universal education tailored to its socialist development agenda, hence the nationalisation of schools and disengagement from sharing the provision of social services with NGOs. However, this monopolisation of the provision of education was short-lived as the ever-soaring demand for education and the financial crunch coupled with the harsh economic realities of the 1980s made the government realise that it did not have enough resources to go it alone, hence the liberalisation of the establishment and management of schools (URT, 1995:xi-xii). Indeed, after two decades of implementing socialism and self-reliance policy,

the country was in a quandary in the mid-1980s. Socialism and self-reliance remained its guiding principle as enshrined in the country's constitutions; however, capitalism offered the country a way of the socio-economic quagmire it found itself in. Consequently, the country's egalitarian development strategy, which focused on growth and equity, was shelved in favour of a planned development strategy that focused on growth and efficiency. Indeed, this reflected a policy shift from reliance on the government-controlled economy and on the public sector, which simultaneously and inevitably resulted in the change in the direction and form of education provided in the country (Mukandala, 2006).

Under the current trend, central planning accommodates the liberalisation and privatisation of the provision of public services, including education. In fact, the Tanzania Education and Training Policy of 1995 prioritises the enhancement of a partnership between the government, NGOs and other stakeholders in the provision of education and training. Under this framework, the government makes deliberate efforts to encourage private agencies to participate in the education sector by establishing and managing schools and other educational institutions at all levels. The TETP (URT, 1995:91) stipulates that the government shall provide incentives to individuals, communities and NGOs to establish and develop pre-primary, primary, secondary, vocational, teacher education, and tertiary and higher education institutions.

Statement of problem

Since 1961, the Tanzania government alone has been unable to provide social services such as education adequately (Maliyamkono & Mason, 2006; URT, 1995). This reality prompted the government to change its stance in the 1990s and embrace an open-door policy that allowed in partners in education. As a result, religious institutions with an established track record in providing education stepped. These religious institutions have resolved and have since pooled their resources in helping the government in its effort to provide secular education in Tanzania. The contribution of religious institutions, especially the Anglicans, Evangelical Lutheran churches, and Catholic Churches to the development of education in Tanzania is widely acknowledged and documented. What has often been overlooked is the role of Pentecostal Churches in the provision of secular education in the country despite its viable and notable contribution. By Pentecostal Churches, the focus is on churches, amongst others, Tanzania Assemblies of God (TAG), Free Pentecostal Church of Tanzania (FPCT), and Evangelistic Assemblies of God (EAGT), Kanisa la Kipentekoste Tanzania (KLPT), Pentecostal Holiness Mission (PHM). In answering the question "To what extent have Pentecostal Churches contributed to the provision of secular education in Tanzania?" this paper argues that this group of churches is making a significant contribution to the nation's development in the education sector than the country has bothered to acknowledge.

Review of related literature

Worldwide overview of the secular provision of education

The role played by religious institutions, especially Christian missions in the provision of secular education have been covered extensively by scholars. Cobb (2002) In the United States, the Catholic Parochial schools are the largest Christian schools; most of them were attached to cathedrals and monasteries in the eighteenth century (Cobb 2002). Simultaneously, Protestant schools grew in the southern part of the USA before most of them merged with public schools. Around the nineteenth century, similar developments took place in Thailand. The Buddhist religion in that country constructed schools and the monastery schools to provide formal education. These schools were later taken over by the government. In Kenya, religious missions also built schools from which members of the society now benefit. Cowan (1970) argues that without the missions, education could not have been offered in Kenya.

Furthermore, the voluntary agencies in Uganda, mainly the Roman Catholic Church, the Church of Uganda (Native Anglican Church, including CMS) and the Uganda Muslim Education Association have been instrumental in providing the much needed education to Ugandans. The Catholic Church in Uganda, for instance, was the first to establish most primary schools, many junior secondary schools, and now owns more than half of the senior secondary schools and nearly all the primary school teacher training colleges in that country. The Ugandan government thought it was convenient to exercise authority through the agencies and collaborate with Christian and Muslim authorities (Scanlon, 1966). In the Congo, the missionaries were ahead of the government in opening schools (Scanlon, 1966). Such missionaries included both Protestant and Catholic missionaries. The Protestant missionaries found that teaching reading was necessary to their methods of evangelism. They wanted people to read the Bible by themselves and translate the Bible into the vernacular, hence the establishment of classes for their believers. Teaching people to read thus became the basis of those early classes. In addition, beneficiaries of these classes were also taught writing and rudiments of arithmetic.

A similar development took place in Mozambique, where Phiri, Ross, and Cox (1996:156-157) observe that since the beginning of evangelisation the churches have been seriously engaged in the provision of social services as well. For example, the St. Jeronimo of Magude Mission (Maputo) operated primary schools, art and crafts schools, and boarding schools. Many Protestants in Mozambique engaged themselves in social work, although others focused only on evangelisation. Social work included running primary schools, providing agricultural courses and carpentry skills in Inhambane Province by the Methodist Church. The Presbyterian Church also established primary schools, arts and

craft schools, hospitals, boarding and agricultural schools as part of its social mission in Mozambique. In general, all these were initiatives of the missionaries who established these institutions in order to meet the needs and aspirations of the local people. Based on these historical practices by the churches, the study assumed that the Pentecostal group of churches in Tanzania, like other religious denominations in the world, has been participating actively in the provision of education in the society in Tanzania despite their concerted efforts remaining largely unheralded and under-appreciated. Thus, this study sought to establish the contribution of these Pentecostal churches not only to raise the profile of their contribution but to also document one of the significant contribution, yet unappreciated contribution to the development of the education sector in Tanzania.

Contribution of religious institutions in Tanzania

Pre-Colonial Era: From the time of the reformation in the second half of the eighteenth century, northern European nations had shown little interest in sending out Christian Missionaries to evangelise other parts of the world. By the end of the century, all the leading Protestant churches in Europe had started organising missionary societies, which were entrusted with the tasks of spreading the Gospel to foreign lands. Formal Western-type education was introduced into what became Tanganyika by the missionary organisations of different denominations, which had established themselves in the territory since the 1840s. This type of education was supplemented by traditional forms of education through which knowledge about the prevailing norms and practices of the indigenous societies were passed down to the new generation of elders. These traditional educational activities were aimed at transmitting a common culture and institute the prevailing gender-based division of labour. Education, thus ended up simultaneously fulfilling a culturally, cohesive and a socio-economically differentiating role (Buchert, 1994).

The first British missionary society to send workers to East Africa was the Church Missionary Society (CMS). This was an Anglican Church society directed by a group of Christian businessmen. By 1961, churches or missionary societies in Tanganyika ran 70.15 percent of all educational institutions in the country. This situation prevailed even after Tanzanian had attained its independence from Britain. The church continued to run schools and hospitals. Initially, no British volunteers offered their services to work on the little known East African Coast. It was German Lutheran missionary, Dr Krapf, who volunteered to establish the first mission station in East Africa in 1844 at Rabai in Kenya. These missionaries preached the gospel and opened schools in order to teach their converts to read the Bible.

The Society of the Holy Ghost Fathers, the first important Roman Catholic Mission in the country, was established in 1868 at Bagamoyo, where the first school on Tanzania

Mainland during the same period (Ishumi & Maliyamkono, 1980). Workshops and schools were also opened as part of efforts to teach the converted Africans (Lema, 1973). Sifuna (1976) indicates that these missionary schools emphasised manual work, agricultural and technical training, reading and writing in Kiswahili. Much emphasis was placed on learning by doing as it was regarded most beneficial. Besides Bagamoyo, their schools such as Mhonda and Mandera among the Zigua in Tanzania also made manual work an integral part of the curriculum. The first government school was set up in Tanga in 1892 by the German government.

Although popular belief is that, there was no viable education system on the East African coast before the advent of the Europeans, Lema (1973) argues to the contrary, by asserting that sustainable education patterns did exist among African communities long before the European built their schools. However, the nature of the education was different and its purpose was to prepare a child for the real business of living and not to frustrate him or her. In addition, the Europeans were not the first foreigners to introduce their system of schooling among African communities in Tanzania. The Arabs who arrived on the coast much earlier than the Europeans introduced the traditional Islamic system of education, popularly referred to as Koran schools. These mostly concentrated on the coastal areas. Cameron and Dodd (1970) stress that these Arabs introduced formal education where the learners learnt how to write, read and calculate through using the Arabic script and numerals. There were about 700 such Koran schools in 1924 with a combined enrolment of 8 000 pupils. Eighty percent of these schools were located on the coast.

The presence and work of the European Christian missionary societies in Tanganyika, as indeed in the whole of East Africa and Africa in general, is a significant historical factor that had clear implications for the future trend and distribution of education and occupational chances among indigenous people in the colony (Ishumi & Maliyamkono, 1980). After all, Christian missionaries preceded colonial administrators in establishing themselves; their evangelical and educational work was both intensive and extensive. Consequently, their educational impact in terms of the number of schools built and pupil intake and output could not even be matched by colonial as well as post-independence government efforts. In fact, presently country Samoff (1987) established that church-sponsored schools in Kilimanjaro region are more successful in securing financial assistance, books and materials, and trained teachers than their government-run counterparts. This preference for church-managed schools are reinforced by the informal and formal quality ranking of Kilimanjaro private schools. Both major churches (Roman Catholic and Lutheran church) have active education secretaries who provide direct managerial services, recruit teachers, deal with educational officials, negotiate with potential donors, and address intra-school and school community.

Colonial Era: As stated elsewhere, the colonial government administration was generally preceded by missionaries in the actual penetration of the African interior territories that had been acquired. In Tanganyika, the establishment and running of the administrative BOMAs in the various provinces and districts in the hinterland was partly assisted by missionaries who did not only provide valuable information pertaining to the areas in which they operated but also served the government in providing literate African graduates of their schools for junior menial, clerical and executive functions. The colonial government also established their own schools to educate locals in order to meet the need for semi-skilled and skilled manpower. The central colonial government in Tanganyika did establish village primary schools (STD 1-2 or 1-4) in all provinces and, by 1934, had set up a central school of up to STD 6 in each province except the southern province. The government also established girls' secondary schools in areas such as Tanga, Iringa and the western province (Ishumi & Maliyamkono, 1980).

For the missions, their stake in education was catalysed by their strong belief that religious education went hand-in-hand with secular formal education. As it was hard for the colonial administrators to recruit female teachers from Europe to work in tropical Africa before the World War I, they did benefit from the girls' schools established by the missions. For example, the University Missionary to Central Africa (UMCA) had already established a girls' school at Masai in the 1880s. A few missionary female teachers such as Miss Andrews and Miss Abby and nuns contributed handsomely to the development of African women's education in the country. Thus, the working relationship between the Christian mission and the German colonial administration in Tanganyika was very cordial and fruitful. From the initial stages, the German administration realised the importance of working with missionary societies in the field of education. The colonial administrators had limited funds to provide social services for the African people. Therefore, they found the assistance from voluntary agencies handy. However, the co-operation between the colonial government and the missionaries in education had conflicting objectives. The missionaries sought to convert, while the government sought to govern (Morris-Hale, 1969:192).

During the World War I, missions suffered because of the war chaos. Some of the missions were abandoned by fleeing missionaries, African assistants, and pupils. Others were closed down to await the outcome of the war. The school buildings in the remote villages were left desolate and in ruins and young African teachers were taken as soldiers in the German Army and pupils dispersed to join their parents in hiding. In 1920, after the end of the war, the country was officially handed over as a mandated territory to Britain under the League of Nations. During the war, most of the education activities were damaged (Buchert, 1991). The situation started to normalise during the trusteeship of the British as Missionary societies resumed their normal activities. Both the British administration and the native authorities began to participate in the provision of education

to the local communities. The dual system of government and mission schools that was introduced during the German period was inherited and maintained by the British. As the mission schools were more numerous than government-run and other schools, the majority of graduates were inevitably pro-Christian and pro-Western in their mentality (Mbogoni, 2004). To further boost the education system in Tanganyika, a Department of Education was established to deal with the organisation, administration, and supervision of schools in the country.

In 1923, the work of missionaries faced the post-war problem of depression and reconstruction. In 1925, the advisory committee on education in the colonies issued one of its first memorandums titled "Education Policy in British Tropical Africa". This document stressed that there was a need for the colonial government to work in partnership with the missions in Tanganyika. In addition, the document recommended that the colonial government should encourage every endeavour of voluntary agencies, such as the missions, in educating work Africans provided they adhered to the general pattern of education laid down by the colonial administration. Although most of the Christian missions still felt that the government's educational policy was too ambitious, they nevertheless co-operated with the colonial administration and developed their education institutions in accordance with the requirements of the 1927 Ordinance in terms of administration, curriculum and staffing. Although in theory, they worked in partnership with the colonial government, the missions had little influence in determining the colonial government policy changes (Omari, 1976). For Muslims, unlike their counterpart (Christians), it was particularly difficult for them to build and finance their own schools in Tanganyika. In general, the few primary schools that Muslims were able to build were built and financed through fundraising.

This imbalance was replicated in post-independence Tanganyika as well. As a result, Mwalimu Nyerere, Tanzania's first post-independence leader, was not only concerned with solving the basic problem of educating the masses of his people, but also redressing the educational imbalance between Christians and Muslims brought about by their different colonial experiences. In fact, Nyerere did inform the church that it was only logical to prioritise the provision of schools at which Muslims can be educated without religious scruples (MSS Afr. s 1471). Evidence indicates that soon after independence, Nyerere was deeply concerned about improving Muslims' access to secular education. Indeed, Nyerere's confidential memorandum to the Catholic Secretariat of the Tanganyika Episcopal Conference in December 1963 entitled "The problem of education in Tanganyika" was his personal appeal to beseech the Churches to help the nation solve one of its pressing problems of education and education imbalance (Nyerere, 1963).

Post-Colonial Era: In the early and mid-sixties, when most African nation-states gained their political independence, planners were guided by the need for human capital and

modernisation. This emphasis was based on the assumption that education was the most profitable form of investment not only for the society but also individuals. This perception stemmed from the understanding that a lack of high and middle level human resource development was a major bottleneck to economic growth (Sifuna, 2007). In fact, the report of the conference of African Heads of State on the development of education in Africa, who met in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia in 1961 stressed the expansion of secondary and tertiary education. To boost the education fortunes in African nation-states, they agreed on steps that would facilitate them to achieve Universal Primary Education by 1980 (UNESCO, 1961). In fact, for Tanzania education was tied up with all its development visions. Hence, one of the slogans post-independence slogans focused on the nation's war against poverty, ignorance and diseases. At this stage, it was obvious that the church was working with the government in waging this anti-poverty war.

After all, the churches educated the largest number (71 percent) of pupils, with the smallest subsidy coming from the government. Reality has made the government to realise that the churches should be allowed to expand their educational programmes rather than downsize them. In addition, churches in Tanzania run several home-crafts schools for women in addition to agricultural schools and social welfare training centres. The Roman Catholic alone runs 43 home-crafts and Domestic Science Centres. Furthermore, religious institutions help to conduct literacy programmes in various parts of the country. The publication and wide circulation of the Bible, other Christian literature, newspapers and magazines are ready reading materials for many Tanzanians with limited access to other forms of literature; these materials not only help to sustain their literacy levels, but also highly educate on various social and economic issues, that is, in addition to teaching morality. There are 20 established Christian bookshops located in different parts of the country; five of them are in Dar es Salaam. These supply books to parishes, which have bookstalls from which they sell to people in their respective areas. It should also be noted here that the first printing presses to be established in Tanzania were run by the Churches. These also happen to be the largest outside the government framework. Notable ones include those based at Vuga for the ELCT, and Tabora, Ndanda, Peramiho and Mwanza for the Roman Catholic Church.

Knowledge gap

Various literatures have acknowledged the importance of the contribution of religious institutions to the provision of secular education in Tanzania. Evidently, the available literature reaffirms the necessity of the partnership between the government and voluntary agencies in the provision of secular education in Tanzania. However, the available studies have primarily focused on the contribution of the Catholic Church, the ELCT and the Anglican Church of Tanzania, with the contribution of Pentecostal groups of churches

to secular education completely ignored. This study, therefore, focuses on this neglected aspect to determine the extent to which these churches have been contributing to the provision of secular education in Tanzania, hence fill this yawning information gap.

Research methods

Setting and participants

The study was conducted in the Dar es Salaam region. The region consists of three local government areas of administrative districts: Kinondoni in the north, Ilala in the centre of the region and Temeke in the south. The region officially had a population of 2 497 940 (2002 census). Dar es Salaam lost its status as the country's capital city to the more centrally located Dodoma in 1974. However, the city remains the largest cosmopolitan city in Tanzania, with the largest concentration of educational centres such as secondary schools, colleges and universities. Because of its unique position in Tanzania, the region was strategically selected for this study. First, most headquarters of the Pentecostal churches is based in Dar es Salaam. Secondly, the region is a bastion of active religious activities. Thirdly, the registrar of all religious activities in Tanzania is based in Dar es Salaam. For this study, 55 respondents were purposely selected from the region, the headquarters for most of the Pentecostal Churches. The sample included three (3) education officers, 22 Pentecostal church ministers, 20 Pentecostal followers, seven (7) parents and three (3) registrars of society (religious organisations). Furthermore, this selected sample was capable of providing relevant information to accomplish the objectives of the study.

Data collection

Documentary review: This process involves obtaining data from any written or visual sources such as diaries, novels, incident reports, advertisements, speeches, official documents, files, films, audiotapes, books, newspapers and so on (Martella, 1999:294). Pertinent written documentary sources were reviewed to obtain key information that inevitably enriched the findings of this study. These written sources included reports or records of the church plans as well as church initiatives. In addition, files and constitutions relevant to the study constituted secondary sources of data. On the whole, this document review was employed to supplement other data collection methods deployed in the study to ensure the reliability of the data collected.

Interviews: Interview schedules were administered in two forms during the process of collecting data. Firstly, the researcher conducted face-to-face interviews with Church ministers, Pentecostal believers, education officers, officers in the Office of the Registrar,

and parents. The focus of these interviews was on obtaining the views of the respondents on the history, contribution, future plans and challenges the Pentecostal churches face in the provision of secular education in Tanzania. Prescribed forms were used to conduct these interviews. As the nature of the study demanded that the researcher meets with an adequate number of informants in person, the use of various interview techniques was necessary to obtain the necessary primary data. The Church ministers were interviewed on issues such as the contribution of the church as well as their education plans and the challenges the Pentecostal churches faced in the provision of secular education in Tanzania. The interviews were directed at the church leaders as custodians of the Pentecostal churches well-informed on various church programmes and plans by virtue of their strategic position in church. Secondly, telephone interviews between the researcher and informants were conducted to obtain information from time-pressed church ministers. The method was also applied to get more clarifications on some of the findings.

Data analysis

The data collected from interviews, observations and documentary review were analysed using qualitative methods of data analysis. Qualitative methods were used to provide an in-depth description of a specific programme, practice or setting, and qualities this study was interested in (Mertens, 1998). The raw data were organised into manageable units. Using content analysis, the researcher synthesised and searched for the general pattern by grouping the data in a meaningful manner. Qualitative data, on the other hand, were thematically analysed. The study applied qualitative method by describing the data and presenting extracts. Creswell (2003) asserts that thematic analysis allows for the provision of detailed descriptions of the phenomenon using coding and themes categorisation. The study sorted out the useful information and classified the data according to topics related data from interviews; observations and documentary review were put together. Mertens (1998) maintains that qualitative data analysis has to consider the criteria which include credibility (which parallels internal validity), transferability (which parallels external validity), and dependability (which parallels reliability), conformability (which parallels objectivity), authenticity (fairness) and emancipatory (standpoint).

Research findings and discussion

Levels and forms of contribution

The research findings indicated that, like other religious organisations, Pentecostal churches in Tanzania had been engaged in the provision of education, even prior to the 1995 Education and Training Policy, which ushered in an open-door education policy. The

study findings have been able to establish the Pentecostal churches' engagement in the provision of education at different levels and forms in the country:

Pre-primary education: Research findings indicate that most of Pentecostal churches in Tanzania have established pre-primary schools. The informants indicated that the pre-primary schools were initiatives of individual local churches. For example, the Co-ordinator of *Umoja wa Shule za Awali za Pentecoste Tanzania* (USAPTA) explained during an interview that the FPCT had managed to establish three pre-primary schools in the Diocese of Coast – Dar es Salaam: Umoja Pre-primary School, Jerusalem Nursery School and Kiwalani Pre-primary School. The national co-ordinator of the pre-primary education – FPCT also revealed that FPCT pre-primary education started in 1992. This programme operates in all the FPCT dioceses in Tanzania. It was established during the interview that the KLPT Church has been establishing pre-primary schools since 1990 in every parish. The Bishop of KLPT church asserts: "We have 17 Parishes in Dar es Salaam Region where there are pre-primary schools and Montessori teachers are recruited by the church to teach in our schools". TAG Church, on the other hand, has managed to establish pre-primary schools in well-established churches in different parts of the country. The researcher also observed that the construction of a pre-primary school was an on-going activity in the EAGT Diocese of Dar es Salaam.

Primary education: The provision of primary education in Tanzania involves different stakeholders, including the Pentecostal group of churches. In the field, the researcher noted that some Pentecostal churches have managed to launch primary schools in different areas of the country. For example, *Kanisa la Pentecoste Kilimanjaro* owns the Marangu Hill Primary School. The FPCT Church has managed to establish three primary schools: Nkinga Primary, Tazengwa Swedish and Nkinga Special Education Primary School in Tabora. Research findings established that TAG had a total of 12 primary schools in the country: 3 in Mwanza and 1 in Arusha. Furthermore, it was established that the involvement of the Assemblies of God in running primary schools in the country was not a new phenomenon. In fact, efforts by the church to establish primary schools can be traced back to the 1950s. The first schools include Itende Extended Primary school (now Kalobe Primary School in Mbeya town), Igembe and Ndala primary schools in Rungwe district also in Mbeya region. Like other religious-affiliated schools in Tanzania were nationalised in the 1960s.

Secondary education: Church ministers revealed during interviews that the Pentecostal churches have managed to establish secondary schools in different parts of the country. For example, the Tanzania Assemblies of God Church has established Faraja Secondary School in Moshi, Kilimanjaro, and Ebenezer School in Iringa and Uyole Secondary School in Mbeya. Similarly, the FPCT church operates Ruo Secondary School in Lindi, Ulyankuru High School in Tabora, and Tumaini Secondary School in Rukwa and Umoja Secondary

School in Igunga – Tabora region. As for the PHM Church, they run Igale Secondary School in Mbeya Rural District.

Colleges and/or Universities: The involvement of the Pentecostal churches in Tanzania in the provision of higher education, especially the provision of university education, appears limited so far but gathering momentum with tangible plans afoot. These churches have not completely ignored the provision of tertiary education. It was established during interviews with the church ministers that the Pentecostal churches have established colleges. The FPCT Church runs Nyamahanga Teachers' College in Biharamulo. The church also operates the Nkinga Health College in Tabora, and Arusha Media College in Arusha. In addition, TAG Church is constructing Ushindi University and Global University in Dar es Salaam Region, though developments so far remained in the preliminary stages.

Vocation Training Colleges: As vocational training is important when it comes to imparting skills and technical knowledge, especially among the youth to promote self-employment, the Pentecostal group of churches have picked up the gauntlet to help youths among their ranks. Indeed, some of Pentecostal churches have already established Vocational Training Colleges in the country. For example, the FPCT church manages Vocational Training Centres, including Mpera VTC in Kahama and Nyakato VTC in Mwanza.

Pentecostal Churches' Educational Plans

Establishment of church education task forces: Research findings obtained from interviews indicate that almost all of the Pentecostal churches involved in the study have established education committees. These committees were particularly charged with the responsibility of overseeing education development in the church. This role is conducted variously, depending on the church and their intended objectives. The FPCT indicated that it had a committee – USAPTA *(Umoja wa Shule za Awali za Pentekoste Tanzania)* – which was responsible for planning, managing and organising church educational programmes. As for the, KLPT, they had a Department of Education that co-ordinates all educational plans in the church. Similarly, the TAG Church had a committee responsible for all matters related to secular education development. It was also noted that the PHM had such a committee mandated with promoting educational development in the church. On the whole, the findings established that the efforts made by these church education task forces have enabled the FPCT and KLPT to secure plots on which to construct schools; the TAG has secured a 200-acre plot at Mbagala in Dar es Salaam to construct a secondary school. The PHM also already secured an eight-acre plot in the Dar Es Salaam Region for building a university.

Preparation of teachers: The findings unveiled that permanent church member(s) were eligible for enrolling in teacher training courses. The Pentecostal Churches made

arrangements to send them to different colleges of education for training. The findings established that almost every year, the churches sent people to colleges for professional training. For example, the FPCT Church made efforts to up-grade pre-primary teachers. As the church did not have a teacher training college of its own, the applications were sent to colleges of teacher training such as Korogwe in Tanga and Nyamahanga in Biharamulo in Kagera region. Such teacher upgrades have been conducted every year under church sponsorship: "We decided to sponsor the upgrading teachers throughout the training course so as to motivate them. However, upon their completion, they should come back to continue working in the church education institutions" (FPCT National Co-ordinator of USAPTA: 7 January 2009). The study also established that the churches had a training programme in different areas of expertise to develop their human resource capacity. The objective is to have their own experts in education, economics, trade, and agriculture areas. Some of these experts serve outside the Pentecostal churches' system. For instance, it was established that some trained teachers under church sponsorship have been employed in government schools.

Projected or intended construction of education institutions: The study established that the Pentecostal group of churches had aspirations of further raising their profile in the establishment and management of educational institutions at all levels, from pre-primary to the university level. The KLPT Bishop, for example, revealed during an interview that there were plans were afoot to further develop infrastructures for pre-primary, primary and secondary education. The majority of these churches also has plans to establish universities of their own. The FPCT Church, for one, had plans to set up universities in Arusha and Dar es Salaam regions. The PHM Church minister also disclosed that the church has developed plans for establishing more primary and secondary schools as well as a university. The church already had a plot on which to construct the proposed university in the Dar es Salaam region. This institution is projected to provide both religious and secular education. Similarly, the EAGT church referred to its plans to secure a plot in the Dar es Salaam region on which to construct pre-primary and secondary schools.

The TAG minister revealed during the interview that the church had planned to enhance its contribution towards the provision of secular education. More specifically, the minister disclosed that the church had acquired a plot at Mbweni in Kinondoni district on which to build an international primary school. The church's vision is to have schools in every region:

> From 2009 to the year 2018 we aim to have one secondary school, at least in every region in Tanzania including Dar es Salaam (in Dar-es-Salaam we have already acquired 1and for erecting buildings). Establishment of an education centre in Dodoma [where we have] acquired 100 acres. Also Ushindi University will be expanded to cater for the demands of the society (TAG Secretary General: 23 January 2009).

This was in the church's 2009-2018 10-year plan. All these education development plans confirm that the Pentecostal group of churches is determined to continue making meaningful contributions aimed at helping Tanzania realise its cherished dream of promoting quality secular education for all and sundry.

Part of the strategy of these Pentecostal churches is to open education institutions in areas with few educational institutions. One of the church ministers explained this strategy during the interview thus:

> Tanzania is a big country…. People have not yet come to a sensitisation to know to where Tanzania is heading. This is because they do not have [ample] education especially in the remote and marginalised areas. It is our obligation, as a church, to open schools in these areas. The aim is to extend educational benefits to less privileged people (Secretary General, TAG: 22 January 2009).

The church minister was of the view that universal and accessible quality education would turn Tanzanians into people capable of comprehending the challenges around them and facing the nation, and thus make a more meaningful contribution to national development. The findings also revealed that the FPCT church had plans to establish schools in remote areas such as those found in Mpanda (in Rukwa region), Lindi and Mtwara regions.

Upgrading the infrastructures: The study established that the FPCT Church intends to transform its training institutions into university colleges. High on the list are Nkinga College of Health in Tabora, Umoja Secondary School in Tabora, Tazengwa Theological College in Tabora and Arusha College of Media. These educational institutions are scheduled to become constituent colleges of the proposed universities to be built in Arusha and Dar es Salaam regions:

> One of our programmes put in action is to have primary, secondary schools, and a University in the future in Tabora, Arusha, and Dar es Salaam in order to provide education to the people of Tanzania. We have 10-year programmes requiring each local church to establish a school. The focus is the establishment of secondary school because pre-primary schools are almost everywhere (FPCT Administrator, 6 January 2009).

The church minister explained that the number of schools has been increased to meet the growing enrolment in church schools. More specifically, the church minister said there was a need to increase the number of classes, especially at the pre-primary school level where children of different ages were accommodated in one classroom due to a shortage of classroom space in the face of swelling numbers:

> Here in our school (Jerusalem Pre-primary School), there are few classrooms and teaching-learning facilities. Also, there are many pupils who have different ages and levels of understanding. So, the church authorities want to increase the number of classrooms to ensure the pupils are categorised according to their ages and abilities (FPCT National Co-ordinator of USAPTA, 6 January 2009).

Conducting educational programmes: The findings from the interviews and review of church records indicate that Pentecostal churches planned to conduct different educational programmes such as seminars, workshops, short courses, and moral teachings. These programmes are aimed at providing skills and generating new knowledge. In fact, teachers, community members and church officials have benefited from these programmes. In particular, the PHM church offered regular seminars, workshops and short courses of six months to one year duration. The areas of concern include communication skills, sexual relations, moral values and financial management.

Co-working with other institutions: It was also established that there were many local and international institutions which worked with the Pentecostal Group of Churches' future plans, especially in the provision of secular education:

Local institutions: The Pentecostal churches work with the ELCT to establish the TAG Church-owned Ushindi University in Dar es Salaam. Also, the TAG Church has worked with the FPCT and the EAGT churches, which are within the Pentecostal Group of Churches, on its projects. Secondly, the churches worked with government organs such as the Tanzania Institute of Education (TIE), Tanzania Education Authority (TEA), Ministry of Education and Vocational Training (MoEVT) and the Ministry of Land and Settlement Development (MLSD) to realise its education programmes. The TIE provided educational materials and directives such as syllabi and textbooks; the TEA provided funds for school operations; the MoEVT provided policy guidelines regarding the registration and inspection services; and the MLSD provided the title deeds for the plot.

International institutions: The international partners, who have helped the Pentecostal churches, implement their future plans include parent churches in Europe and America. For example, the FPCT had two major foreign partners from Finland and Sweden. These partners worked together with the church in spiritual and social work. In the field of education, the FPCT had a leadership management institute sponsored by Finland through Fida International. This institute offers diplomas in Leadership and Management. The church also worked with the Finish Swedish Pentecostal Mission (FSPMC). The FSPMC has supported educational projects such as the construction of classes and the procurement of teaching-learning materials, including books. The church has also worked with the Global University which offer degree courses through distant learning under the auspices of the TAG Church. The degree courses offered include those in theology, secular

education and psychology. The PHM has worked with missionaries from the United States in planning and implementing education projects. These missionaries provided the church with financial and material support. It was also established during the interviews that Pentecostal churches are co-operate with the Assemblies of God churches from America in the delivery of secular education and other services such as health in Tanzania.

Learning from other church institutions: The study established that the Pentecostal churches were keen on learning from other church institutions on how to manage educational undertakings. In particular, they strived to learn the strategies that the Catholic Church has deployed in the provision of secular education, hence their adoption of the Catholic Church strategies. One case in point is TEC's Higher Education Policy (2008:13) which stipulates the need for a Catholic institution to "initiate, adapt and internalise a process of character formation, for the students, based on Christian ethics, moral values and culture". On this point, one of the TAG Church leaders explained:

> We want to work very closely with the Roman Catholic Church. The church intends to send some officials to the Catholic Church in Dar es Salaam. The aim is to learn about their strategies and factors behind their success story in the provision of secular education [in the country] (Secretary General, TAG, 23 January 2009).

Involvement of other stakeholders in education provision: In their efforts to boost education provision, Pentecostal churches involve Local Government Authorities (LGAs). The LGAs played a crucial part in providing land or plots for building schools. The authorities also provided security for the church properties such as school buildings under construction. Education officials at a local level also provided technical advice to the education stakeholders within their areas of jurisdiction. It was revealed during the interviews that local community members were involved in giving their views whenever requested by the Pentecostal churches. These community members also provided manpower and financial support during the construction of educational institutions run by the churches.

Sources of Funding for Church Education Provision Efforts

Parents' contribution: The respondents indicated that funds were also obtained from the school fees. The church ministers said that the school fees and other contributions went into day-to-day operations of the institutions, the construction of classrooms, financing of upgrading courses for teachers, and salaries of workers: "The payment that parents contribute to schools as fees play a great role in the running of the schools. However, it is not enough, we supplement [the school with income] from other sources such as funds from the church itself" (TAG Secretary General, 23 January 2009). Galabawa (2000) explains that equal access to an adequate educational programme of minimum quality

requires a certain level of education funding to equalise access and maintain the level of education funding in order to equalise access and maintain standard levels of internal efficiency. However, the structure of fees in Tanzania's secondary Schools is regressive, as it bears no reasonable relation to the ability of parents to pay. Mostly, a flat rate structure is maintained, hence imposing a heavier burden on the parents with lower incomes.

Fundraising at local churches: One of the church ministers disclosed that local churches devised various strategies aimed at raising funds for the churches' educational programmes. These strategies include *Harambee*, self-help initiatives which involve all church members. The funds obtained through these methods were channelled into the construction of classes, purchasing teaching and learning materials such as books for their schools and buying plots for erecting buildings:

> The church has set a strategy on how to contribute through "Harambee" through which they obtain money, which is used to purchase teaching and learning materials such as books, as well as building classrooms etc. We, as a Church, get different contributions through "Harambee" for buying books and other facilities for our schools. However, I am also very grateful that our church is connected to the international agencies from the mother Church in Sweden; these agencies provide us with material support in the provision of social services such as education (FPCT Administrator, 27 November 2008).

Donor partners: The interviews with church ministers also revealed that Pentecostal churches received funds from partners from both within and outside the country. These contributing partner agencies come from Sweden, Finland, and the African Child Trust (ACT) from Britain and missionaries from the US. The contributions from international aid agencies support the local church projects and social service delivery, with education high up the donor list. Cash donations went into the construction of school buildings such as classrooms, staff quarters, laboratories, and libraries, purchasing of instructional materials and payment of school fees for students. For example, the TAG Secretary General said that the church received 45 million Tanzanian Shillings from the African Child Trust (ACT) to assist orphans with their education at Chumbageni in Tanga region.

Loan from financial institutions: Church-run education institutions also depend on loans from banks as well as national and international financial institutions. The TAG Secretary General pointed out that the church had established a programme, which allowed the church institutions to borrow money from any bank within the country such as CRDB and NBC. They could also apply for loans from the financial institutions such as the African Development Bank (ADB).

Conclusion

It is evident from this presentation that the Pentecostal group of churches have been making significant contribution to the development of secular education in Tanzania, especially following the government's appeal to establish partnerships with NGOs in providing Tanzanians with quality education. The findings have established that the Pentecostal churches, like other religious institutions in the country, are making a significant if not yet acknowledged contribution. Contrary to popular conception in Tanzania, the contribution of Pentecostal churches in education, though largely comparatively minor, predates the 1995 the Tanzania Education and Training Policy. Until the 1960s, the Tanzania Assemblies of God Church (then Assemblies of God Mission), for example, had already managed to establish three primary schools in Mbeya region. The Church's initiatives were, however, nipped in the bud following with the introduction of the Ujamaa policy, Tanzania's brand of *Socialism and Self-Reliance*, in 1967 which resulted in the nationalisation of all privately-owned enterprises, including schools. There is little doubt that this nationalisation policy was a blow to Pentecostal churches' plans to expand their contribution to the development of secular education in Tanzania. Consequently, the church was forced to retreat into simply spreading of the gospel for more than three decades. Under the present open-door policy, the contribution of the Pentecostal group of churches is bound to grow as manifested by the church education mushrooming especially in least served areas and the promising plans now under implementation. Hence, the contribution of the Pentecostal churches deserves more study and recognition than it has presently received.

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Religion and education in the United States

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Introduction

During the past sixty years, the US Supreme Court has decided far more cases involving religion and education than any other area. In addition, scores of cases have been resolved at the federal district court or court of appeals levels that never reach the Supreme Court.

Four different basic areas of conflict arise in religion and education. The first area concerns the conflict between parents and public schools. The second area concerns government control of religious schools by various federal and state statutes and regulations. The third area concerns religious expression in public schools. And, the fourth concerns government aid to public schools.

The religion and education conflict focuses on four federal constitutional provisions: the Liberty Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment;[1] and the Free Exercise, Free Speech and Establishment Clauses of the First Amendment.[2] In the ebb and flow of constitutional interpretation, the relationship between religion and education over the past half century has very much depended on the constitutional claim being asserted.

School boards and school administrative personnel in US public schools need to be aware of the changing and emerging legal status of the law. This chapter will address key areas of concern and how courts have been addressing the questions that come before them.

1 US Const., Amend. XIV ("No State shall … deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law …").

2 US Const., Amend. I ("Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech …").

Religion, parental rights, and education

In the US, the rights of parents to make educational choices for their children have generally been framed as a religious claim. The earliest decisions of the Supreme Court involving religious issues and public schools, *Myers v. Nebraska*[3] and *Pierce v. Society of Sisters*,[4] addressed the rights of parents to make educational decisions for their children. In both cases, the Court invalidated post-World War I state statutes that exerted considerable control over non-public schools[5] education by criminalising the teaching of subjects in a language other than English (*Myers*) and prohibiting student attendance at other than public schools (*Pierce*). In *Myers*, a teacher in a religious school was charged with a criminal act for reading from the Bible in German and, in *Pierce*, parents would have been prohibited from sending their children to any non-public school.[6] The Court, in both cases, created and applied a new constitutional right under the Liberty Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment that parents had a constitutionally protected right to make choices for their children. Under the Liberty Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, the Court in both decisions ruled that parents' right to direct the education of their children superseded that of the state legislatures in both cases to prohibit non-public schools from carrying out their purposes. Thus, charging with a crime a teacher who read the Bible in German in *Myers* interfered with a parent's right to choose a school where religion is taught. Likewise, prohibiting the existence of all non-public (including religious) schools in *Pierce* prevented parents from having a choice of a school where their children could be taught.

Pierce is probably best known for its assertion that "The child is not the mere creature of the state; those who nurture him and direct his destiny have the right, coupled with the high duty, to recognise and prepare him for additional obligations."[7] However, this assertion was somewhat tempered by the *Pierce Court's observation that:*

No question is raised concerning the power of the state reasonably to regulate all schools, to inspect, supervise and examine them, their teachers and pupils; to require that all children of proper age attend some school, that teachers shall be of good moral character

3 262 US 390 (1923).

4 268 US 510 (1925).

5 Non-public schools is a broad term that, in the US, can include religious schools, private non-sectarian schools, and home schools.

6 Plaintiffs in *Pierce* were a religious school operated by the Society of Sisters and a private, non-sectarian military school , Hill Military Academy

7 *Id.* at 535.

and patriotic disposition, that certain studies plainly essential to good citizenship must be taught, and that nothing be taught which is manifestly inimical to the public welfare.[8]

With *Pierce* began the notion that the right of government to control education is subject to a balancing process. Thus, while under the Tenth Amendment of the US Constitution, states have an implied authority to control education,[9] *Pierce* recognises that government control has constitutional limitations.

Forty-seven years after *Pierce*, the Supreme Court, in *Yoder v. Wisconsin*,[10] reviewed the State of Wisconsin's compulsory attendance statute as it applied to a religious group, the Amish. The issue before the Court in *Yoder* was whether the State of Wisconsin's requirement that all children attend school until age 16 should apply to the Amish whose religious tradition required only that children attend through the eighth grade (ages 13 or 14). In a remarkable decision, the Court found that application of the state compulsory attendance law to the Amish violated, under *Pierce*, the Liberty Clause right of parents to make educational decisions for their children and the First Amendment free exercise of religion.[11] While the *Yoder* decision allowing the Amish to maintain their three hundred-year-old religious tradition of integrating eight years of formal education with additional years of vocational training on their farm, the most important outcome of *Yoder* was its tripartite, burden-shifting test to be applied whenever a fundamental constitutional right was at issue. The burden first fell on parents to produce evidence that their religious choice regarding education was based on a sincerely held religious conviction, supported by evidence that the state's regulation substantially burdened those religious convictions. The burden would then shift to the state to produce evidence that it had a compelling interest which justified the burden on religious beliefs and that burden was the least restrictive means of accomplishing the state's interests.[12]

Pierce and *Yoder*, however, had a limit in terms of the reach of the parents' constitutional right to direct their children's education, namely that the right does not extend to decisions within schools. Thus, for example, parents will not be entitled to use their Liberty Clause or Free Exercise Clause rights to compel public schools to alter their curriculum

8 *Id.* at 534.

9 US Const., Amend. X. "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people." State control over education is considered to be an implied power to state legislatures because Article I of the US Constitution that delegates powers to Congress does not include education.

10 406 US 205 (1972).

11 US Const., Amend. 1 ("Congress shall make no law … prohibiting the free exercise [of religion].").

12 *See Yoder*, 406 US at 211-34 for discussion of this balancing process.

in accordance with parental religion-based requests.[13] The effect has been that, while parents' rights can apply to the venue of instruction (e.g., choosing a religious school), it does not apply to parental demands that public schools modify their curriculum to accord with parents' religious beliefs.

The emergence of student constitutional rights has caused a reassessment parental direction of their children's education as to whether students can assert rights in a way that differs from their parents. In other words, can students pursue their constitutional claims independently of a parent claim based on their right to direct the education of their children? Some cases have arisen indicating that the parent interest is secondary to that of the student. For example, in *Hansen v. Ann Arbor Public Schools*[14] a federal district court upheld a high school student's right of free speech, while rejecting her parents' separate liberty clause claim to direct the education of their child. In *Hansen,* the court, relying on *Tinker*, found that a public high school which permitted a panel of clerics to present views favourable to homosexuality during Diversity Week violated the student's free speech by refusing to permit her or another cleric to present views as to why homosexuality was sinful.[15] However, the court rejected the parents' claim that the school's "conveying a message of disapproval of the traditional Christian belief that homosexual activity is immoral and sinful"[16] violated their liberty clause right to direct the education of their child. In *The Circle School v. Pappert* (*Circle School*)[17] the Third Circuit suggested that a student's interest might be in direct opposition to that of their parents. In *Circle School*, the court of appeals interpreted a Pennsylvania state statute[18] that contained a provision requiring all public, private, and parochial schools to conduct the pledge of allegiance or national anthem and requiring notification to parents if their students declined to recite the pledge or salute to the flag.[19] In invalidating the part of the statute requiring

13 *See Mozert v. Hawkins County Board of Education*, 827 F.2d 1058 6th Cir. 1987).

14 293 F.Supp.2d 780 (E.D. Mich. 2003).

15 The court's discussion of government versus private speech is well worth reading. In effect, public schools cannot camouflage viewpoint discrimination by claiming that permitting only one viewpoint constitutes furtherance of a pedagogical interest under *Hazelwood v. Kuhlmeier*, 484 US 260 (1988). As the court noted in conclusion, "no matter how well-intentioned [a school's] stated objective, once schools get into the business of actively promoting one political or religious viewpoint over another, there is no end to the mischief that can be done in the name of good intentions." *Id.* at 803.

16 *Id.* at 810.

17 *The Circle School v. Phillips*, 270 F.Supp.2d 616 [(E.D.Pa. 2003), *aff'd, The Circle School v. Pappert*, 381 F.3d 172 (3d Cir. 2004).

18 24 Pa.Cons. Stat. Ann. § 7-771(c).

19 Section 7-771(c)(1) of the statute provided that, [a]ll supervising officers and teachers in charge of public, private or parochial schools shall cause the Flag of the United States of America to be displayed in every classroom during the hours of each school day and shall provide for the recitation of the Pledge of Allegiance of the national anthem at the beginning of each school day. Students may decline to recite the Pledge of Allegiance and may refrain from

notification to parents, the Third Circuit found that the statute "clearly discriminate[d] among students based on the viewpoints expressed".[20] Although *Circle School* suggests that a division might exist between a student's constitutional right and a parent's right to direct their children's education, US courts to date have been very reluctant to separate the rights of students from those of their parents.

Government Regulation of Religious Schools

Yoder became a flashpoint beginning in the 1980s as many churches started their own schools and claimed *Yoder* as a precedent for not adhering to state regulations, especially those requiring state approval, setting curriculum requirements, and mandating the same teacher credentialing requirements as for public schools. However, courts generally have limited *Yoder* to the unique facts of the Amish religious community, in essence declaring that since none of the churches were able to produce evidence of a three hundred year tradition similar to the Amish, the religious beliefs of non-Amish groups would be protected under the Free Exercise Clause only if churches could satisfy the requirements of the *Yoder* burden shifting test.[21]

Courts, though, have had difficulty applying the *Yoder* compelling interest and least restrictive means tests to state regulation of religious schools. In general, state and lower federal courts have interpreted and applied the Supreme Court's constitutional guidelines with varying degrees of consistency with the result being a crazy quilt of case law. Court decisions have failed to agree as to how the burden-shifting test applied to non-public schools' compliance with requirements involving state approval, curriculum, and teacher certification requirements. In *State v. Olin,*[22] a state compulsory attendance requirement – that students attend a school with a certified teacher – was unreasonable as applied to a non-Amish child in an Amish school, whereas in *Fellowship Baptist Church v. Benton,*[23] a state statute exempting Amish schools from teacher certification requirements did not apply to a Baptist school. In

saluting the flag on the basis of religious conviction or personal belief. The supervising officer of a school subject to the requirements of this subsection shall provide written notification to the parents or guardian of any student who declines to recite the Pledge of Allegiance or who refrains from saluting the flag.
The statute also had two other provisions not relevant to this article, one that exempted private schools if participation with the statute would violate the their religious views [§ 7-771(c)(2)], and another that required one period per week of instruction in "affirming and developing allegiance to and respect for the Flag of the United States of America, and for the promoting of a clear understanding of our American way of life." [§ 7-771(d)].

20 *Id.* at 180.

21 *See, e.g., New Life Baptist Church Acad. v. East Longmeadow*, 885 F.2d 940 (1st Cir. 1989); *State v. Shaver,* 294 N.W.2d 883 (N.D. 1980).

22 415 N.E.2d 279 (Ohio 1980).

23 815 F.2d 485 (8th Cir. 1987).

Bangor Baptist Church v. State of Maine,[24] the Department of Education did not have express statutory authority under the compulsory attendance statute to impose direct sanctions against unapproved private schools, whereas in *State v. Faith Baptist Church of Louisville,*[25] the enforcement of compulsory attendance statutes included authority to enjoin operation of the school and to incarcerate the pastor.[26]

Case law regarding compliance with state curricular requirements presented the same differing results. In *State of Ohio v. Whisner,*[27] state curriculum requirements regulating not only the courses to be offered but also the amount of instructional time to be allocated to the subjects offered were held unreasonable, whereas in *State v. Shaver,*[28] state department of education regulations specifying the courses to be offered were held to be reasonable. In *Kentucky State Board v. Rudasill,*[29] a Kentucky constitutional provision providing that no man shall "be compelled to send his child to any school to which he may be conscientiously opposed" prohibited Kentucky from requiring that any teacher in a non-public school be certificated and prohibited the state's determination of basic texts to be used in private or parochial schools. However, in *Care and Protection of Charles,*[30] a statutory provision, whereby a Massachusetts school committee "shall not withhold such approval [to operate a non-public school] on account of religious teaching", did not exempt home instruction parents from the obligation to furnish outlined curriculum, materials to be used, and qualifications of instructors.

However, to add to the difficulty in interpreting the Free Exercise Clause, the Supreme Court, in 1990, further limited the effectiveness of that clause by holding in a non-education case, *Employment Division v. State*,[31] that the Free Exercise Clause could no longer be a defence to neutral, generally applicable laws or regulations.[32] Since many of the government regulations could be considered to be neutral and generally applicable, in the sense that they were enacted for reasons other than to affect non-public schools, the impact on such schools was immediate and dramatic.

24 576 F. Supp. 1299 (D. Me. 1983).

25 301 N.W.2d 571 (Neb. 1981).

26 *People v. Tesch*, 326 N.W.2d 850 (Neb. 1982). *See also, State ex rel. Kandt v. N. Platte Baptist Church*, 365 N.W.2d 813 (Neb. 1985) (both the church and the pastor were found guilty of contempt for refusal to cease operating a non-accredited religious school).

27 351 N.E.2d 750 (Ohio 1976).

28 294 N.W.2d 883 (N.D. 1980).

29 589 S.W.2d 877 (Ky. 1979), *cert. denied*, 446 US 938 (1980).

30 504 N.E.2d 592 (Mass. 1987).

31 494 US 872 (1990).

32 For a discussion of the dramatic effect of Employment Division on religious case law, see Ralph Mawdsley, *Employment Division v. Smith Revisited: The Construction of Free Exercise Rights Under the US Constitution*, 76 Ed. Law Rep. 1-16 (1992).

However, despite the *Employment Division* case, the state regulatory climate had changed by the late 1990s, resulting in a more favourable political climate in state legislatures. The result was a reduction or elimination of state regulations applicable to religious schools. In many states even the most objectionable state regulation, teacher certification, was eliminated as a requirement.[33]

The state regulatory interest did not disappear altogether but tended to shift to regulation of the burgeoning number of home schools, generally started for religious reasons. Home schools faced daunting legal issues such as whether home schooling constituted a school at all under state law and whether home schools should be required to satisfy state requirements as to teacher certification and curriculum. All fifty states now define home schooling as a school under state law, although the amount of regulation continues to vary.[34] With more favourable state acceptance of home schools, the number of such schools has proliferated rapidly with the number estimated to be between 1.7 and 2.2 million.[35]

Having won the right to send their children to religious schools or teach them at home, parents changed direction and sought to use their Liberty Clause and Free Exercise Clause rights to compel public schools to permit their children participate in selected public school classes (e.g., languages and higher level maths and sciences) and activities (e.g., athletics and music). Setting aside the obvious irony that parents, who had laboured for decades in courts and state legislatures to be able to operate their religious schools relatively free from state regulation, now sought to access to public schools, the attempt at selective admission to public schools has not been well received. In the absence of state statutes permitting such selective participation,[36] courts have afforded school districts considerable discretion in making decisions regarding school curricular and extracurricular participation[37] and parent constitutional claims have generally been unsuccessful.[38]

One more area touching tangentially on the religious rights of parents to choose religious schools for their children concerns the extent to which such parent decisions can be penalised where the parents are employed by the public schools. In three federal circuit

33 *See, e.g.*, Minn. Stat. Ann. § 120A-22 (9) (10), (11).

34 *See* Ralph Mawdsley, Legal Problems of Religious and Private Schools 217-225 (Education Law Association, 2006).

35 *Id.* at 217.

36 *Cf. Snyder v. Charlotte School District*, 365 N.W.2d 151 (Mich. 1984 *with Swanson v. Guthrie Independent. School District*, 135 F.3d 694 (10th Cir. 1998).

37 *See Thomas v. Allegany County Board of Education*,443 A.2d 622 (Md.Ct.Spec.App.1982).

38 *See e.g., Swanson v. Guthrie Independent School District*, 135 F.3d 694 (10th Cir. 1998); *Reid v. Kenowa Hills Public Schools*, 680 N.W.2d 62 (Mic. Ct. App. 2004).

courts of appeal (Fifth,[39] Sixth,[40] and Ninth[41]) the courts have held that public school decisions to refuse to hire or to deny promotion to a teacher because he/she had placed their child in a religious school violated the Liberty Clause or Free Exercise Clause. In the Fifth and Sixth Circuit decisions, not only was the school district liable for a violation of parents' rights, but the school district superintendent was held to be personally liable for his decisions. In the Ninth Circuit decision, the court of appeals upheld $200,000 special damages $100,000 general damages awards, in addition to the award of attorney fees.

Religious activities and expression on public school premises

Community organisations access to public schools

Whatever the public relations consequences might be, public school districts are not required to open their facilities for community organisations to meet. However, once districts open their schools to groups, they create what is known as a limited public forum under the Free Speech Clause. A limited public forum means that a school district can choose which kinds of uses of its property that it will permit; however, to the extent that these limitations are based on the viewpoints of organisations seeking to use school premises, the Free Speech Clause is invoked. The Free Speech Clause is a fundamental constitutional right that permits restrictions only in carefully defined circumstances. In 1993 and 2001, the Supreme Court was called upon twice to determine the appropriate balance between the rights of school districts to control access to their facilities by community organisations and the rights of religious organisations not to be denied access because of their religious viewpoints.

In the landmark decision, *Lamb's Chapel v. Center Moriches Union Free School District* (*Lamb's Chapel*),[42] the Court protected, under the Free Speech Clause, a church's after-school access to a public school auditorium for the purpose of showing a religious film series.[43] The film series in this case involved a Christian approach to child rearing and family values.[44] Evidence demonstrated that the district had permitted a variety of other uses that touched upon child rearing, among which were a lecture by a psychologist, a

39 *Barrow v. Greenville Independent School District*, 332 F.3d 844 (5th Cir. 2003).

40 *Barrett v. Steubenville City Schools*, 388 F.3d 967 (6th Cir. 2004).

41 *Peterson v. Minidoka County Local School District*, 118 F.3d 1351 (9th Cir. 1997), *as amended*, 132 F.3d 1258 (9th Cir. 1997).

42 508 US 384 (1993).

43 *Id.* at 388, fn. 3.

44 *Id.* at 391, fn. 5.

New Age religious group, and various scout groups. In a unanimous decision, the Court reasoned that once a school district had permitted secular views of a subject (in this case, child rearing and family values), refusal to permit a religious perspective constituted impermissible viewpoint discrimination under the Free Speech Clause. Having determined that the church's access was protected under the free speech, the school district was not permitted, under the Establishment Clause, to separate itself from all religious uses. The Court observed that the religious group's presence could not be reasonably interpreted as endorsing religion in violation of the establishment clause[45] where the meetings occurred, as here, in the evenings between 7 and 10 pm.[46]

Lamb's Chapel addressed a set of facts that presented little risk of an inappropriate connection between the public school and the religious beliefs of the church. The film series occurred in the evenings when pupils who attended the school were not likely to be present.[47] However, what if a community religious organisation requested the right to meet in an elementary school building immediately after school while students might still be in the school buildings?

Eight years after *Lamb's Chapel*, in *Good News Club v. Milford Central Schools* (*Good News*),[48] a divided Court[49] ruled on behalf of an evangelical organisation's (Good News Club) use of elementary school facilities immediately after school. As in *Lamb's Chapel*, the Court found that the school permitted secular groups (the scouts and 4-H.)[50] to meet immediately after school in the school building. In ordering the school to permit the Good News Club to meet after school, the Supreme Court reasoned that the scouts, 4-H club, and Good News Club all shared a common subject matter, namely character and moral development. Thus, to deny the Good News Club the opportunity to present its religious viewpoint regarding that subject matter club constituted impermissible viewpoint discrimination under the Free Speech Clause. Worth noting though is that, although the Good News Club had the same right of access as other youth groups, elementary students were permitted to attend the religious club only if they had signed parental consent forms. In essence, parent permission became a kind of circuit breaker to negate the claim that public school personnel might influence children to participate in the religious club in violation of the Establishment Clause.

45 *See Widmar v. Vincent*, 454 US 263 (1981).

46 *See Lamb's Chapel*, 959 F.2d 381, 384 (2d Cir. 1992).

47 *Lamb's Chapel, 508 US at 395.*

48 533 US 98 (2001).

49 Voting for the majority on the merits were Chief Justice Rehnquist and Justices Scalia, O'Connor, Kennedy, and Thomas. Justice Breyer concurred with the majority on procedural grounds.

50 *Id.* at 108.

The free speech clause prohibits other kinds of discrimination against religious uses. In *Bronx Household of Faith v. Board of Education of City of New York (Bronx Household),*[51] a church sued to be permitted to rent school facilities on Sunday for its worship services. In reversing an earlier decision against the church, the Second Circuit Court of Appeals followed the Supreme Court's reasoning in *Good News. Because the school district had opened its facilities to "the teaching of moral values" by permitting boy and girl scouts meetings in its buildings, the Second Circuit held that even a "quintessentially religious" use that included "prayer, the singing of Christian songs, and communion" could not be prohibited.*[52] Similar to the reasoning in *Lamb's Chapel, the Second Circuit held that the church services presented no Establishment Clause problems where they were held on Sunday mornings when schoolchildren and employees would be present.*[53] However, the Second Circuit in *Bronx Household also observed, as part of its establishment clause analysis, that the church services would not be attended by school employees or schoolchildren. Thus, the court injected some uncertainty as to whether attendance at the church services by students or employees might alter the establishment clause analysis.*

In terms of charging rental rates for use of school facilities, school districts cannot discriminate against religious uses. In *Fairfax Covenant church v. Fairfax County School Board,*[54] the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals invalidated a school board ordinance that provided as follows:

Churches/religious organisations servicing Fairfax County citizens may be granted use of a school for as many as five years …. Church/religious groups may be authorised the usage after five years of use at increasing rental rates until the full commercial rates become effective in the ninth year of use.[55]

The Fourth Circuit found that a school board lacked a compelling interest in setting differential rates for school property so that churches paid more than non-religious groups. The school board had reasoned that extended religious use of public school facilities could be characterised as "domination" as suggested in dictum by the Supreme Court in *Widmar v, Vincent.*[56] The Supreme Court in *Widmar had implied an establishment clause violation where a religious group comes to dominate a forum. In Fairfax Covenant, the Fourth Circuit found no support for the notion that low rates and extended use by churches would*

51 331 F.3d 342 (2d Cir. 2003).

52 *Id.* at 353, 354.

53 *Id.* at 356.

54 17 F.3d 703 (4th Cir. 1994).

55 *Id.* at 705.

56 454 US 263 (1981).

create such religious domination. Thus, in the absence of neutral, generally applicable rules that limit uses of school facilities, school districts cannot prohibit long-term use by religious groups.

Other kinds of access issues have also arisen involving community members and use of school premises. In Daugherty v. Vanguard Charter School Academy,[57] a federal district court upheld a Moms Prayer Group to use the Parents' Room for 90 minutes once a week where other parent groups were permitted to use the room. In addition, the court found no Establishment Clause violation in the school's policy of sending religious literature home with students at the end of the school day, along with non-religious materials.

A number of federal courts have prohibited public schools from treating religious community groups differently from secular groups in terms of inserting religious materials in materials distributed to students at the end of the school day. The Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals, in *Rusk v. Clearview Local Schools,*[58] upheld a school board policy that required religious materials be included in distribution to students at the end of the school day where other non-religious materials were permitted. The court determined not only that sending religious materials home did not send a message favouring religion in violation of the establishment clause, but that refusal to send home the religious materials might cause students to "conclude that the school disapproves religion".[59] Other federal circuit courts of appeal have reached similar results to *Rusk and required that, if schools send home the materials of secular community organisations, they cannot refuse to send home the materials of religious organisations.*[60]

While cases such as those in the preceding paragraph indicate that religious groups cannot be treated differently from secular groups, nothing prohibits a school district from banning all groups from using its premises. Such a rule would qualify as neutral and generally applicable but is not likely to generate public support. In the US where most states require that taxpayers vote to approve tax increases for schools, the reaction of taxpayers to the closure of their schools to community use may not be well received. However, school districts can adopt rules that restrict religious uses as long as they do so by in a neutral manner. For example, a school board could limit the number of times a community group can use school facilities per month or per year, thus having the effect of preventing religious organisations such as churches from holding all of their church services on school

57 116 F.Supp.2d 897 (W.D. Mich. 2000).

58 379 F.3d 418 (6th Cir. 2004).

59 *Id.* at 423.

60 *See Child Evangelism of Maryland v. Montgomery County Public Schools*, 373 F.3d 589 (4th Cir. 2004); *Hills v. Scottsdale Unified School District*, 329 F.3d 1044 (9th Cir. 2003).

premises. School boards could also require all uses on a first-come, first serve basis or limit community use only to certain school buildings.

However, despite the Free Speech Clause protection against viewpoint discrimination, courts have found ways of circumventing free speech. In *Bannon v. School District of Palm Beach County*,[61] the Eleventh Circuit Court of Appeals addressed a school principal's policy of permitting students, as part of a beautification project, to decorate temporary panels located in the school while long-term renovations occurred. After a student representing a religious club (Fellowship of Christian Athletes) was given permission to paint messages on the panels, the principal expressed surprise that the message conveyed was religious in nature and directed that certain religious words be painted over. The principal likened the religious words to "profanity, gang symbols, and satanic symbols" that he had removed from other panels. In upholding the principal's action and denying the student's free speech claim, the Eleventh Circuit determined that the beautification project constituted school-sponsored speech and fell within school board control over curriculum under *Hazelwood School District v. Kuhlmeier*.[62] In *Hazelwood*, the Supreme Court created an exception to student or organisation free speech where a school's restriction was based on its control over the curriculum. In ruling that school officials needed only a reasonable basis for restricting student expression in matters relating to school curriculum, the *Hazelwood* Court upheld a school principal's decision to excise two pages from a school newspaper prepared as part of a journalism course. In *Bannon*, the Eleventh Circuit found the panels to be a curricular activity and school sponsored and, thus, the principal's reasonable concern about student reaction to the religious messages on the panels represented a reasonable basis for requiring their deletion. Similarly, in *Fleming v. Jefferson County School District R-1*,[63] the Tenth Circuit Court of Appeals held that a post-Columbine tile painting and installation project established by school district as part of reconstruction of the school after the multiple fatal shootings at the school was school-sponsored speech over which school could exercise editorial control. As a result, the school could remove tiles with religious messages, in effect upholding guidelines established by the school and communicated to plaintiffs before their tiles were painted with religious symbols and messages, namely that "there could be no references to the attack, to the date of the attack, April 20, 1999, or 4/20/99, no names or initials of students, no Columbine ribbons, no religious symbols, and nothing obscene or offensive".

61 387 F.3d 1208 (11th Cir. 2004).

62 484 US 260, 273 (1988).

63 298 F.3d 918, 930 10th Cir. 2002).

Prayer at school events

Following World War II, a number of religious practices in public schools came under assault from the Supreme Court. Beginning in 1948, the Court, in *McCollum v. Board of Education,*[64] found a school board practice of permitting clergy on school premises during the school day to provide religious instruction to students who had parental consent to be a violation of the Establishment Clause. However, four years later, the Court, in *Zorach v. Clauson,*[65] upheld a public release time programme that permitted student to be excused from the public school to attend religious classes off campus. Fourteen years after *McCollum, in Engle v. Vitale,*[66] the Court invalidated a state-created prayer that was recited in public schools. The following year, in *School District of Abington Township v. Schemmp,*[67] the Court struck down the practice of Bible reading over the school's intercom involving verses from the King James Bible. A few years later, in *Epperson v. Arkansas,*[68] the Court struck down a state statute that prohibited the teaching of evolution in public schools because it amounted to the legislative furthering of a religious point of view. Another seventeen years intervened before the Court, in *Wallace v. Jaffree,*[69] invalidated another state law, this time one that authorised, during school time for students, moments of silence for "meditation and prayer"; the Court found the reference to prayer an endorsement of religion. Two years later, in *Edwards v. Aguillard,*[70] the Court struck down a state balanced-treatment law that permitted the teaching of evolution only if scientific creationism was also taught. In 1992, the Supreme Court, in *Lee v. Weisman,*[71] invalidated the use of prayer at graduation organised and coordinated by the high school principal. The prayer in this case was by a member of the local clergy selected by the school principal from a revolving list of available persons. In finding the prayer a violation of the Establishment Clause, a majority of the Court opined that if persons in attendance at the graduation felt pressured to stand during the prayer, then such pressure amounted to an unconstitutional "psychological coercion".

The message from this forty-four history of Supreme Court decisions was that the establishment clause prohibited religious activities in public schools or at public school

64 333 US 203 (1948).

65 343 US 306 (1952).

66 370 US 421 (1962).

67 374 US 203 (1963).

68 393 US 97 (1968).

69 472 US 38 (1985).

70 482 US 578 (1987).

71 505 US 577 (1992).

activities where government entities or officials (state legislatures, school boards, school administrators) were involved. What the cases did not address was whether school prayer and religious activities might be permissible if student-initiated and student-led. The Supreme Court in *Santa Fe Independent School District v. Doe*[72] provided some direction in this area by invalidating a school district policy that permitted students to vote whether a student would deliver a "message" before a football game. Even though the word, "prayer", did not appear in the policy, the Court relied on the school district's past practices of permitting religious involvement in the public schools to invalidate a policy that had never been implemented.

Following *Lee v. Weisman*, two federal courts of appeal upheld student-initiated and student-led prayer at graduation where school officials had no control over the content. In *Jones v. Clear Creek Independent School District*,[73] the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals upheld a school board resolution that permitted a senior class volunteer to deliver a non-sectarian, non-proselytising invocations at graduation. The court found that senior class choice of another student to deliver the prayer was sufficient to take this case outside the purview of *Lee v. Weisman*. Similarly, in *Chandler v. Seligman*,[74] the Eleventh Circuit Court of Appeals lifted an injunction by a district court enjoining enforcement of an Alabama statute permitting non-sectarian, non-proselytising, student-initiated prayer at school-related events. The Eleventh Circuit found the injunction overbroad to the extent that equated all student religious speech in any public context with state speech. As the court observed, so long as the prayer is genuinely student-initiated endorsement of religion, and not the product of any school policy which actively or surreptitiously encourages the speech, "the speech is private … [and] is constitutionally protected".[75] In effect, this element of student free speech was sufficient to overcome scrutiny under *Santa Fe*. On the other hand, the Third and Ninth Circuit Courts of Appeal have invalidated school board policies permitting student-initiated and student-led prayer at graduation, finding such prayer at a school sponsored graduation event to be a violation of the Establishment Clause and not a violation of student free speech.[76]

72 530 US 290 (2000).

73 977 F.2d 963 (5th Cir. 1992).

74 230 F.3d 1313 (11th Cir. 2000).

75 *Id.* at 1317.

76 *American Civil Liberties Union of New Jersey v. Black Horse Pike Regional Board of Education*, 84 F.3d 1471 (3d Cir. 1995); *Cole v. Oroville Union High School District*, 228 F.3d 1092 (9th Cir. 2000); *Lassonde v. Pleasanton Unified School District* , 320 F.3d 979 (9th Cir. 2003).

Student religious speech in public schools

In 1984, Congress enacted the Equal Access Act (EAA)[77] in response to court decisions that had upheld the right of public school districts to deny student Bible clubs the opportunity to meet on school premises on the same basis as other student groups. The EAA prohibited public school districts that had created a "limited open forum" from engaging in discrimination in "religious, political, philosophical, or other speech content". A limited open forum was declared to exist whenever one or more non-curriculum related student groups meets on school premises during non-instructional time. While EAA does not define what constitutes non-curriculum related student groups, it does define non-instructional time as that which is "set aside by the school before actual classroom instruction begins or after actual classroom instruction ends". In order to assure that students have a fair opportunity to conduct meetings under a school's limited open forum, meetings: must be voluntary and student-initiated; cannot be government sponsored; can be attended by government employees only in a non-participatory capacity; cannot materially or substantially interfere with the educational activities of the school; and, cannot be directed, conducted, or regularly attended by non-school persons.

The immediate and dramatic impact of the EAA was that student religious groups that had been denied access to public school facilities in the past now had statutory authority to claim the same access rights as other non-curriculum related student groups.[78] In *Westside Community Schools v. Mergens*,[79] the Supreme Court upheld the EAA against an Establishment Clause challenge. More importantly though, the Court prohibited schools from using fanciful and gerrymandered connections between academic courses and student clubs so as to avoid compliance with the EAA. For example, the chess club could not be curriculum related to logic or math classes nor could the surfing club be so related to a physical education class. The presence of just one non-curriculum related club was sufficient to invoke access rights under the EAA.

Subsequent interpretations of the EAA have extended the protection under the statute to gay rights student groups.[80] In addition, courts have extended the term, "non-instructional time", to not just to meetings times before or after school, but also to any meeting time during the school day. Thus, in *Ceniceros v. Board of Trustees of Dan Diego School District*,[81] the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals held that the lunch period during the school

77 20 USC. § 4071.

78 *See Lubbock Civil Liberties Union v. Lubbock Independent School District*, 669 F.2d 1038 (5th Cir. 1982); *Brandon v. Guilderland Board of Education*, 635 F.2d 971 (2d Cir. 1980).

79 496 US 226 (1990).

80 *See East High School Prism Club v. Seidel*, 95 F.Supp.2d 1239 (D. Utah 2000).

81 106 F.3d 878 (9th Cir. 1997).

day when students were free to leave campus constituted non-instructional time as long as other student groups were permitted to meet. Five years later, in *Prince v. Jacoby*,[82] the same federal court of appeals held that a morning student/staff activity period also constituted a non-instructional time even though attendance was taken. As long as students had an option to meet with student clubs during this time period, religious clubs could not be excluded. In addition, the Ninth Circuit held that the EAA extended to providing the religious club equal access to funding, the yearbook, the public address system and bulletin boards.

What has been the most extraordinary effect of EAA though has resulted from the interaction of the statute with free speech rights and school district non-discrimination policies. In *Hsu v. Roslyn Union Free School District*,[83] the Second Circuit Court of Appeals balanced a school board's policy prohibiting discrimination in a wide range of areas including religion against a prospective religious student club's free speech claim. The school principal had refused to permit a religious club to meet because a provision of the club's constitution that its president, vice-president and song leader be "Christians" was viewed as violating the school board's non-discrimination policy. In upholding the club's provision, the Second Circuit held that the religious requirement was necessary to preserve the expressive rights of the club. In *Prince v. Jacoby*, the Ninth Circuit had found that student rights under the EAA could be expanded by using free speech. Thus, in addition to items covered under the EAA, free speech required that the religious club have equal access to items that could not properly be included under the Act. As a result, the club was entitled to a number of other items available to other student groups that had to be provided to the religious club under the free speech clause. Included among these items were being permitted to meet during the student/staff time and having access to school supplies, vehicles and audio/visual equipment on the same basis as other student groups. Likewise, in *Donovan v. Punxsutawney Area School Board,*[84] the Third Circuit Court of Appeals held that refusal of a school to permit a religious club to meet during an activity period when attendance was taken and where other student groups were permitted to meet constituted viewpoint discrimination in violation of free speech. Even though the student in *Donovan had graduated by the time the case reached the Third Circuit, the court held that she still was entitled to damages and attorney fees for the violation of her free speech rights.*

The viability of cases, such as Hsu, that suggested student organisations can function in a manner inconsistent with a school district's non-discrimination policy, has been

82 303 F.3d 1074 (9th Cir. 2002).

83 85 F.3d 839 (2d Cir. 1996).

84 336 F.3d 211 (3d Cir. 2003).

placed in doubt by the US Supreme Court's recent decision in Christian Legal Society v. Martinez (CLS),[85] which held that a law school did have to recognise a religious student organisation that wanted to limit membership to students who subscribed to its Statement of Faith, one provision of which prohibited membership to those who engaged "unrepentant homosexual conduct".[86] In holding that the law school could enforce its non-discrimination policy prohibiting discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation and refuse to recognise CLS, the Supreme Court found the law school's policy to be "reasonable and viewpoint neutral".[87]

Within public schools, students have a constitutionally protected right to free speech, including religious expression, although the right is a limited one. Under the seminal student constitutional right decision, *Tinker v. Des Moines Independent School District,*[88] students enjoy a right to private expression as long as their speech does not represent a substantial and material likelihood of disruption. In addition, though, students may find their free speech rights can be restricted at graduations, without invoking *Tinker's disruption test, where a public school has not been considered to have created a limited public forum. In essence, the graduation is considered to represent the speech only of the government (school district) and, thus, the free speech rights of students never become viable issues. I*n *Cole v. Oroville Union High School District*,[89] the Ninth Circuit upheld denial of injunctive relief for two students to deliver what the school principal considered to be a proselytising prayer and a proselytising valedictory speech at graduation. The court observed that, because the school maintained control over all aspects of the graduation ceremony, the students' proselytising comments might be viewed as those of the school district.

High schools and middle schools in the US generally have a tradition of permitting the valedictorian and salutatorian to make a brief speech at commencement, but students want to use prayer or proselytising religious messages in their graduation speeches, a considerable amount of litigation has developed as to whether the speakers can inject religion into their messages. Courts have fairly consistently upheld school board decisions not to permit religious proselytising comments in student graduation speeches, finding that the concern about an Establishment Clause violation trumped both the Free Exercise and Free Speech Clauses. For example, in *Lassonde v. Pleasanton Unified School District*

85 130 S.Ct. 2971 (2010).

86 *Id.* at 2974.

87 *Id.* at 2995.

88 393 US 503, 509 (1969).

89 228 F.3d 1092 (9th Cir. 2000), *cert. denied sub nom., Niemeyer v. Oroville Union High School District*, 532 US 905 (2001).

(*Lassonde*),[90] the Ninth Circuit, in upholding a school district's requirement that a graduate delete proselytising comments from his speech did not violate either free exercise or free speech. While a school district–student compromise permitted the student to include descriptive comments regarding his faith[91] and permitted the student to hand out copies of his speech after the graduation ceremony, the court opined that "censoring the speech ... [was] 'necessary' ... [to avoid] a violation of the Establishment Clause".[92] More recently in *Corder v. Lewis Palmer School Dist. No. 38*,[93] a student who inserted religious comments into her graduation address after being told by the school principal not to do so, was required to apologise in writing before she could receive her diploma. In *Corder* the Tenth Circuit reasoned that the student's free exercise right was not violated because the rules she was required to follow regarding pre-screening were the same for all speakers, thus making them neutral and generally applicable. The student's free speech rights were not violated because the school district controlled the graduation ceremonies. Graduation represented government, as opposed to student, speech, indicated by the supervision by school faculty and the selection of class valedictorians based on district's qualifications. As a result, pursuant to *Hazelwood*, the school district had a legitimate and prevailing pedalogical interest in assuring that religious comments made by students would not be attributable to public school officials in violation of the Establishment Clause.

However, school control of student expression within public schools is much more difficult. In *Westfield High School L.I.F.E. Club v. City of Westfield (Westfield),*[94] a federal district court issued a preliminary injunction against a high school principal's effort to enforce a policy prohibiting distribution of "non-school curriculum or activity related literature of any kind to other students on school grounds".[95] In enjoining the principal from enforcing the rule against a student's distribution of candy canes with a clearly proselytising message,[96] the court reflected that such "private, school-tolerated speech" can be controlled by the school only "to the extent it substantially disrupts or materially interferes with the school's disciplinary concerns".[97] The Third Circuit Court of Appeals reached a compromise position in *Walz v. Egg Harbor Township Board of Education*.[98]

90 320 F.3d 979 (9th Cir. 2003).

91 *Id.* at 981.

92 *Id.* at 984.

93 566 F.3d 1219 (10th Cir. 2009).

94 249 F.Supp.2d 98 (D.Mass. 2003).

95 *Id.* at 104.

96 *Id.* at 104, 105.

97 *Id.* at 114, note 13.

98 342 F.3d 271, 280 (3d Cir. 2003).

The court upheld a school accommodation that permitted a student to distribute pencils with religious message during non-instructional time, such as in the hallways and at lunch, but not during class time. However, the court suggested that the school's permitting the student to distribute his pencils in the hallways and at lunch may not be required under free speech.

Student religious expression within public schools as had less success when it is considered to be counter to a school district's hate-speech policy. In *Harper v. Poway Unified School District*,[99] *a federal district court, following remand from the Ninth Circuit, determined that a school's refusal to permit a student to wear a T-shirt opposing homosexuality on a Day of Silence to encourage tolerance for gay and lesbians had not violated the student's free exercise right. The student's handwritten message on his T-shirt,* "I WILL NOT ACCEPT WHAT GOD HAS CONDEMNED," on the front and "HOMOSEXUALITY IS SHAMEFUL 'Romans 1:27'"[100] *on the back was found by the school to be inflammatory and, thus, both the federal district court and the Ninth Circuit refused to grant injunctive relief to the student who had refused, when requested by school officials, to turn the T-shirt inside out or exchange it for another shirt. Both courts declared that the demand made of the student* had not substantially burdened the student's religious beliefs since the student had presented no evidence that the school had compelled him to adopt views counter to his beliefs. In terms of future cases, the Ninth Circuit opined that,

The Constitution does not authorise one group of persons to force its religious views on others or to compel others to abide by its precepts. Nor does it authorise individuals to engage in conduct, including speech, on the grounds of public schools, that is harmful to other students seeking to obtain a fair and equal education-even if those individuals hold a sincere belief that the principles of their religion require them to discriminate against others, or to publicly proclaim their discriminatory views whenever they believe that 'evil' practices are being condoned.[101]

The establishment clause and public schools

Government assistance to religious schools

In the United States in 2008 (the most recent year for which enrollment data is available), 5 072 451 students were enrolled in 33 740 non-public schools.[102] While non-sectarian

99 545 F.Supp.2d 1072 (S.D. Cal. 2007).

100 *Harper v. Poway Unified School District*, 445 F.3d 1166, 1171 (9th Cir. 2006).

101 *Id.* at 1188.

102 Non-public is used synonymously with private schools and includes both religious and non-sectarian institutions.

schools constituted 32 percent of the total number of these non-public schools, religious schools enrolled 80 percent of the students.[103] In effect, over 4 million students are enrolled in religious schools whose interaction with federal and state governments' efforts to provide financial assistance brings them within the purview of the First Amendment's Establishment Clause. While the number of students in religious schools, when compared with the 49 825 000 students enrolled in public schools,[104] is small, the impact on Supreme Court litigation over the past 60 years has been significant with at least 20 decisions addressing the appropriate boundaries for government aid to religious schools.[105]

The earliest Establishment Clause government aid cases upheld such aid under the broad rubric of child benefit. In the seminal case of *Everson v. Board of Education of Ewing Township* (*Everson*)[106] the US Supreme Court held that the Establishment Clause did not prohibit the State of New Jersey from enacting a statute permitting the use of tax revenues to pay bus fares for both public and parochial students. Declaring that "the State [had] contribute[d] no money to the [religious] schools",[107] the Court found the tax-supported bus transportation to be a "neutral" method of "help[ing] parents get their children, regardless of their religion, safely and expeditiously to and from accredited schools".[108] Twenty-one years after *Everson*, the Supreme Court, in *Board of Central School District v. Allen* (*Allen*)[109] upheld a New York statute permitting the loaning of secular textbooks free of charge to religious schools, reasoning that, since the books were owned by the public school districts and since the books were considered to have been requested by the students, they financially benefited the children and the parents, not the school.[110]

103 International Center for Educational Statistics. Private School Universe Survey, *Table 2. Number and percentage distribution of private schools, students, and full-time equivalent (FTE) teachers, by religious or non-sectarian orientation of school: United States, 2007-08.* See http://nces.ed.gov/surveys/pss/tables/table_2008_02.asp (last reviewed 10/11/2009).

104 International Center for Educational Statistics. Digest of Education Statistics. *Table 2. Enrollment in Education Institutions, by Level and Control of Institutions, fall 1980 through fall 2008.* See http://nces.ed.gov/programs/digest/do8/tables/dt08_002.asp (last reviewed 10/11/2009).

105 *See generally*, Ralph Mawdsley and Johan Beckmann, J. *The US Supreme Court Continues to Struggle With the Meaning of the Establishment Clause and Its role in Assuring Fair and Balanced Treatment of Religion*, 10 Australia & New Zealand Journal of Law and Education 73 (2006).

106 330 US 1 (1947).

107 *Id.* at 18.

108 *Id.*

109 392 US 236 (1968).

110 *Id.* at 243-44.

Allen was followed three years later by the benchmark decision, *Lemon v. Kurtzman* (*Lemon*),[111] where, in striking down a Rhode Island state statute providing salary supplements for teachers in religious and non-religious non-public schools and a Pennsylvania state statute reimbursing religious schools for teachers' salaries, textbooks, and instructional materials used in the teaching of specified secular courses, the Supreme Court framed its tripartite test that was to become a permanent fixture in Establishment Clause litigation. In order to determine if a government act providing assistance to religious schools passed constitutional muster under the Establishment Clause, that act would have to be examined as to whether it: (1) had a secular purpose, (2) advanced or inhibited religion, or (3) would result in excessive entanglement between government and religion.[112] A violation of any one of the three parts of the *Lemon* test would render a government act unconstitutional. Despite its detractors over the years, efforts to eradicate the *Lemon* test have been unsuccessful.[113]

In a series of government assistance cases in the 1970s, the Supreme Court invoked the *Lemon* test repeatedly to invalidate a broad range of state efforts to assist religious schools. On one day in June, 1973, the Court rendered two government aid cases. In *Sloan v. Lemon*,[114] the Court struck down a Pennsylvania statute reimbursing parents for tuition paid to religious schools, reasoning that the statute had the impermissible effect of advancing religion. On the same day, the Court, in *Committee for Public Education & Religious Liberty v. Nyquist*,[115] also invalidated a New York statute providing tuition reimbursement to parents, ruling that an act encouraging parents to enroll children in religious schools had the effect of advancing religion "whether or not the actual dollars given eventually find their way into the sectarian institutions".[116] In addition, the *Nyquist* Court found unconstitutional maintenance and repair grants to religious schools limited to a maximum number of dollars per student, determining that the grants had the effect of "subsidis[ing] and advance[ing] the religious mission of sectarian schools".[117] In

111 403 US 602 (1971).

112 *Id.* at 612-13.

113 *See Lamb's Chapel v. Center Moriches Union Free School District*, 508 US 384, 398 (1993) where Justice Scalia eloquently expressed his frustration over the *Lemon* test's long life:

> Like some ghoul in a late-night horror movie that repeatedly sits up in its grave and shuffles abroad, after being repeatedly killed and buried, *Lemon* stalks our Establishment Clause jurisprudence once again, frightening the little children and school attorneys of Center Moriches Union Free School District. Its most recent burial, only last Term, was, to be sure, not fully six feet under.

114 413 US 825 (1973).

115 413 US 756 (1973).

116 *Id.* at 786.

117 *Id.* at 779-80.

Meek v. Pittenger,[118] the Supreme Court invalidated a State of Pennsylvania instructional equipment loan programme to the extent that it sanctioned the loan of equipment which could be diverted to religious purposes, but upheld a statute loaning secular textbooks to religious schools, adopting the reasoning of *Everson* that textbooks were being lent directly to students, not to the non-public school, and that the financial benefit of the programme redounded to parents and children, not to the non-public schools. In 1977, a severely divided Supreme Court in *Wolman v. Walter*[119] upheld an Ohio statute that expended state funds for purchases of secular textbooks for loan to the students, for standardised test and scoring services which were the same as those used by the public schools, and for the provision of diagnostic and therapeutic services to students. The Court reasoned that the state had "a substantial and legitimate interest in insuring that its youth receive an adequate secular education".[120] While the *Wolman* Court invalidated the loaning of instructional materials and the funding of field trips on the ground that the monitoring of the equipment to assure no diversion to religious uses and the monitoring of field trips to assure that they were to secular sites, members of the Court were clearly becoming dissatisfied with the *Lemon* test and its application to government aid for religious schools.

Arguably, the corner was turned in the Supreme Court's *Committee for Public Education and Religious Liberty v. Regan*[121] decision where the Court upheld a New York statute that reimbursed public and non-public (including religious) schools that administered and graded state mandated tests. For the first time, the Court upheld direct cash payments to religious schools as payment for grading the state-prescribed exams. Refusing to forego "common sense",[122] the Court recognised that the sameness of function – grading of state tests by persons in either public or religious schools – is not an Establishment Clause violation, especially where the teachers had no responsibility in drafting the questions on the test. However, five years later in *Aguilar v. Felton*,[123] the Court invalidated a part of Title I of the federal Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA)[124] that required that publicly paid remedial math and reading instructors be available to provide on-site services in parochial schools on the same basis as they were provided in public schools. Ruling, in effect, that publicly paid teachers could not be trusted to limit their teaching in religious schools only to math and reading, a bare majority of the Court held that to

118 421 US 349 (1975).

119 433 US 229 (1977).

120 *Id.* at 240.

121 444 US 644 (1980).

122 *Id.* at 658.

123 473 US 402 (1985).

124 20 USC. § 2701 et seq.

permit the Title I programme to be used in religious schools would require a permanent and pervasive state presence in sectarian schools receiving aid by requiring city to adopt a system for monitoring religious content of publicly funded Title 1 classes.[125] In effect, Title I, as applied to religious schools, violated the excessive entanglement part of the *Lemon* test.

Twelve years later, though, the Supreme Court, in *Agostini v. Felton*,[126] reversed *Aguilar*, reflecting in its decision the dramatic change that had occurred in the Court's view of government aid to religious schools. The *Agostini* Court expressly dispensed with judicial assumptions, invoked in past cases and undergirded by the *Lemon* test, which had resulted in the denial of government aid to religious schools. In essence, the *Agostini* Court ruled that lower courts should no longer assume that government assistance to religious schools would finance or advance religious indoctrination or that publicly paid teachers providing services at religious schools would disregard instruction not to indoctrinate students. Two earlier post-*Aguilar* and pre-*Agostini* Supreme Court decisions had formed the basis for the Court's *Agostini* reasoning. In a 1983 decision, *Mueller v. Allen*,[127] the Court had upheld on a neutrality theory a Minnesota statute that provided, both to parents of public and non-public students, tax deductions for tuition, textbooks, or transportation. The fact that only parents in non-public schools (96 of which were religious) were likely to be able to use the deductions was of no Establishment Clause consequence since the statute applied in a neutral manner to students in both public and non-public schools. Ten years after *Mueller*, the Supreme Court, in *Zobrest v. Catalina Foothills School District*,[128] held that a public school's providing a sign language interpreter on-site at a religious school for a hearing impaired student did not violate the Establishment Clause. Citing to *Mueller*, the *Zobrest* Court held that government programmes that neutrally provide benefits to a broad class of citizens defined without reference to religion are not readily subject to an Establishment Clause challenge just because sectarian institutions may also receive an attenuated financial benefit.[129] In effect, the Court reasoned that the student would have received the same interpreter if he had enrolled at a public school. However, just to demonstrate how far the Court had come by the time of *Zobrest* in its view of neutrality, the Court refused to give significance to the fact that the sign language interpreter in the religious school would be interpreting both religious as well as secular instruction, something that would not have occurred in a public school.

125 *Aguilar,* 473 US at 412-13.

126 521 US 203 (1997).

127 483US 388 (1983).

128 509 US 1 (1993).

129 *Id.* at 8.

Two recent Twentieth Century Supreme Court decisions have completed the redefinition of the constitutionality of government assistance to religious schools. In *Mitchell v. Helms*,[130] the Court upheld another part of Title I of the ESEA that awards federal grants to state departments of education which then, in turn, are distributed to public and non-public (including religious) schools.[131] Funds are not distributed directly to non-public schools, but this part of the ESEA requires that public school districts purchase for distribution to non-public schools "instructional and educational materials, including library services and materials (including media materials), assessments, reference materials, computer software and hardware for instructional use, and other curricular materials".[132] In fact, allocations of funds for non-public schools must generally be "equal (consistent with the number of children to be served) to expenditures for programmes ... for children enrolled in the public schools".[133] Among the materials and equipment provided under this programme for non-public schools have been "library books, computers, and computer software, and also slide and movie projectors, overhead projectors, television sets, tape recorders, projection screens, laboratory equipment, maps, globes, filmstrips, slides, and cassette recordings".[134] Relying on the neutrality principle from *Agostini*, the *Mitchell* Court upheld the constitutionality of "aid that is offered to a broad range of groups or persons without regard to their religion".[135] As a result the Court also expressly overruled *Meek* and *Wolman* holding that they were "no longer good law".[136]

In the final government aid case, the Supreme Court, in *Zelman v. Simmons-Harris*,[137] upheld the awarding of state vouchers to disadvantaged students in the Cleveland (Ohio) Municipal School District. The state statute authorising the vouchers also provided public school options for children, including money to hire tutors in the Cleveland public school and the possibility of enrollment in one of the fifteen school districts contiguous to the Cleveland district (subject, however, to the approval of those districts). However, by the time the case reached the Supreme Court the evidence was clear that, while some children were being helped with their Cleveland public school academic programmes through the hiring of tutors, none of the contiguous school districts had elected to participate in the

130 530 US 793 (2000).

131 20 USC. §§ 7301-7373.

132 *Id.* at § 7351(b)(2).

133 *Id.* at § 7372(b).

134 *Mitchell*, 530 US at 803.

135 *Id.* at 808.

136 *Id.* This reversal applied in both cases to the Court's determination that loaning instructional materials to religious schools and providing transportation for field trips was an establishment Clause violation.

137 536 US 639 (2002).

enrollment option. In effect, by far the largest amount of state funds was being expended for tuition for students to attend non-public schools in Cleveland, almost all of which were religious. In upholding the voucher provisions, the majority of Justices in a divided Court referenced the litany of reasons that had been formulated to replace the tripartite *Lemon* test: the state aid programme is neutral in the sense that students have both public and non-public options; the vouchers provide assistance to children who are disadvantaged; for children who are awarded vouchers, their presence in religious schools is the result of the choice of parents, not the public school district or the state; and, while the parents are only a conduit for voucher money ending up in the coffers of the non-public schools, they are, nonetheless, considered to be the immediate recipients of the funds.

Mitchell and *Zelman* have rewritten the law of government assistance to religious schools in terms of the US Constitution's Establishment Clause. While these two cases, as well as their judicial progeny, continue to refer to the *Lemon* tests, it is clear that the definition of impermissible government aid under the Establishment Clause has been changed significantly. However, the broadening of permissible government aid under the federal constitution has only served to shift the emphasis to state constitutions. A dramatic example of what can happen under state establishment clause provisions when they are interpreted more broadly than the federal constitution can be seen in *Witters v. Washington Dept. of Servises for the Blind*.[138] In *Witters*, the US Supreme Court held that a Washington State visually impaired student, who was pursuing bible studies degree at a Christian college in the state, could use financial vocational assistance awarded by the Washington State Commission for the Blind without violating the federal Constitution's Establishment Clause. However, on remand, the Supreme Court of Washington held that, while the assistance may be constitutional under the US Constitution, it was not under the state constitution.[139] The State of Washington Constitution provided that "[n]o public money or property shall be appropriated for or applied to any religious worship, exercise or instruction, or the support of any religious establishment"[140] and the Supreme Court of Washington held that the state constitutional prohibition against applying public monies to any religious instruction prohibited granting aid to be used by a student in a programme in preparation for the ministry. Thus, while the Supreme Court of Washington did not rely on the *Lemon* test in finding a state establishment clause violation, it produced a result similar to that of *Lemon*. The effect of the state supreme court decision in *Witters* is that the battle for government aid to religious schools has shifted from the federal to the state courts and from the interpretation of the US Constitution's Establishment Clause to interpretation of the fifty state constitutions' comparable provisions.

138 474 US 481 (1986).

139 *Witters v. State Commission for the Blind*, 112 Wash.2d 363 (Wash. 1989).

140 Rev. Code of Wash. Art. 1, § 11.

Ceremonial religion

The term, "ceremonial deism",[141] has become a popular label to use in justifying the use of religion in the public sector, such as prayer at graduations, "In God We Trust" on US money, or the recitation in schools of the Pledge of Allegiance with its phrase, "under God."[142] Critics argue that applying a reasonable person standard to justify these uses is inappropriate because reasonableness "too often equates to the perspective of a reasonable Christian [while] a reasonable Buddhist or a reasonable atheist may well have a different perspective on state invocations of God".[143] Nonetheless, "ceremonial deism" has been viewed as a viable defense to Establishment Clause violations where the use has a long history without references to specific religions and only minimal religious content.[144]

Two ceremonial deism issues have been addressed by the Supreme Court: the presence of the Ten Commandments on public premises, including public school; and the recitation of the Pledge of Allegiance with its reference to "under God." Over thirty years ago, the Supreme Court, in *Stone v. Graham*,[145] held that a Kentucky statute requiring the posting of the Ten Commandments in each public school in the state violated the Establishment Clause under the *Lemon* test because it lacked a secular purpose and because it had the effect of advancing religion by encouraging students to read them. The fact that the copies of the Ten Commandments were paid for by private funds was considered irrelevant. Whether placement of the Ten Commandments among other historical documents, as the Declaration of Independence and the Emancipation Proclamation, would be sufficient to avoid Establishment Clause scrutiny seems doubtful. In *Lynch v. Donnelly*[146] the Supreme Court had upheld a city's display of a publicly owned nativity scene among a variety of other secular symbols.[147] However, whether *Lynch* would apply to the Ten Commandments in schools is questionable. In two non-education cases decided on the same day twenty-one years after *Lynch v. Donnelly*, the Supreme Court split in its decisions concerning the

141 See Caroline Corbin, "Ceremonial Deism And The Reasonable Religious Outsider," 57 UCLA L. Rev. 1545 (2010) (defining ceremonial deism as the claim by some that such items as the recitation of the Pledge of Allegiance in schools and the use of prayer at graduation is only a de minimis use of religion and serves to solemnise those occasions)..

142 The US Pledge of Allegiance reads as follows: "I pledge allegiance to the flag of the United States of America and to the Republic for which it stands, one Nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all."

143 *Id.* at 1546.

144 *See Elk Grove Unified School Dist. v. Newdow*, 542 US 1, 36-42 (2004) (O'Connor, J., concurring).

145 449 US 39 (1980).

146 465 US 668 (1984).

147 *Id.* at 671. In addition to the crèche was "a Santa Claus house, reindeer pulling Santa's sleigh, candy-striped poles, a Christmas tree, carolers, cutout figures representing such characters as a clown, an elephant, and a teddy bear, hundreds of colored lights, a large banner that reads 'SEASONS GREETINGS'."

display of the commandments in non-school settings. In *McCreary County, Kentucky v. American Civil Liberties Union of Kentucky*[148]invalidated the posting of the Ten Commandments as part of a larger display documents reflecting the religious heritage of the United States of religious, reasoning that the display in a confined setting would create a perception of endorsement of the religious message. However, the Supreme Court, in *Van Orden v. Perry*,[149] held that a monument on the Texas State Capitol grounds with the Ten Commandments engraved on it did not represent the same degree of government endorsement as the display in a library. One key difference between the two cases seemed to be the setting, and, if so, then McCreary County would augur against the constitutionality of an indoor placement of the commandments, even if included with other historical documents.

The Pledge of Allegiance in the United States has generated two areas of litigation, the first concerning whether students with a religious objection to the recitation of the Pledge can be punished for refusing to stand and recite the pledge, and the second whether the use of the Pledge containing the words, "under God", is a violation of the Establishment Clause. The Supreme Court answered the first question in 1943 in its *West Virginia Board of Education v. Barnette*[150] decision holding that compelling students to recite the Pledge contrary to their religious beliefs violated the First Amendment. *Barnette* has become best known for the Court's eloquent declaration that, "[i]f there is any fixed star in our constitutional constellation, it is that no official, high or petty, can prescribe what shall be orthodox in politics, nationalism, religion, or other matters of opinion or force citizens to confess by word or act their faith therein".[151]

The second Pledge of Allegiance question has become the subject of more recent litigation. In *Elk Grove Unified School Dist. v. Newdow,*[152] the Supreme Court avoided determining whether the words, "under God", in the Pledge of Allegiance violated the establishment clause. The Court limited its decision to finding that plaintiff lacked standing to challenge to California's requirement of teacher-led Pledge of Allegiance. While the Supreme Court did not address the merits of the case as to whether "under God" constitutes an Establishment Clause violation, the Court's decision does not suggest any reason to suspect that the Pledge would be unconstitutional. Plaintiffs would nonetheless still have the option of challenging the constitutionality of the Pledge under state constitutions but thus far, six years after *Newdow*, no such reported cases have appeared.

148 545 US 844 (2005).

149 545 US 677 (2005).

150 319 US 624 (1943).

151 *Id.* at 642.

152 542 US 1 (2004).

Conclusion

More that 80 years ago, the Supreme Court in *Pierce* created constitutional right allowing parents to direct their children's education, but that right was severely limited. Beginning with *Yoder* in 1979, courts have engaged in a vibrant debate regarding the appropriate balance between protecting free exercise of religion while prohibiting government endorsement of particular religious perspectives. More recently, the Supreme Court has injected religious speech as a fully protected subset of free speech into the equation. In the ebb and flow of judicial opinions, the free exercise clause has become less of a force in protecting religious beliefs, but the gap appears to be more than filled by the free speech clause. The Establishment Clause, once a formidable force in restricting government assistance to religious schools, has been significantly reduced in its negative impact, and thus the emphasis has shifted to state constitutions which are more restrictive in the kinds of assistance to religion that is permitted.

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Education and religion in the Netherlands

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Introduction

Nowadays most of the Dutch children between 4 and 18 years attend schools that were initially founded by churches or by societies of protestant or catholic parents. This is not an obvious fact, because the choice for these schools does not represent the religious affiliation of the population. About only 20 percent of the Dutch inhabitants can be regarded as active members of a church (CBS, 2009:45). Why religious schools continue to be attractive to secularised parents and pupils is not yet fully clear. It is supposed to be due to the desire of parents to raise their children in a tradition of ages. Sometimes it is a matter of their felt incompetence to introduce their children to religion. Because children do not attend churches anymore parents like to hand over the task of religious education (or at least to be informed about religious affairs) to schools. Other reasons are the proposed higher attention to norms and values and the high quality of educational outcomes attained in religious schools. In politics there are regular discussions whether it is fair that religious schools are treated equally as public schools. Financial support to schools of all accepted denominations are equal to state or public schools if meeting certain governmental criteria and discussions are coming and going whether religious schools should have the privilege to make their own choices in shaping their curriculum.[1] In this

1 In the Netherlands freedom of religious education is mostly seen as a threefold right: "richting, oprichting en inrichting" (the right of having a denominational school state funded, the right of founding a school and the right to shape the curriculum according to one's worldview).

chapter, we will explore the roots of the Dutch tradition of having schools of different (religious) denominations in the school system, while all schools are state-funded. We start with looking back at the origins of the Dutch nation-state, in the sixteenth century, in which politics was dominated by protestant Christians. In this section we also present the roots of the so called pillarised system which started in the nineteenth century. Then we summarise the big changes that have taken place after the Second World War in the domain of religion and education. Afterwards we pay attention to current changes that we observe in the context of the phenomenon 'religion' and contemporary demographic changes. In the subsequent section, we give five examples of how Dutch schools are dealing with these changes. Next, we place the Dutch position in a European context by summarising research data from a European project, called REDCO. We conclude with some evaluative remarks about the current place of religion in education and the tasks that are awaiting the government and the educational system.

Religion and education in the formation process of the Dutch nation-state

According to Kennedy and Valenta (2006:337-338) the Dutch nation has never been neutral with regard to religion, but has also always been reserved to impose religious duties or restrictions on schools. Shaping the educational content has been the task of intermediary groups in society. It looks like the sixteenth century Reformation suited the national spirit, and that the desire to educate was part of Dutch culture. Educational and religious concerns have been the shared interests of citizens, the church and the government and therefore religion in education developed alongside the development of the educational system. The Netherlands has been an educational nation[2] from the beginning. Experts on the Golden Age such as Schama believe that the Netherlands had a culture of education more so than anywhere else (Dekker, 2009:48). That can be seen for instance on the large number of paintings on the subject of education and upbringing – not only paintings of schools, but also paintings with an educational theme, such as those by painter Jan Steen. According to historian Jeroen Dekker, there were two threads. The first was the dogmatic one, which manifested itself in particular in catechism. This thread is thoroughly elaborated in what we could call the educational part of the Synod of Dort of 1618-1619 (chapter 17 of the Acts, *Acta van de Dordtse Synode*). Alongside that there was also the thread of what Dekker calls the "temptation" and "market tendencies". There were many books with rhymes and pictures bringing messages of educational morality.

2 Historically, The Netherlands can be regarded as unadulterated Calvinistic in this respect. One of the insights of the Reformation is that the preaching takes up an important place again. The fact that the pulpit became so important, points to the need to highlight the education of the congregation. The pastor's clothing was the same as that of a university professor, the congregation sat around the pulpit and the sermon meant preaching as well as explaining the Scriptures (see 'Fatio, 2009:26). The formal Dutch word for a minister of religion, a teacher and a professor is the same: "leraar".

The best known for these messages is Cats (Dekker, 2009:52), who completed his moral poems with appealing images. The puritans, among them Teelinck, had the tendency to reconcile their orthodoxy with a rather optimistic image of children. They saw that a child was indeed inclined to do evil, but was not yet ruined as such by its surroundings, so you had to invest as much as possible in the child. It is therefore not surprising for books with educational advice such as by De Swaeff and Koelman to appear in public. The role of the church was that of influence. Teachers were expected to teach the catechism. There was openness towards dissidents, however, and Jews and Roman Catholics were not made to attend the teaching of catechism (Noordam, 1979:40). Until the formal separation of church and state, the presence of the preferred protestant religion in education was supposed to be self-evident. This situation changed formally by the Education Act of 1806, but that law provided another presumption, namely that every state school was of a general Christian nature and was aimed at the development of "social and Christian moralities". It was a school with an "enlightened-Christian" character which was opposite to a doctrinal orthodox school in the spirit of the Synod of Dort. This presumption of a generally neutral school based on Christian values was the cause of a deep –seated conflict, known as the "Schoolstrijd" *(School funding controversy)*. This controversy concerned the right of parents to set up independent Christian schools according to their own doctrine or worldview.

The Anti-revolutionary Party (later the party of the famous politician Abraham Kuyper) primarily originated from the struggle to gain equal rights for the denominational schools. It quite clearly contained two movements, which marked the relation of church and school until the twentieth century. One movement wanted a professing national "school with the Bible" (not a liberal protestant school, such as provided by the Education Act of 1806). The other movement wanted independent schools. Abraham Kuyper in particular stimulated the train of thought in the latter movement. His ideal was the Dutch society to be Christianised again, and the independent Christian school as a means to restore the Christian national mind, which he believed still existed. Once educational freedom would be achieved, he argued, 'we will compete with others, to recover by ethical strength for our element, the influence on the national life, which by virtue of the previous nationality of our nation, rightfully belongs to us' (Koch, 2006:321). At the time of Kuyper the concept of philosophy of life (or worldview) unfolded, which was used to underpin the legitimacy of the different pillars.

The school funding controversy was in fact a way the Netherlands dealt with the enlightenment. The liberal aristocracy was dominant but its ambitions did not reflect the church and society. At the same time, the ideal of freedom enabled the emancipation of the Christian part of the nation through the right to vote. Kuyper's battle was a struggle against aristocracy. This also enabled the Roman Catholic part of the nation to liberate

and grow into a full role in Dutch society. Part of that was that they could set up their own schools. The battle for independent schools would therefore be a joint concern for Protestants and Catholics. At the protestant side, Kuyper developed the concept of sovereignty in his own spheres, through which he gave each domain in the society its own task, including the church, the government and the family. The church had the task to preach the Gospel, the government had to regulate society in good order, and families had the task to serve their neighbours and bring the children up with the ability to serve in society (Koch, 2006:216). The school was thought to be the extension of the parents. That is the reason that the dispute was really a battle involving parents. They had to fight for the interests of their children. It is remarkable that the role of the church was actually marginal. The pioneering role was primarily taken up by the Christian schoolteachers themselves. A recent study of Van Klinken shows that they wrote complete educational journals supporting the development of Christian education. He, incidentally, came to the conclusion that teachers were not theologically interested (Van Klinken, 2010:166-167). On the contrary, there was little interference from the church with the school. From an analysis of nineteenth century educational magazines it appears that people generally agreed with the division of the tasks of school and church. Parents had a managerial role, the church had to monitor. It only became the church's duty when parents failed (Van Klinken, 2010:171). With regard to the nineteenth century, it is significant to note that supporters of an exclusively non-denominational school also assumed the nation being a Christian nation. Virtually all the children somehow had roots in a church and as a matter of course the school was expected to introduce the children into the Christian and ethical morality. Good citizenship was thought to be automatically linked to an upbringing in the spirit of the Bible. It did not need a separate educational concept.

The school funding controversy ended in 1917 with the so-called Pacification-Act, allowing for equal financial support for state schools as well as for private – that is denominational, schools. From the 1920s onwards educational pillarisation was followed by societal pillarisation. Public and political life in society became organised along segregational lines: universities, political parties, trade unions, welfare work, hospitals, and elderly homes were organised in accordance with a diversity of world views/religions. This "politics of pacification" (Lijphart, 1968) displayed the typical Dutch way of accommodating religious or worldview plurality within a mono-cultural society. After 1917 and up to the seventies of the last century there was a more or less peaceful and harmonious co-existence in an ethnically and culturally homogeneous society, at the same time heterogeneous with regard to worldviews. This educational policy is strongly determined by article 23 of the Dutch Constitution. The state guarantees public education for all children. On the other hand, citizens are free to organise and provide education according to their own religious, worldview or pedagogically based educational view.

Dutch society in the late twentieth century

This homogeneous composition of the Dutch society changed dramatically in the 1960s with the arrival of the so-called "guest workers" from Turkey and Morocco and the reunion with their wives and children which began in the 1980s. As a consequence, classes in Protestant-Christian, Roman-Catholic as well as in state schools were confronted with migrant children of whom a majority did not belong to the familiar Christian tradition, but had been socialised in a "strange" religion, being Islam. As outlined in the previous section, in line with the concept of "freedom of education" stated in the Dutch Constitution, parents and teachers adhering to any religious tradition and, as such acknowledged by the government, established their own religiously based primary school. However, initially Turkish and Moroccan parents were not aware of the right of freedom of education which creates the possibility of founding schools based upon the parents' worldview. Processes of emancipation of migrant workers, as well as becoming familiar with the typical Dutch pillarised educational system and governmental policy emphasising the right of the parents and their adherence to a religious tradition, resulted in the establishment of the first Islamic primary school in Rotterdam in 1988 (Landman, 1992:262). As such, Islamic schools in the Netherlands are "typical Dutch" in taking their departure from the parents and their faith. Similar to the Roman-Catholics in the Netherlands at an earlier stage, the founding of religiously based schools strengthened the development of the religious identity of Muslims in the Netherlands. In the last decade of the twentieth century and the first decade of the twenty-first century, especially in the four major cities (Rotterdam, The Hague, Amsterdam and Utrecht) in particular, mosque administrators used their constitutional right to establish denominational schools based on pedagogical insights rooted in their religious tradition which can be found in the Qur'an and Hadith. According to the view of the founders of Islamic schools, the content of secular education should be in harmony with their holy scriptures. From one school in 1988 the number of Islamic schools expanded in 2011 to more than forty-three primary schools and one school for secondary education in Rotterdam.

Schools in the Netherlands coping with religiosity in a multi-cultural context

Since the majority of the Islamic children still attend Christian or state schools, teachers are urged to respond to the presence of adherents of "the other" religious tradition in their classes. The new situation forced teachers to reflect on the role of contrasting, and sometimes even conflicting religions in education, in particular in their Religious Education classes. How could they – mainly white middle class women – take responsibility for the religious development of the identity of children of migrant parents with a low economic status, who have experienced social integration within a religious tradition different from

the Christian tradition which assigns the school's identity? Furthermore, this question was also raised in respect to the presence of secular pupils. By now, some cracks were visible in the solid (religious) worldview based on "pillars", due to processes of individualisation and secularisation. Despite differences in the pillarised educational system, similarities can be observed in the preliminary answers from parents, teachers and governors of the Protestant and Roman Catholic pillar when asked about the "other-ness in belief system" of the guest workers' children. With regard to the interpretation and transmission of the Christian tradition, the "voice of the teacher" and the "voice of the parents" or rather, the voice of the governors of the school takes central position. Some schools still adhere to the exclusiveness of Christianity, whereas other schools take their starting point from the similarities between religions, and yet other types of schools aim at preparing their pupils for the inter-religious dialogue (Nipkow, 2000; Schweitzer *et al.*, 1995; Ziebertz & Van der Ven, 1994). Despite the different emphases on the role of religion, all schools stay within the scope of article 23 of the Constitution and receive equal financial support from the government. It is important to bear in mind that, despite the strict separation of state and church, the Dutch government is fully responsible for the quality of education in both state and denominational schools. This last category includes Christian, Islamic, or Hindu schools, or schools with a particular founding pedagogical theory or philosophy for their teaching, like Montessori and Dalton schools.

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, the equal treatment of state and private denominational schools was seriously threatened. After the Dutch publicist Paul Scheffer wrote his famous article in 2000 on the multicultural society, entitled *The multicultural drama*, more and more serious doubts were thrown on the role of religion in education within the multicultural society. On the one hand, people emphasised the importance of independent denominational schools, whether they were Christian, Jewish or Islamic, since pupils are deeply rooted in the respective religions or worldviews. However, on the other hand it is precisely this rootedness that is feared in particular by opponents. The focus then moves to the "new pillar" of recently founded Islamic schools, because they might hold people to their convictions in a rigid way, leading to intolerance, and fixed fanatical religious points of view. Elaborating on this, the more orthodox Christian schools are also drawn into these debates.

Currently teachers in state schools and in private denominational schools are developing models of "theory of practice" for religious education. In the subsequent sections, we will describe five different pedagogical approaches in specific response to the new situation of a multicultural and multireligious society. One of these pedagogical approaches is the model of "education in encounter" or the "inter-religious education" model (Andree, 1989; 1991; Andree & Bakker, 1996) as described in section 4.1. This model was developed at the Protestant primary school, Juliana van Stolberg. Following this, in section 4.2, we will focus

on teachers in Christian schools, and describe the way teachers of Christian schools are invited to participate in deliberations on the role of religion in their life and in education. In section 4.3, we describe how a traditional Christian school is coping with the multicultural situation in a rural context. The pedagogical approach of a group of Islamic schools shows striking similarities to the process of Christian schools, described in section 4.2, as we will clarify in section 4.4. In section 4.5, we will proceed to describe the pedagogical approach on religion(s) in education of three cooperating primary schools in the Amsterdam area of The Bijlmer: a former Roman-Catholic, an Islamic and a state school.

First example: encountering "the other" in interreligious education

"Recognition of similarities" and "encounter in differences" are the two central concepts in the pedagogical approach developed by the teachers of the Juliana van Stolberg – model. The focus here is not on the separation of children adhering to different belief systems, but on the construction of social cohesion in classes with pupils from different family backgrounds instead. Religious Education (RE) was included in the curriculum of the Juliana van Stolberg primary school in two different ways. Firstly, the children were given RE in line with the tradition they were socialised in at home, either the Christian or the Islamic tradition. These RE lessons were given to Christian and Islamic children separately. The class teacher taught Christianity and the Imam presented Islam. Secondly, every child had a weekly "lesson in encounter", taught by the class teacher. The Christian and Islamic lessons and the "encounter lessons" were scheduled weekly, and were tailored to the developmental phase of the children. According to the age of the pupils the children were introduced to the common elements (shared stories, such as the story of Joseph/Yusuf and Moses/Musa) and to the different emphases of both religions (the different meaning of fasting, the different position of Jesus/Isa). The teachers of the Juliana van Stolberg primary school responded to multiculturality in their classes by stimulating the development of pupils' competence for dialogue. RE and classroom conversations contributed towards a common pedagogical goal, namely aiming at learning from "the other"; learning about their religious narratives, rituals and symbols. A child should not only be familiarised with other holy texts and the commonalities and differences in Christian and Islamic scriptures, but should also learn through classroom conversations directed by the teacher, the art of questioning, debating and engaging in dialogue – a competence very much needed while living alongside others in a multicultural and multireligious society. The interreligious model practiced "religious citizenship education" *avant la lettre*!

Second example: Responding to multiculturality in open Christian schools

In this section, we describe another approach that takes the worldview of teachers as its starting point. In Structural Identity Consultation, teachers have conversations about the way the Christian tradition might be interpreted and related to the Islamic tradition and how it can be transmitted to children from different religious backgrounds. In Structural Identity Consultation, teachers respond to diversity and as such, they review earlier developed models of encounter and of interreligious education. Instead of interpreting the tension of multiculturality in a negative way, the feelings of teachers and their perceptions of diversity can be regarded as a signal of commitment – be it a positive or a negative involvement. The exploration of being involved in this way, "a world of differences" is the aim of the inductive approach of the Board of Protestant Christian Schools in Rotterdam (Stichting PCBO Rotterdam-Zuid). In order to explore the personal commitment of the teacher(s), each school under the umbrella of this Board of Governors is obliged to organise team meetings on "identity", the so-called Structural Identity Consultation (SIC) (see also Bakker & Ter Avest, 2009). SIC is characterised by a radical inductive approach. In SIC meetings the starting point always stems from the teachers' personal experiences with religiosity and diversity. For example, team members are invited to describe a "critical incident" in which, according to their personal views, the school's identity is at stake. In the discussion, team members focus on the characteristics of their Christian school in this particular context (commonly poorer and problematic neighbourhoods with a majority of immigrants from different ethnic and religious backgrounds). Through reflecting upon the pedagogical characteristics of their "examples of good practice" and within dialogical conversations, the team members construct the so-called "situated identity" of their school. In these conversations, commonalities are discovered; and the expressed differences are diminishing indifference. SIC appears to be a space of recognition for different (religious) world views as well as ground for common aspects in the teachers' commitment to the pedagogical task of the school; which is the development of the pupils (male and female) as future citizens of the multicultural society. The influence of these reflections is concretised in a growing awareness of the teachers' pedagogical strategy in the process of identity construction of the school as well as to the pupils. This process is coined "learning in difference" (see also Bakker & Ter Avest, 2004; Ter Avest & Bakker, 2006; 2008; Roebben, 2008; Rietveld-van Wingerden, Ter Avest & Westerman, 2009).

Third example: Responding to multiculturalism in an orthodox Christian school

A number of schools within the Christian pillar can be regarded as orthodox-protestant. These schools hold to the Reformed Doctrine and are often connected to local religious communities (De Wolf, Miedema & De Ruyter, 2002; Dijkstra & Miedema, 2003; De Muynck, 2008). Some schools in rural areas have been of an orthodox, denominational

nature since their foundation in the middle of the nineteenth century. Other schools were founded as a response to the loss of the profile of Christian schools since the 1970s. The schools have their own organisations they are affiliated with; they appoint teachers from orthodox teacher training courses in the Netherlands and have their own network of information exchange (websites, magazine). This type of schools comprises an estimated 5 percent of all Dutch schools. There are large regional differences in the way in which these schools deal with the changing meaning of religion in the society. Some only admit children from churchgoing families; others maintain an open admission policy. The following example is of a fictional school, primary school *De Wegwijzer* (The Signpost) from the latter category. In a town with a population of 5 000, it is the only Christian school alongside the much smaller state school. The school is well-known and has good results according to national ratings, which is the reason that Muslim children also attend the school. The school board of governors wants to stick to an open admission policy, but only appoint teachers who are devoted Christians. The climate at school is dynamic. The evangelical enthusiasm is noticeable by the high regard given to the place and role the Bible is given in the school. Teachers tell a Bible story each day, they pray and sing hymns and the higher classes are taught religious doctrines. The content of other religions are taught with respect, but teachers are not reluctant to share their personal faith.

How does this school deal with the diversity of the pupil population? At the admission of pupils all parents are informed concerning the emphasis put on the Christian faith in the school. Non-Christian parents pledge to the obligation that children learn Christian hymns, show respect during prayer and attend the religious education lessons. Teachers consider it very important that children's questions and comments are discussed openly and respectfully. It is remarkable that the school receives great support from all the parents and that parents do not resist the mono-religious approach of this school. The quality of education and the respect shown to other worldviews is apparently sufficient for non-Christian parents to feel at home here. Qualitative research at orthodox protestant schools suggests that teachers at orthodox schools with diversity in their pupil population are inclined to reflect more thoroughly and more openly than schools without this diversity (De Muynck, 2008:392). These teachers appear to be more aware of their own significance than teachers at schools with a closed admission policy and they show that they are able to differentiate clearly between that which they consider essential in Christian faith and that which is only of marginal meaning.

Fourth example: Responding to multiculturality in an Islamic schools

In a similar way as in the above described SIC-process (section 4.2), in a group of Islamic schools the opinion of the teachers is central as this is cemented in her/his pedagogical strategy contributing to the school's and the pupil's identity formation as a Muslim.

Confronted with the diversity in the Dutch society as well as the diversity in interpretations within Islam, the Board of the Foundation of Islamic Education in the Netherlands (SIMON), decided to stimulate both teachers' and parents' reflections on the possible ways to respond to this new situation. The starting point of the deliberations is the recognition of differences, not only in interpretations of the holy Qur'an but also in relation to cultural adjustments of Islam in the countries of origin of the parents. "Learning to live together and learning to live with differences" as part of the child's development, is a pedagogical point of focus in the SIMON schools. In the recognition of differences between particular schools in their respective neighbourhoods shaped by cultural characteristics, the SIMON Board practices its starting point of situatedness of religious identity (Akteran, 2008a; 2008b; Rietveld-Van Wingerden, Westerman & Ter Avest, 2009). As a result of a close cooperation between teachers and parents, every school decides for itself whether or not, for example, female teachers must wear a headscarf or similarly, male teachers wear their traditional costume (Abdus Sattar, 1990). Every school develops its own code of conduct with regard to the celebration of children's birthdays (which is not done by some Muslims for reason of its focus on the individual, therefore distracting from the focus on the person as a servant of Allah (Ramadan 2004:128ff) or Mother's Day and Father's Day (which converges with the importance that is given in the Qur'an and Hadith to the mother and the father in religious socialisation).

An important facilitating aspect in the process in the SIMON primary schools is that the Board has decided that no more than 50 percent of the teachers of their schools should be Muslim teachers. The other half of the teacher population should be affiliated with and represent other religious and worldview traditions which are present in the Netherlands. The contrasting – and sometimes conflicting – positions in religious traditions, according to the Board, guarantees the reflection on the role of religion in pedagogical strategies, as well as the meaning and contribution of religion to citizenship (Aktaran, 2008a; 2008b). The merit of SIMON's initiative is that it stimulates the discussion from a pedagogical perspective amongst the Board, teachers, and parents on sensitive subjects with regard to the formation of an Islamic identity within the context of a changing Dutch society. In its discussions as well as in its pedagogical strategies SIMON is not afraid of voicing differences; instead, contrasting differences are perceived as a stimulating factor for an increased level of knowledge and deeper insights in religious tradition(s) – familiar as well as "other" traditions.

Fifth example: A post-pillarised response to multiculturality and multireligiosity

The most recent way of responding to multiculturality is the pedagogical approach developed in the South Eastern area of Amsterdam, the Bijlmer district. This approach is coined as the "Bijlmer Conversations", emphasising the need to draw each other into

the conversation continuously. Although the teachers play a central role in the "Bijlmer Conversations", the focus is on the needs of the child who is raised in, and also who will live in, a multicultural and multireligious society. As such, this model is close to the Juliana van Stolberg – model, which also based its point of departure on the educational needs of the child.

Three primary schools of different "pillars" in the Bijlmer area have made a decision for close cooperation: a state (i.e. a secular) school, a former Roman-Catholic school and an Islamic school. The problematic situation of most of the children in this poorer area of Amsterdam where more than seventy different national and over twenty denominational backgrounds are represented is perceived by the principals of these three schools as a shared problem and a main focus of their pedagogical task. In team meetings, the so-called "Bijlmer Conversations" (Bijlmer Blik Gesprekken, the teams of the three school (individually and jointly) develop their own way of responding to the diversity of their pupil population and the complexity of the acculturation of the pupils. The concern of the teacher, the variety of sources of inspiration, the need of the pupil to be equipped to live alongside one another in the multicultural and multireligious society, are combined in the pedagogical approach of "learning in difference" of the "Bijlmer Conversations". The different pedagogical strategies of each of the three teams are rooted in the personal (religious or secular) worldview of the team members. Religion(s) is seen as something you have to know about and you can learn from, provided that there is a certain sensibility towards, and recognition of, situations and experiences of awe; practices that render speechless. Diversity in (religious and secular) worldviews is seen as a given. Creating social cohesion as a network of teachers and parents from different cultural and religious backgrounds is seen as a challenge. For the creation of such networks each of the partners is of equal importance, or to put it differently: each of the schools cannot develop its own identity without the contrasting or confronting encounter with the other. The slogan of the schools is: The Plurality of Togetherness is Future (*Het meervoud van samen is toekomst*). The schools' characteristic approach to difference is concretised in classroom activities stimulating the development of social competencies, and is related to the respectful encounter of pupils of different religious backgrounds – respect and tolerance being a focus of citizenship education (SLO publication). The three teams have agreed upon teaching and learning according to the pedagogical strategy of Peaceful Education, a pedagogical strategy of stimulating the development of social competencies for learning to live alongside each other. In the line of thought of the principals of these schools, Peaceful Education contributes to good citizenship. They aim at elaborating on this approach which should result in a so-called "pedagogical constitution" establishing a floor for post-pillarised education in the Netherlands, including religion(s); a so-called religious citizenship education (Miedema & Bertram-Troost, 2008).

Dutch education and religion in a European context

The developments in the Netherlands with regard to religion and education are not isolated from the developments in other European countries. In the REDCo project, funded by the EC (European Community), the focus was on the opinions on and the attitudes towards religious diversity of pupils and teachers. REDCo's focus was especially on the role of religion – hence the name of the project: "Religion in Education". It focused on the role of religion contributing to dialogue or a factor of conflict in transforming the societies of the European countries', part of the so-called Framework Six, seventh priority of Citizens and governance in a knowledge based society. During this project which ran from 2006-2009, researchers from eight different European countries worked together: England, Estonia, France, Norway, The Netherlands, Spain and Russia. A closer look at the national contexts of each of these countries showed that there are different approaches to cultural and religious diversity, dependent on the difference in national contexts and their respective histories with regard to the arrival of "newcomers" in a society. What all these countries have in common is that their inhabitants feel that their context is changing, that many of them do not feel comfortable with these changes, and that people are in search of their national or ethnic identity. The survey produced data about the perception of diversity of the teachers and their way of responding to it, and the perception of students of diversity.

Reflecting upon diversity in their classes, the primary focus of most European teachers is on socio-economic differences. The influence which a poor neighbourhood may have on the development of their pupils is scrutinised in particular. They relate these differences to students' behaviour, attitudes and performance in class and, more generally, to their learning style, their aspirations and attainments. Various teachers refer to ethnic and (denominational) religious differences between students. Some of the teachers mention the gap between the family context and the educational context concerning the role of religion. With regard to their pedagogical strategies, two groups may be distinguished. Firstly, there is a group of teachers who avoid drawing attention to students' religious affiliations and the differences between them. According to these teachers, religious differences should not be explored in class since students may be hesitant to make explicit statements about religion in front of their peers. The standpoints of these teachers are best summed up by the expression: "I treat them all equally". They oppose to "picking on" students from religious backgrounds as a source of information. They wish to avoid embarrassment possibly experienced by the students. In addition to that they do not want to draw too much attention to the "differences" of students from a minority group, as this might hinder integration in their view. The other group of teachers regards differences as challenges; and likes to invite pupils to elaborate on these differences. Students are invited by these teachers to present themselves as raised in a particular tradition, and representing "situated religiousness" or "lived religion". On a continuum of enthusiasm and so-called

"neutrality" or "objectivity", teachers in general emphasise the need for caution. Teachers try to balance their teaching, expressing a concern for stimulating differences which might be problematic, particularly in relation to the student's need for and right of privacy. This might lead to a lack of dialogical competencies which is necessary in a multicultural society.

How are European (including Dutch) students responding to diversity? According to the results from the questionnaire completed by students, aged 14-16, on the subject of their perception of diversity and their characteristic way of responding to it, we found that in the participating eight European countries there is generally no difference between the answers given by girls and boys in the age group of 14-16 regarding the importance of religion. Religion is not a "hot" topic to pupils in this age group; although in some cases it is reflected upon in a clearly vocalised way. In general, girls tend to be more positive towards religion than boys, inside as well as outside the school. Girls more than boys show an open attitude towards "the other", and the other's religion. They seem to be more willing to talk to "the other" and listen to the other's point of view, whereas boys show a tendency to withdraw or opt out. Or, in other words: boys more so than girls utilise the possibility to avoid facing differences. More than girls boys seem to be able to clearly distinguish their own (and by consequence: the other's) room in the space of encounter. The content of the subject "religion" in their view should be knowledge: pupils, girls more than boys, like to learn about religion(s). Girls more than boys adhere to the point of view that learning about the other helps to live alongside one another harmoniously. Not just for the sake of knowledge, but as an expected consequence of increased knowledge, pupils express their wish to learn to respect the other.

Concluding remarks: The future of religion and education in the Netherlands

Until the 1990s, the position of religion decreased in Dutch society at large. However, recently an increase of religious motivation and a transformation of religion in the public domain is noticed (Van de Donk *et al.*, 2006). Despite initiatives for interreligious education, the tension between immigrants and indigenous Dutch increased, particularly after "9/11". In the public debates, the tone became more and more hard-hearted. Muslims in particular were scapegoated for tensions in society. Their schools were said to be a hindrance for integration into society, and hence unable to prepare the pupils for citizenship in the Dutch multicultural and multireligious society. Moreover, the educational and pedagogical quality of these schools was said to be poor. Some even called these schools "breeding places of Muslim extremism", since sometimes the Board consisted of mosque leaders, and some Imams used inflammatory language in their Friday sermons. However, the Government's Inspectorate concluded in its report in 2003 that the educational results were – with a few exceptions – in accordance with Dutch standards.

In 1985, foreseen tensions between the different ethnic, cultural and religious groups in Dutch society resulted in the introduction of the curriculum subject "Religious Movements" for all primary schools. The aim was to inform pupils in an objective and neutral way on different religions and worldviews, expecting that more knowledge about "the other" would lead to an increased level of social cohesion in society. In addition, the subject of citizenship education was introduced through the Act on Citizenship Education (2006) as a compulsory subject from the school year 2006-2007 onwards in every school, aiming at the stimulation of pupils' competencies to draw each other in the conversation and as such contribute to the construction of social cohesion in society. Schools are stimulated to shape the new subject of Citizenship Education according to their own (religious) worldview and related to their particular school identity, being denominational of a particular kind or being public of a specific kind, thus all as schools-in-context. All schools – as a place between family and society – are seen as a modelling context for acquiring competencies, which are prerequisites for a democratic way of life in the Dutch post-modern society.

The presence of the "new" religion of Islam has been an influential aspect questioning the functionality or dysfunctionality of today's freedom of education as described in article 23 of the Dutch Constitution. This article, which enacts the freedom to establish religiously based schools, is regularly debated in this context. Reformulating or even the removal of this article in the democratic Dutch society is suggested. The article was included in the constitution in an era in which the Dutch society was mono-religious, and Christianity was the dominant religious tradition that almost every Dutch citizen felt committed to. Pedagogical strategies took their starting point in the religious tradition and aimed at citizenship under the umbrella of Christianity – or sometimes formulated as the combined Humanist-Christian tradition – thus overcoming denominational differences.

Today Christianity has lost its dominant and determining position in Dutch society. We notice an urgent need to invent new ways to combine religion/world view and education in the Dutch educational system. However, the Christian or any other religious or worldview tradition cannot function as a starting point anymore. From the results of our own and others' empirical research (a.o. Van Uum, Geerdink & Schoemaker, 2010), we can learn that teachers and parents think "out of the box" of pillarisation and are crossing boundaries, not taking the religious tradition as their starting point, but the educational needs of the child – of all children irrespective of their religious nurture – to be equipped to live alongside each other in difference, and to develop their own religious or worldview identity. Due to secularisation and multiculturalisation, the concept of pillarised education, in which "religion as tradition" was the determining concept for the way pupils get in touch with religious traditions, seems to be completely outdated. Experiments like the ones mentioned above show the dysfunctionality of the way article 23 of the Dutch Constitution was interpreted for a long time. The actual developments as we have described above

require new, post-pillarised interpretations as well as new conceptualisations of citizenship education including religious/world view citizenship education Re-interpretations of article 23 of the constitution ought to show their functionality for the concretisation of freedom of education in the context of a multicultural and multireligious society in the twenty-first century. Alongside this freedom of education, the government holds on to the separation of State and Church, laid down in the first Constitution (1798).

Pillarised education in a Christian society, focusing on Christianity of different denominations, answered the need of (orthodox) Christian parents to articulate the Christian socialisation at school. This was then seen as strengthening the social cohesion in society. That is why the freedom to provide education according to one's beliefs was guaranteed in article 23 of the Constitution. In the third given example of a school in a rural area, this is still a possible way of coping with the multicultural context. Current structures in society appear to require also other models to sustain social cohesion. Each model should provide an adequate contributions for citizen formation. One model is leaving the articulation of socialisation as a characteristic of religious nurture at school, but acknowledging of autonomous critical reflection on commonalities and differences of religious education in different family contexts. Instead of instructing students in religious affairs this model responds to the need of the child for education in the encounter with "the other". Another model is following the power of networks in post-modern society. Schools should no longer be founded by the government, but by societies of parents who feel responsible for running a high quality school. Whether a school has religious roots or not is in this model not the most relevant question. The only task of the government is funding schools and promoting the founding of schools at the right time and at the right place. Revisiting and revising the concept of freedom of education will open up new spaces for concretising the government's constant concern for proper education for all pupils in all schools, preparing for the intercultural and interreligious dialogue, paying due respect to everyone's religion, world view or belief. A new balance is needed and thus an adequate (re-)interpretation of the highly valued article 23 of the Dutch constitution, if Dutch schools want to be able to respond to and shape a modus of post-pillarised religious/world view citizenship education in terms of teaching and learning into, about, from and for (receptivity for) religion(s) and worldview(s) for all students as a democratic aim for the twenty-first century in Dutch society.

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Globalisation, multicultural reality, religious pluralism and religious aspects of intercultural education in preschool and elementary school education through the viewpoint of Greek teachers and parents

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Introduction

Religiousness is a characteristic of humankind and is known for its ability to pose questions about the meaning and the scope of life. Pedagogy is centred around this characteristic, always in a socially constructed ideological framework, and therefore religious pedagogy can influence every aspect of the total pedagogy.

Yet, religiousness in modern societies is changing dramatically due to i.e. the continuous movement of populations. The role of the religion becomes ever more important in dealing with certain topics (e.g. global piece, terrorism and ecological destruction) that demand global dialogue, while the modern world is an antagonistic religious field, whereby religious traditions and beliefs are open to doubt. Kung (1991) contends that there cannot be global peace without peace among religions, and without any dialogue between people who believe in different religious traditions. Kung's declaration in 1993 entitled "Towards a global ethic" is towards this direction (Dragona-Monachou, 1999). Besides, the role of religion as a unifying factor should not be overlooked. According to Mol (1986), religion contributes in re-determining a framework for relations majority and minority groups.

Globalisation, multicultural reality and religious pluralism

Globalisation brought to Western societies some kind of decline in religious morals, as well as an intensification of social problems. For example, in Europe, Christianity is declining, while on the contrary the believers of Islam and Hinduism are greatly increasing, because of immigration and high birth rates. Religious pluralism is a major characteristic of the current multicultural societies with 86 percent of the global population believing that they belong to some kind of religion. In regions like Africa, Latin America and Asia, religiousness is very strong (over 65 percent) in relation to Europe or to Australia (25 percent). In North America, 59 percent of people are religious. In Greece, the rate of religiosity amongst individuals aged 14-24 is amongst the highest in Europe in the last decade, although it is not certain to what extent this is linked to spirituality or to the need for religious self-catharsis of Greeks, due to the ethno-cultural and xenophobic concerns (Chrysoloras, 2004).

The revival of the religious factor in the global political scene is directly related to the dynamic of globalisation. An important role is that played by the emergence of religious ethnic feelings (which in some instances accept armed violence for the enforcement of will. The resistance of some religious communities puts pressures on the developed societies for political and for religious power and enforcement of a cruel modernisation.

Therefore, students' religious pedagogy as well as that of adults are an important strategical decision which will help "shape" citizens who will come to accept instead of tolerate the heterogeneity, citizens who will discuss topics such as the co-existence of different religions without biases and with a positive outlook. Together with the development of multicultural societies into multicultural syntheses, came the demand for an open and non-dogmatic study of religions in schools, with the belief that that will result in an acceptance of a simple multiculturalism. We believe that in the framework of intercultural education religious education should take place within the framework of intercultural education. Offering objective knowledge about a religion is a requirement for its critical approach, which helps better understand an individual's personal growth around issues that construct his/her identity and respect for others.

The dynamic development of globalisation, the perplexity of the social, the cultural and the economic developments and inter-dependence that it brings about is yet another continuous challenge for the multicultural school. The educational authorities ought to design and offer better suited curricula for religious pedagogy which will be driven by the principles of interculturalism in order to meet the communities' learning needs. Intercultural education is a process that should transpire the whole spectrum of the school and family life, as it does not only depend on the presence of ethnic/minority groups at school. Its consequences could be particularly positive for children, independently of their

social and linguistic/cultural background. Human rights should be according to Gundara (2000) the unifying factor given that the notion of respect of human dignity exists in all religious traditions.

So, looking at the traditional religious pedagogy, where the first childhood experiences are considered a basic requirement for children's religious growth, we can see a different proposal of the religious pedagogy. In this new proposal, the emphasis is placed on the perception and the seriousness of the socialisation processes within the family (Sakellariou, 2000). We are making an effort to understand the religious process, not as a one-sided socialisation process but instead as a qualitative specialisation of the socialisation process within the framework of the family.

Religious dimension of the intercultural pedagogy and education

Historically religious education in schools was very much an extension of religious education of the dominant religious denomination. The first change was when religious education was redefined as a form of non-dogmatic Christian teaching which is aimed at the ethical upbringing and the promotion of some social goals (e.g. Europe-United Kingdom in the 1960s). Then, with the development of societies to multicultural syntheses, arrived the demand for an open and non-dogmatic study of all major religions (i.e. not only Christianity) at school, which was in keeping with the creed of a simple multiculturalism. From the 1970s onwards, we observe a more intense preoccupation with the cultural and the religious polymorph. The modern intercultural education (Leicester, 1992; Rattansi, 1992; May, 1999) combines the principles of the intercultural and anti-racist education. Terms like "anti-racist multicultural education" (Leicester, 1992), critical multiculturalism (May, 1999) and reflexive multiculturalism *(*Rattansi, 1992), imprint the modern theory of the term culture as a process of restructuring at the same time recognising the role of the social inequalities in shaping the culture and the development of modern societies. The current intercultural pedagogy and education entails the analysis and the management of the multiculturalism and refers to the traditional sides (existence of religious heterogeneity) as well as to modern elements such as the antagonism between different viewpoints and theories, yet with the use of new technologies it makes the inter-personal communication easier.

According to Jackson (2004), the need for incorporating the dimension of religious polymorph into a critical multicultural education was deemed necessary after the social turmoil and the rivalry as well as with the growing racism between different religious groups in the UK (between the 1990s and the beginning of the twenty-first century) but also with the emergence of the international terrorism and the religious ethnocentrism. For example, the European Council, following September the 11th, 2001, undertook

the initiative to incorporate the dimension of religious heterogeneity in intercultural education as well as this of political pedagogy in new terms. The congress organised in Oslo in June 2004 titled, "The religious dimension of intercultural education" aimed at developing theoretical speculations as well as the growth of educational policies but also methodological and teaching tools (Council of Europe, 2005). The aim was to acquire an intercultural communication and a dialogue and to develop knowledge and management skills of the ethnic, religious, linguistic and cultural pluralism, to strengthen the social integrity and to fight terrorism as well as to create new codes which will reinsure the basic human rights. According to Jackson (2004), all of the above constitute the most current forms of intercultural education.

It is about the pedagogy and the education which contributes to the liberation from moralisms, religious fanaticism and intolerance with the cultivation of an open and universal spiritualism and with the creation of a feeling of social responsibility through the specific actions of the educational and the pedagogical procedure. Besides, the long-term goal of this religious pedagogy should be the development of the religious autonomy of the student (Pantazis & Sakellariou, 2003). So, taking into account the new social and cultural reality, the trends that prevail in the current theological thought and the due respect for the student's personal autonomy, we should adopt the current dimension of the religious pedagogy and to have a clear religious orientation in the framework of the intercultural education. The goal of this orientation is to have a clear knowledge, with a critical and subjective way. As far as the student is concerned, the more he is aware of his or her own faith and the more correctly and subjectively he is aware of the big religions the more responsible and autonomously they will take decisions for his own religious stance.

Religious dimension of the intercultural pedagogy and the preschool and elementary school education

Intercultural education is a process which covers the whole spectrum of school life as it does not only depend on the presence of the ethnic minority groups at school. Its impact could be particularly positive for all children independently of their linguistic or their cultural background. Intercultural education is yet a pedagogical procedure, a philosophy, envisioning a restructuring of the school and society. It manages and gives answers to problems of an intercultural nature, which come up in a multicultural and multinational society, while at the same time it allows students to express themselves as an individual and as a collective human being (Markou, 1998). Intercultural education expresses a critical pedagogy which doubts the myth for unabridged differences between human beings, students from different social and cultural frameworks, with different values and principles which will be incorporated in a unified policy for an economic and technological community (Govotos, 2001:14).

An important element of intercultural education is a modern, non-dogmatic religious pedagogy which will meet the standards of different interpretation schemes of the reality. With this notion, the goal of religious education is not a simple austere transference of academic knowledge and religious traditions (e.g. stories from the Bible or the Koran) but a modern conception of the dogmas and their connection with reality. This can be achieved through the enrichment of different teaching methods, which present the rich tradition, the practices, and the theology of the different religions with specific remarks for the religious practices, ideas as well as the rituals related to some dogma.

Another important dimension of the current religious pedagogy is that it should not aim at directing students to a specific faith (e.g. to shape Christians and Muslims). Its role is to shape critical thinking, to create perceptive, acute citizens with sensitivity, compassion, empathy, and understanding. This intercultural approach of religious pedagogy should inspire its whole structure and philosophy.

Above all else, this religious pedagogy entails critical thinking in relation to the essence and the meaning of the religious and the theological questions related to the actual problems that have to do with the modern human existence, including humans who are not necessarily religious. Moreover, in the framework of this religious pedagogy we offer information about the existence of other religious views about life (e.g. atheism, agnosticism and new spiritual trends).

The educator is called to use interactive forms of informing (e.g. discuss with members of some religious group) as well as use reliable religious texts in order to be informed about the values and the beliefs of a certain religion that he or she wishes to teach. The educator's role is not to criticise but to present the matters that have to do with the religion in a fair, just and honest way in order to make the religion understandable. The educator's intercultural ability to help in this direction through the critical acceptance of the intercultural education that effectively combines theory and practice and promotes the growth of intercultural conscience with the greater aim of religious pedagogy to cultivate attitudes of understanding, acceptance and interaction amongst students and members of the society in general. This requires the careful choice of methodology and of its contents making the reliable distinction between general, cultural and religious knowledge. According to Essinger there are four basic principles on which this pedagogical approach of intercultural education:

1. *Education with empathy,* which means the deep understanding of others and putting ourselves in their position;

2. *Education with solidarity* which indicates the appeal for the cultivation of a collective conscience and putting aside social injustice;

3. *Education with intercultural respect* which is achieved with the fair interaction and interchange with other cultures; and

4. *Education with ethicist ways of thinking,* which assumes dialogue, independently of an ethnic or a cultural origin (Markou, 1998:240-241).

The interpretative approach developed in Warwick University in the UK aims exactly at helping children and teenagers acquire their own positions and views in order to be part of a dialogue concerning religious heterogeneity. This approach aims at making the most of analytic programmes focusing on experiential learning. The goal of this approach is to adopt an open epistemological methodology, one which enforces dialogue. The framework of this teaching and learning promotes a sensitive, flexible interpretation and creates opportunities for constructive criticism with the use of interpretative and highly critical methods (Jackson, 2004). An important dimension in this approach is the emphasis placed on personal experiences and students' knowledge placed in the classroom, which are nothing but useful, authentic material for study, communication, analysis, application and critical thinking. Yet, it is obvious that the religious pedagogy does not only aim at the simple exchange of students' personal stories.

Ipgrave (2002) in multireligious State Schools of the United Kingdom suggested a pedagogical approach that utilises the children's readiness and easiness to become involved in conversations with a religious content, and to utilise elements of their identity in their everyday speech and in communicating with their peers. Their dialogue is an organised and escalating procedure, one that originally promotes religious heterogeneity, and in turn shapes a positive climate for the heterogeneity, thereby creating the wish for learning and finally reaches its peak with the actual communicative exchange and the information between children from different religious (Ipgrave, 2003). The role of the educator is that of a partner (one that participates in learning), one who makes the communication between students easier, one that clarifies all the questions set and one that emphasises the promotion of autonomy and students' self-action.

Another dialogical approach is the one developed in Norway by Leganger-Krogstad (2000; 2001), which assumes that the religious pedagogy is something that is developed amongst children's personal experiences and the wider social experience as well as something that moves between the past (traditions and stories from the personal environment and students' cultural routes) and the future. The dialogue developed either between children of the same religious group (who acknowledge its internal heterogeneity and perplexity) or between different religious groups is an important element utilised in order to develop the so called metacultural competence (Leganger-Krogstad, 2000; 2001). That is, the ability to handle new and unknown cultural topics and ideas with dexterity and sensitivity.

Finally, a third approach is mentioned in the intercultural/inter-religious learning pedagogies (Weisse, 2003), which combines elements from religious pedagogy and citizens' society. The topics of the dialogue reveal the similarities between different religious, while the dialogue itself brings forward the different views, traditions, experiences, etc. Juxtaposition of the different experiences, as well as their critical stance is deemed important for strengthening students' self-image and enhancing their identities.

The pedagogical approaches that we have presented attempts to promote students' autonomy and their ability to analyse cultural and religious occasions as well as to develop views and to position themselves positively against the current polymorph (Sakellariou, 2000).

Research questions

The present paper aims at drawing the lines of the framework of religious pedagogy and intercultural education through the viewpoint of the teachers and the parents whose children are in preschool and elementary school ages. More specifically, the following questions were researched:

1. What are parents' views on today's school reality, on intercultural education of the Greek school as well as of the society as a whole?; and

2. How do parents perceive the content of the religious education and its contribution to shaping modern emancipated citizens?

A total of 95 parents were asked about topics related to their children's cultural pedagogy. 44 percent of the sample came from parents whose children were in the kindergarten, whereas 56 percent of the parents had children in the first classes of the elementary school. The choice of the parents was from six schools of the greater area of the town of Ioannina, where one can find a strong multicultural character.

For the purposes of the research a questionnaire was compiled which entailed 19 closed type questions, which belonged in five broader categories. These categories involved the following:

A. Parents' sociological characteristics

B. Religious identity and stance towards other religions

C. Religious Pedagogy and the role of the parents

D. Religious education at school

E. School-parent communication

As far as the teachers were concerned, the following questions were researched:

1. What are the teachers' views concerning the school reality today and concerning the multiculturalism of the Greek school and Greek society as a whole?; and
2. How do teachers perceive the content of religious education and its contribution to shaping emancipated citizens?

The sample of the research was 59 nursery school teachers and teachers working in the wider area of Ioannina. For the purposes of the research, a special questionnaire was compiled, which entailed 19 closed questions, which belonged to five categories:

A. School statistics;
B. Teachers' personal data;
C. The limits of intercultural education;
D. The intercultural activities and programmes of religious education;
E. The relationships between the school and parents; and
F. The limits of the teachers' religious identity.

Findings: Parents' views

Parents' sociological characteristics

The fact that the vast majority of parents who completed the questionnaires were the mothers (77 percent), communicates something that indicate their greater involvement in their children's education at this age group at least. Yet, when questioned, they declared that both parents are involved in their children's upbringing (88 percent). The children that the specific parents referred to were aged between 4 and 9, and 53 percent of them were boys. From the analysis of the demographic questions, it became obvious the vast majority of children were born in Greece (95 percent). Only a very small percent of them (5 percent) were born in countries such as the United Kingdom (2.1 percent), Albania, Germany and Italy. Turning to the parents themselves, almost one fifth of them (18 percent) had at least one parent born outside Greece, mainly in countries such as Germany (5.3 percent), Albania (4.2 percent), the UK and Australia (2.1 percent). Moreover, there were parents born in Russia, Rumania and Italy (3.3 percent). The majority of parents were between 30 and 39 years of age (67 percent), while one fifth of them (22 percent) were between 40 and 49.

The vast majority of the parents had graduated from Lyceum (63 percent), while post-lyceum education for parents had to do mainly with technical and university education. Therefore, 33 percent of the parents had graduated from a technical school, while more than one third of them had graduated from some university (29 percent) and had a post-graduate degree (5.4 percent).

Parents were working[1] mainly in the private or the public sector (27 percent), others were teachers or professors (21 percent), technologists (10.5 percent), technical workers or salespeople (8.5 percent), 5 percent had their own business or were employed in some business, while more than one quarter of the parents declared that they were housewives or were simply workers (27 percent).

Religious identity and attitude towards other religions

The vast majority of parents declared that they were Christian Orthodox (90.5 percent) with just 7.4 percent not declaring their religion. Parents felt either very strongly or strongly that they are Greeks (83 percent), Christian (70.5 percent) and Orthodox (62 percent). Moreover, almost three quarters of the parents (74 percent) believed that one of the most important elements of the Greek culture is Orthodox religion. Most respondents linked the Greek identity with Orthodoxy, although 25 percent declared their opposition or uncertainty. Moreover, respect for their religion is very important for them (54 percent) or important (34 percent) for them, with only a small minority of them declaring that they feel completely indifferent about the matter. Finally, their attitude towards the church has become more positive (44 percent) or has not changed (42 percent), with just a small percent (13 percent) declaring a more negative attitude.

Yet, it would seem that parents have a theoretical view about religion, even though this may be true about Orthodoxy, which is not translated into the everyday practice or activities. Therefore, while almost three quarters of parents (74 percent) believe that it is very important for their children to understand and know about the Orthodox religion, and the different customs and cultural values (71 percent) only 54 percent of the parents consider it very important and necessary for their children to participate in the church. In reality, parents' participation in religious events is not so great, since 38 percent stated that they go to church very often or often with their children. In their vast majority, they go to church only occasionally (60 percent) or never (2 percent). The same was observed regarding whether their children should receive the holy communion during Easter, where only 50.5 percent of the parents considered this to be necessary or very necessary. Therefore, the need for religious awareness and the significance placed in this

1 The categorisation was based on the Statistical Categorization of Occupations (STEP-92) of the Greek national statistical service

area does not necessarily mean that that it is necessary to apply the religious practices, something that goes hand in hand with previous research findings about Greek schools abroad (Arvanitis, 2000:115).

Moreover, regarding the lines drawn about the modern global identity, parents feel more strongly about their Greek and Christian identity, than about their intercultural identity (46 percent) and about feeling citizens of the world (45 percent), while they do not feel that they are atheists or agnocisists (58 percent). It is characteristic that the last topics a significant percentage of parents (more than one third) did not wish to answer.

At the same time, parents' attitudes towards other religions are characterised either as "indifferent" by the majority of the parents (55 percent), or – also a significant percentage of 40 percent signalling a positive or a very positive attitude. The respect towards religious difference that exists in a society, although very important (72 percent) for parents, it is also perceived with scepticism by 23 percent or otherwise they feel indifferent or have a negative opinion. Therefore, we can observe that there is an identification of religiousness with Orthodoxy. Showing respect for the personal identity seems not to be considered as a basic social or personal right in multicultural society.

Examining the topics of co-existence and cultural or religious heterogeneity in a society more closely, we can say that in their majority (57 percent) parents stated that there are no specific religious groups of people whom they do not wish their child to be involved with. There was greater certainty about the possibility for their children to have a more close contact with friends with a non-Greek origin. More than three quarters of parents (79 percent) were certain about such a friendly relationship with only a small minority percent disliking such a possibility (5 percent) and a greater percent (16 percent) feeling uncertain about it.

From parents' answers, it can be concluded that the specific sample of parents did not have a very strong communication with other cultural and religious groups. Other studies in the framework of a multicultural society showed that parents were worried about their children's friendship with specific ethnic and cultural groups, especially when this was about the possibility of a mixed marriage (Arvanitis, 2000:116).

Religious pedagogy and the role of parents

Parents' participation in children's education was a topic of concern as it was unclear for them what role they were supposed to play. Therefore, a small majority (52 percent) stated that it was not exclusively the role of the school to deal with their children's religious education as the parents themselves were feeling responsible as well. Yet, more

than one quarter of parents were uncertain (26 percent), while a significant percent of parents (22 percent) felt that this topic was solely the responsibility of the school.

Yet, in their everyday practice, the vast majority of parents (93 percent) seem to be working regularly or at least sometimes with their children's religious education, while a very small percent of the parents were not concerned at all about the subject (7 percent). The topics and the activities of a religious nature that parents dealt with can be determined from a frequency analysis of the following responses: a) visits to religious sites of their own religion (29 percent); b) simple mention of religious facts (20 percent); c) conversations about religious stories or projecting videos about Orthodox religion (20 percent); d) report on personal experiences (12 percent); and e) critical transference of objective knowledge (11 percent), e) conversation and or the projection of videos about other religions (6 percent); and f) visits to other religious sites 92 percent).

Therefore, we conclude that the identification with the simple transference of knowledge through discussions around the Orthodox religion, although according to parents children present a medium interest (40 percent) or even no interest at all (21 percent) about conversations around religious topics. Only 38 percent of the children are very interested or too interested about conversations like these – something that denotes the need for more alternative/participative ways of showing the value of topics around religious information, which were not solely related with topics of orthodox faith. This energetic and experiential learning that will analyse the modern world and the religious pluralism that exists is deemed necessary for developing a critical stance and a multicultural action.

On the whole, it can be concluded that the elevation and the discussion of religiousness stayed within the borders of the core family, grandparents and the school. Other individuals who were closely related with children's religious education were for the majority the grandfather and the grandmother (62 percent), the school (26 percent), but also other individuals from the family environment (8 percent). In general, there was a difficulty in discussing religious matters within a broader family of friends' cycle or even in presenting this factor as important for interpreting the modern world.

A characteristic point which reveals the lack of a pluralistic religious culture within the family environment is having books which refer to the global religions. Three quarters of parents answered that they do not own one single book or magazine which refers to foreign religions, while the percent rate for those having reading material about Orthodoxy was low (23 percent). It is obvious that the religion is not an important element of the modern upbringing within the family environment. Identification with religious matter is tied within a rather close homologous character, while it remains difficult to perceive the importance of the religious factor in shaping modern pluralistic societies.

Yet, parents believe that values such as freedom, love, peace, help for the human being (21 percent), are important elements for teaching their children, while the cultivation critical thinking (14 percent), knowledge of other religions (13 percent) and the Orthodox Tradition (12 percent) are less popular amongst parents' choices. Last, topics such as religious customs (10.1 percent), self-defence against biases (10.1 percent), co-operation with religions for global peace (9.9 percent) and the differences and similarities amongst different religions (9.9 percent) are even less so interesting for parents.

Religious education at school

Parents' views about the religious education that takes place at their children's school were divided. A rather large percentage of parents (38 percent) stated that they were satisfied or very satisfied (3 percent). Yet, a significant minority declared that they were not so satisfied (45 percent) or had a negative view about the matter (9.5 percent).

Moreover, according to the parents, their child's school presented a rather mediocre sensitivity (36 percent) or even a negative attitude (31 percent) towards revealing the religious polymorph and cooperation, while one quarter of the parents thought the school maintained a negative stance towards the matter (24 percent). It seems that the schools did not develop a culture of modern religious upbringing.

Communication between the school and parents

According to a large percentage of parents (81 percent), the school is always at their disposal in matters that have to do with children. The relationship between the school and parents is based on knowledge through information material, as well as visits of parents themselves. The way parents become knowledgeable about what is happening at school is through information leaflets, as well as through parents' visits at the school. The information that the school provides to parents is considered to be satisfactory, since the information leaflets about the curriculum programme are sent on monthly basis (38 percent) or on a quarterly basis (20 percent). However, information provided by the school is very occasional and when it comes to matters of behaviour (18 percent every trimester, 50 percent no communication) and about invitations in religious events/visits (33 percent every trimester/year or 45 percent no communication). The last indicates that the religious events do constitute a rather downgraded element for the school programme.

Parents themselves state that they visit the school regularly (69.5 percent every 15 days, or every month) to discuss matters that have to do with their children. Moreover, the school organises one to two meetings every year (59 percent), while 33 percent of the parents declare that they organise more than two parent meetings during the course of the

last year. The majority of parents (62 percent) state that they always/frequently visit the school in such occasions, while a significant percent of them (35 percent) seems to appear in such meetings only occasionally.

From the above, it can be seen that the relationship between the school and parents involves visits for their children's participation in events but without actually actively participating at the school's events, something that would strengthen the educational community and the shaping of common learning practices and goals. Finally, another third of parents seem to have a rather lose connection with the school, thereby revealing the need for a greater and more essential interconnection between the school and the family in the framework of a more targeted educational design.

Moreover, the cooperation between parents and educators on issues of religious education is centred around non-existent levels, as 55 percent of the parents state that there is no such kind of cooperation or that this is happening only occasionally (24 percent). Yet, to the extent that it exists (17 percent), it mainly has to do with the reinforcement of religious elements/practices of religious education. In total, we can see a rather traditional view of parents about their children's religious education and its identification with the Christian and Orthodox education.

Moreover, the school has a traditional orientation towards organising cultural activities (theatre, dance, happenings) with topics that have to do with the Orthodox tradition — this takes place mainly on a trimester basis (27 percent) or on annual basis (28 percent). Still, a rather significant part of the parents reported the complete lack of such activities at the school of their children. Parents respond to these happenings and are usually or regularly present (41 percent), while the majority is either occasionally present (20 percent) or never present (33 percent). A large majority of the parents state that the school never organises such activities (theatre, dance, happenings) about different religions, while one fifth of the parents stated that their school reveals the religious plurality by mainly organising different activities with elements from other religions, in which they always or frequently go.

Findings: Teachers' views

Biographic profile

Out of the 59 educators who took part in the research, 25 were teachers and 34 were nursery school teachers, of which more than three quarters were female (77 percent). The majority of teachers were between 40-49 years old (54 percent), while more than one third of them were between 30-39 years old and a only a small percentage were over

50 years old (8.5 percent). 43 percent of the teachers had teaching experience between 10-20 years, 30 percent stated that they had 0-10 years of teaching experience and 27 percent stated that they had 20-31 years of teaching experience. Their level of education can be estimated from that 51 percent had a degree awarded from the Pedagogical Departments of Tertiary Education as well as from degrees awarded by the Pedagogical Academies. 44 percent had already completed or was about to complete their master's. It is important to state that only 10 percent had completed a master's programme and no one owned a PhD The vast majority of the teachers had completed their undergraduate studies in Greece, while only a small percent of them (7 percent) had post-graduate education abroad (UK, Australia). Almost all of the educators (95 percent) considered that they needed a more systematic education in matters of religious and intercultural pedagogy, thereby revealing the need for greater familiarity with these topics.

Drawing the lines of teachers' religious identity

Educators stated that they felt strongly or very strongly Christians (63 percent) or Orthodox (61 percent), while a sizeable percentage of them answered moderately or none at all. What was interesting was that one quarter of the educators stated that they do not believe in God, while others believed only a little and others more. Additionally, 85.5 percent of the educators stated that they felt intensely or very intensely about their Greek identity, while at the same time they felt that they are citizens of the world (70 percent). At the same time, according to most teachers (60 percent), their students felt proud for their religious identity, with a small percentage of students (34.5 percent) feeling nothing or feeling negatively. Regarding students' religious identity, the individuals questioned admitted that it is important or very important for them to instil a strong identity (63 percent), knowledge for other religions (75 percent) and the sense that they are citizens of the world (85 percent).

The school's profile

The schools that the specific teachers worked in were located in areas with a low presence of ethnic groups. Yet, more than one third of the teachers characterised the area that the school was in as having a medium or low presence of other ethnic groups. The composition of the student population, according to the teachers revealed the co-existence of the mainly Orthodox students, with Muslims (34.5 percent), Jacob martyrs (17 percent) and Catholics (4 percent).

Teachers' views on the multiculturalism of the Greek school and society in general

The vast majority of the teachers consider that the Greek society is multicultural. 29 percent of the teachers agreed that the term refers to the co-existence of many different cultural groups that is gradually accepted the majority population, while the majority (55 percent) disagreed or completely disagreed with this definition. Yet, there was a significance minority (16 percent) that did not have a crystallised view. Moreover, 44 percent of the individuals asked believed that a multicultural society is one that refers to the integration of different ethnic groups, with respect to the economic and social structures of a society, while 29 percent and 27 percent respectively were uncertain or disagreed with this belief. Yet, three quarters of the educators agreed that it is a necessary process of the intercultural communication and exchange in modern society, while a large percentage (84 percent) believed that a multicultural society should have to promote the process of peaceful co-existence, one which is based on mutual respect for difference. Moreover, 60 percent believed that the existence of many languages is not necessarily an element of multiculturalism in a society, while they thought that the existence of many minorities (64 percent), immigrants (95 percent), religious practices (59 percent) and ethnic groups (52 percent), are elements that are part of a multicultural society. These views seem to have a clear non-systematic, coherent view but also a clearly inadequate educational knowledge and understanding on the part of teachers concerning aspects of multiculturalism, while the results further reveal the insufficient pedagogical planning in the framework of the schools' operation.

Teachers' views on strategies concerning religious education and intercultural communication

45 percent of the teachers were of the view that such cooperation was non-existent or even negative, while 34.5 percent judged it to be. Moreover, according to the majority of the teachers (56 percent), parents participate in the school's religious activities, sometimes less and sometimes more, 20 percent stated that they never participated, while others characterised their cooperation about matters of religious pedagogy as mediocre or non-existence. At the same time, there was another significant percentage of the educators who characterised Greek educational policy concerning the application of multicultural programmes as either non-existent or negative (40 percent), while 56 percent of the teachers were uncertain about the utility of the multicultural schools and the reception classes for promoting intercultural education in Greece.

Teachers' views on intercultural education

Putting the answers together revealed that although schools are not dynamic fields of intercultural communication, the teachers believed that it is very important for the school

to promote intercultural communication (71 percent) and that for others (98 percent) multicultural education helps children understand and accept their differences amongst individuals and fighting against biases. Yet, not all teachers were not so certain about whether it is necessary for multicultural education to run throughout the whole school programme (71 percent positive answers).

Teachers' views on the content of religious education in a multicultural environment

The teachers noted that they consider it very important that students deal with pluralism positively, that they ought to know their own religion, that they should be able to pose arguments, to be knowledgeable of the different religions and exchange views on this topic. Yet, the views on the utility of the religious education and on shaping the modern citizens were divided. 49 percent of the teachers considered this an important factor, in contrast to the negative views held by 19 percent of them, while a large proportion of the teachers had no clear view on this topic (32 percent).

Views about the teaching methodology of the religious education at school

The teaching methodology used by most teachers in their classroom is one that mainly focuses on discussions around students' experiences and the simple mentioning of facts. Active learning and teaching techniques that cultivate students' critical thinking but also their ability to handle with polymorphism in the modern world seem to be used very rarely or even never. The class or school environment equipped and used for activities or programmes to promote the philosophy of intercultural education came to be rated as mediocre (63 percent) or even inefficient (25 percent).

Views on the necessity of religious education

From the questions that teachers were asked we can detect a rather sparce preoccupation with the religious education at school, that was the view of the majority of the teachers (65.5 percent), although they regard it as important that they accommodate different religious and their practices in their classroom. The teachers believed that it is important for students to be sensitive about certain topics. Students' interests concerning topics of religious education are centred around the values and the symbols of the Orthodoxy as well as around the religious habits of the religious groups that live in their area. Subjects that help to promote a multicultural approach of religious education, as for example providing information about other religions, visits to different religious places, etc. all become less and less interesting for children.

Conclusion

In conclusion, we believe that the religious education is an important dimension of intercultural education appropriate for education at preschool and elementary school levels in a multicultural society and globalised world. In the framework of the best possible practice, the present research reveals directly the need for:

- Drawing the lines of religious education in the framework of the multicultural education and the systematisation of the contents, means, and didactic approaches through modern pedagogical approaches that will be supported officially by the state.
- Strategies that will support the modern multicultural environments of the schools, since the lack of general design leads to the delayed measures and actions that need to be taken (Nikolaou, 2000:155).
- Educational interventions producing more knowledgeable teachers (education, continuous training).

Our position for the dimension of the religious education in the preschool and elementary school education has clearly a pluralistic direction, one that is envisaged by the principles and the practices of multiculturalism and interculturalism.

Turning to the parents, the research indicated that parents, in many respects still tend to hold the traditional view of the religious upbringing of their children. It is concluded that there is an identification of the religious with the Christian and Orthodox religion. We have further concluded that religious mainly entails only the simple report or conversational knowledge around topics of the Orthodox religion. We can therefore observe an identification of the religiousness with Orthodoxy although this is becoming less evident by the fact that there is now a critical acceptance of certain roles and beliefs of citizens living in a modern society. It is obvious that in many families, there is no clear religious education and steady relationship with the church, while in only a few of the families religious education is systematically practiced. At the same time, the rejection of a rather obvious framework of social relationships in which the family, society and the church are incorporated creates the danger that religious education, religion and faith – even in cases where parents consciously promote them – become simply a "hobby" only of their own family (Pantazis & Sakellariou, 2003). Therefore, there is the fear that the religious education loses its social support and in some way becomes alienated. Yet, it would be a mistake, based on the above assumptions, to conclude that in most families there is no clear religious upbringing.

In conclusion, we believe in the philosophy of the religious dimension of intercultural education, which broadens its field and takes into account the different forms of expression

and behaviour in school, in the family, the society, and the emphasis that should be placed in developing critical ability and either accepting or rejecting the facts that make up for their cultural identity.

To its best, the present research shows the immediate need for drawing the lines of religious pedagogy in the framework of a multicultural education and intercultural education and systematisation of contents, means and teaching approaches, through current pedagogical perceptions.

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Power relations in the history of religious education in Brazil: The need to develop anti-discriminatory practices[1]

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Abstract

This study examines the main issues regarding Brazilian legislation of religious education in order to offer an understanding about the role that religious education has been playing in the history of Brazilian public education. It also discusses religious intolerance in the country and the struggle for the combat of religious discrimination. The methodology employed was qualitative documentary analysis of legislation, academic research and special reports. The study shows that the Brazilian educational system and society remains intolerant and points out the need for the development of research about religious education in schools. Moreover, the state, school systems, teachers and school personnel are not well prepared for dealing with religious diversity, pedagogical materials and training equally.

Introduction

Education could be the prime means of combating discrimination and intolerance. It could make a decisive contribution to inculcating values pertaining to human rights and the development of tolerant and non-discriminating attitudes and behaviour, thus helping to spread the culture of human rights. (United Nations Commission on Human Rights, 1996)

The Federal Republic of Brazil is the only Portuguese-speaking country in the Americas and the largest lusophone country in the world. This country contains 190 732 694

1 I would like to thank Carlos Eduardo Oliveria (Dreams' Project) for his invaluable help.

people according to the IBGE/2000 (Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics, which carries out the national census) and it is the largest country in South America. The first Portuguese settlers imposed Roman Catholicism firstly upon Native people and secondly upon enslaved Africans during the slave trade to Brazil. Therefore, Catholicism was enforced during colonial rule and became the official religion after the independence of Brazil.

In Latin America, the Catholic tradition is the basis of identity, originality and unity of the subcontinent. It is a historical and cultural reality, with only two exceptions in the twentieth century: the leftist revolutions in Cuba and in Nicaragua. (Figueiredo-Cowen & Gvirtz, 2009:837)

As the largest Catholic country in the world, Catholic education has imposed its tradition in Brazil, thus evangelisation was the basis and reason for the development of the school system. Ignatius of Loyola, the founder of Jesuits in Spain, began the endeavour of the religious teaching in Brazil by the establishment of Fathers of Company of Jesus (CP)[2] in 1549 (Lima, 1958). The CP founded the first schools in order to spread the Portuguese culture and the evangelisation project by converting the "pagan" people (Native people and enslaved Africans)[3] to Catholicism. Even though there had been other religious orders in the sixteenth century in Brazil, such as Franciscan and Carmelites, the education of children and young Indigenous (or Native) Brazilians have continued in the hands of the CJ for centuries and it was based only on teaching Catholic doctrine and how to speak the language (Lima, 1958; Lorscheider, 1992). The Jesuits were expelled in 1751, and after that schools and new education reforms were enacted, moving towards a secularisation of public schools in Brazil. Within this context, Catholicism became the official religion of the country with the largest number of Catholics until the 1891 Republic Constitution, which established Brazil as a secular State.

What is important to highlight is that during the three first centuries of Brazilian history, there was a pact between the Portuguese Empire and the Church in order to establish their colonial project. For that reason, Empire and Church exploited the work force of and exterminated Indigenous and African people,[4] mainly by persecuting, forbidding and undermining enslaved, through genocide, forced labour, persecution, demoralisation and prohibition of their cultural practices and spiritual beliefs.

2 The Society of Jesus (Latin: *Societas Iesu*, *S.J.* and *S.I.* or *SJ, SI*) is a religious order of men called Jesuits, who follow the teachings of the Catholic Church.

3 It is important to notice that the Jesuit priestess ended up stating that Indigenous people were human and needed protection through a Papal bull. However, with the enslaved African the same did not happen.

4 In this article, the terminology Afro-descendants and black people will be adopted to refer to black and brown people since these groups belong to almost the same socio-economic and cultural pattern of exclusion.

Even though Brazil had Catholicism as an official religion, it holds not only a secular government, but also a varied and complex spiritualist society, which is fashioned through the linkages among fusion of the Roman Catholic Church with, indigenous peoples' traditions and the religious traditions of enslaved Africans. Because of that, Brazil is a religious diverse country, in which prevail syncretistic practices.

According to the IBGE/2000 census (Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics), the percentage of adherents of religions practiced in the country is as followed: Roman Catholic (74 percent), Protestant (15.4 percent), and Pentecostal (10.3 percent). Other religions: Spiritism (2 262 401), Indigenous traditions (17 088) and Afro-Brazilian religions (525 013), Jehovah's Witness (1 100 000), Latter-day Saints (200 000), Buddhism (215 000), Judaism (86 000), Islam (27 000). (IBGE census, 2000).

Brazilian population according to their religions and faith		
Religion	Population (million/thousand)	(%)
Roman Catholicism	130	74%
Protestantism	25	15.4%
Pentecostal	18	10.3%
Afro-Brazilian Religious (Candomblé, Umbanda, Batuque, Tambor de Mina, Encantados, Quimbanda, etc.)		0.3%
Native Brazilian Tradition (Indigenous Peoples' Traditions)	735 (thousand)	0.010%
Spiritism (or Kardecism)	2.2	1.3%
Other religions[6]		1.7%
No religious affiliation	12	7.4%

Source: IBGE (2000). Accessed 2010-11-24.

Nevertheless, when reading these statistics, it should be borne in mind Afro-Brazilian practices overlay with the Catholic beliefs (CCIR/2009). Then, many people may declare himself or herself as Catholic, even though they frequent non-Christian temples and they do not regard this as a threat to their faith (Oliveira, 2010).

5 Today, the Muslim population in Brazil is made up mostly of Arab immigrants, but there is a recent trend of increased conversions to Islam among non-Arab citizens. The largest population of Buddhists in Latin America lives in Brazil. This is due to the fact that Brazil has the largest Japanese population outside Japan.

Legislation regarding Brazilian religious education

Currently, 60 years after the acknowledgement of Afro-religion practices by the Brazilian government, with Brazil being a signatory to international treaties and agreements that guarantee freedom of worship and religious consciousness as a fundamental right of citizens (...) [r]eligious fundamentalists are using even military power to religious intimidation (CCIR, 2009:6).

It is important to have an overview about the main issues regarding the contradictory legislation about religious teaching in Brazil. The main landmarks related to this matter will be outlined. During the Imperial period, the Constitution of 1824 affirmed that: "The Roman Catholic religion will continue to be the religion of the Empire. All other religions will be permitted in the form of domestic or private worship in specifically destined houses without the external appearance of a temple" (Brazil Empire, Article 5, 1824). The predominance of the Catholic religion remained in the 1827 Educational Law, which stated that the teachers would teach Christian moral principles and the doctrine of the Roman Catholic Apostolic religious (Brazil Empire, Article 6, 1827).

Thus, Indigenous and black people did not have their rights guaranteed in these Constitutions. For instance, the persecution and destruction of Afro-Brazilian temples and liturgical symbols has existed since enslaved Africans were brought to Brazil. An example of this was when a community of the candomblé in a worship house (terreiro) called Accu, located in the neighbourhood of Acupe de Brotas in 1829 "(...) was target of violent police repression involving invasion and robbery of liturgical items and other objects." (Lopes *apud* Special report of human rights to education, 2010). Another incident of religious attack happened in Alagoas (northeast of Brazil). An angry crowd invaded the yards and beat Afro-Brazilian priestess. The images and ritual objects were thrown on the street where the people made a big pile and set fire. Afterward, many fled and settled in other regions of the country (Braga, Souza and Pinto, 2006).

Brazil became a republic only in 1889 and made mandatory the separation between Church and State. The 1891 Republic of the United States of Brazil Constitution determined that "(...) education provided in public establishments will be laic." (Article 72, paragraph 6). Analysing about this division, Figueiredo-Cowen & Gvirtz (2009) affirm that:

> Historically and traditionally, the relations between the Church and the State have been very close, particularly during colonial rule. The expansion of the Portuguese and Spanish Empires, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries occurred in the name of the Crown and of the Church. In Brazil, for example, one of the first actions when the Portuguese first landed on the coast, of what is today Porto Seguro in Bahia, was the celebration of a Catholic mass (2009:837).

However, this separation benefited the Church economically by the creation of private Religious schools. In addition, the power of decision over the religious teaching curriculum remained in the hand of the Christian Churches. For instance, there was a decree no. 19.941 of April 30, 1931 that determined that religious teaching was optional and that it would be offered for a group of at least twenty students. It also established that: 1) the priests would decide about the curriculum, and the adoption of books; 2) religious authorities would nominate the educators to teach and inspect teacher's doctrine; 3) religious instruction would not interfere with the schedule of other classes and 4) the Ministry of Education would suspend religious teaching in any event (Articles 1 to 11).

The 1934 Brazilian Constitution stated that religious teaching would be with optional registration and provided according to the religious confessional principles of students. Subsequently, the 1937 Constitution emphasised that religious teaching would be addressed as a subject matter of ordinary course of primary schools, but it was not mandatory for teacher or for primary students (Article113). However, in the 1946 Constitution, religious education was considered as a discipline in the curriculum of public schools. Enrolment was optional and would be taught according to the student's religious affiliation, as manifested by he/she or his/her guardian (Article 168). In general, during the first half of the twentieth century, the Catholic Church remained direct or indirectly in control of the religious education laws, which legislated public and private religious schools.

In the decade of the 1960s, Brazil elaborated the National Education Guidelines and Framework Law (*Lei de Diretrizes e Bases da Educação* – LDBEN) in 1961, and religious education was kept as a subject. The LDBEN stated that religious teaching would "be offered at no charge to the public". "§ 1 the training class for teaching of religious education does not depended on a minimum number of students; § 2 Registration of religious education will be held before the religious authority" (Brazil/LDBEN, 1961, article 97). In fact, the LDBEN did not change the religious education principles that were established in the 1946 Constitution. Thus, the LDBEN have endorsed the old neutrality regarding religious education in school that was legitimised as an ecclesiastic element in the schools environment. The 1967 Constitution did not advance in terms of the religious education legislation and mainly kept what had been established before. Then, the registration of religious education remained optional and it would be a discipline in normal hours of primary and secondary public schools (Article 168).

In 1971, the second National Education Guidelines and Framework Law was approved and it added new changes. The disciplines of Moral and Civic Education, and Brazilian Social and Political Organisation were introduced in the curriculum; as a result, thee was not much space for the teaching of religious education. Even though the 1971 LDBEN

kept some of orientation established by the 1961 LDBEN, it also brought some changes regarding of hiring and remuneration of teachers.

What can be highlighted about the religious legislation during the 1960s and 70s? These legislations displayed the State's contradictions regarding the curricular guidelines, teacher selection and preparation and funding support. The main contradiction is related to the role of the Churches, the religious authorities had total freedom over the teaching of religious education; they were responsible for the planning and supervision of the curriculum. Another critical problem is that there was not an investment towards the integral formation of students and openness to religious dialogue.

After the military dictatorship, Brazil installed a process of re-democratisation and enacted a new Constitution in October 1988. The teaching of Religious Education returns to the responsibility of the State, however; it was conceived within the school curriculum, and not by religious imposition. According to this Constitution people have their freedom of belief and worship and it is prohibited for the Union, states and municipalities:

> To establish religious cults or churches, subsidise them, embarrass their functioning or keep with them or their representatives relations of dependence or alliance, except, as provided by law, participation by public interest (Article 19).

Therefore, it clearly prohibited the discrimination on the basis of religious affiliation and religious education acquires a new status being recognise as field of knowledge. The Constitution also states that:

> A Minimum curriculum shall be established for elementary schools in order to ensure a common basic education and respect for national and regional cultural and artistic values. Paragraph 1 – The teaching of religion is optional and shall be offered as a discipline during the regular school hours of public elementary schools (Brazil, 1988, Article 210).

Historically private education by religious groups had been offered at no charge to the public, although the 1988 Constitutions asserts about the need of allocating funds for that:

> Public funds shall be allocated to public schools, and may be channelled to community, religious or philanthropic schools, as defined by law, which I. Prove that they do not seek profit and that they apply their surplus funds in education; II. Ensure that their assets shall be assigned to another community, religious or philanthropic schools, or to the Government in case they cease their activities (Brazil, 1988, Article 213).

As the legislations have demonstrated, historical/structural Christian Church's patterns, media programmes and proselytism mark currently most of the Brazilian educational

system and society. As a result, there is an absence of knowledge and values of about other non-Christian religions and cultures, which have not been properly addressed. Despite of the fact that the main goal of this conception of religious education is intend to be grounded on the Brazilian's religious diversity, mainly encouraging tolerance and acceptance (Oliveira, 2010; Costa Neto, 2010).

After the 1988 Constitution, at the federal level, the National Education Guidelines and Framework Law No. 9.394 was promulgated in December of 1996. The LDBEN (1996) stated that religious education had to be taught in order to contemplate the pluralism of ideas and pedagogic conceptions, respecting freedom and valuing tolerance (Article 3). It is important to highlight that the Article 33 of this Law was very polemic because it established that religious education would be offered at no charge to the State, and that it would be confessional or inter-confessional. Within this context, it was created the Permanent National Forum of Religious Education (FONAPER)[6] in 1996, with the responsibility of providing a guideline to elaborate of an amendment that changed the article 33 of the 1996 LDBEN. Six months later, this amendment was approved (Law 9475 of July 22, 1997), and since then the LDBEN has the following statement.

> Religious education, which is optional, is part of the essential background for a citizenship and is a teaching subject included in regular schedules of public elementary schools, with respect being ensured for the cultural diversity in Brazil, and all forms of proselytising being forbidden (Article 33).

This new orientation gave the educational systems the freedom to elaborate and make decisions about the curriculum. It provided power and agency to the educational system, allowing it to select teachers, design the content and methods of religious teaching, and have the responsibility to articulate with different social organizations that belonged to diverse religious denominations.

1. The Education system will regulate procedures to define the contents of religious education and will establish rules to qualify and hire teachers.

2. The Education system will have social institutions [boards], made up of different religious denominations, to determine [together] the content of religious education.

The 1996 LDBEN is remarkable because it overcame the theological and confessional conception of religious education present in the 4024/1961 LDBEN and the axiological notion of this discipline, as it was present in the 5692/1971 LDBEN. Consequently, the 1996 LDBEN brought a phenomenological aspect to the religious education ("it is part of

6 The FONAPER is a civil society organisation that organises discussion and share proposals and ideas for the operationalisation of Religious Education at school in Brazil.

the essential background for a citizen") and was inspired by the principles of freedom and by the ideals of human solidarity. It also called for an inter-religious collaborative work among different organisations.

The next step for regulating religious education in the country was the elaboration of the National Curricular Parameters for Religious Education (PCNERs, 2010) by the FONAPER. According to the introduction of the PNCERs (2007), this document aimed at elaborating a pedagogical proposal for religious teaching, and people representing different religious traditions organised it. One of the challenges of the PCNER was to withdraw the well-known and remaining concepts of proselytism from the proposal of Religious Education in order to dissociate it from the Catholic ideology. Then, religious teaching became a discipline into the national system of education with its own features. According to the specialists Toledo and Amaral (2005), the PCNERs was a watershed in the history of religious education in the sense that it determined the constitution of the identity of the discipline in the schools. It also addressed the religious phenomenon, and its purpose as rereading, in the epistemological sense.-Toledo and Amaral (2005) stated:

> … the strategy used by organisers of the PCNER was to change the concept of the word religion replacing the traditional sense of religion that is was 'reconnecting' to God for the sense of 'rereading', or religion in the sense of reading (…). Religious Education moved to the secular realm and must be treated epistemologically based on the sciences of religion such as philosophy, history, sociology, anthropology and religion (2005:4).

Even though the PCNERs stated their anti proselytism, Toledo and Amaral (2005) affirmed that:

> The proposed PCNERs did not comply with the concept of impartiality from proselytism to which they committed. In fact, they present particular visions of the world. The parameters reveal themselves to be a strategy to guarantee the maintenance of this subject by the State to the benefit of Churches, especially the Christian ones (2005:1).

Even though the LDBEN and the PCNERs displayed some advances, it is important to acknowledge that, through the Brazilian legislation, there has been a strong influence of the Christian religion, particularly the Roman Catholic denomination on the Brazilian educational system. The Church has played a major role not only in the history of religious teaching, but also in curriculum elaboration, policy making, policing, teaching, and in the power relations between state and schools in Brazil. As pointed out previously, the religious group with the second highest number of adherents is the Protestant adepts. In the 1970s, the Pentecostal movement expanded in Brazil and took the names of

Assemblies of God and the Universal Church of the Kingdom of God (UCKG). In recent decades, Pentecostal and Neo-pentecostal churches have gained many adherents, and they hold a powerful media influence. They possess several TV channels and Radio stations as pointed out in the studies of Freson (1994) and Mariano (2004). In general, the UCKG has applied:

> Heterodox methods of collection, religious defamation, physical violence against adherents of the Afro-Brazilian cults and millionaires business investments, specially the surprising purchase of the TV Rede Record network for 45 million dollars in 1990, unleashed a barrage of criticism and accusations of large press and even Protestant sectors, police investigations and court proceedings against Universal [Church of the Kingdom of God] and its leaders, an endless times portrayed by newspaper news as exploiters of the credulity of the poor (Mariano, 2010:125-126).

In fact, the proclaimed split between State and Church has remained, however; the Catholic, lately the Pentecostal and the Neo-Pentecostal Churches have influenced the Brazilian political and religious landscape in different contexts. As it has been displayed throughout this article, religious teaching became part of the Brazilian education and it has been addressed mainly through the interactions between the Catholic Church and the State, even though Brazil claims to be a secular country as it is stated in its several Constitutions and Laws.

To illustrate the Church's control over political questions it is important to mention two important events. The Concordat established by the Federal Republic of Brazil and the legal status the Holy See, the "central government" of the Catholic Church[7] and the changes in the Third National Programme of Human Rights known as PNDH-3. For instance, the Concordat was an important case to address the technologies of power and negotiation (Foucault, 1971) between the State and the Church. The Agreement establishes that:

> ... Religious education, *Catholic and any other religious denominations*, to be optional, is a regular discipline in normal hours of state schools in primary education, so long as the respect for religious diversity of Brazil is ensured, in accordance with the Constitution and other laws, without any form of discrimination (Concordat Watch, 2008, Article 11, emphasis added).[8]

The fact that the Concordat mentioned both Catholic and of other religious denominations it did not automatically embrace the others undermined and non-Christians religious denominations such as: Native Brazilian traditions and the Afro-Brazilian religion (or Afro-Brazilian religious matrixes). It is important to highlight that, in general, these two last

7 This agreement was signed on November 2008 and ratified on October 2009.

8 Source: http://www.concordatwatch.eu/showtopic.php?org_id=15311&kb_header_id=37261

traditions are not considered as religion and have being discriminated against since colonial time as previously mentioned. The other political event is related to the changes in the PNHD3. A part of the document that addressed the abortion's legalisation in the country was modified because the National Conference of Brazilian Bishops[9] pressured the Brazilian Federal Government_(Brazil/PNDH-3, 2010:91-92). Moreover, other PNHD3 issues criticised by the Church, which are same sex-marriage and same-sex adoption, remained without changes (Brazil, 2010).

Therefore, Brazilian society is at risk of maintaining under the Church's control, state schools, by allowing Catholic and Pentecostal symbols at schools buildings (Costa Neto, 2010). Nevertheless, the church's manipulation and religious intolerance have been interrogated. Opposite forces and voices of resistance have emerged in different moments of the Brazilian educational reforms and policy making, and I shall address them subsequently in this chapter by presenting their critical perspective.

Numerous advocates have engaged in critical analyses of the ways schools address religious intolerance, it has been detected a great deal of misrepresentation and lack of knowledge about other faiths (Costa Neto, 2010; Oliveira, 2010; Botelho, 2005). The official discourse seems to recognise and ameliorate the gap between the religious beliefs and practices of Christians and non-Christian.

The battlefield: Religious intolerance, existence and resistance

"Since I told them I belong to an African-Brazilian religion (Candomblé) at Uneb (State University of Bahia), my colleagues in the classroom have changed attitude towards me. I have a hard time joining study groups, and they look at me as a different person, someone able to do them any harm", she says (Jandira Mawusi Santana).[10]

Bernadette Souza Ferreira, leader of Candomblé and the black movement in Ilhéus (BA), was handcuffed, dragged by the hair and tossed on top of an ant colony by the Military Police on October 23, 2010, than taken to a male cell in prison. Bernadette denounced the violence last week.[11]

9 Source: http://ultimosegundo.ig.com.br/politica/para+cnbb+mudancas+no+pndh+3+revelam+sensibilidade/n1237618752778.html

10 Jandira Mawusi Santana is a student of pedagogy at State University of Bahia, and coordinator of a college entrance course at a public school in the neighbourhood of Engenho Velho da Federação, Salvador/Brazil. Source: http://educacao.uol.com.br/ultnot/2010/09/10/pesquisa-mostra-que-intolerancia-religiosa-ainda-esta-presente-em-escolas-brasileiras.jhtm

11 Bernadette Souza Ferreira coordinates the Dom Helder Camara Settlement, in an area under the jurisdiction of the National Institute of Colonization and Agrarian Reform (INCRA). Source: www.viomundo.com.br/voce-escreve/campanha-contra-a-tortura.html

The aforementioned quote is a mere example of the frequent religious intolerance in Brazil with adepts of Afro-Brazilian religious. Brazil is made up of 50 percent of blacks or Afro-Brazilian and their religions of African origin were prohibited and violently repressed since they were brought to Brazil as a result of the transatlantic slave trade.

Thus, religious intolerance is a most critical issue in Brazil and it has brought all sort of crimes, discrimination, prejudice, moral, ethical, physical and symbolic damages. In order to address these issues, it will be discussed four significant researches about religious intolerance in Brazil developed by specialists and different religious advocates. The first is the special report of the Brazil's *Committee Against Religious Intolerance* (CCIR/2009). The second is the Special report of Human Rights to Education of Plataforma Dhesca (Economic, Social, Cultural and Environmental Human Rights/2010). The third and fourth are the following research books: *Dimensions of Inclusion in High School Education: the Labour market, Religiosity and Education in the Quilombo* by Braga, Souza and Pinto (Org.) (2006) and Laity: The religious education in Brazil by Diniz, Lionço and Carrião (2010)

The CCIR[12] was launched in March 2008 as counter-react movement against cases of religious intolerance in the Brazilian state of Rio de Janeiro and it is responsible for the "I have faith" (Eu tenho fé) inter-religious movement. The CCIR has organised a national mobilisation through the Religious Liberty (Liberdade Religiosa) – I have faith march. According to CCIR (2009), religious intolerance is expressed majority against African-Brazilian religious, but is also expressed against Jews, Catholics, Muslims and spiritualists. Fifteen cases of religious intolerance in four Brazilian states was clearly denounced by the CCIR that charges pentecostal churches, particularly the Universal Church of the Kingdom of God (UCKG) of attacks, harassment and discrimination against people of other faiths, and of spreading religious intolerance.

According to a study developed by the Pew Research Centre's Forum on Religion & Public Life (Pew Forum),[13] the UCKG has 5 000 churches throughout Brazil and is active in dozens of countries around the world. The group has major political power in Brazil with seats in parliament and positions in the government, as well as party alliances at the local, provincial and federal levels. The study shows that an evangelical congressional caucus consisting mainly of Pentecostal holds around 10 percent of seats in the country's legislature. The chairman of the CCIR, Ivanir dos Santos, states that the UCKG make

12 It has around 18 religious institutions and human rights groups such as the Congregação Espírita Umbandista do Brazil (CEUB), the Israelite Federation of Rio de Janeiro, and groups representing Protestant, Catholic, Muslim, Buddhist, Candomblé, indigenous and gypsy faiths.

13 Source: http://pewforum.org/Christian/Evangelical-Protestant-Churches/Historical-Overview-of-Pentecostalism-in-Brazil.aspx

efforts of "demonising" Afro-Brazilian religions, portraying Jews as "the killers of Christ", Catholics as "devil worshippers", traditional Protestants as "false Christians", and Muslims as "demonic" since they believe in Mohammed instead of Jesus (CCIR, 2010). For this reason, the Committee emerged "from the increasingly urgent need to defend the practitioners of African-based religions in the face of efforts aimed at annihilating[14] and demonising their religious practices" in order to confront "a state of religious dictatorship" (CCIR, 2010:2). It is important to notice that due to the CCIR's mobilisation against intolerance, the Civil Police of Rio de Janeiro[15] (the first to engage in this struggle, allowing occurrence records), the Court of the State of Rio de Janeiro and the Attorney General's Office of the State of Rio de Janeiro became part of this Committee.

Another critical issue well addressed by the CCIR was the media's empire attacks against Afro-Brazilian religious. The Folha de Sao Paulo newspaper informed that the UCKG has acquired over the past three decades twenty TV stations, forty radio stations, and at least nineteen companies registered under the names of church members and bishops (Folha de Sao Paulo newspaper) and he bought the TV Record network that has programmes attacking constantly Afro-Brazilian religious beliefs. After that, the UCKG filed more than 35 separate lawsuits against the journalist who wrote the report and the newspaper. According to the information released by the Rick A. Ross Institute of New Jersey[16] (RI):

The wave of lawsuits is seen as an attempt to intimidate journalist Elvira Lobato and the newspaper Folha, and through them, the journalist profession and the media in Brazil. The lawsuits are also seeking to prevent open public debate on issues of public interest, and are thus abusing the right of the people of Brazil to access information (RI, 2008).[17]

The work of the CCIR was essential also for the elaboration of the Brazilian Dhesca, a special report of Human Rights to Education of the Brazilian Dhesca Plataform[18] (Economic, Social, Cultural and Environmental Human Rights) in 2010. The Brazilian

14 An emblematic situation was the death of Afro-Brazilian religious priestess, Gildasia dos Santos, known as Mae Gilda (Mother Gilda) in 1999. She was attacked by a daily UCKG newspaper that accused her of being a "charlatan" and of endangering the "lives and wallets" of her followers. Since then, several manifestations took place in Brazil and it was designated as the National Day Against Religious Intolerance (January 21, 2007) through a presidential decree.

15 In Brazil, according to the CCIR, only Rio de Janeiro allows records of religious discrimination in their police stations.

16 RI, a non-profit public resource, is an Internet archive of information about cults, destructive cults, controversial groups and movements.

17 Source: http://www.brazzilmag.com/component/content/article/56/9096-evangelical-media-empire-in-brazil-goes-to-court-to-intimidate-press.html

18 Brazil Dhesca received institutional support of UNESCO, the President's Secretariat of Human Rights and the Federal Attorney of Citizen Rights at the Public Ministry, and it includes a joint effort of 36 organisations and national networks of human rights.

Dhesca report initiated last year an investigative mission of instances of religious intolerance in schools and kindergartens of the country. This mission is integrated into the national mission "Education and Racism in Brazil", being developed across various Brazilian states in 2010. The ongoing mission regarding religious intolerance collected testimonies of religious leaders, educational workers, students, family members, researchers and authorities in the area of Education of the Public Ministry and the Ministry of Public Security (Brazilian Dhesca, 2010:1).

According to Brazil's Dhesca report (2010), religious intolerance is an act of intransigence in relation to other religions and, in relation of religions of African origin, operates in the dimension of racism that marks the history of black people, of their African origin and their culture in Brazil. In this manner, the manifestations of scorn and attacks against practitioners of the religions of African origin add up to pejorative names, jokes alluding to skin colour, mocking of physical traces, expressing racial intolerance and the many faces of Brazilian racism. Throughout Brazilian history, they have been persecuted and prohibited in certain moments, and continually labelled as superstitions, sects and witchcraft. They have been disrespected, criminalised and turned into targets of persecution.

As a form of survival in a country that held Catholicism as its official religion, the African religions established some parallelisms between African divinities and Catholic saints, adopting the Catholic calendar of feasts, valuing the attendance at rites and sacraments of the church. The enslaved blacks, and later the free black citizens had to be catholic in order to survive and integrate themselves in the society. For that reason, many practitioners of religions of African origin consider themselves and behave as Catholics, attending catholic rites as well as those of African religions (Dhesca report, 2010).

Regarding, intolerance in schools, the Brazil Dhesca report reveals the occurrence of cases of religious intolerance among students, educational workers and family members and it received denounces from various regions of the country related to cases of:

- physical violence (punches and even stoning) against students;
- dismissal and suspension of educational workers tied to religions of African origin or including elements of those religions in classroom work;
- prohibition of the use of books and of the teaching of capoeira on school grounds.
- inequality in access to school grounds for religious leadership, in disadvantage to those tied to religions of African origin;
- inactivity in relation to discrimination or power's abuse by teachers and directors.

Therefore, to face these kind of discriminations take the students in many cases to class repetition, school evasion or requests for transfer to other schools, compromise the students' self-esteem and contribute toward low educational achievement. This situation of discriminations are reverberated in the findings of the five researches among others published in the book Dimensions of Inclusion in High School Education: the Labour market, Religiosity and Education in the (2006).

This book was part of the efforts of providing pedagogical support for high school teachers at the moment in which Afro-Brazilian culture became part of the educational agenda by Law. It is fundamental to stress that the Brazilian educational legislation has undergone two significant changes. The first refers to the (LDBEN) altered by the Brazilian Federal Law No. 10.639/2003, which turned mandatory the teaching of Brazilian History and Culture throughout the official teaching curriculum. It is important to highlight that some school leaderships, teachers and other school advocates as well religious leaders have misunderstood the role of this Law. According to one leader, this "is not a religious law, it is a Federal law, committed to the culture and history of black people. People reacts to this Law as if it was a religious law, and it is clearly not. We must call attention to this problem. There are religious motivations for not applying the law" (Special report of human rights to education, 2010:9).

The second refers to the role of the National Council on Education (CNE) in regulating these changes. The National Curricular Guidelines for the Education of Ethnic-Racial Relations and for the Teaching of Afro-Brazilian and African History and Culture were approved. Regarding Native Brazilians, their educational specificities have been addressed since the 1988 Constitution, LDBEN and recently the Law no. 11.465/2008 made mandatory the teaching of Brazilian History and Culture throughout the official teaching curriculum.

For the first time, the Brazilian Ministry of Education funded an expressive research about Afro-Brazilians and Religiosity in high schools in four region of Brazil: North (Pará and Alagoas), Midwest (Goiás), Southeast (São Paulo) and South (Rio Grande do Sul). The researchers' sample consisted in at least three high schools focusing on the school everyday religious teaching and its association to stereotypes present in this environment. They analysed behavioural relation among high schools students related to religious diversity taking into consideration afro-religious presence in different regions. Schools pedagogical design, contents, learning-teaching process and gender relations in educational practices, schools and community relations were aspects observed by researchers.

In general, it is worth emphasise that in different regions of Brazil, high school teacher, leaders, school personnel and students are not prepared to treat equally the Afro-Brazilian religious traditions. Researchers' findings highlighted issues such as:

- Afro-Brazilian culture and religiosity is part of a historic tradition of struggles and discriminations in Brazilian society;
- This issue is addressed in a reductionist fashion as folklore or as official commemorative dates and it also causes shame or repression in high school black students;
- Religious proselytism must be avoided because the school should not be the object of a religious discourse that has as its goal the conquest of "new souls";
- High school teacher are knowledgeable about Brazilian culture and its racial variety regarding the identity process of students;
- Racism and religious intolerance awareness have a privileged place in extra-class activities and it suggests that it maybe interesting to address these issues in a playful dimension;
- It is perceived an asymmetry between Afro-Brazilian and the Judeo-Christian religions due to omission of the Brazilian states and the Union in adding curricular contents regarding Afro-Brazilian cultures;
- There is an urgent need of developing professional training for teachers in order to establish a pluralistic and respectful space in schools grounded on a multicultural perspective;
- Quantitative data revealed that the percentage of students who declared themselves initiated in Afro-Brazilian religions is higher than the data publicised by the IBGE census. It reveals also that white women declared themselves adepts of these religions;
- Teachers keep Eurocentric view transmitting Christian values, even though claiming to be laic;
- Schools located near Afro-Brazilian temples denied their existence and students keep omitting their affiliation to those temples to avoid discrimination and for fear of reprisals;
- Schools need to be aware of and change both the proselytisms of their religious education classes, which chooses the Christian doctrine as paradigm, and any racial bias that has stigmatised Afro-Brazilian religious;
- The inveterate prejudice is the foremost obstacle to change the way how society and schools care for Afro-Brazilian religions;

- Beyond the unpreparedness of teachers, the manifestations of rejection, ignorance and deformations on the Afro-Brazilian religions are embedded in the tense context of race relations and cultural resources.

The issue is that, representations of the black, Asian, indigenous (and mainly women from those ethnic groups) in books are superficial, lacked information on the specificity of these group's religions and devalued their cultures. Teachers of the subjects showed a lack of concern with selecting works that presented characters belonging to these segments. When they did appear, they were generally presented in a de-contextualised and negative manner.

Not only teachers' lack of preparation, but also the use of school materials and textbooks for the teaching of religious education are critical issues in the educational system. In a sample of 25 religious education textbooks published by major publishers in the country, the study Laity: The religious education in Brazil (2010) analysed publications most used by Brazilian public schools, according to the information released by FNDE (Brazilian national fund for development of education). The research affirms that prejudice and religious intolerance are part of the reality of thousands of children and young from elementary schools in Brazil. Therefore, this 2010 research confirms what was assessed four years earlier in the aforementioned study: Dimensions of Inclusion in High School Education: the Labour market, Religiosity and Education in the (2006). The researchers' findings demonstrate that in those textbooks:

- Jesus Christ's images appear eight times more than that of an indigenous leadership in the religious field, which is reduced to an anonymous reference without biography, twelve times more than the Buddhist's leader Dalai Lama, and also twenty times than Martin Luther (a reference for Protestantism);
- There is an imposition of a kind of "Christian catechism" in the classroom. For instance, Christian had 609 citations in the books, while Afro- Brazilian religious and spiritualists are treated as "traditions" and appear only 30 times;
- There is an encouragement of homophobia. Some textbooks portrait homosexuals as a "moral deviation", "physical or psychological illness", "deep conflicts". Homosexuals' sexual orientation is not accepted or seen as natural.
- People without religion are associated to Nazism and it is suggested that an atheist would tend to behaviour as violent and frightening,
- The generalisations conduct to preaching Christianity and misinformation;

- The major publishers are attracted to both their publications and links to religious preaching and to their commercial interest with school supplies.

Textbooks in Brazil have incorporated Western traditions and as well as mainstream culture in their contents in order to maintain power, knowledge and curricula (Silva, 1995; Zimmerman 2004; P. Silva, 2005; Teixeira, 2006). The major publishers of textbooks maintain western Christian values and ideologies, particular to certain humankind that is the most disseminated in the majority of the official school materials (Apple, 1992). For instance, these books "participate in no less than the organised knowledge system of society" and they "participate in creating what a society has recognised as legitimate and truthful" (Apple, 1992:4). In that sense, there is a powerful publishing industry that affects and dictates the selection and adoption of textbooks that are not evaluated by the Brazilian National Textbook Program (PNLD). In doing so, the knowledge and culture that prevail in teachers' training, textbooks and other school materials in the national and international market express the ideas of the dominant culture.

Nevertheless, there have been activists, scholars, advocates and militants that remained investing in inverting the inaccuracies in pedagogical practices, and curriculum making process regarding religious education. The following three research experiences and educational practices can illustrate the struggle for addressing religious education inclusive perspectives. First, it is the experience of Municipal School located in a of the most traditional temples called Ile Axe Opo Afonjá, founded by Mother (same that priestess, minister or holy women) Anna in 1910 in Salvador/ Bahia. Today, Mother Stella Oxossi is leading the temple currently and she is a priestess highly respected by the religious community, which is located in the district of São Gonçalo do Retiro, Salvador/Bahia.

This community has a historical educational experience because it was established the Municipal School Eugenia Anna dos Santos. This name was given in honour of the mother of a saint who founded the temple. The school began in 1978 as a day-care centre that served only children aged 6 months to 5 years. Then, it became a 1st to 4th grade of elementary school in 1986. The structure of the building, the organisation of classrooms, and ways of teaching are based on the Afro-Brazilian culture (values, myths, history, knowledge). It is important to highlight that this school received students from different religious or faiths such as Christian, protestants, etc. After years of experience with this school, professor Vanda Machado (2002) developed an innovative pedagogic proposal for teaching / learning based on Afro-Brazilian cultural orientations. The proposal is called Irê Ayó Project (Happiness Path Project). The Ministry of Education recognized this school as a School Reference for Afro-Brazilian culture inclusion.

Another non-formal experience with the educational practices based on African religious is the work developed by Botelho (2005) in the temple *Ilê Axé Iya Mi Agba*. The author investigated the educative processes present in Candomblé, grounded in religious ancestral knowledge, considering its principle of community and family of the saint (the family of who initiated in the tradition), promote inclusion that can be relocated to an anti-racism education, to strengthen respect for diversity. Further, Botelho (2010) conceives an education that perpetuates wisdom, develops and promotes the integration of different values and ethical principles. The author names this pedagogical proposal as Education, Diversity and Orishas: Pedagogical Affirmative Action, which portrays the traditional African education for life._

The third experience is a study developed with interviews and journals elaborated by training course for teaching[19] during teachers' educational supervised training. Oliveira (2010) asserts that in general, teachers confirms the prediction that they recognise the importance of teaching about Africa and Afro-Brazilian traditions, though they not contemplate it in their class planning, except when the recurrence of events such as the case of the world cup that was held in South Africa. Teachers' testimonies converge on the need for training (2010:63). It was noted also that in the literature engaged in the analysis of education and religion intersect the academic debate, basically, in the discussion of religious education and the tensions and reproduced in school, stemming from the general transformations promoted with the rise of Pentecostalism in Brazil. According to his study, in the context of scientific literature on education and religion there is no focus, proportional to debate of the specifics representations of Afro-Brazilian religions in the social imagination of professionals who work at the primary schools.

On careful observation of the testimonies of the respondents who contributed to this research, certainly the "deformation" most striking, systematically reproduced by teachers and future teachers, is the conception of the deity Exu [the most demonised divinity]. It is the expression of the appropriation of the meaning of the deity that most reveals the lack of understanding and rejection of Afro-Brazilian religious ethos. The example of that is evident in the testimony of a teacher, with eighteen years of teaching and who identify themselves as Protestant. It is considered that the Afro-Brazilian religions adore (revere divinities) and more generally, this is what the conception that the Judeo-Christian states as the culmination of all evil (Oliveira, 2010:59).

Thus, Oliveria's (2010) research based on the everyday teacher's practices stresses that through different teaching practices and ideologies both teachers and future teachers represent the Afro-Brazilian religions repeatedly as sources of demon.

19 This course known as Normal course (curso normal) is a type of qualification for teaching in pre-schools and 1st to 4th grade of elementary school. This is not equivalent to university or college degree.

Final considerations

Human minds are the source of all forms of intolerance and discrimination based on religion or belief, and should therefore be the main target of any action to curb such behaviour (…). The role of the schools in this educational effort is crucial (United Nations Commission on Human Rights, 1996).

The history of religious education in Brazil, as a systematic process of transmitting/imposing knowledge, is inseparable from the history of colonisation safeguarding the fundamentals truth of Catholic faith. From the political point of, it seems that religion remains as an important element of legitimating and social integration and Brazilian political power holders do not want abdicate from. In fact, this could mean a regression to the advancements of republican ideals since the history of Brazilian religious education legislation showed that a public space was opened to various religious denominations. Nevertheless, this could not be justified in a secular republican regime, even if it claims itself as a cultural and religious plurality that characterises the country.

Church has justified the presence of the struggle for religious education as a discipline in public schools in the name of the principle of religious freedom, but it has not lost its proselytism. For instance, examining the relationship among religious education, religious intolerance and Brazilian legislation the CCIR's head evaluates that:

> (...) we are not talking about confessional school, it is of public school. In a confessional school there is no other way it will teach its religion. In public schools, education can not be confessional because the State is secular. Even the State being secular there are both groups that always seek to appropriate of it and public officials that should be monitored according to the statute of civil servants (…) [in order to watch] who proselytises, a practice that the Constitution prohibits. There is a proliferation in the State apparatus of people who confuse their religion with their role as public servants" (Dhesca report, 2010:9).

The fact is that, many Brazilian states and municipalities have regulated religious education and it was determined as its function by Brazilian legislations such as LDBEN and the National Council of Education report (Brazil/CNE Report No. CP 097/1999). For instance, according to the mapping of the Religious Studies' Institute (Iser/2008), religious education was offered in twelve public schools out of twenty-seven of Brazilian states in 2008. However, most of them do not have representatives of religions of African origin as members of Educational Council or Religious Education Committee to guide the discipline. The reality is that the majority of representatives belong to the Judeo-Christian tradition yet. Therefore, educational systems and communities main challenge is to embark on a religious dialogue in which the concerns of different groups can be expressed

in order to avoid the dictatorship of personal moral values, ideologies and behaviours over the general public in order to combat religious institutions to set patterns of education or conduct and guarantee individual's freedom.

On one hand, the role of the Brazil's *Committee Against Religious Intolerance* (CCIR) has been fundamental for the struggle with both the State and the educational system. The CCIR struggles and articulation have raised religious awareness, and allowed a powerful inter-religious dialogue. It has also pressured United Nations departments, justice system, police departments and the media about the religious intolerance and its harmful consequences. The CCIR has mobilised a national debate in favour of religious anti-discriminatory practices, and it has constituted as a symbol of resistance through its existence.

On the other hand, African and Native Brazilians based religious systems have been framed through Eurocentric lenses informed by white Christian values. Such biased approaches have historically disseminated prejudice and demonisation in order to justify the persecution of African traditional religious practitioners, a problem that persists in Brazilian society since colonial time throughout contemporarily (Oliverira, 2010, Xavier, 2006; Botelho, 2005; Verger, 1999; Santos, 1976; Lorscheider, 1992; Lima, 1958). Hence, the need for unbiased research should be a central concern for researchers who are committed to liberatory efforts and struggles against any form of oppression.

Finally, although there is a good amount of literature exploring, documenting and addressing the contradictory legislations regarding religious education in Brazil. In addition, less literature is available that examines the development, the war of position (Gramisci, 1971) in the classroom and the influence of religious identity, discourse and discriminatory practices in the process of self-formation and academic performance of students within the school setting. Also, little research has qualitatively explored (Oliveira, 2010, Diniz, Lionço and Carrião, 2010; Braga, Souza and Pinto, 2006; Botelho, 2005) the particulars of their religious battlefield and its influence in shaping teachers, school administrators and students self-understandings, specifically within the school setting.

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Religion and education: A South African perspective

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South Africa, the rainbow land, the land of diversity, the country with a horrible past, and South Africa, the land with a bright, bright future. This beautiful country at the southernmost tip of Africa is one of the most scenic countries in the world. Known for its wide variety of its wild life, majestic mountains, including one Table Mountain, one of the Seven Wonders of the World, tranquil rivers and Cape Point, the majestic and stormy meeting point of the Atlantic and Indian Oceans. South Africa, known for its indigenous riches, diamonds, gold, copper, silver, and platinum, but even more for its riche heritage of people and cultures.

The purpose of this chapter is to give a brief overview of Religious Education in the pre- and post-Apartheid era in South Africa. In the process, the author will take a critical look at the current curricula and themes that are addressed through the various school phases.

The earliest inhabitants of South Africa were the San (Bushmen) and Khoekhoe (Hottentots) people, who occupied the southern tip of Africa for thousands of years before written history began. Hundreds of years before the arrival of the Europeans, the Bantu speaking people moved in from the north into the north-eastern and eastern regions of the country. In 1952, Jan van Riebeeck landed with three ships at the Cape of Good Hope to establish an outpost for the Dutch East India Company, in order to service ships on the way to and from the East with fresh water and vegetables.

In the years following, the Cape became the home of many Dutch, German and French settlers, with the British taking over the Cape from the Dutch in 1795, returned it to the Dutch in 1802, just to come under British rule again by 1806. By 1934, some of the colonists who did not agree with the British rule, moved (trekked) inland, which led to the Great Trek. These Trekkers clashed with the Bantu inhabitants and this led

to the establishment of independent republics. Eventually, in 1899, the Anglo-Boer war broke out between the inland boer (farmer) republics and the British. This war ended in 1902, after which South Africa became a Union in 1910. The current ruling party in South Africa, the African National Congress came into being in 1912. In 1948, the Nationalist Party came into power, after which the policy of apartheid was implemented. Only with the release of Nelson Mandela on 11 February 1990, was the door opened for the first democratic elections 1994. Mr Mandela became the first president of the rainbow nation, with Thabo Mbeki following in his footsteps in 1999. Jacob Zuma became the next president in 2007 (www.southafrica.info, 2013).

Some statistics on population, languages, education and religions

The following statistics give a brief overview of the population, languages, education and religions in South Africa.

Population

According to the census statistics of 2011 (Statistics South Africa, 2011), South Africa boasts a total population of 51 770 560, consisting of 51.35 percent females and 48.65 percent males. The racial composition is 79.2 percent black, 8.9 percent white, 8.9 percent coloured, 2.5 percent Indian or Asian, and 0.5 percent classified as other. The median age of the total population is 25 years but the black population's median is lower at 21 years.

Languages

South Africa boasts 12 official languages (including Sign Language). The language distribution of the population is as follows: Afrikaans (13.5 percent), English (9.6 percent), IsiNdebele (2.1 percent), IsiXhosa (16.0 percent), IsiZulu (22.7 percent), Sepedi (9.1 percent), Sesotho (7.6 percent), Setswana (8.0 percent), Sign Language (0.5 percent), SiSwati (2.5 percent), TsiVenda (2.4 percent), Xitsongo (4.5 percent), and other (1.6 percent). It must however be noted that many South Africans speak more than one language.

Education

Regarding South Africans' level of education, 8.7 percent of the population has no schooling, 12.6 percent has some primary schooling, 4.6 percent completed primary school, 33.6 percent has some secondary schooling, while 28.2 percent has completed the final grade, Grade 12 (previously standard 10). 12.3 percent of the population has a qualification higher than Grade 12.

In 2010, South Africa had 12.3 million learners, 386 000 teachers and around 48 000 schools (eight teachers per school on average) – including 390 special needs schools and 1 000 registered private schools. Most schools are funded by the state, while private schools are funded by school fees. 2.8 percent (340 000 learners) of the total school population are in private schools. Religiously affiliated and denominational schools form a subcategory of private schools, of which some teach religious education, together with the usual academic subjects to impress their particular faith's beliefs and traditions in the students who attend. These include Roman Catholic, Orthodox Christian, Protestant, Jewish and Muslim schools (*Wikipedia*).

Religions

Before the statistics on religions in South Africa is portrayed, just a brief historical overview. South Africa has a rich heritage of different religions. The earliest southern Africa religions can be traced back to the Khoisan people, who believed in a supreme being who reigned over daily life and controlled elements of the environment and was worshipped through rituals, dance and small sacrifices.

In the first millennium AD, the Bantu speaking people also believed in a supreme being, as well as ancestral spirits, moved into the Southernmost tip of Africa. The male head of a homestead was usually the ritual leader, responsible for performing rituals, giving thanks, seeking a blessing, or healing the sick on behalf of his homestead. Rituals marked major life-cycle changes such as birth, initiation, marriage, and death, while there were also important religious observances and rituals were for rainmaking, strengthening fertility, and enhancing military might.

The first signs of Christianity in southern Africa were evident when the Portuguese navigator Bartolomeu Dias erected a limestone pillar and Christian cross at the Cape of Good Hope in 1488. Although very few religious missionaries arrived in the following century, with the establishment by Jan van Riebeeck of the Dutch East India Company resupply station at the Cape in 1652, Dutch Reformed Church missionaries reported in 1658 that Khoikhoi slaves in the area attended their mission services.

As religious reforms swept through the Netherlands in the early seventeenth century, and the Calvinist Synod ruled in 1618 that any slave who was baptised should be freed, farmers in the Cape Colony, who was dependent on their slaves, refused and banned religious instruction for slaves, so none could be baptised.

Several missionary societies established themselves by sending missionaries to southern Africa, the London Missionary Society in the Cape Colony (1799), the Glasgow Missionary Society, and the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society soon after that, along with missionaries from the United States, France, Germany, and Scandinavia. These missions placed a high priority on literacy and Biblical instruction, productive labour (a result of the Industrial Revolution), as well as European values. Many Western missionaries, however,

mistakenly believed that southern Africans had no religion because of the differences in their faiths. These missionaries had a major role to play in establishing religious (Bible) education of various Christian religions in schools (US Library of Congress, 2012).

The majority of Muslims in South Africa are of Indian descent who moved to South Africa during the late nineteenth to the early twentieth century and are mostly members of the Sunni branch of Islam. A small minority are Pakistanis or people of mixed race.

With the census of 2011, Statistics SA unfortunately decided to abandon any questions on religion, as users of survey data ranked it as not important for a census survey. The earliest previous official survey before that was in the census of 2001, according to which the overwhelming majority of South Africans (79.8 percent) were recorded as being Christian, with the independent African Zion Christian churches predominating with 15.3 percent of the total population, and 19.2 percent of all Christians.

More or less 15 percent of the population indicated that they belong to no religion, while 1.4 percent was undetermined about their faith. 1.5 percent of the population proclaimed to be Islam, 1.2 percent Hindu, 0.3 percent of the African traditional belief, 0.2 percent Judaism 0.6 percent, with 0.6 percent who chose to categorise themselves with *other* beliefs.

In terms of population groups, Christianity was given up as the most common religion among white and coloured South Africans, being the faith of 86.8 percent of the people in both groups. Christianity was slightly less dominant among black South Africans (79.9 percent). Roughly, a quarter (24.4 percent) of the Indian population chose to be Christian.

The predominant form (23.7 percent) of Christianity among black South Africans during 2001 was the independent and indigenous Zion Christian faith, while black people also had the highest rate of unbelief (no religion) (17.5 percent). 1.3 percent were undetermined.

Most white South African Christians (42.8 percent) belonged to the Reformed churches, such as the Dutch Reformed Church. 9.2 percent of white Christians were Methodist, 7.8 percent Pentecostal or Charismatic, 7.7 percent Apostolic, and 7.6 percent Catholic. White people had the second-highest rate of unbelief (no religion) (8.8 percent). Judaism was the religion of 1.4 percent of white South Africans.

Predominant churches among coloured Christians were Apostolic (18.6 percent), Pentecostal or Charismatic (14.2 percent), Anglican (10.4 percent) and Catholic (10.2 percent). Of the other religions, Islam was indicated by 7.4 percent of all coloured South Africans to be their dominant religion. 3.8 percent of the coloured population preferred no religion, while 1.3 percent was undetermined.

Hinduism was given up as the most common religion (47.3 percent) in the Indian/Asian population group, followed by Islam (24.7 percent) and Christianity (24.2 percent). There was a rather even distribution of churches among Indian and Asian Christians. This group

was most certain of their faith, with only 2.3 percent reporting that they have no religion, and 0.94 percent being undecided (Statistics South Africa, 2001).

A comparison of the figures of census 2001 and that of the publication, *Religious Intelligence* (Republic of South Africa, 2007) however, show a decrease (from 79.77 percent down to 73.52 percent) in followers of the Christian religion (as a percentage of the total population of the country) and an increase (from 0.28 percent to 15.0 percent) in the African traditional religions.

The implementation of religious education before 1994

With respect to religion in the public school curriculum, for many years before 1994, South Africa had Bible Education in schools for all children from grades one to twelve. This subject was a non-exam, non-assessment subject and was compulsory for all children, unless the parents or guardians had conscientious objection. In such a case the learner had to do alternative work (quite often in the library or classroom while the normal lesson was in progression), while the other learners proceeded with the normal syllabus.

In addition, there was also Biblical Studies, which formed an elective, examination subject on the same basis as subjects such as Mathematics, Geography, Biology, etc. Biblical Studies was only offered in the last grades of the secondary school, namely grades nine to twelve. The predominant dogma of these two subjects was determined by the dogmas of the Dutch Reformed Church and Christian National Education, which was also seen as the "state church" during the apartheid years. This posed a major problem for learners from, for example, Roman Catholic, Presbyterian, Pentecostal, Jewish or Muslim families. This led to many private schools, typified by the teachings of one of the non-reformed churches, where the dominant religion to be taught in the school was determined by the parents (Chidester, Mitchell, Phiri & Omar, 1994; Kitshoff & Van Wyk, 1995).

The problems with the teaching of Bible Education were multiple. Firstly, teacher training for Bible Education was neglected by many teacher-training institutions. The exposure to aspects on the Bible education was completely inadequate and would vary from a six months to a two year course or module. Students following a one-year teachers diploma after completion of for example a B.A. or B.Sc. degree, was exposed to only one semester of Bible Education. These student teachers also received very little training on intricate dogmatic problems, interpretation of the Bible, as well as on the didactical aspects regarding teaching Bible Education (e.g., the religious neutrality of the teacher in teaching religious contents, the spiritual and religious development of the child, ethical guidelines on the portrayal of Biblical aspects, specific methods, such a exegesis of Biblical texts, and attitudes towards other religions).

A second problem was that many teachers were not committed and devoted to teaching Bible Education. When applying for a teacher's post, they had to declare that they were willing to present Bible Education, with their previous training regarding Bible contents

not taken into consideration in this regard. Many teachers just signed the declaration in order to obtain a teaching post. Applications of teachers who were not willing to sign this declaration, were just rejected by school principals or selection committees. Quite often, it was teachers who did not have a permanent position (more often married women) or was not involved in teaching the "scarce" subjects such a Mathematics, Accounting or Science, who was implemented to present Bible Education.

A third problem was that Bible Education was a non-assessment subject in which no tests or examinations were written. This degraded the subject to a lower status than the traditional examination subjects. It also hampered these teachers' promotion possibilities, as promotion at that stage was very closely linked to the teachers' own learners' performance, compared to the provincial and national averages. If the performance was, for example, 5 percent above the national average for a specific subject, this teacher was in an excellent position for promotion. This meant a better income and economic status for such a teacher. As Bible Education was not linked to any form of assessment, the Bible Education periods often became the time for extra administration such as bringing the presence and absentee register up to date, arrangements for fundraising, etc.

Fourthly, for many children, Bible Education classes were not life related and did not address their childhood needs and the needs of the time. As the contents that were conveyed in classes could not always be monitored, these lessons could easily become the basis for religious or political propaganda by teachers. Where factual information on other religions was indeed shared with learners, they were quite often portrayed in a negative light and as a threat for the Christian religion. Even non-reformed Christian churches or movements were seen as unacceptable sects. Classes were often boring, with many teachers just reading from the textbook, as they had no deeper knowledge of the contents themselves and no strategies to make Bible Education interesting for their learners. In addition, teachers' own lives often did not align with the morals and ethics they prompted their learners to adhere to (a "do as I say", not "do as I do" attitude).

It is thus clear that Bible Education, and especially the way it was dealt with during the pre-democratic era, was not a success and in many cases served as a tool of alienation than of unity for the people of South Africa. In 1992, the National Education Policy Investigation (NEPI) considered the options for change. In its report, NEPI insisted that a democratic South Africa had to abandon the previous system of religious education in which particular religious principles were explicitly taught in Christian religious instruction and implicitly taught throughout the entire curriculum in the name of Christian National Education. Recognising the need for change, NEPI considered three options: firstly, religion should be entirely eliminated from the school curriculum; secondly, that parallel programmes for religious instruction be developed by different religious groups; and thirdly, that a programme of multi-religion education might be introduced that would teach learners *about* religion rather than engaging in the teaching, confession, propagation or promotion *of* religion (National Education Coordinating Committee, 1992). The eventual outcome was that the third option was chosen and in 2001, the Department of Education announced its

policy of Religion Education that envisaged to cultivate learners that should be able to "… demonstrate an active commitment to constitutional rights and social responsibilities and show sensitivity to diverse cultures and belief systems". Although there was some protest, mostly from Christian groups, against the chosen option, most other religious leaders and institutions were satisfied with this option (Gaum, 2002; African Christian Democratic Party. 2001; Chidester, 2002; Amin, Jankelson-Groll, Mndende, Omar & Sadie, 1998; Christian Centre, 2001). Sheikh Achmat Sedick, in representing the Muslim Judicial Council, has observed that there is no problem with this form of religion education "as long as it is orientation and not indoctrination" (Chidester, 2002).

Religion in schools after the first democratic elections

With the gradual grade-by-grade introduction of outcomes-based education in South Africa from 1998 to 2008, Bible Education and Biblical Studies were replaced by Religion Education and Religion Studies respectively. The main difference was that the Christian religion was now put on an equal basis with all the other major religions in schools in South Africa (Department of Education, 1999; 2001).

The constitution of the Republic of South Africa, that was introduced in 1999, emphasises the following values: human dignity, the achievement of equality and the advancement of human rights and freedom (Republic of South Africa, Ch. 1 (1a)) and guarantees unfair discrimination against anyone, including race, gender, sex, pregnancy, marital status, ethnic or social origin, colour, sexual orientation, age, disability, religion, conscience, belief, culture, language and birth (Republic of South Africa, Ch. 1 (9)(3)). The Constitution also emphasises freedom of religion, belief and opinion in the sense that everyone has the right to freedom of conscience, religion, thought, belief and opinion. Regarding religious observances, these may be conducted at state or state-aided institutions, provided that those observances follow rules made by the appropriate public authorities, are conducted on an equitable basis and that attendance is free and voluntary. This opens the possibilities for different religions to be observed in schools, providing that (Republic of South Africa, Ch. 15 (1 & 2)).

Regarding religion in the education environment, the constitution states that persons belonging to a religious community may not be denied the right to practice their religion and to form, join and maintain religious associations (Republic of South Africa, 31 (a & b)).

The South African Schools Act (84 of 1996 (7)(Ch. 2)(7)) also reiterates the constitution and provincial legislation's guarantee of freedom of conscience and religion in public schools, that religious observances may be held according to the rules as constituted by the specific school's governing body, on condition that such observances are implemented fairly and that attendance by learners and staff members be free and out of free will.

The school curriculum in South Africa covers 13 years of schooling, namely the Pre-school and Foundation Phase (Grades R and 1-3 respectively), Intermediate Phase (Grades 4-6), Senior Phase (Grades 7-9) and the Further Education and Training Phase (Grades 10-12). The latest official national curriculum policy document in South Africa is the Curriculum and Assessment Statement (2011), which comprises of a separate document for each of a wide variety of subjects that are offered in schools, including Religion Education. Religion Education is an examination-based subject that is offered only in the Further Education Phase Grades 10 to 12, on an equal basis with all the other elective subjects. The Curriculum Assessment Policy Statement for Religion Education covers a wide variety of aspects regarding this subject (Department of Basic Education, 2011a; 2011b; 2011c; 2011d).

Religion Studies

Religion Studies, which is the examination-based subject that is offered on an equal basis as an elective subject, is only offered in the Further Education and Training Phase. The curriculum document for Religion Studies (Department of Basic Education, 2011e) describes the study of religion *"as a universal human phenomenon and of religions found in a variety of cultures*". This document also states that "religion and religions are studied without favouring any or discriminating against any, whether in theory or in practice, and without promoting adherence to any particular religion". Furthermore, Religion Studies "leads to the recognition, understanding and appreciation of a variety of religions within a common humanity, in the context of a civic understanding of religion and with a view to developing religious literacy". It is thus clear that the elective subject, Religion Studies, is a more academic orientated subject than Religious Education that was discussed above. For the purpose of this chapter, Religion Studies will not be discussed in detail, as only a small number of learners are exposed to it.

The Curriculum and Assessment Policy documents for Religion Studies covers the following themes: variety of religions, common features of religion as a generic and unique phenomenon, topical issues in society, as well as research into and across religions. The four topics of Religion Studies allow for specialisation in a specific religion in the final grade (Grade 12). Part of the content provides for this by allowing an in-depth study of an issue in a specific religious context while the other parts call specifically for the study of the central teachings and normative sources of one religion. However, specialisation in a religion must only follow after the various religions have been explored.

Religion Studies has as specific aims to enhance the constitutional values of citizenship, human rights, equality, freedom from discrimination, freedom of conscience, religion, thought, belief and opinion, to develop learners holistically (that is, intellectually, physically, socially, emotionally and spiritually), to enhance knowledge, skills and values

necessary for the enrichment of each learner, interpersonal relationships and an open and democratic society, to equip the learner with knowledge and understanding of a variety of religions and how they relate to one another; and equip learners with knowledge and skills for research into religion as a social phenomenon, and across religions as well as to relate and systematise universal dimensions of religion.

The time allocated for Religion Studies in the school curriculum is four hours per week, which equates to 132 hours per year for the teaching of Religion Studies in Grades 10, 11 and 12 hours in Grade 12. With assessment time included, this allows 4 hours per week to be allocated to the subject Religion Studies in the school curriculum. Table 1 gives an overview of the number of weeks and hours to be spent on the various themes:

Table 1: Number of weeks and hours to be spent on the various themes for Religion Studies.

	Topic	Grade 10		Grade 11		Grade 12	
		Weeks	Hours	Weeks	Hours	Weeks	Hours
1	Variety of religions	9	36	8	32	8	32
2	Common features of religion as a generic and unique phenomenon	10	40	11	44	7	28
3	Topical issues in society	8	32	8	32	6	24
4	Research into and across religions	6	24	6	24	7	28
	Contact time	33	132	33	132	28	112
	Examinations	7	28	7	28	12	48
	Total	40	160	40	160	40	160

(Department of Basic Education, 2011e)

As Religion Studies is an elective, very few learners choose to include this subject in their curriculum. This would lead to classes of one to maybe five learners. Often a school would not even offer Religion Studies as an elective in their curriculum, forcing learners to compile their curriculum from other electives. The main reason for this phenomenon can be that very few learners plan to make a career in the field of religions, and that this subject is not seen as a "bread and butter" subject such as Mathematics, Natural Science, Life Science (Biology), languages, Accounting, etc.

Religion Education

In contrary to the limited number of learners who are exposed to Religion Studies, nearly all the learners (except for highly exceptional cases of moral or religious objection) in a school are exposed to Religion Education. Religion Education within South African context "pursues the moral and ethical development of the learners, whilst they learn in a factual way about the various religions and beliefs which exist in South Africa. It affirms learners' own

identity and leads them to an informed understanding of the religious identities of others" (Department of Basic Education, 2011c). The same document emphasises that the teaching of Religion Education must be "sensitive to religious interests by ensuring that individuals and groups are protected from ignorance, stereotypes, caricatures, and denigration".

However, Religion Education is not offered as a separate subject in the school curriculum, but as part of the subjects Life Skills in the Foundation Phase (Grades R, 1 – 3) and Intermediate Phase (Grades 4 – 6), and Life Orientation in the Senior Phase (Grades 7 – 9) and Further Education Phase (Grades 10 – 12).

The following overview of phases, subjects, and hours to be spent on each subject or themes and topics is given in order to give a clear picture of the place of and time spent on teaching aspects on religion in the curriculum, in comparison to the other subjects.

The Pre-school and Foundation Phase Religion Education curriculum

Learners in Grade R and the Foundation Phase have to offer Life Skills on an equal basis with a compulsory combination of subjects that form the curriculum for that phase. Life Skills is defined as "being central to the holistic development of learners" and "… is concerned with the social, personal, intellectual, emotional and physical growth of learners, and with the way these are integrated" (Department of Basic Education, 2011a). Table 2 gives an overview of the place and time allocation for Life Skills in the Pre-school and Foundation Phase curriculum:

Table 2: The place of and time allocation for Life Skills in the Pre-school and Foundation Phase Curriculum.

Subject	Time allocation per week and year (hours)					
	Grade R (Hours)		Grades 1-2 (Hours)		Grade 3 (Hours)	
	Hrs p/w	Hrs p/y	Hrs p/w	Hrs p/y	Hrs p/w	Hrs p/y
Home Language	10	40	8 max. 7 min.	32 max. 28 min.	8 max. 7 min.	32 max. 28 min.
First Additional Language	7	28	2 min. 3 max.		3 min. 4 max.	12 min. 16 max.
Mathematics	7	28	7	28	7	28
Life Skills Beginning Knowledge Creative Arts Physical Education Personal and Social Well-being	6 (1) (2) (2) (1)	24 (4) (8) (8) (4)	6 (1) (2) (2) (1)	24 (4) (8) (8) (4)	7 (2) (2) (2) (1)	28 (8) (8) (8) (4)
Total hours	23	92	23	92	25	100

(Department of Basic Education, 2011a)

The only Religious Education topic that is mentioned in the Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statements for Life Skills is under the sub-theme of *social well-being and personal and social knowledge*, namely Festivals and special days celebrated by the community, to be discussed as they occur throughout the term. Eight hours per year are permitted for Grades R, 1 and 2, and twelve hours per year for Grade 3. Although it is advisable not to overflow learners with too much factual and abstract knowledge at this early stage, this is minimal time made available for aspects on religious diversity and it seems that learners need to be exposed more to different religious themes. It is expected, however, that creative and innovative teachers would seek for opportunities to bring in religious topics in the sub-themes of *Creative Arts* and *Physical Education (Department of Basic Education, 2011d).*

The Intermediate Phase Religion Education curriculum

For learners in the Intermediate Phase (Grades 4 to 6) (10- to 12-year olds), Life Orientation forms part of the compulsory curriculum in combination with the following subjects as given in Table 3:

Table 3: The place of and time allocation for Life Orientation in the Intermediate Phase curriculum.

Subject	Time allocation per week (hours)	Time allocation per year per grade for grades 4, 5 & 6 (Hours)
Home Language	6	240
First Additional Language	5	200
Mathematics	6	240
Natural Sciences and Technology	3.5	140
Social Sciences	3	120
Life Orientation Religion Education Creative Arts Physical Education	4 (1) (1.5) (1.5)	160 (40) (60) (60)
Total	27.5	1100

(Department of Basic Education, 2011c)

Religion Education comes much more to its right in Life Skills in the Intermediate Phase curriculum. Table 4 gives an overview of the topics to be dealt with:

Table 4: Religion Education topics in the Intermediate Phase Life Skills curriculum.

GRADE 4	GRADE 5	GRADE 6
• Nature and purpose of religion. • Major religions in South Africa. • Significant places and buildings in a variety of religions in South Africa. • Role of religion in developing people as individuals belonging to a society – home, school and community environments. • The role of religion in the development of the self: individuality and uniqueness. Skills to accept and appreciate oneself as a unique individual with unique religious beliefs. • Food prescriptions in a variety of religions: Food groups. Health benefits of different foods. • Influence of religion on individual's choices relating to lifestyle: respect for own and others' bodies. Religious rules and skills for keeping oneself healthy and safe from harm: sexual abuse and violence – religion as place of safety. • Significant places and buildings for different religions in South Africa: places of worship, type of structure. • Acts of compassion in different religions: caring for environment – what is healthy environment. Activities by different religions to protect the environment. Ways of taking care of and protecting one's environment: home, school and community. Caring for others – learn about own and others'	• Teachings of different religions. Character development, behaviour, attitudes. Differences between right and wrong. Influence of others on individual character formation, peers, family and community. Similarities and differences. Learning to respect differences, others' rights and beliefs – learners share their religious beliefs and practices and importance of religion in their lives. Influence of religious teachings and skills in making informed decisions regarding good and bad influences – ways to stop unhealthy behaviour: sexual immorality, use of tobacco and unlawful drugs and abuse of alcohol – dangers of unhealthy sexual behaviour and substance abuse • Roles of men and women in religions. • Important stages in an individual's life in different religions: coming of age ceremonies. Personal and social significance of the stage. Marriage customs, customs associated with death. Personal and social significance of each stage. • Forms of worship in different religions. Forms of worship, expression and belief in different religions in South Africa: images, symbols, spiritism, supernatural being, prayer and meditation. • Role of religions in teaching social skills. Clothing in different religions: acceptable dress and appearance for men, women and children and those in authority/ leadership position in religions – what do the clothing symbolise? Learning how to share, take turns,	• Religious beliefs and practices. Religious Festivals: activities and customs related to the festivals in a variety of religions in South Africa, types of food for the religious festivals. Nutritional value of these foods. Religion and healthy lifestyle: lessons relating to health and wellbeing: eating healthy, benefits of physical activities, sexuality. Views of different religions on sexual orientation. Ways of keeping safe in familiar situations: knowing harmful aspects of some household products and medicines, knowing traffic rules – how and where to cross the road safely. Relationships within religions between children and parents, among members of a religion, between members of a religion and community: ways that family and friends should care, respect and show concern for one another. How to relate with people outside their own religion. Fasting in different religions – when, how, why and how long. Health benefits and risks associated with fasting. • The purpose and significance of human life. Human beings and animals. Religious views on suicide, death sentence and killing other human beings and animals • Moral obligations of religions. Religion and freedom of choice: the right of members, children and adults to or not to participate in different religious activities – birth, baptism, wedding and death rituals/ customs. Risks or dangers associated with non-participation; penalties for non-participation. Decision-making skills: whether to or not to participate in own religious activities – looking at the pros and the cons. Moral obligations of religions: moral lessons selected

feelings; become aware of own and others' views, needs and rights: other children and older people. Religious rules and skills to communicate own views and needs without hurting others' feelings. Activities by different religions to help and protect others in need – the homeless and the needy. Caring for animals. Acts of cruelty towards animals. Activities by different religions to protect animals. Ways of taking care of and protecting animals – places of safety for animals. • Personal hygiene in different religions. Cleanliness of the mind and thought, speech, deed and body. Choice of reading material, entertainment and associations. Ways of keeping tidy – washing hands, tidy clothes and hair. • Children's roles and responsibilities in different religions. The role of family in different religions – responsibility of parents to develop children's spirituality. Children's roles and responsibilities in different religions – children's position as leaders and followers. • Appropriate and unacceptable body language and gestures in different religions when communicating with and greeting others: children, older people, people of opposite sex and those with authority within a religion.	play and help others, skills to solve arguments and disagreements and resist bullying – as a member of a family, class, school, community and religion. Ways of getting help when dealing with bullying. • Religion and peace-making. The role of religion in preparing individuals to play an active role as citizens: taking an active role in school and community life – identifying a social problem at school and community and addressing it: substance abuse, bullying and violence. Religions and peace-making: activities of members of different religions and religious leaders in addressing crime, violence, creating harmonious living among members of a society and their contributions in areas of war. The role of religion as provider of shelter, guidance and support for their members when dealing with different emotions: loss, grief, pain and anger. Learning how to identify and name feelings, skills to manage emotions in a positive way. • Inequality and discrimination in religions. Recognition of the rights of children and adults. Acts of inequality and discrimination within different religions. How religions are addressing inequalities and discriminations. Misconceptions about religions: how different religious beliefs and practices are misunderstood and misinterpreted by society – myths and realities about different religions.	from different religions in South Africa. Lessons that promote moral uprightness, honesty and responsible citizenship: respecting laws and rules that govern human existence - obeying traffic rules, paying taxes and behaving well. • Discriminations against religions. Acts of discrimination towards certain religious groups. Laws against religious discrimination: accommodating religious diversity – rituals and practices: at school and workplace. Ways to address discriminations and promote respect and equality. • Goal-setting skills using religious beliefs and lessons as guiding principles. The role of religion in developing confidence in young people: learning to recognise own abilities, talents and strengths, being valued as a human being – assignments given to children. Explore opportunities of making the most of own abilities and talents – volunteering own time and energy. Goals for personal, social, emotional, spiritual and physical development and health. • Cultural diversity within religions. Dignity of a person in different religions in South Africa: names and clothing given to religious leaders, meaning or significance of a position within a religion. Cultural diversity within religions in South Africa: explore different cultures within the same religion – differences and similarities. Forms of communication in different religions: oral traditions, holy writings and literature.

(Department of Basic Education, 2011c)

This component of the curriculum gives the creative and innovative teacher ample opportunity to emphasise diversity and cultivate respect in learners for religions other than their own. It is, however, doubtful whether themes such as *The role of religion in developing people as individuals belonging to a society – home, school and community environments*, and *The role of religion in the development of the self: individuality and uniqueness. Skills to accept and appreciate oneself as a unique individual with unique religious beliefs*, or *The influence of religion on individual's choices relating to lifestyle: respect for own and others' bodies. Religious rules and skills for keeping oneself healthy and safe from harm: sexual abuse and violence – religion as place of safety* are on the experience level of Grade 4 learners (10-year olds). Even for Grade 5 learners (11-year olds), *The role of religions in teaching social skills, Religion and peace-making* and *Inequality and discrimination in religions* seem to be way above the experience level of these learners. Abstract themes such as *The purpose and significance of human life, Moral obligations of religions, Discriminations against religions,* or *Goal-setting skills using religious beliefs and lessons as guiding principles* may not resonate well with the life world of grade 6 learners (12-year olds). Furthermore, the author has his doubts whether South African teachers are adequately equipped with the experience, as well as in-depth knowledge, didactical and personal skills to facilitate these themes effectively. It is also doubtful whether the huge variety of compulsory themes can be adequately covered and assessed in the allocated instructional time. This can just lead to a superficial coverage, without lasting deep learning. It may also pose problems on how to assess contents, dealing with religious attitudes, skills and values, effectively by means of a written examination.

Aspects such as the nutritional value of foods, the five food groups for the different religious festivals, or road safety are also somewhat irrelevant to the themes and forced into the context of religion education to foster a paradigm of integration of different knowledge spheres, as emphasised by Outcomes Based Education.

The Senior Phase Religion Education curriculum

Learners in the Senior Phase (Grades 7 – 9) (13- to 15-year olds) have to offer Life Orientation on an equal basis with a combination of subjects. Life Orientation is the follow-up Life Skills and is also central to the holistic development of learners. It addresses "skills, knowledge and values about the personal, social, intellectual, emotional and physical growth of learners, and is concerned with the way in which these facets are interrelated". The aim of Life Orientation is to guide and prepares learners for life and its possibilities and to equip them for meaningful and successful living in a rapidly changing and transforming society. (Caps Senior Phase). Life Orientation focuses on development of self-in-society, "… promotes self-motivation and teaches learners how to apply goal-setting, problem-solving and decision-making strategies, in order to facilitate individual growth as part of an effort to create a democratic society, a productive economy and an improved quality of life. Learners are guided to develop their full potential and are provided with opportunities to make informed choices regarding personal and environmental

health, future careers and study opportunities. Life Orientation helps learners to develop beneficial social interactions, such as respecting others' rights and values and promotes lifelong participation in recreation and physical activity." (Caps Senior Phase).

Life Orientation for the Senior Phase (Grades 7 to 9) (13- to 15-year olds) addresses the following five topics:

- Development of the self in society
- Social and environmental responsibility
- Constitutional rights and responsibilities
- Physical Education
- World of work

The subject combination and time allocation per week and per year as prescribed by the curriculum for the Senior Phase are as follows (Table 5):

Table 5: The place of and time allocation for Religion Education in the Senior Phase curriculum.

SUBJECT	TIME ALLOCATION PER WEEK AND YEAR (HOURS)					
	Grade 7		Grade 8		Grade 9	
	Hrs p/w	Hrs p/y	Hrs p/w	Hrs p/y	Hrs p/w	Hrs p/y
Home Language	5	200	5	200	5	200
First Additional Language	4	160	4	160	4	160
Mathematics	4.5	180	4.5	180	4.5	180
Natural Sciences	3	120	3	120	3	120
Social Sciences	3	120	3	120	3	120
Technology	2	80	2	80	2	80
Economic Management Sciences	2	80	2	80	2	80
Creative Arts	2					
Life Orientation						
Development of the self in society	0.3	12	0.275	11	0.25	10
Social and environmental responsibility	0.2	8	0.2	8	0.175	7
Constitutional rights and responsibilities	0.2	8	0.2	8	0.275	11
Physical Education	0.9	36	0.9	36	0.9	36
World of work	0.2	8	0.225	9	0.2	8
Contact Time	1.8	72	1.8	72	1.8	72
Examinations	0.2	8	0.2	8	0.2	8
Total Hours	2	80	2	80	2	80
Total weeks	40		40		40	

(Department of Basic Education, 2011b)

Although a total of 80 hours per year is comparable with some of the other compulsory subjects in the curriculum, the following outlay of the topics dealing with religion

education will indicate that in reality very little time is allocated to these topics. This reality was already echoed by Chidester (Chidester, 2002) when he remarked on the in first Religion Education curriculum: "Although we have ended up with less than anyone wanted, perhaps we have ended up with exactly what we need". The themes that explicitly emphasise religion education topics amongst all the other themes for Life Orientation in the Senior Phase are highlighted in the following table (Table 6):

Table 6: Themes that emphasise religion education topics amongst all the other themes for Life Orientation in the Senior Phase.

TOPIC	Grade 7	Grade 8	Grade 9
Development of the self in society	Concept: self-image Concept: peer pressure Changes in boys and girls: physical and emotional Concept: personal diet and nutrition Importance of sport for physical development	Concepts: self-concept formation and self-motivation Concept: sexuality Relationships or friendships Factors that influence choice of personal diet: ecological, social, economic, cultural and political	Goal-setting skills: personal lifestyle choices Sexual behaviour and sexual health Challenging situations: trauma and crisis
Social and environmental responsibility	Concept: communicable diseases Concept: substance abuse Informed, responsible decision-making about health and safety	Local environmental health problems: pollution (air; water and land) Factors that contribute to substance abuse: personal and social Health and safety issues related to violence	Concept: environmental health Earth Day Concept: volunteerism
Constitutional rights and responsibilities	Concept: children's rights *Leadership roles produced in various religions* Concept: child abuse	Concepts: human rights and constitution *Issues relating to citizens' rights and personal choices: celebrations of national and international days* *Oral traditions and scriptures in major religions in South Africa* Fair play in a variety of sport activities Concept: nation building	Concept: constitutional values Concept: cultural diversity in South Africa *Central teachings of major religions in South Africa* Sport ethics
Physical Education	Sequence of physical activities Indigenous games that include the concept of invasion Modified sport Recreational activities	Physical activities that promote achievement of movement performance Target games Athletic and/or sport activities Recreational outdoor activities	Physical activities that promote components of fitness Individual or team sport Indigenous games that promote physical activity Recreational activities
World of work	Importance of reading and studying Career fields Simulation of career-related activities Value and importance of work in fulfilling personal needs and potential	Different learning styles Six career categories Relationship between performance in school subjects and interests and abilities Decision-making process: steps in choosing career category relating to individual strength; ability; interest and passion	Time-management skills Reading and writing for different purposes Options available after completing Grade 9 Career and subject choices Study and career funding providers Plan for own lifelong learning

(Department of Basic Education, 2011b)

In comparison to the vast number of religion education topics in the Intermediate Phase curriculum, it is clear from the above overview that direct religion education themes in the Senior Phase curriculum only occur occasionally under the major theme of *Constitutional rights and responsibilities* (Grade 7: *Leadership roles produced in various religions;* Grade 8: *Oral traditions and scriptures in major religions in South Africa;* and Grade 9: *Central teachings of major religions in South Africa*).

Some applications to religious themes are possible by implication in the following cases (e.g. Grade 8: *Factors that influence choice of personal diet*; Grade 9: *Issues relating to citizens' rights and personal choices, celebrations of national and international days;* and Grade 9: *Personal lifestyle choices.*

The Further Education and Training Phase Religion Education curriculum

For the Further Education and Training Phase (Grades 10 – 12), Life Orientation has to be offered in combination with the following subjects (Table 7):

Table 7: Place of and time allocation for Life Orientation in the Further Education and Training Phase.

SUBJECT	TIME ALLOCATION PER WEEK AND YEAR (HOURS)					
	Grade 7		Grade 8		Grade 9	
	Hrs p/w	Hrs p/y	Hrs p/w	Hrs p/y	Hrs p/w	Hrs p/y
Home Language	4.5	180	4.5	180	4.5	180
First Additional Language	4.5	180	4.5	180	4.5	180
Mathematics	4.5	180	4.5	180	4.5	180
Elective 1	4	160	4	160	4	160
Elective 2	4	160	4	160	4	160
Elective 3	4	160	4	160	4	160
Life Orientation						
Development of the self in society	0.25	10	0.275	11	0.25	10
Social and environmental responsibility	0.1	4	0.125	5	0.05	2
Democracy and human rights	0.2	8	0.15	6	0.15	6
Careers and career choices	0.275	11	0.275	11	0.225	9
Study skills	0.075	3	0.075	3	0.05	2
Physical Education	0.9	36	0.9	36	0.875	35
Contact Time	*2*	*72*	*2*	*72*	*2*	64
Examinations		*8*		*8*		16
Total Hours		*80*		*80*		80

(Department of Basic Education, 2011a)

The following topics have to be addressed in Life Orientation in the Further and Education and Training Phase (those sub-topics dealing with Religion Education are highlighted) (Table 8):

Table 8: Topics in Life Orientation in the Further and Education and Training Phase.

Topic	Grade 10	Grade 11	Grade 12
Development of the self in society	Self-awareness, self-esteem and self-development Relationships and their influence on well-being: Problem-solving skills Value of participation in exercise programmes	Relationship between physical fitness and physical, mental and socio-emotional health Plan and achieve Life Goals Gender roles; power relations and abuse of power	Life skills: decision-making skills required to adapt to change as part of ongoing healthy lifestyle choices Human factors that cause ill-health Action plan for lifelong participation in physical activity
Social and environmental responsibility	Contemporary social and environmental issues that impact negatively on local and global communities Harmful effects and strategies to stop their negative impact	Environmental factors and disasters that cause ill-health; accidents; crises and disasters Responsibilities of various levels of government to provide environments and services that promote safe and healthy living	Action plan to address contemporary social and environmental factors and improve quality of life and well-being A mission statement that includes personal; social and environmental responsibilities
Democracy and human rights	Diversity; discrimination; human rights and violations *Ethical traditions and/ or religious laws and indigenous belief systems of major religions* Biases and unfair practices in sport	Democratic structures and democratic participation *Contributions of South Africa's diverse religions and belief systems to a harmonious society* Participant and spectator behaviour in sport and the role of sport in nation building	*Contemporary moral and spiritual issues within the context of at least 2–3 major religions studied in Grade 10* The role of the media in a democratic society Ideologies; beliefs and worldviews on construction of recreation and physical activity across cultures and genders
Careers and career choices	Knowledge about self in relation to own subjects; career fields and study choices: decision-making skills Diversity of jobs; opportunities within career fields and trends and demands in the job market	Requirements for admission to additional and higher education courses Options for financial assistance Personal expectations in relation to job or career of interest	Commitment to a decision taken: locate appropriate work or study opportunities in various sources Reasons for and impact of unemployment and innovative solutions to counteract unemployment
Study skills	Study skills and study methods Process of Assessment: internal and external Annual study plan	Study styles and study strategies Goal-setting skills: examination writing skills Time-management and annual study plan	Revise own study and examination writing skills: annual study plan Strategies to follow in order to succeed in the Grade 12 examinations
Physical Education	Physical fitness: programmes to promote well-being Skills in a variety of indigenous games and sport Outdoor recreational group activity	Improvement of current personal level of fitness and health Various leadership roles in a self-designed recreational group activity Umpiring and leadership skills in modified sport and self-designed indigenous games (teach peers)	Achievement of personal fitness and health goals Long term engagement in relaxation and recreational activities, sport and indigenous games

(Department of Basic Education, 2011a)

Very little attention was given to topics on Religion Education in the Further Education and Training Phase curriculum for Life Orientation. The only topics that address this are under *Democracy and Human Rights*. In Grade 10, *Ethical traditions and/ or religious laws and indigenous belief systems of major religions* come to the fore, while in Grade 11, *Contributions of South Africa's diverse religions and belief systems to a harmonious society* is dealt with. In the final grade of the school curriculum, namely Grade 12, *Contemporary moral and spiritual issues within the context of at least 2 – 3 major religions studied in Grade 10* is the only topic related to religion education.

It is, however, clear that little time per year is allocated to the sub-theme of *Democracy and Human Rights in the three grades*, namely eight hours in grade 10, six hours in Grade 11 and six hours in Grade 12. If it is considered that, in each of the three grades, the mentioned religion education topics have to "compete" with two other themes, the reality may be that only two to three hours are utilised for these topics per year. It is thus evident that very little content related to religion education is dealt with in the Further Education and Training Phase.

Putting it all together

From the brief overview of the Religious Education curriculum for South African public schools, it can be concluded that the curriculum does make provision for religion education, but that the bulk of the information is centred in the Intermediate Phase, with the other one earlier and two later phases being neglected totally. Much of the information dealt with in the Intermediate Phase is too factual and too abstract for these learners development phase (10- to 12-year olds). Teachers' training, knowledge, didactical skills, and experience to teach these religious aspects are also being questioned. Research by Louw (2005a) and Louw (2005b) found that teachers from different religions' ability to name the five major religions (namely Buddhism, Christianity, Islam, Hinduism and Judaism), their founder(s), basic dogmas, teachings or views, most important scriptures and symbols was quite erratic. They knew enough about their own religion (scoring 80 percent+), but very little about the religions other than their own (scoring as low as 7 percent). These teachers even confused different churches from the Christian religion (e.g. Catholic, Presbyterian, Baptist, Dutch Reformed) with the major religions of the world. In some cases, respondents even viewed Islam, Moslem en Mohammedanism as three different religions.

Regarding the very little time allocated to Religion Education in the Pre-school and Foundation, Senior and Further Education and Training Phases, one can perhaps argue with Chidester (2002) on his remarks on the first curriculum of that time, that a child's religious formation can possibly not be managed by public schools within the small

amount of classroom time allocated to religion. Instead, religious formation should be the responsibility of homes, families and religious communities. The task of schools are rather to provide learners with a basic introduction to religion, religions, and religious diversity in ways that might increase understanding, reduce prejudice, and facilitate respect. He argues that religion, like other aspects of human formation such as race, class and gender, must be addressed critically and creatively as part of the everyday social fabric of South Africa that every child should learn about. He also argues that children should not be exposed to other religions until their own religious identity has been formed. This argument may support the current CAPS documents' little time allocated to Religious Education in the Foundation Phase.

The author of this chapter agrees with Chidester's (2002) arguments, but also feel that in reality there are many orphans (including HIV/Aids orphans) in South Africa, as well as children whose parents are not at home for long periods of time because of work commitments (e.g. fathers working on the mines, or mothers working as domestic servants, parents who leave home early, only to return too late at night to share these precious religious moments with their children). These children are hardly ever exposed to religious stories, truths, examples, rites or situations.

On the other hand, the Intermediate Phase curriculum is too cramped or packed with information, that it is doubted whether teachers and learners would ever be able to cover the contents effectively and productively in that phase. The religion Education component just has to compete with similarly cramped components in the subject of Life Skills. Informal discussions with teachers would also reveal that many teachers think that the Religious Education curriculum is too politically and ideologically driven and laden, above the interest level of normal school learners. Teachers also feel they would find it very difficult to facilitate Religious Education classes in a neutral manner and that their basic knowledge on other religions than their own lacks far behind.

South Africa is in an ethical crisis, with social and domestic violence, discrimination, inequalities, corruption at government level, problems with learner discipline, ecological indifference, and many other ethical issues. There is a major lack of positive role models in the South African society. It seems, however, that Religion Education definitely has a role to play in installing lost values and attitudes in learners. The argument is too easily used that proponents of moral values are propagating and trying to impress Christian values on non-Christians. Neusner and Chilton (2008) however, emphasises the Golden Rule that finds its place in most religions, namely *Do to others as you would have them do to you* or *What is hateful to you to your fellow, don't do.* They emphasis this rule as being universally acknowledged as part of a shared human heritage and says it forms the intersection or meeting point for the study of comparative religions, philosophy, ethics, anthropology, sociology and whole range of cross-cultural studies.

On the same point, Morgan and Lawton (2007) studied the ethical views of six major world religions (Hinduism, Buddhism, Sikhism, Judaism, Christianity, Islam – a survey of African religions indicate that the same principles are also applicable to these traditional religions) and these authors emphatically indicated that all these religions address key aspects such as:

- The use of time, money and personal resources.
- The quality and value of life (including the elderly, those in need, reproduction, abortion, euthanasia).
- Questions of right and wrong (laws, sin, punishments, the wrongdoer and the wronged).
- Equality and difference (differences between people, attitudes to other religions, ethnicity and diversity, gender).
- Conflict and violence (reasons for conflict, war, social and domestic violence).
- Global issues (world poverty, population control, planet earth, ecology and green issues).

All the major religions seem to express serious concern about the following human key values:

- How we should live?
- How we should treat each other?
- How we should treat our world?

It is thus evident that these key morals and values are not solely Christian (or even apartheid) values, but belong to all major religions. All religions in South Africa thus have the responsibility to buy into moral and social reconstruction, based on these values. It is only when that common ground is reached, that South Africans will start moving forward with crucial ethical and moral problems in SA. Based on these values, there are now no excuse to make off criticism against moral decay as a one sided, Christian view. The installing of these important morals, values and principles start primarily home, where it is put in into everyday practice, and then at the religious institution. The task of Religion Education in schools is to strengthen, emphasise and support these other efforts. This is where religiously enthusiastic, academically and professionally qualified, but neutral teachers have to guide and imprint the generic values of all the religions in children's lives, also by their own example, and love and caring approach. The school should lay the foundation, with the home and religious institution they belong to, the specific religious foundations. It is, thus, not just the task of the school, but a holistic team effort, including

parents, guardians, teachers, policy makers, society, politicians, education administrators, curriculum specialists, and all stakeholders in the education of children.

South Africa, the rainbow country, is already a model to the rest of the world on what can happen in a country if people turn their back on the atrocities of the past and take hand to build a new democracy. If these values, morals and principles that form the moral fibre for nation building, are imprinted and cemented into children with love, care and tenderness by all stakeholders, South Africa's people can indeed be a rainbow example to the rest of the world: many different people, cultures, languages, and religions, but one rainbow of colour and splendour that arches and unites this lovely country of ours!

And, for this task, religion and education should step forward, take hands and fulfil its enormous task.

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Religion and education
Japanese cases: Latent issues

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Prologue

In the present day Japan, there are numerous religious bodies, of which Buddhism and Shinto are more widely spread among the population than others. Christianity could be the third group in its size and potential influence. The number of the officially registered religious bodies was 223 871 in 2005 (Agency of Cultural Affairs, 2005), of which 88 585 was the group of Shinto, about 86,368 the Buddhist group and 9 376 the Christian group. The rest was 39 542. The numbers of people belonging to each religious clan were as follows (Agency of Culture, 2005):

Shinto groups	107 247 522
Buddhist groups	91 260 273
Christian groups	2 595 397
The rest	9 917 555

Table 1 indicates the details of the institutional settings of religious bodies and those who devote to each of the religious creeds. In the category of "others", there are small groups of Islam, Judaism, and endogenous sects. The devotees to Islam count hundreds of thousands in number, 10 percent of which are Japanese. There are people devoted to the Church of Jesus Christ in Latter-day Saints and to the Perfect Liberty (PL) Sect which is endogenous.

Table 1: Religious institutions (2005 AD)

Religious group	Total	Shinto	Buddhist	Christian	others
Numbers of	223 871	88 585	86 368	9 376	39 542
shrines	81 245	81 166	21	2	58
temples	77 069	11	77 020	7 021	36
churches	32 843	5 543	2 432	1 194	17 847
missions	25 265	1 059	2 443	1 159	20 569
others	7 449	806	4 452		1 032
Numbers of preachers				30 070	
male	651 161	8 7236	308 760	23 965	225 095
female	315 603	57 079	147 791	6 105	86 768
	256 400	30 157	81 811		138 327
Numbers of devotee	211 020 747	107 247 522	91 260 273	2 595 397	9 917 555

See Annals of Religions, (Japanese version) Agency for Cultural Affairs, 2005 (because of syncretism the 211 million total does not tally with the population total of Japan).

Some of the religious groups are big independent organisations whose origins are modern and they are categorised as "independent unit". Their number was 6 200 in 2000 (Agency of Cultural Affairs, 2000). The Soka-Gakkai, a branch of the Nichiren School of Buddhism, is an example of such an independent unit whose organisations are widely spread not only nationally, but internationally. The total number registered in the table is about two times of the total population in Japan. It is because people may belong to two or more religious groups or institutions. For example, more people visit the Shinto Shrines on the 1st of January, the day of birth of the New Year, while they perform funeral services for the dead by way of Buddhism. In the houses, there may be mini-shrines for Shinto but it may happen that observers are parents who send their children to any Mission Schools managed by the Christian Church. It can be perplex for the outside observers to see such situations concerning the religious sentiments of ordinary Japanese people. This will be referred to in the later chapters.

The Japanese Constitution, enacted in 1946, approves freedom of thought and expression. Religious freedom is also guaranteed legally. However, it is legally required of anyone to register formally when he/she/they wish to establish an institution proclaiming their faith. To be registered, people, individual or collective, have to apply for the approval either to the Local Governor or to the Minister of Education (when the unit concerned occupies geographically a wider region than it may be where the unit stands). Once registered, all the established churches or temples are approved publicly as religious units, a religious corporation. A Buddhist temple or a Christian Church can be a unit. There are many religious units as are indicated in the Table 1. Of course, any individual person may confess

religiously so far as the Constitution approves. He or she needs not to belong to any religious body.

In Japan, it is permitted for any religious corporation to carry out charitable business of any kind and it has been common for the most established religious bodies to have and manage their own schools, colleges and universities. The Law of School Education enacted in 1946 and its Schedules require anyone (private person) to be an independent legal person, a juridical body, before running any educational institution defined in the Law. As to schools (colleges and universities), the juridical body should be the school, corporation or school juridical person. No private person is allowed to run any type of schools defined legally. Therefore, it is necessary for all the religious corporations, the units, to build the school juridical person before establishing and running their schools. The reasons why such stringent measures are required legally are simple; namely, any educational opportunity for children, young men and women and adults should be managed fairly enough to guarantee the right for them to learn. The Constitution allows private education but it prohibits inequality in schooling, learning and welfare for all that learn in the private sector. As a result, rather limited numbers of religious corporations have applied for their status as school juridical persons. The School Juridical Person is called Gakko-Hojin (学校法人) in Japanese.

Schools established and managed by the Religious Corporations

Buddhist and the Christian Corporations have frequently applied for the Gakko-Hojin. Other religious sects like PL have also their Gakko-Hojin's. However, because the Christian Church established its mission-schools after the Meiji Restoration in 1868 and because the Buddhist Sects had and managed their schools and colleges long before the Meiji Restoration, almost all of the Christian and Buddhist groups applied for the registration of their school juridical persons. In most case, they were successful in obtaining the formal approvals granted by the local governors or the Minister of Education. It is important to note that the new school juridical persons based on religious groups started offering secular education to children and the youth from non-sectarian families. Before 1945, more Buddhist schools and colleges were directed toward educating and training future religious preachers or Buddhist monks of their own sects with divergent religious doctrines. Their schools and colleges were rather open for the rank of bonze's families. In comparison with the Buddhist institutions, the Christian schools and colleges were more open for all the rank of people regardless their family-faith.

As the number of pupils and students enrolled in primary and secondary schools grew larger nationally since 1946, the private sector of Japanese educational system accommodated more children into its schools than ever. The majority of children are learning in the public sector, so far as compulsory schooling is concerned (see Table 2). It is a feature of

the Japanese educational system that pre-compulsory schooling (kindergarten) and post-compulsory schooling depends heavily upon the private sector for educational services.

Table 3 indicates that the portion of the schools provided by any religious school juridical persons is small. The majority of the private service in educational fields is offered by the secular school juridical persons. The number indicated in the column "private" shows the number of the educational institutions by the levels of education and training.

Table 2: Number of educational institutions by the providers/year 2010

Institutions	Total	National	Public	Private	% private
Kindergarten	13 392	49	5 107	8 236	61.4%
Primary	22 000	73	21 713	213	9.6%
J. high sch.	10 814	75	9 982	757	7.0%
S. high sch.	5 116	15	3 780	1 321	25.8%
J. college	395	0	26	369	93.4%
University	778	86	95	597	76.7%

See Basic Education Statistics, 2010; Ministry of Education, part II & III.

Table 3 presents statistics regarding institutions provided by religious school juridical persons. However, Table 3 does not wholly tell the exact proportion of the educational services provided by the religious school juridical persons. The reason is explained by Table 4. There lacks statistical data regarding the Buddhist kindergartens. At present, it is not clear why such data have not been properly collected. Normally, however, it may be said that many Buddhist temples are providing care for children in their kindergartens. In this sense, the figures in Table 1 could be referred to again. The number of the Buddhist temples is more than 77 000. If one tenth of them provide kindergarten-course in any styles, the real number of the Buddhist kindergartens could be over 6 000. Even when the figure was 5 000, more kindergartens are run and managed by the religious groups in total than suggested by Table 3.

Table 3: Institutions provided by religious school juridical persons

Private institutions	Total	Religious	Secular	% of religious
Kindergarten	8 236	N	N	N
Primary school	213	40	173	18.7%
Junior secondary sch.	757	232	525*	30.6%
Senior secondary sch.	1 321	307	1 014	23.2%
Junior college	369	60	309	16.2%
University	597	139	458	23.2%

Please note: "religious" = institutions provided by religious school juridical persons

"secular" = institutions provided by non-religious school juridical persons

(See Basic Education Statistics, 2010, Ministry of Education, op. cit.)

One point for discussion is that the role-performance played by the private sector is large at two levels: one is pre-compulsory education and another is tertiary education. Table 6 shows how large a proportion of infants and young adult are educated and trained by private sector institutions. Table 5 illustrates what types of school-articulations have been adopted by the private schools. The Type of JS+SS has been widely adopted by the private schools, and lately also by some parts of the public sector.

In many cases, the school juridical persons provide an articulation system of schools throughout the educational ladder right up to university. Successful children with good achievements can pass through all the ladders without external examinations. This has been one of the reasons why more parents wish to send their children to private schools. Even though the real number of their schools is not so large, their influence upon parents are strong in the present situation of education and learning in Japan (refer to the later sections of this chapter).

Table 4: Educational institutions run by religious bodies (2010 academic year)

Institutions	Total	Buddhist	Catholic	Protestant	Secular
Kindergarten	8 236		548	15**	7673—?
Primary school	213*	9	27	14	163
Junior secondary school	757*	73*	104*	53*	527
Senior secondary school	1 321+	125*	111*	74*	1 011
College	369	16	16	28	309
University	597	44	40	55	458

(See Basic Statistics of School Education, op. cit.)

Please note: Statistic information of Buddhist kindergartens is not available.

Many Buddhist temples run kindergarten whose sizes vary.

** Often private secondary schools are affiliated to primary departments.*

Independent private primary schools might be less than the figure. The same could be the case with internal relations between junior and senior secondary school-articulations. See Table 5.

*** Data for the year 2009*

Table 5: Patterns of school-systems managed by the religious groups

Patterns	Buddhist	Catholic	Protestant	Other Christian	Total
K	N	548	15	1	564
P	9	27	14	0	50
P+JS	0	11	0	1	12
P+JS+SS	14	20	6	1	41
JS	0	2	3	0	5
JS+SS	59	71	44	1	175
SS	52	19	21	0	92
Total	134	698	103	4	939

Note: K = kindergarten, P = primary school, JS = junior secondary school SS = senior secondary school, N = no exact data collected.

(See Alliance for Christian Schools (www.k-doumei.or.jp/), Federation of the Japanese Catholic Schools (www.catholicschools.jp/), Schools provided by the Religious Groups (http://ja.wikipedia.org/), retrieved 25 August 2010.)

Table 6(1): Assumed number of children in the private kindergartens (2010)

Number of classes	3 year age	4 year age	5 year age	Average/class
70 841	435 473	559 500	610 975	22.7
private classes (70 841 × 0.61*) 43 213	children in private classes 265 638	341295	372 694	22.6

*Note: * ratio = % of private institutions. (Refer to Table 2: kindergarten; 61.4%).*

Table 6(2): Number of university students enrolled (2010)

Year	Total number	Private university	% private sector
2007	2 828 708	2 071 714	73.2%
2008	2 836 127	2 080 346	73.3%
2009	2 845 908	2 087 195	73.3%
2010	2 887 396	2 119 802	73.4%

(See Basic Statistics of School Education, 2010, part II, op. cit.)

Tables 6(1), and (2) do not indicate the percentage of religiously-oriented private schools in the tertiary system of education. However, it is possible to get an indication from the numbers of religious schools, presented in Table 7(1).

Table 7(1): Religious schools' share in education

Total number	Buddhist school	Catholic school	Protestant school
Kindergarten (8 236)	@ 5 000 (60.7%)	548 (6.6%)	15 (0.2%)
Primary school (213)	23 (10.7%)	58 (27.2%)	20 (9.3%)
Secondary school (757+1 321)	125 (6.0%)	123 (6.2%)	74 (6.8%)
Tertiary institute (369+597)	60 (6.2%)	56 (5.7%)	83 (8.2%)

Table 7(1) shows the domination of Buddhist kindergartens. Protestant groups lay less stress on the tertiary education, and it is interesting to observe roughly the same ratio of committing to secondary school education through all groups. Catholic groups exceed others in setting importance on primary education.

Table 7(2): Contrasts both parties within the private sector

Institutions	Total number	Religious sector	Secular sector
Kindergarten	8 236	5 563 (67.5%)	2 673 (32.5%)
Primary school	213	101 (47.4%)	112 (52.6%)
Secondary school	2 078	248 (11.9%)	1 380 (88.1%)
Tertiary institute	966	106 (10.9%)	860 (89.1%)

In order to have some insights into religious circumstances within the Japanese educational system it is necessary to pay due attention to (a) teacher education and training and (b) influence of Shinto upon everyday life of commons. The Shinto sector has its own school-system although the number of it small. Besides, Shinto has been, as endogenous religious faith and rituals deeply embedded into various ceremonies. The latter point will be discussed in following sections.

Religious freedom, teacher education, and school curriculum

Religious freedom and teacher education

The Japanese teacher education system has its own characteristics, which has been in one sense progressive compared to those of systems in other countries. One key point is that all schoolteachers are required to have a first university degree. Teacher education at university has been a ground doctrine since 1946 when a new law of teaching certificates was enacted by the Parliaments. Before 1946, primary school teachers were all trained at normal schools and secondary school teachers were educated either at the higher normal schools or at Advanced Colleges and Universities. Universities were small in number. Primary School Teachers were educated in some conforming ways to state policies and teachers were not allowed to be critical of the school administration under the supervision of the Central Government. National schools contributed to strengthen nationalism Japan before 1945. The national policy of school education, those days, was closely related to the Emperor's Rescript. (教育勅語：kyoiku chokugo: refer to Annex 1) which was principally based on the State Shinto and Confucianism which was domiciliated in Japan and caused to metamorphose itself during the Yedo Period (sixteenth to nineteenth century).

Reflecting upon the reasons and causes of wars Japan had committed for long time from 1894 (war against the Qin Dynasty, China) to 1941 (war against USA, UK and others), more enlightened people thought it necessary to educate future teachers on the principle of secularisation of education and in such institutions where academic truth can be pursued. Academic enquiries required all concerned to think and behave rationally. Future teachers

from primary to secondary should be cultivated with the spirit of analytical and critical reasoning and enhanced morality to human welfare. Teaching jobs should have their own professional ethical creeds corresponding to their historical awareness about the future of humankind. In such a sense, the basic doctrine was defined as university education for all schoolteachers. Education and training of kindergarten teachers was based on the same principle.

In the Constitution, article 20 states that all the citizens are free to choose religious faith and the Fundamental Law of Education (enacted in 1947 and revised in 2006) prohibits all public schools to teach any particulars regarding specified religious creeds. But the Law ensures that it is important and necessary for all schools to pay due attention to religious sentiments among people and children. By such legal procedures, the State-Shinto was nominally rejected from school education and the freedom of religious choice was guaranteed for all the Japanese citizens.

Article 20 Freedom of religion is guaranteed for all. No religious organisation shall receive any privilege from the State nor exercise any political authority.

(2) No person shall be compelled to take part in any religious acts, celebration, rite or practice.

(3) The State and its organs shall refrain from religious education or any other religious activity." (Japanese Constitution, 1947)

"*Article 15* The attitude of religious tolerance, general knowledge regarding religion, and the position of religion in social life shall be valued in education.

(2) The schools established by the national and local governments shall refrain from religious education or other activities for specific religion." (The Fundamental Law of Education, 2006, article 15.)

At present, when they intend to open the courses for teaching certificates at their institutions, every college or university, regardless of the group of its founders, should apply to the Ministry of Education for Minister's approval on the proposed courses of teaching certificates. Accreditation of the proposed courses will be executed by the appointed professional groups, independently to the Minister. There are some sets of criteria for assessing the proposed courses. The applicants, colleges or universities or graduate schools, should satisfy the requirements set by the Advisory Council for the Minister. The requirements are stringent.

In this scheme, any universities can apply if they wish to do so. Hence, almost all of the universities and colleges founded by the religious corporations, or the school juridical persons, have applied for the Minister and most proposals were approved. As the results,

catholic universities or Buddhist colleges are now providing the intending teachers with the courses which satisfy all the legal requirements of teaching certificates. It is interesting to see that such religious universities or colleges as indicated in the preceding tables are offering the courses for teaching certificates of almost all of the school subjects. Catholic Universities may offer secular teaching certificates of school-subjects such as Japanese, English, history, geography, mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology, technology, fine arts and gymnastics, for example.

Secular universities also provide the courses for teaching certificates but do not include theology and religious instruction. The exact number of the courses and teaching subjects are limited by the real situation regarding undergraduate faculties. Without science departments or schools thereof no university can provide courses for teaching certificates of scientific subjects. Vice versa, regarding humanities and social sciences departments.

The Catholic and Protestant Universities and Colleges mentioned above offer the courses for teaching certificates. The Buddhist Institutes do so. Therefore, it is possible for the school children or students of secondary schools to see new teachers graduated from such religious colleges or universities even when their schools are not religiously managed or funded. It is also possible for the primary and secondary schools funded by any religious school juridical persons to have the graduates from secular colleges or universities. Teacher-recruitments are not based on religious creeds that the new teacher may hold, but mainly upon school subjects to which the schools in question feel like to recruit new teachers. Annually, each local education authority will invite candidates for the vacant post of teaching but the selection should be carried out on the tests results of the applicants. The private school associations follow the same line of personnel managements, although some private school-boards may invite the new candidates from some selected colleges and universities. It is common for the private schools to invite the candidates from the colleges or universities, which are founded or managed by the school juridical persons which run the schools concerned.

However, teacher education in Japan is, on the whole, carried out within the broader framework of freedom of religious belief and conscience, which is legally protected by the Constitution and the Fundamental Law of Education.

School curriculum, social studies and moral education

Teachers recruited to any school, primary or secondary, secular or religious, should teach their subjects in line with the requirements defined in the Schedules of the School Education Law. The Schedules provide all the schools with the National Programs of Studies. Every Course of Studies for the subject has prescriptions as to what could and

should be the content of teaching. It may be highly possible for the Course of Studies of any subject to cover the elements touching the matters concerned with religion(s). Nowadays, school day does not begin with any religious lessons or worship in public/state schools. Moral education and religious instruction are strictly separated so far as public or state schools are concerned. At the religiously founded institutions, from primary to tertiary, religious instructions and worship will be delivered by the clerics or the Buddhist monks.

The Table 8 illustrates what kind of subject matters are included in the Programs of Studies. In relation to Senior Secondary Schools or High Schools (for the age range from 15 to 18), the School Curricula are also defined and explained by the National Programs of Studies set and issued by the Minister of Education. Because of the advanced aims of school education, general/liberal or vocational, the courses of studies are diverse and the number of optional subjects is larger than that of those for the junior secondary schools. Within the frame of course of study for a given subject, there are divisions or the branches or the genre of the subject: "a basic course of Japanese: 2 units" for example. In this sense, the courses of studies for the senior secondary school students are full of variety.

Table 8: School Curriculum

Primary school (6 ~ 11 years)	Junior secondary school (12~14 years)
Japanese	Japanese
Social studies: from 3rd grade	Social studies (History, Geography, Society)
Mathematics (arithmetic)	Mathematics
Sciences: from 3rd grade	Sciences
Life Studies	Music
Music	Fine arts
Fine Arts	Hygiene and Gymnastics
Home Economy (basic)	Home Economy and Technology
Physical Training	Foreign language (English)
Moral education	Moral education
School activities	School activities
Comprehensive studies: from 3rd grade	Comprehensive studies
	Optional subjects

Note: School activities: collective performance, ceremonies, extra-curricular activities; and comprehensive studies: optional for schools and classes, free to select "topics".

It may be possible for schoolteachers (class-, subject-, and grade-teachers) to develop subject area which may cross the boarders of the established subjects. So far as religious sentiments and knowledge are concerned, some types of social studies, cultural studies, historical studies or fine arts learning could reach the essence of religious sentiments, symbols and ideals, and religious institutions.

As is mentioned above, educational policy choices made by the Japanese politicians (majority) and learned people extinguished religious rudiments linked to the State-Shinto and permuted it to liberal humanities at the turning point for modern Japan in 1945. Despite the fact that it was admitted for religious sentiments to be placed at an appropriate place within curriculum, more stress was laid on secularisation of public education at the state schools. In addition, the political climates of the days from 1945 to 1950 was more and more radically democratic enough to embrace socialism and communism which had been stringently prohibited under the suffocating pressure of the Maintenance of Public Order Act enacted in 1925 and revised in 1941. Within the democracy which that mass of people embraced with enthusiasm after 1945, school education became more secular and less denominational.

School curriculum those days（around the late 1940s）was built on the principles of empiricism or progressivism in the Deweynite sense. Social Studies (社会科 ; shakaika) newly introduced in 1947 replaced the didactic of "Shushin" (修身: moral instruction), history and geography. "Shushin" was closely related with the State-Shinto and Kyoiku-Chokugo. In this sense, school education was to be revolutionarily renewed to its utmost extent. A series of on-the-job training for the directors of local education committees and school advisers was offered so that they might be de-contaminated with the former state-centred education. The programmes were organised and offered by the Institute for Educational Leadership (IFEL) that consisted of the Ministry of Education of Japan and the Civil Information and Education (CIE) Section of the General Head Quarters of the Allied Force. The service continued for four years from 1948 to 1951.

The Japan Core Curriculum Federation was established in 1948 and it positively disseminated the idea of Core Curriculum amongst school teachers. National League of Social Studies for School Teachers was launched by the leading professors of education one year before 1948. Before 1945 the moral education and training was given by local schools by ways of instructing pupils on Shushin (修身; moral instruction and training).

Shushin was replaced by Social Studies and hence it was so urgent for educational administrators and schoolteachers to develop fully the new subject. That was the reason why both public and private sectors devoted much of their time and energy to disseminating the notion and the methods of Social Studies to school teachers on nationwide (Ohta *et al.,* Arai *et al.,* 1984; Nakamura, 2004).

However, more Japanese school teachers failed in truly implementing the ideas of Deweynite "problem-solving" set in lessons and activities in and out of schools. More pupils and students were not satisfactorily led to genuine and authentic understanding of knowledge and practical skills. For example activity methods had simply driven all the learners from "sitting" to "going out" of class rooms and schools. They were scattered

to the corners of the villages the towns and the cities and merely collected superficial information on social life. More school teachers were not capable of directing "actions" or "experiences" of the learners toward objective or universal knowledge or system of knowledge. Few school teachers could manage "the problem-solution" for the learners as the topics of the subjects that they taught. It was in a sense natural for adults to think that knowledge and skills children had acquired at school seemed to be lowered in quality and quantity year by year.

Such pessimistic statements should be fairly balanced with the fact that there had been an important endogenous movement for reforming school education that started during the Taisho Jidai (大正時代：1912-1926) and in the early period of Showa Jidai (昭和時代：1926-1989). They were (a) Seikatu-Tusudurikata-Undo (STU) (生活綴方運動：Learning Movement by way of Recording Notes on Everyday Life) and (b) Hopposei-Kyouiku-Undo (HKU) (北方性教育運動 School Education for the North Movement). The former movement for reforming school education was closely related to learning and training for children of the lower income families living in the urbanised areas while the latter was closely related with school children in the rural communities in the northern prefectures of Iwate and Yamagata. Children belonged to the cottage farming families with less income (小作農；kosaku-no: tenantry). On both cases it was commonly observed that the contents of the school books approved by the Minister of Education neither responded to real needs of children nor contributed to improving family life (solution of poverty).

The STU teachers introduced a learning method which required and encouraged pupils to make notes on their daily lives (MNDL). Writing on or about their own lives children became gradually awakened to which problems their families had and led to think why. MNDL not only enhanced capability of writing but also deepened ability to think critically. The HKU teachers also required their children to write on or to talk about their daily lives in their classes. Children were gradually matured in thinking on their own ways and patterns and could discuss what were most required for improving their daily lives. It was a remarkable finding both for teachers and for children that their parents cottage farmers should be supported by any measures that might help parents in earning more money and in keeping better health. The HKU teachers thus invented new contents of learning (local knowledge local skills and local habits).

Both movements spread nationally particularly amongst teachers who confronted with educational and welfare services for children from poor families both in urban and in rural areas. Unhappily however all of these two movements were oppressed bitterly by the state and the local governments under the legal scheme of the Public Order Act (mentioned above).

When Social Studies was introduced into school curriculum for the first time in Japanese schools more school teachers historically assessed the revolutionary pedagogies that both STU and HKU teachers had developed before 1945. However it as not easy for any school teacher to apply such pedagogies to the complex whole of Social Studies that would embrace almost all of human experiences sciences histories and cultures. "Reporting" or "Writing Notes" on the matters of Society at large was far beyond children and often the matured teachers. Unhappily school teachers themselves committed to the Seikatus-Tsudurikata movement after 1945 parted each other on the politico-theoretical views of "Practices".

Regarding moral education the former Fundamental Law of Education 1947 defined what kind of citizen the Japanese education should foster: "Education shall aim at the full development of personality striving for the rearing of people sound in mind and body who shall love truth and justice esteem individual value respect labor have a deep sense of responsibility and be imbued with an independent spirit as builders of the peaceful state and society" (Article 1). The preamble of the former Fundamental Law read as following. "Having established the Constitution of Japan (1946) we have shown our resolution to contribute to the peace of the world and welfare of humanity by building a democratic and cultural state. The realisation of this ideal shall depend fundamentally on the power of education. We shall esteem individual dignity and endeavour to bring up the people who love peace and truth while education which aims at creation of culture general and rich in individuality shall be spread far and wide" (The Fundamental Law of Education 1947). "Social Studies" as a subject was in principle an educational device by which the ideals commemorated in the Law could be realised by ways of educational solutions of the problems in schools and society whose historical social cultural and religious roots had been deeply interwoven. Moral education in the new sense was based on and directed toward "individual person" who should devote to building peaceful society state and the world. Ethical and moral doctrines for school education were highly individualised. Comparing such new doctrines with the past principles of moral education which was enshrined in the Emperor's Rescript it was clear for anyone that there lain a deep cleavage between the new educational values and the old.

Table 9: Axiological contrasts between old and new legal codes

Index	Fundamental Law	Emperor's Rescript
image of a person	Individual person	a member of family
	citizen	collective persons
	national people	subjects to Emperor
ethical creed	universal human rights	indigenous virtue implanted
.	individual dignity	filial piety
	justice peace truth	loyalty harmony
	devotion to world	devotion to Empire
moral codes	mutual respect(both sexes)	husbandry
	mutual esteem(society	brotherhood & sisterhood
	respect of labor	mutual trust
	independency	frugality modesty
	cooperation	benevolence
	political culture	public good/common interest
	responsibility	self-sacrifice
	academic freedom	intellect and culture
	practicality	diligent study
	health (body and mind)	

By the author

Table 9 shows vividly how different it is in contents between the New Law and the Emperors' Rescript. Because the Japanese society at large was lacking in stability and the standards of living were low particularly after the war stirring circumstances around population threatened people to lose clear perspectives over the future society. Particularly the community surroundings in the urban areas like Tokyo looked seriously out of order. Many people took it important to rebuild lawful society and to educate children on moral codes. However the new ideals of Social Studies were not yet fully educative as it had been expected. In such social circumstances more parents and conservative groups turned to be critical of progressive education whose feature was child-centered. On the whole there were scarce subjects touching morality and religious faith in the conventional sense so far as public school education of the time was concerned.

In 1950, there broke out the Korean War in the Korean peninsula which lasted until 1953. Against such international situations the political sphere in Japan began shifting toward being more conservative. And it was urgent for the Japanese government and industry to recover the vigorous productivity in order to save people in relative poverty and achieve standards in social development so that Japan should be affirmatively approved to come back to international political and economic environments. Just during the time of the Koran War the Japan-US Peace Treaty was concluded. The Treaty of the

Mutual Cooperation and Security between Japan and the United States of America was signed also. Curiously enough USA required the Japanese government to rearm Japan. The American proposal was declined by the Japanese government but it stimulated the conservative groups to ask for more traditional Japanese regime of politics and to revise the Constitution. Showa Tenno who had signed the war-policy against the United States of America was not executed at the International Military Tribunal for the Far East which was closed in 1948 at Tokyo. It was a political compromise between the Allied Force (USA in fact) and the Japanese conventional political leaders. And such a compromise allowed the conservative old regime of the Japanese society to recover its vigor which was once lost as the result of the successive policies for democratising Japan as a whole.

The debates on national education were accelerated with changes in the international context. The higher standards of school education and pupils' achievement were urged for unanimously by the leaders of various social groups. The assertions made by the three leading groups of industrialists were influential. They required school education and universities to provide society and industrial circles with well educated and highly trained manpower. The Ministers of Education of the successive governments were eager to change the ground principles of school curriculum. The subject-centered school curriculum for primary and junior secondary schools was thus introduced in 1958. The child-centered principles were replaced.

Regarding moral education within the context of the article 9 (now article 15) on religious education the discussions were led to the political issue of reviving the moral codes which had been once proclaimed in the form of Emperor' order. The Kyoiki-Chokugo had been banned already by the Parliaments (both lower and upper houses) in June 1948. Hence there arose serious discussions particularly among the conservative politicians who asked for a new moral code for school education. Table 10 shows what kind of disputes the Japanese education public had those days on the topics.

Table 10: Policy Proposals for Personal-Moral Education

Year	Policy proposals
1950	Circular issued: national flag and anthem (M. of Education)
1951	Proposal of Shusin (Minister of Education Mr Amano)
1957	Guidelines of Moral Education Pamphlet (Ministry of Education)
1958	Additional school hour introduced for moral education (Minister of Education Mr Matsunaga)
1960	Circular on lesson hours for moral education (M. of Education)
1962	Long term education plans for income-doubling program (Council for National Economy) and trained human resources
1963	Manpower Policy (Prime Minister Mr Ikeda)
1964	Manpower Policy Development (Council for National Economy)
1966	Teaching resource for moral education vol. 1 (M. of Education)
1977	Ideals of expected population (Plans for secondary education for upper classes Advisory Council on Education)
	Revised Programmes of Studies (Kimigayo: notified as National Anthem)

By the author

Until the end of the 1970s more stress was laid on the quick supply of trained human resources by the industrialist the traders and the politicians. But the rapid re-industrialisation of Japan intentionally planned by the conservative government since 1960s brought another issue about child-rearing. Urbanisation was accelerated as a result of the vast investment by the central government because the higher demands of human resources in the developing industrial zones geo-politically planned the younger school leavers migrated from the rural parts of the Japanese archipelago to the big cities like Tokyo Osaka and the like. Not only the youngsters but the matured people moved to the urban areas. Tables 11 and 12 indicate the general trends of urbanisation in Japan (Tokyo is the Capital and Business center. Osaka is another center located in the mid-west of the Honshu (main island) of the Japanese archipelago. Historically Osaka is older than Tokyo.). More or less there were observed the same inclinations about the population growth in other cities like Yokohama Kawasaki Chiba (all around Tokyo) Nagoya Kobe and Fukuoka

Table 11: Demographical Trends in Greater Cities (by thousand)

Year	Tokyo	New York	London	Paris
1900	2 401	3 440	4 500	2 710
1950	6 053	7 891	8 348	2 850
1990s	11 625*	7 381**	7 074***	2 152****

*NB * 1998 **1996 ***1996 ****1990*

See: "Table 3" Great Migration to Cities by Hashimoto Yoshiaki in Kabayama et al., eds. Century of Migration and Cross-Boarder. Series Definition of 20th Century volume 4 Tokyo Iwanami, p. 223.

Table 12: Population and Growth Rate in Tokyo and Osaka (by thousand)

Year	Tokyo	Osaka	All
	People R. P(%)	People R. (%)	
1930	5409 462.0 8.4	3540 367.9 5.5	64 450
1940	7355 359.8 10.2	4793 353.9 6.7	71 933
1950	6278 -146.5 7.5	3857 −195.3 4.6	83 200
1960	9684 542.6 10.4	5505 427.2 5.9	93 419
1970	11408 178.1 11.0	7620 384.3 7.3	103 720
1980	11615 18.1 9.9	8473 111.9 7.2	117 060
1995	11774 −4.6 9.4	8797 14.9 7.0	125 570

See. "Table 4" by Hashimoto op. cit.: 225.

People = population R = growth rate by thousand P(%) = % to total population

There emerged "big towns" where the younger couples lived and started child-rearing in the gigantic size condominiums. The young parents took care of their children without support of their senior family members. The child-rearing on the basement of "nuclear families" was lacking in the experience and expertise of the senior groups who were left in rural communities. The traditional wisdom of child-rearing and disciplines on children and youngsters threatened to disappear. It did indeed. The younger generation after 1960s was a new generation which was foreign and unknown to the aged and older. Disruption of moral behaviors between the young and the old became sharp and problematic.

Against such social shifts and circumstances there arose in the recent past of 1980s a hot dispute among politicians social leaders journalists industrialists and senior people about the importance of traditional and aesthetic values retained in the conventional/cultural habits which local communities had kept in the backyards of the twentieth century modernisation of Japan.

The Reports from the ad hoc Council on Educational Reforms (1984-87) proposed to assess the worth of traditional virtues. In the Reports could read a passage that stressed the importance of personal sensitivity to awfulness for something superior to persons. The majority of the committee members were critical of the basic ideals expressed by the Preambles of the Constitution and the Fundamental Law of Education. The successive conservative governments led by the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) were anxious about and eager for implementations of recommendations made by the Council in question and invited learned people to make deliberations on the matters.

When the LDP entered into a coalition government with the Komei Party (in partnership with the Soka-Gakkai the active branch of the Nichiren's Buddhist School) the 1947

Fundamental Law of Education was repealed and in its place was enacted the revised Fundamental Law of Education in 2005. The revised law has an article which stresses the importance of tradition in education. It reads as follows.

> *"Article 2-(5) To nurture and enrich the attitudes toward estimation of tradition and culture together with affection to our national and local communities which have sustained traditional values toward respect of other nations and further such attitudes as would contribute to the peaceful development of international societies" (Fundamental Law of Education revised 2005).*

Apparently it seems that there lies a balance between the assertion for traditional culture and that for internationalisation of education. The revision of the former Fundamental Law of Education was an outcome from compromise negotiated amongst the divergent political powers religious assertions and secular and academic criticism.

It is crucial for school teachers to know and to identify the aims of school education within the contexts of political compromise which were enshrined as the law. In such a context what matters most for more school teachers is the connotations of the term "tradition" and "culture". The internal relations or contexts between moral education and education on/for traditional culture should make more school teachers feel complex if not confused. In addition the school education regulations issued as the order of the Minister require all the school principals and class teachers to keep strictly to the lesson-hour distribution rate defined in the regulations both for compulsory and optional subjects. The rigidity of the lesson-plans do not allow any school teacher to find free rooms in the lesson-tables for cross-boarder curriculum which may cover the traditional cultural values still less opportunities and incentives for religious sentiments. As a result the recommendations made by the advisory councils on school education and curriculum have been implemented merely in the field of traditional martial arts like Judo or in Cha-do (tea-ceremony) or Ikebana(flower arrangement) that are given students as extra-curricular activities. In some regions traditional dance songs and Noh-Play as a part of ceremonial performance have been introduced to school activities as option. A trial to introduce any educational plans and activities for activating and enhancing religious sentiments has been rare (refer to the following chapters).

It is without doubt that religious education and instruction are given in the schools ran by all the religious school juridical persons. However there are some children pupils students and parents who would deny any religious indoctrination even though they would go to such religious schools. The reasons for such parents to send their children to religious schools are (a) because the schools they choose are good in name (b) in quality and (c) in historical merits.

As is mentioned above in Chapter 1, more of the schools managed by the religious bodies offers schooling which may cross the boarders between primary and secondary sections or between secondary and tertiary. It sounds for many parents as if it could be the easier and safer way for their children to come to such schools so that they may escape from "Examination Hell" and to secure their future careers by graduating from prestigious colleges or universities which the religious bodies have run for longer time. It has been particularly the case with Christian Mission Schools. This is the very reason why quite secular parents would send their children to religious schools. It is worthwhile to remember that Christian missions brought new knowledge and technology with Christianity to Japan long before the Meiji Restoration. Christian missionary group of any church has been a symbolic sign of "modernity" for more of learned Japanese parents.

Shinto the State-Shinto and religious education

The coalition government consisted of the Liberal Democratic Party and the Komei Party enacted a law by which "Hinomaru" was publicly defined as the National Flag of Japan and "Kimigayo" as the National Anthem. Both flag and anthem were for long the symbols of the Modern Empire of Japan and they were also in closer relation with the Kyoiku-Chokugo. So far as Kyoiku-Chokugo is the Order given by the Meiji Tenno and had been the leading doctrine of the state education before 1945 the policy-choice made by the coalition government suggests that two national symbols of flag and anthem may convey renewed or revised messages of revived political culture and so-called traditional aesthetic standards to children attending schools. Is it not contradictory to the statements in the present Japanese Constitution which approves freedom of thought and faith? Here arise the latent issues of the State-Shinto.

Brief notes on historical background

The basic and most important issue for the Japanese school education has been the implications of the State-Shinto. Briefly speaking the Meiji Modern Japan was a historical cultural and political creation in the sense that the Restoration (1868) envisaged a new polity and required a new government which should replace the Tokugawa-Shogunate which reigned Japan for nearly three hundred years since 1603 and the new government was in need of cultivating new culture for commons who would be new national citizens.

The Tenno-Sei (Tenno System; Tenno meaning Emperor) had been so weak that it could not sustain whole Japan as a polity. Besides Meiji Tenno himself was too young to be a new Crown for new Japan. Hence the high officers of the newly introduced Meiji Government planned to make the Tenn-Sei stronger than ever and intended to remold traditional Shinto into a new political religious Symbol. In their understanding Buddhism was not strong enough to cope with the European or western worldviews and Confucianism was

too old to absorb the western knowledge and technology. The Kokugaku was too young as the ideological core of new polity. The three leading philosophies Buddhism Confucianism and Kokugaku were not responsive to the new tasks. Christianity was a minor religious sect in those days. It had been repelled by the central and local governments of Japan since the late sixteenth century.

The selected board members of the new Meiji Government intended to rebuild "Shinto in Tenno Family" into "a public system of faith and moral creeds for the new nation". In other word they intended to invent a new political ideology.

They decided to revise the traditional Shinto system into the State own Shinto. Shinto as is well know had no originator. But it was closely related with the various religious belief system spread over the country. Historically it goes back to a very ancient time that no one can identify the originating age in history. The ancient central government dared to control all the Shinto shrines by ways of scheming local and endogenous faiths into a belief system and used the shrines as the administrative branches for the locales. During the period of Yedo (1603-1867) the Shinto shrines and the Buddhist temples were scattered all around the country. But the temples were organised by the divergent schools or sects of Buddhists. They were mutually hostile. The Shinto shrines were far more systematically organised than the Buddhist temples.

However the Shinto shrines were yet unorganised country-wide because there were many local governments called Han (藩) or feudal domains. Each domain controlled and politico-administratively organised all the Shinto shrines in order to control population therein. The Meiji government reorganised the Shinto shrines when the government replaced all the feudal domains with the new local organ Ken (県) or Prefectures in 1871. The government established the Department of Religious Affairs in the government Chamber and registered all the Shinto shrines under the Supreme Shrine of Ise which had historically served rituals for the Tenno Family for long time since 708 AD (Ngahara, 2001). The Department of Religious Affairs brought the orders of ranks of the whole Shinto shrines and the Shinto shrines were set into the politico-religious hierarchy. It was a very new device for political control of religious faith over the country by the name of Shinto. This is defined as the State Shinto (Shimazono, 2010; Tsujimoto, 2001; Takeda, 1996). In this case the most important point for the internal relationship between education and religion was the fact that the Constitutional ground principle was the unity of state and Shinto of Tenno Family. Exactly speaking the following two lines of political decisions were institutionally implemented:

I: Shinto of Tenno Family has been the Rite (religious services) for the Family.

II: The System of Shinto-Shrines represents both the doctrines of Shinto

Historically established and the Rite held by the Tenno Family

In this new political device made during the early period of the Meiji Era popular faith in Shinto represented by the religious services rendered by the Shrines in the neighborhood was skillfully reorganised into such networks as developed and functioned as a part of the Belief System consisting of the religious hierarchical Orders of the Approved Shinto Shrines centering around the Ise-Great Shrine where the most remote ancestor of the Tenno Family was worshiped. In short the Japanese unity of politics and religion was that between politics and Shinto of Tenno Family (Sakamoto, 1994; Shimazono, 2007).

As the traditional and conventional Shinto system was the administrative scheme of local control utilised by the Tokugawa regime the conditions of establishing the State Shinto were ready in a sense when the Meiji Restoration emerged.

Turning to the new culture for the mass of people who had been set apart from education or formal learning for long time the high officers of the then government were skillful in implementing their state policy by which the newly introduced national education system was made effective instruments for educating local population as national people. First they imported several models of school systems and schooling from France, USA, UK and Germany. They employed more than a few teachers from such countries. Enlightenment became a key term for educational reform and practices. However, often school teachers could not find text books for children suitable for them because the contents of the text books were merely the copies of the text books imported from outside Japan. What children were asked to learn was totally alien to their daily life. There were some exceptions of course.

When the Kyoiki-Chokugo* (Emperor's Rescript on Education) was granted to people by the name of Meiji Tenno (Emperor Meiji reigned Japan from 1868 to 1912) national schooling system introduced in 1872 became the most effective instrument for the government to educate local population as national people (Shimazono, 2010:137ff; Sato, 1994).

The modern school education in Japan was a political device by which the political leaders made Japanese communities modern societies and endogenous people enlightened in the sense of European knowledge culture and civilisation.

Tenno a new political symbol was once made intentionally visible so that local people should acknowledge that there had come new political regime which would reign over them. Once when the new national system of education started functioning and it appeared for the political leaders of the time that schooling was successful in indoctrinating people and children the new political codes they decided to make the State Shinto the authentic core of new morality required of new national people. Although there were serious disputes about the new moral codes and ethical doctrines for the future citizens of Japan finally the conservative group won the political battle against modernism linked with European

democracy and Christianity. The political group was consisting of Confucian scholars from the Kokugaku (国学、criticism of Japanese classics) and priests of or sympathisers with Shinto. Buddhists were not invited. As the result of the political processes the Kyoiku-Chokugo was full of traditional values and maxims of Japanese political ideologies and aesthetical standards (Suzuki & Yamaki, *op. cit.*).

In order to make the new political core or centre clearer for to commons the Meiji government invented a political device by which the new political core became vivid for the whole nation. That was (a) the trips made by the Meiji Tenno and (b) granting the photo of the Meiji Tenno and Kogo (his Empress) to more of the public offices public centers town halls and state schools from primary to tertiary institutions. The photo was called the Go-Shin-Ei (literary it meant the real figures of Tenno and Kogo). According to the historical records left at the local government libraries for example people welcome and accepted the Go-Shin-Ei as if it were a Sacred Writ. People performed a type of ceremonial function in line with the conventional modes of ceremony which had been habits for long time. In these contexts some people watched and observed Tenno and others observing the photo in place of figure itself. It is important to understand how skillfully the visibility and the invisibility of Tenno were combined and sacramented under the governmental policies (Taki, 1988).

At schools the Go-Shin-Ei was hung high on the wall and pupils recited the Kyoiku-Chokugo by heart. Compounding sight and sound (voices of pupils reciting) pupils internalised the moral values enshrined into themselves (Suzuki & Yamaki, ditto.).

Modern Japan was successful to some extent to implant European and American knowledge and technology to achieve so-called modernisation. But individuation and democratisation were not realised owing to national educational policy which was effective in indoctrinating school children conservative moral values and ethical codes through Kyoiku-Chokugo. The Tenno-system and its school education succeeded in building up the Japanese Empire and its national people along the lines of modernisation which was not the mere copy of it in the European sense (Suzuki & Yamaki, ditto).

In this context religious education in Japan got special characteristics. That is to say moral education linking to the State-Shinto required all children to obey both the statements issued by the government in the name of Tenno and the ordinance uttered by the local governors again in the name of Tenno. All of such orders intended to reinforce the doctrines of State Shinto in the field of national education. Therefore there was no freedom of thought and religious faith in school education so far as the public educational sector was concerned . Particularly during the time of national mobilisation policy (1938-1945) there was no freedom of expression in the Japanese society. All those who were critical

of the government policies and of war strategies were sent to jail. Under such political suppression there was no spiritual freedom and no religious tolerance.

It is historically crucial to recognise that all of the Buddhists sects and Christian churches were not successful in protecting their religious faith and doctrines against the state policy for unification of all the religious bodies which were strictly controlled during the time from 1926 to 1945. The Ministry of Home Affairs required all the religious bodies to hoist the national Flag and to sing the National Anthem in unison every time they performed ceremonies of any kind and to hang the Portrait of Showa Tenno on the walls of their halls temples cathedrals monasteries school and colleges. It was nothing short of asking the religious bodies with diverge religious doctrines and creeds to accept the God of Shinto or the contemporary Tenno, i.e. requiring them to abandon their genuine faiths. During the time concerned in Japan no religious sects could resist such conversion compelled politically. In another word the State-Shinto or the Tenno System as the National Religious Authority overthrew and perished all the religious truth faith and dignity of the existing religious bodies with faith that was different from that of State-Shinto.

Recent movements of the State-Shinto

Formally it is stated that the State-Shinto was institutionally destroyed by the Order on State-Shinto issued in December 1945 by the GHQ (General Head Quarter of the Allied Force). The Order divided the State and the System of Shinto Shrines. However it is pertinent to recognise that the Order did not refer to the Tenn-Shinto as Rite for Tenno Family. Despite of the Constitutional definition of Separation of State from Religion according to the Ohara (Ohara, 1993:119-20) the GHQ had discussed the issues of Tenno as "Priest-King" but they did not assume that "Priest-King" would survive in coming future of Japanese politics. Tenno as the Symbol of the Unity of Japan was allowed to keep religious services on ritual ground for His Family. In this sense the separation of the state from religious faith or doctrines was not kept nominally when the new constitution of Japan was introduced and enacted (Shimazono, 2010:148ff).

In practice Showa Tenno did various rites during his reign and Heisei Tenno the successor to Showa since 1989 still keeps the position of Priest-King who conducts religious services as Shinto priest in his Family (Tenno-Family) and performs the political roles of Tenno as the Symbol of the Unity of Japanese People. Table 13 contrasts His two roles.

Table 13: Roles of Priest-King and Unity-Symbol

Priest-King	Symbol of Unity of Japan
① morning service at Kashiko-Dokoro*	① matters of the state
1) on 1st 11th 21st every month Tenno reads the Shinto prayer	1) appointment of the Minister designated by the Diet
2) male and female servants perform rituals normally except 3 days above mentioned	2) appointment of the Supreme Court as designated by the Cabinet
3) a chamberlain** prays	3) acts in makers of the state on behalf of the People
② annual services at Kashiko-Dokoro	i : promulgation of amendment of the constitution laws cabinet orders & treaties
A: major festivals: Tenno supervises whole ritual.	ii : convocation of the Diet
on 3rd January: New Year Ritual	iii : dissolution of the House of Representatives
on 7th January: Ritual for Showa	iv : proclamation of general election of members of the Diet
on 21st March: Vernal Equinox Day	v : attestation of the appointment and dismissal of Ministers of State and other officials as provide for by law and of full powers and credentials of Ambassadors and Ministers
on 3rd April: Ritual for Jinmu	vi : attestation of general and special amnesty commutation of punishment reprieve and restoration of rights
on 23rd September: Autumnal Equi-nox Day	vii : awarding of honours
on 17th October: Kannname-Sai; harvest festival: thanks-giving for Amaterasu at Ise-Shrine	viii : attestation of instruments of ratification and other diplomatic documents as provided for by law
on 23rd November: Niiname-Sai; harvest festival: thanks-giving for all gods	ix : receiving foreign ambassadors and ministers
B: minor festivals: servants perform rituals in place of Tenno	x : performance of ceremonial function
*Kashiko-Dokoro is one of the main three shrines in the Kyuji (Palace). The provisions of three shrines cover 8 200 square meters. It is a gigantic Shinto architecture as a whole.	② personal schedules
** the chamberlain is an civil servant.	i :pass-time
	ii : travelling (in-land and abroad)

See: The Constitution of Japan 1947 Chapter 1 The Emperor articles 6 and 7.

Shimazono, 2010 op. cit.: 190-191.

Activism of the Shinto-Shrines: Toward reinforcement of the State-Shinto

As Table 13 indicates the Tenno today performs two kinds of roles. He is still the Priest-King so far as his religious services within his family are concerned. Separation of State-Government from Religion is incomplete.

The State-Shinto was nominally abolished after 1945 but the continuing duality of Priest-King in Tenno Family and the Political Symbol for unity in state governance may is reinforced by the reorganisation of popular affirmative sentiments about local Shinto into a national scheme of Shinto Shrines which might move toward a hierarchy of Shinto-Faith and Doctrines. That Hierarchy could be drawn with the Ise-Shrine at the top of it.

On the top of the renewed hierarchy of the Shinto Shrines should be the Shrine of the Tenno Family. Although such a hierarchy has not been completed yet the Jinja-Honcho (神社本庁) or the religious body established in 1946 consisting of more than half of all Shinto shrines over the country has successfully campaigned for implementing the renewed ideal of the established State-Shinto.

In 1980 Jinja-Honcho issued the Charter of the Jinja-Honcho in which we can read three creeds as following (Shimazono, *op. cit.*:197):

> Article 1 Jinja-Honcho shall respect tradition promote rites and enhance morality praying eternity of Empire of Japan and contributing world-wide peace.
>
> Article 2 Jinja-Honcho shall accept and admire God Amaterasu as the ultimate
>
> Originator of the faith and shall serve for the Faith.
>
> (2) Jinja-Honcho shall assemble all of the Shinto Shrines and endeavour for the promotion of them in praise of wills of God.
>
> Article 3 Jinja-Honcho shall cultivate Dogmatic Doctrines for Faith in God and
>
> Tenno shall educate and train all the Shinto priests and shall enlighten
>
> and help all people belonging to the Shrines.

Jinja-Honcho developed various movements so that they might implement the ideals and ideas addressed in the Charter. The first step for them was to declare that they wished to teach people the importance of Shinto and to re-establish the polity based upon the traditional Tenno-Sei (Reign by Tenno). Therefore, they repeated stressing of political worth of Tenno everywhere and every time when they thought it fitted for them to claim. In their understanding the reign over Japan by the succession of Tenno's had lasted for more than two thousand years. Although their assertion as such was a-historical and unacademic they stressed such an understanding and claimed for disseminating the ideas once supported by the old regime of Japanese polity. Their standpoints were just contrary to what had been accepted as sane and rational by more people after the war. However, Jinja-Honcho worked actively in requiring the major political parties to reflect upon themselves if their understanding of the Constitutional principles were historically correct or if not improper. Subsequently they (a) required to recover the Kigensetsy (紀元節) a national ceremony for the establishment / beginning of the Japanese polity whose date might come back to the third century (such an assumption merely rests on what they understood reading old legends like 日本記（nihon-gi: written in the year of 720 AD）and 古事記（kojiki: written in 712 AD）and other historical records left by the Chinese

historians during the time from the third century (Nagahara, 2001); (b) developed movements for supporting the Yashukuni Shrine by the fund from the government and (c) protested against the suites raised by the citizens regarding the separation of State from Shinto. It is quite clear that Jinja-Honcho kept standing against the basic doctrine of the Constitution of Japan that is the backbone of the present governance of Japan. As the result of such movements as above they won the recovery of the ceremony for the establishment of the Japanese polity by Jinmu Tenno (figure in the legend) in 1967. 11th February was selected for the national holiday to celebrate the foundation of Japan as a Polity.

The movements developed by the Jinja-Honcho went with the political movements led by the Japan Democratic Party (JDP). The general trends put forward by the conservative groups and "radical right" wings made gradually public opinions less radical.

Shinto as natural religion and its impact on every day life

It is often assumed by outsiders that Japanese are not religious. It might be the reactions of the observers who witness the varieties of behaviors that Japanese would perform at the time for ceremonial deeds in community or society. "Natural Religions" are such religions that posit no original creator. However, Natural Religion does not necessarily imply that it worships nature itself. It is a religion made religion by remote ancestors and is still preserved as something sacred and superlative in daily life (Ama, 1996:11). Obviously Shinto is a Natural Religion. Therefore, Japanese people are not a-religious. Some are Buddhists others Christians and more accept "amalgam" of several faiths and religious creeds. The endogenous Shinto has been such Amalgam of various faiths and creeds.

Narrowly or strictly speaking the term god an English vocabulary cannot be rightly translated by the Japanese word "神Kami". The notion of Kami is very old and it has been used to describe something supernatural invisible and eternal. It can be classified as following (see Mihashi, 2007:12-14):

Kami 2nd -1 (natural): referring to natural phenomena fire and surroundings

↑

Kami 1st ——↓

Kami 2nd -2 (cultural): referring to household and livelihood

The Kami 1st group consist of kami's described in the 古事記（kojiki） the oldest legend and they were in Takama-no-Hara an imagined sphere. Two Kami's male and female the seventh descendant from the original Kami Amaterasu descended to the land and bore

many kami's that can be grouped into Kami 2nd -1 and 2. In the Kami 2nd -1 group there are many kami's (of mountain of valley of river of tree of wild field of harbour of sea of wind and of fire). The kami 2nd -2 group includes various kami's regarding house-holding and neighbours of families. People lived elsewhere when it was possible for them to do so. It suggests that each house-holding and neighbour might have its own kami's and hence that there were numerous kami's in the group of Kami 2nd -2. Some were overlapping and the rest singularly independent. As the result there historically emerged a phrase of 八百万の神(yao yorozu no kakmi: literarily meaning 8 million kami's). Of course it was not a real number counted but it signified the diverse figures of kami's spread among and accepted by populations.

It is one of the features of the Japanese kami's that they can be classified into to sub-groups: one is the group of kami's that are beneficial for human beings and another that are cruel; for example kami of poverty and kami of illness. More precisely speaking the local kami's can be described and explained as the Table 14. They represent sometimes in ritual sometimes in ceremony and sometimes in labor (agriculture forestry fishery industry and business) the daily livelihood of common people not only in rural areas but in urbanised towns and cities (Mihashi, *op. cit.*:200-214).

Table 14: Kami's internalised into Family Setting

Geo-Religious Institutions	Symbolic Roles of Kami's
Location: symbolic sphere and neighbours (I) shrines: A: normal B: small C: tiny	Uji-Kami (ujigami): genius loci guardian Chinju-no-Kami: tutelary deity: guardian Ubusuna or Koyasu-Kami: helpers easy and smooth delivery welfare health of mothers and babies
(II) natural surroundings : mountains valley forest wood river lake pond	Toyo-Uke Kami: supplier of rich crops and corns Haraedo Kami: prayer purifying body and mind Ame-Tsuchi no Kami's : dwelling at various parts of natural environments; controlling natural orders and phenomena
Location: community village small town (I) shrines B: small C: tiny (II) natural surroundings	Ta-no Kami: safeguarding paddy fields and rich harvest Tusji-no Kami: watcher against invaders Dosho-Shin: watcher on the boarders checking black angels Koshin: medical offer; curing disorders Ichi-Kami (Ichigami): guardian for opening fair and market Inari: watcher: investment and fortunes
Location: house Kamidana (household alter) Butsudan (Buddhist alter) Oku-no-Ma (guest room) Diadokoro (kitchen) I-Ro-Ri (furnace) Toko-no-Ma (room with alcove) Ima (tatami / wood floor room) doma (earth floor) iriguchi (entrance) kawaya (water closet) Ido (well) Garden	Kami of Shinto Family Ancestors enshrined Kami related house-spirit Kami related with cookery and meal services Kami related with fire and energy Kami relatd with authority of family orders Kami serving comforts and sleep Kami related with genius loci Kami controlling in-and-out of air flow Kami controlling physiological cycles Kami related with water supply Inari

There are various Kami's in the Shinto system of belief and faith. But all the Kami's can be grouped into several clusters. For example there could be six groups as following:

Group 1: Kami in relation to nature or natural environments
Ame-Tuschi no Kami (Ame; heaven Tsuchi; earth)

Group 2: Kami in relation to community and guardianship for dwellers
Uji-kami Chnju-kami Tusji-no kami DosoShin

Group 3: Kami in relation to human reproduction and wellbeing
Ubusuna-kami Koyasu kami

Group 4: Kami in relation to prosperity and fortune
Ichi-no kami Inari

Group 5: Kami in relation to agriculture and harvest
Toyouke-no kami Ta-no kami

Group 6: Kami in relation to bodily health and spiritual safety
Haraedo-no kami Koshin

The groups 1, 3 and 5 may be the members of the category of Kami 2nd -1. The rest the members of Kami 2nd -2.

In contrast to the Jinja-Shinto Natural Shinto covers practically all fields of daily life of commoners. However both Jinja Shinto and State-Shinto are based upon this type of common faith. All pray for Kami's in this context which is also the basis of morality of people. And the State-Shinto was also politically synchronised with it.

Regarding internalisation of the religious creeds and sentiments it is necessary to look at the religio-political effects of living space upon family members as is the case of school building and rooms where State-Shinto worked significantly.

It is already long since Japan started in 1960 reorganising social environments by ways of industrial development plans of the archipelago. Living in an old house in the rural areas is now a very rare phenomenon. The old houses for farmers had common internal structures of the building compositions. Figure 1 illustrates the model of it.

In each house there were always household altar for Jinja Shinto and Buddhist altar for the ancestors of the family. Every morning father of the family served two altars with boiled rice and water and the house wife served other kami's in and out of her house. Men and women of the family believed something supernatural to dwell at some corners of the house. The signs from A to L in Figure 1 suggest the parts where they assumed the Being of Kami's. Once in the big cities or in the large towns there were big houses with extended

families. It was possible to find the same internal structures in them although the details of the inside were different each other.

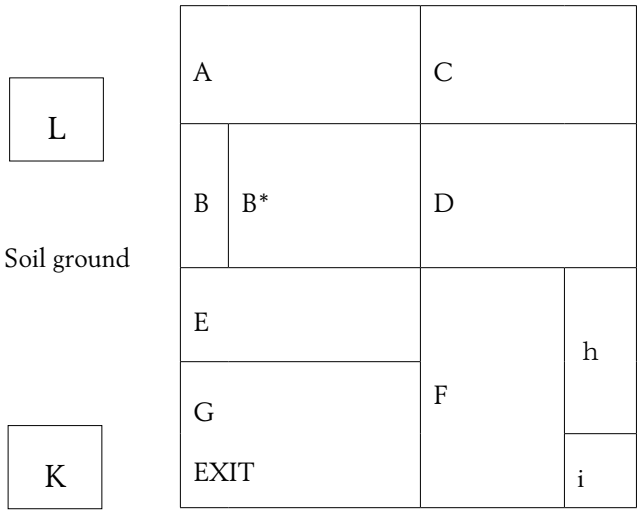

Figure 1: Model of a house

Explanatory Notes

A: Oku-no Ma with tatami floor

B: Toko-no Ma with space (B) covered with tatami*

C D: Ima with high wooden floor

E: Ima with low wooden floor

F: Daidokoro: Kitchen; (h) furnace oven; (i) water vase

G: earth floor with entrance

K: birth room + water closet

L: well or fountain

It was possible to find two altars in every house although structural difference within it.

Historically Buddhism became mixed with Shintoism from eighth century on and amalgamation of both religious doctrines brought into being the typical Japanese attitudes to God Buddha Kami and other spiritual entities. This is one reason why it is normally possible for the observers from outside to find the Japanese religious situation rather

complex. Within such complex axiological spheres of Japanese common faith there lies a hidden but consequential hierarchical order of authorities empowered by the State-Shinto.

Watching the religious space built in housing systems there can be found another hierarchy of power-authority within a house where any family may dwell. In Figure 1 the readers observed the structural feature of the floors namely characteristics of the horizontal space of the house as a whole. Space is separated functionally and locations of the Kami's are closely related to such separation. Assuming a simple square on a surface signifies a housing flat space the religious entities are distributed according to the basic building plan of the house.

Analytically observing the structural space of the given house for a farmer's family from the vertical perspectives there can be projected another hierarchy of authority that is linked to the State-Shinto. Figure 2 may indicate it.

	C	
House hold alter		Ise-Shinto and its authority
Go-Shinei		Shinto of Tenno Family
Buddhist alter		Buddhism and its authority
range oven		Kami of fire
water-vase sink		Kami of water
Toko		Higher level of tatami floor (p-1)
Tatatami floor		Lower level of tatami floor (p-2)
fire on wood floor		Kami of fire
earth floor		Kami on the earth

Figure 2: Vertical structure of religious symbols and authority

Ground

NB: C = ceiling levels

Figure 2 indicates that there is a vertical structure of authority which is also hierarchical in a given house. The top of it is the house holding alter which represents the Ise-Shinto that is the miniature of the original Shinto Shrine of Tenno Family. The Go-Shinei is the photos of Tenno (Emperor) and Kogo (Empress) and it signifies the model couple of the Japanese citizen is exemplified by the Tenno Couple an they were accepted as the ideal that would reign every house-holding as if their Father and Mother. Buddhism comes to the third rank from the top. It suggests that the spirits of the family's ancestors may dwell beneath the levels of State-Shinto or Tenno. There are various levels of authorities signified illustriously with and by the internal structures of house-holding functions linking with the various kami's that are positioned within the original orders of the basic natural Shinto. In relation to (P-1) and (P-2) the explanatory notes may differ a bit from the

statements. The differences between two authorities are originated from the Confucian doctrines which assert the importance of filial piety for the aged the ancestors and the house masters. "Toko-no-Ma" is the room where Toko (床) is settled at one corner of the "Ma" (間; room) which is covered with Tatami (畳: a mat made of dried grass)." Toko (床)" is a specified place and position in a given room where a man of higher rank or dignity was once offered the place to sit and later on something beautiful or sacred or authoritative could be placed or hung on the wall. It is nowadays normal for the host of the family to invite his guests to the room in question. The wood floor rooms will be covered with tatatmi when they welcome many guests or celebrate the members of the family. This may suggest that tatami may express something worthy of expressing respects to others. Although tatami is roughly an inch thick and the slightest difference in height between two levels of wood floor and the floor covered by tatami is so small or trivial such difference still conveys some kind of authenticity and authority to all those concerned. Here we identify again that the religious and politico-ethical entities are positioned or distributed according to the basic building plan of the house. In short the living space of a given house is interwoven structurally with various religious and political symbols with authority (Suzuki, 2002).

Today the houses in Japan have been remodeled and the internal structural features are very much different from those in the past. However, the basic tune or rhythm of life is same. In this sense children are brought up within such circumstances as they were once.

It is natural for Japanese to have various festivals or fairs in line with the calendars which are traditional and conventional. In case when there have emerged a new towns consisting of large condominiums it is not uncommon for the inhabitants to invent new festivals or fairs such as markets open for public and free exchanges.

Ishii once made a summative descriptive and explanatory survey of the communal activities in Tokyo organised or supported by the Jinja's (神社: Shinto Shrines). The Jinja's are active in Tokyo. The table summarises what kind of services the Jinja's in Tokyo have done in the latter half of 1990s. Ishii concentrated on and analysed the positive relationship between the Jinja and people who visit the Jinja often (Ishii, 1997:194; Shimazono, *op. cit.*:203-204).

Figures in Table 15 indicate people's preference to the services offered by the Shinto-Shrines on several occasions in religious or faith calendar which is familiar with people. On such occasions people visit the Shrines near to them or preferred. Some of the big Shinto-Shrines may gather huge number of people for example on 1st of January every year. There are some Buddhism Temples which may also have thousands of people on 1st to 7th January.

The figures of both sub-tables show how many or often people may visit Shinto- Shrines. For example people come to the Shrines from 1 to 7 January celebrating the birth of the new year and praying the new year for their happiness (item no. 1).

Table 15: Preferred Service offered by Jinja (in order of frequency) (percentages)

23 districts in Tokyo	San-Tama (suburban zones)
1 pray for the happy new year (74.2)	1 pray for the happy new year (77.3)
2 pray for warding off evils spirits (50.6)	2 pray for warding off evil spirits (53.3)
3 ground-breaking ceremony (44.1)	3 pray for wellbeing of babies (52.0)
4 wedding ceremony at a hotel (29.0)	4 gala day for children of 3 5 7 years of age (52.0
5 pray for wellbeing of babies (26.4)	5 ground-breaking ceremony (49.4)
6 celebrating cycle of seasons (25.9)	6 wedding ceremony at a hotel & others (33.4)
7 gala day for children of 3 5 7 years of age (19.9)	7 celebrating cycle of seasons (18.7)
8 ceremony for coming-of-age (4.3)	8 wedding ceremony at the shrine (5.3)
9 wedding ceremony at the shrine (3.8)	9 cerebrating commencement and graduation (3.3)
10 cerebrating commencement and graduation (2.2)	10 ceremony for coming-of-age (2.6)

See Ishii 1976 cited by Shimazono op. cit.: 204.

NB: Survey: mail survey number of respondents (shrines): 269 out of 361

The present author have classified all of Shinto's Kami's into two groups (see above) and further introduced 6 groups of Kami's of Natural Shinto (see above). Table 14 indicates assumingly for what and which Kami's are concretely accepted by people. His assumption is that Shinto has two broad branches in its doctrines: one branch represents rather universal entities of faith and another does more local entities of rituals. In his assumption all the religious deeds of people could correspond to the overt and covert doctrines of Shinto-Faith. Classifying again all the deeds in line with the assumptive six groups he gets Table 16 as below.

Table 16: Popular Celebrations and Shinto Faith

Kami	Popular Religious Deeds	
	23 Districts	Suburb
Kami dwelling in nature –time (a)	no. 1	no.1
Kami controlling harvest and game (b)	no. 1 6	no. 1 7
Kami controlling human reproduction	no. 4 5 7 8 9	no. 3 4 6 8 10 and bodily health (c)
Kami curing disease (d)	no. 2	no. 2
Kami over-viewing human prosperity (e)	no. 3 10	no. 5 9
Kami guarding community (f)	no. 3	no. 5
Kami sustaining human spirit (g)	no. 2	no. 2

NB: "23 Districts" and "Suburb" refer to the Table 15.

The highest percentages in Table 15 are with respect to term 1 term 2 in both sub-tables. They relate to people's pray for happier year. They wish to ward off evil spirits. It may be interesting for the observers to know that even today most inhabitants in the highly urbanised areas keep such religious habits originated very long ago. They think highly of invisible relationship between human beings and something unknown.

The next highest percentage comes around the item of "Ground-Breaking Ceremony. Amidst the super-modern surroundings of tower buildings gentlemen come together for praying safety and prosperity of the new houses or buildings. They rely on the prays by the Shinto Priests. No Buddhist priests will be invited. Most of the gentlemen gathered there would not come to the Shrine regularly.

Next are the items of wedding ceremony pray for babies and gala day for children of 3-5-7 years of age. These mean that people would trust any prayers by the Shinto Priests for healthy development of their children. It is not clear however if such parents would be Shintoists.

In all people show their trust if not true faith in prayers by the Shinto Priests regarding their career health and family development. Their deeds depend on the calendar based on Shintoism Buddhism and Confucianism with Tao. The daily public calendar is the solar calendar in the chronological order of Christian belief but it goes with the lunar calendar that worked with conventional Shinto Buddhism and Confucianism (including Taoism) long before the Meiji Revolution (1868). If religious sentiments relate with the basic conceptions of time and space those of Japanese people are highly mixed with various understanding of time and space which may build a world-view with religious perspectives over human and natural life.

Conclusion: An issue around religious education

After the long disputes about nationalism in public education recent governments decided to revise the fundamental doctrines of state school education. The decision thus made always referred to the importance of traditional values of Japan and the historical understanding of Japanese society and culture. The most recent documents on school curriculum issued by the Minister of Education assert the worth of traditional culture the historical backgrounds of modern society and respects for every thing that is super natural. A series of government publications on state education have never failed in ascertaining the urgency for schools to introduce school activities appropriate for awakening pupils and students to the existence of supernatural or sensitivity to awfulness of inspiring persons and of phenomena beyond human beings.

As is described above children are living and learning within such society community and dwelling as is imbued with ethos of Natural Shinto. Simply because of severe entrance examinations on all levels (particularly from senior high schools to universities) children or students would visit specific Shinto Shrines in order to pray for successful entrance examinations. Few of them would meditate on the theological or religious truth and faith but they merely rely on "habits" of the antecedent generations. Such behaviors do not seem to cultivate or enrich any religious sentiments of children.

In case when a school could choose extra- curricula activities which might embrace more of religious deeds which parents and their communities sustain as their convention or tradition of religious faith and moral criteria the school may succeed in indoctrinating religious ethos and sentiments linked with Natural Shinto into school children. Local festivals are quite active of these days and schools and school children are more encouraged to participate in such community activities. In cases where such activities were linked with Jinja-Shinto it could be illegal for any school to contribute to denominational activities as such. It is indeed a hard task for any school to know where they should make a demarcation line between secular and denominational instructions.

Some of school children or secondary students would learn the local Nho-Play and play at any festive occasions. Others would learn Medieval Noh Play (猿楽 Sarugaku) which is often religious in its character. Some plays are linked with Buddhism. Here again any school should refine or elaborate the contents of the Noh-Play so that school children and students may enjoy playing traditional music and dance. On other occasions children or students may enjoy playing theatrical performances whose characteristics are often conventional in the sense of Confucian paternalism.

So far these school activities may tend to follow the values and value-system imbedded in the Kyoiku-Chokugo (Emperor's Rescript). The New Constitution however do not

accept such axiological standpoints. There arises a deep contradiction between traditions and modernity.

When people talk and think of the traditional values in Japan some may assert the traditions of Tea-ceremony (茶道 Cha-do) or Flower-arrangement (華道 Kdo). Others may mention Kabuki Theatre. The Fine Arts Crafts and other artful activities could be counted. Old stories like Genji-Monogarati or Heike-Monogatari could be the sources of traditional values and viewpoints. However many of them are full of Buddhist wisdom. Symbolic representations of human life in the forms of arts and crafts of music and play or of verse and prose cannot be free from any religious insight into human beings and human life. In this sense they are good materials for school teachers and children to think of "order of things" or "gracefulness of behaviours" or "serenity of environments" and the patterns of beautiful postures and behaviours common to all the traditional aesthetics. But as to religious sentiments it is not easy to understand what symbols could be more appropriate for schools to apply for learning? How far is it possible for any schools to discern between the denominational creeds and broad religious sentiments particularly when daily livelihood of adult people is filled with unreflective ethos of natural Shinto such as above mentioned?

On the other side of the matter schools in Japan are required to educate children and students to be well aware of the global communities and their internal relationships. Schools should teach children how to communicate with people from different cultures. Not only languages but culturally sympathetic attitudes are indispensable for the future generation of Japan. Religious knowledge and sentiments are prerequisite for Japanese and Japanese children to be tolerant with other cultures and religious people in the world. It is not enough for Japan to achieve high ratios of school attendance and enrollment of children but is urgent for her to enrich children's life with genuine sympathetic sentiments to religious entities within world cultures. New curriculum development school books and retraining of school teachers are urgently in need.

Confronted by such issues people and school teachers should reaffirm the importance of the fundamental rights defined in the Constitution and should get rid of the super-conservative reign by the State Shinto or by Jinja Honcho over Natural Shinto and other religious disciplines. Buddhist and Christian traditions should be sustained and other religions should be equally accepted and protected by society at large. In this context religious education in Japan is ready to become political. Is Japan ready to cope with the issues?

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Appendix 1: Kyoiku-Chokugo (Emperor's Rescript)

Know ye Our subjects;

Our Imperial Ancestors have found Our Empire on a basis broad and everlasting and have deeply and firmly implanted virtue.

Our subjects ever united in loyalty and filial piety have from generation to generation illustrated the beauty thereof. This is the glory of the fundamental character of Our Empire and herein also lies the source of Our education.

Ye Our subjects be filial to your parents affectionate to your brothers and sisters; as husbands and wives be harmonious as friends true; bear yourselves in modesty and moderation; extend your benevolence to all; pursue learning and cultivate arts and thereby develop intellectual faculties and perfect moral powers; furthermore advance public good and promote common interests; always respect the Constitution and observe the laws; should emergency arise offer yourselves courageously to the State; and thus guard and maintain the prosperity of Our Imperial Throne coeval with heaven and earth. So shall ye not only be Our good faithful subjects but render illustrious the best traditions of your forefathers.

The Way here set forth is indeed the teaching bequeathed by Our Imperial Ancestors to be observed alike by Their Descendants and the subjects in fallible for all ages and true in all places. It is Our wish to lay it to heart in all reverence in common with you Our subjects that may all tius attain to the same virtue.

The 30th day of the 10th month of the 23rd of the Meiji

Imperial Sign Manual Imperial Seal

Appendix 2: Shinto

Shinto is the term given for old faith which was confessed to old various Kami (nearly gods in English) which were endogenous in Japan. It is a comprehensive term that may cover (a) Jinja-Shinto (b) Tenno-family Shinto and (c) Shinto with disciplinary dogma. It

is possible to identify several similar faith systems on the East Asian coasts. In that sense Shinto is natural religion which has no originator.

Archeological findings help to clarify the historical date when Shinto was systematised as a religious faith but it is still unclear about the exact period for Shinto to be embryonic in its stages. What is clear however is the fact that Shinto was not any religious creeds that had visited Japan from abroad in the ancient time. With the rise of rice plantation people systematised various creeds and faith of natural religions into a system of faith approved by political authority. There came the festival of harvesting new crop of rice and it became the core of rituals that were institutionalised by a polity. In the legend touching natural Shinto there can be found the names of Kami's which identify people's awe to Kami that controlled growth of rice and those of Kami which controlled all of the growth of living beings in nature.

The basic doctrine of natural Shinto is called Connexion amongst Kami's Human beings and Nature. Precisely all of three were born from one entity. Besides Kami's reside in all beings natural or human or animal. In this sense it was pantheistic. People respected Kami's that afforded foods to them and they tended to believe that Kami's might have the same food with them. That kind of anticipations led them to offer to Kami's what they eat every time or before they eat. After coming of Buddhism Confucianism and Taoism from the Chinese continent the basic rituals as such changed by ways of amalgamation with some of the creeds of each and made what Shinto is now in the long history.

Shinto has no holly book or text but the oldest records 古事記（kojiki the Ancient Chronicles）and 日本書紀 (nihon shoki; the Chronicles of Japan) each of which was edited in 712 and 720 are respected as the Texts.

See: Shirayama Yoshitaro. 2002. "Shinto" in Koyasu Nobukuchi (ed.) Dictionary of Japanese Thoughts *op. cit.*:282.

Malay is Malay, non-Malay is non-Malay, and never the twain shall meet:[1] A critical analysis of religion and education in Malaysia

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Introduction

The history of education is the history of how every society developed knowledge, skills, beliefs, culture, social values, traditions, morality, and *religion* and passed on the rich heritage to the next generation. During pre-modern times, religious education was an integral part of education in all societies. There was, however, differential access to education. Male members of the clergy and upper class had full access to formal education whilst the masses only benefitted from non-formal education and informal education.

In a typical feudal society in pre-modern times, a king and nobles formed the government. In tribal societies, however, the ruling elite may or may not be hereditary. Feudal and tribal governments were often advised by high priests or other religious leaders who were often part of the ruling elite because religious beliefs in deities or spirits often formed a crucial part of a culture. In most feudal and tribal societies, the ruling class and clerics more or less make up the entire group of people who were literate.

1 Adapted from the first line of Rudyard Kipling's *The Ballad of East and West:* "Oh, East is East, and West is West, and never the twain shall meet."

However, in some pre-modern societies commoners were taught at least basic literacy skills in order that they can read the sacred text of their faith. For example, according to Neusner (2000) religious education formed the basis of education for the masses from the times of ancient Judaism to modern times. Between the completion of the Talmud (the collection of Jewish law and tradition) *circa* 500 CE and the Emancipation of the Jews in modern times, the majority of male Jews received some form of schooling and most of them were literate. The studies however were generally limited to the sacred books, especially the Torah. Similarly, both the monarch and the Church in mediaeval Nordic countries encouraged parents to educate their children in fundamental religious principles, moral virtues, and basic literacy skills. It could also be said that the early spread of literacy in Europe during the Middle Ages was largely necessitated by the need to provide religious instruction to the masses (Maynes, 1985; Graff, 1987; Mitch, 1992; Vincent, 2000).

Before the onset of compulsory mass schooling, formal schooling in Europe was largely reserved for the clergy and the ruling elite (known respectively in the *ancien régime* of France as the First and Second Estates). The masses were only given non-formal education in the form of vocational training and Christian religious instruction. The latter form of non-formal education was provided by Roman Catholic, Anglican, Orthodox, and Protestant Churches.

The establishment of compulsory mass formal schooling (CMFS) from the late eighteenth century onwards was instrumental in the decline of religious education in Occidental countries. Ramirez and Boli (1993) propose three distinct phases in the transformation process towards CMFS. Phase 1 was the introduction of *compulsory education* as part of the Reformation movement to enhance religious piety and individual faith among Protestant families in the seventeenth century mainly in Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and certain German principalities and North American colonies. Phase 2 was the launch of *mass schooling* in Norway, various Swiss cantons, Dutch provinces, and German Länder in the eighteenth century as part of a movement to weaken home-based socialisation and instruction by establishing community schools with largely religious and fairly uniform curricula that emphasised the development of literacy, biblical knowledge, and moral character. Phase 3 was the introduction of *compulsory mass formal schooling* during the nineteenth century in newly emerging nation-states in Europe and America in which the central government became the main if not sole provider of formal education and where parents were legally compelled to enrol their children in state-maintained and financed schools.

The rise of compulsory mass formal schooling drastically reduced the influence of the Church on education. New nation-states, especially the first modern republics – USA and France – that emerged from the demise of feudalism were guided by the rationalist spirit of the Enlightenment that sought to emancipate humankind from all kinds of oppressive

authority including that wielded by the Church that shackled human thought for more than a millennium. One of the most important educational reforms that took place was the secularisation of the school curriculum. The only exceptions of non-secular school subjects were subjects pertaining to specific religions. At one end of the continuum stand nations like France and USA that have excluded all faith-specific subjects in the public school curriculum. In the case of the USA, the complete separation between the affairs of the state and religion was ratified in the First Amendment of the Constitution of the USA on 15th December 1791. The Establishment Clause in the First Amendment asserts, "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion." Thus, the Establishment Clause expressly forbids the establishment of a national religion and the provision of religious education based on a single mainstream faith in public schools. In the middle of the range are countries like the United Kingdom where religious education is part of the curriculum of schools maintained by local education authorities but is non-proselytising and covers diverse faiths (although it does include more Christian content compared to other religions). At the opposite end of the continuum are countries that have enforced establishment of state religion and compulsory religious education based on a single mainstream faith. One such example is Malaysia. According to Article 3(1) of the Constitution of Malaysia, "Islam is the religion of the Federation; but other religions may be practised in peace and harmony in any part of the Federation". Thus, whilst other faiths are tolerated, it is clearly stated that Islam is the national religion of the Federation of Malaysia.

This chapter critically examines the state-of-the-practice of religion and education in Malaysia and analyses the underlying contradictions. It also discusses recommendations for the betterment of policy and practice concerning religion and education in Malaysia.

Religious demography of Malaysia

The Federation of Malaysia occupies the southernmost peninsula of Southeast Asia and the northern one-third of Borneo. It emerged as a nation on 16th September 1963 when the Borneo states of Sabah and Sarawak joined Malaya which had earlier gained *Merdeka* or independence from the British on 31st August 1957 to form a larger federation. Malaysia has a democratically elected government with a constitutional monarch. It has a total area of approximately 330 000 square kilometres and a population of just over 28 million.

Malaysia's population can be divided into two major groups: so-called indigenous ethnic groups (*bumiputera*) and non-indigenous ethnic groups (non-*bumiputera*). Among the *bumiputera*, the Malays make up the majority at 50.4 percent; and other *bumiputera* at 11 percent for a combined *bumiputera* share of 61.4 percent of the population. Non-Malay *bumiputera* form more than half of Sarawak's population (of which 30 percent are Ibans),

and close to 60 percent of Sabah's population (of which 18 percent are Kadazan-Dusuns, and 17 percent are Bajaus). There are also aboriginal groups (collectively known as the *Orang Asli*) and the *Kristang* (descendents of Portuguese colonisers) in much smaller numbers on the peninsula who are recognised as indigenous people.

Non-*bumiputera* Malaysians are descendents of people who migrated from China and the Indian sub-continent (South Asia) during the British colonial period. 23.7 percent of the population are Malaysian citizens of Chinese descent, while Malaysians of South Asian descent comprise 7.1 percent of the population. Other ethnic groups such as Eurasians, Filipinos, and Nepali make up the remaining 7.8 percent of the population.

According to the Population and Housing Census 2000 data (Malaysia, 2005), approximately 60.4 percent of the population practised Islam; 19.2 percent Buddhism; 9.1 percent Christianity; 6.3 percent Hinduism; and 2.6 percent Confucianism, Taoism and other traditional Chinese religions. The remainder was accounted for by other faiths, including animism, folk religion, and Sikhism while 0.9 percent either reported having no religion or did not provide any information.

The official and authorised form of Islam in Malaysia is Sunni Islam of the *Shafi'i* school of thought. However, elements of shamanism from the folk religion of rural dwellers from pre-Islamic times persist in the practice of Islam in Malaysia. The Malaysian government strictly regulates other Islamic sects including Shia Islam. Sects that are considered deviationist like *Ahmadiyya* and *Al-Arqam* are outlawed in Malaysia. Another closely monitored group is the *Jemaah Islamiyah*. Azahari Husin and Nordin Mat Top were well known Malaysian *Jemaah Islamiyah* jihadist terrorists linked to the 2004 Jakarta Australian Embassy bombing and the 2005 Bali bombing that took scores of Australian lives. Both were eventually ambushed and shot dead by the Indonesian anti-terrorism unit, the former on 9th November 2005 and the latter on 17th September 2009.

Mahayana Buddhism that has blended with elements of Taoism and Confucianist ancestor worship is the predominant sect of Buddhism in Malaysia. The minority Buddhist sect is Theravada Buddhism. There are many Christian denominations in Malaysia. Most Christians are Roman Catholics, Anglicans, Baptists, Lutherans, Methodists, and Presbyterians. A minority of Christians belong to non-denominational churches and independent Charismatic churches. Most Malaysian Hindus follow the Shaivite, or Saivite, tradition (worship of Shiva), of Southern India. However, there are also some followers of Vaishnava Hinduism of North Indian extraction. Other minority sects of Hinduism in Malaysia include Hare Krishna and Sai Baba.

In the following paragraphs, the demographic breakdown of religion by ethnicity will be considered.

All *bumiputera* Malays are Muslims. In fact, the term "Malay" is a clearly defined term in the Malaysian constitution because according to Article 160(2), a Malay:

"means *a person who professes the religion of Islam*, habitually speaks the Malay language, conforms to Malay custom and –

(a) was before Merdeka born in the Federation or in Singapore or born of parents one of whom was born in the Federation or in Singapore, or is on that day domiciled in the Federation or in Singapore, or

(b) is the issue of such a person."

(Author's emphasis)

The implication of Article 160(2) is all Malays are constitutionally defined as Muslims and Malays who renounce Islam lose their ethnic identity. Also, in reality, Malays have very little religious freedom to convert from Islam to other religions because conversion from Islam to other religions is considered as an act of apostasy that is severely dealt with by the *Shari'a* court. All Muslims who are convicted of apostasy are required to undergo "rehabilitation" at re-education centres that are said to be prison-like and use caning as part of their "corrective" strategies (*Wall Street Journal*, 25 August 2006).[2] A case in point is Azlina Jailani, more widely known as Lina Joy, a Malay woman who converted to Christianity. She then applied unsuccessfully in 2006 to have her change of religion recorded in her national identity card, but was finally forced to go into hiding for fear of what was euphemistically referred to as "publicity" from the Muslim community (*BBC News*, 15 November 2006;[3] *The Star*, 30 May 2007).[4] Also, the Malaysian government restricts distribution of Malay-language Christian materials and forbids the proselytising of Muslims by non-Muslims but actively encourages the proselytising of non-Muslims to convert to Islam.

Not all *bumiputera* people, however, are Muslims. Many Malaysians among non-Malay *bumiputera* ethnic groups have converted to Islam. However, Christianity is the religion of the majority of the non-Malay *bumiputera* community as 50.1 percent of them are Christians. This is especially true of the Kadazan-Dusun in Sabah and the *Kristang* community in the West Malaysian state of Malacca. Of the remainder, 36.3 percent identify themselves as Muslims and 7.3 percent practise folk religion and animism.

2 http://online.wsj.com/article/SB115645160096844802.html?mod=googlenews_wsj

3 http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/programmes/crossing_continents/6150340.stm

4 http://thestar.com.my/news/story.asp?file=/2007/5/30/nation/20070530115251&sec=nation

Among the non-*bumiputera* ethnic groups, most Malaysian Chinese follow an eclectic combination of Buddhism blended with Taoism and Confucianist ancestor worship, but when asked to state their religion, usually identify themselves as Buddhists. Statistics from the 2000 Population and Housing Census indicate that 75.9 percent of Malaysia's ethnic Chinese are Buddhists, with significant numbers of adherents following Taoism (10.6 percent) and Christianity (9.6 percent). Other religions (including Islam) account for the balance (3.9 percent). Most Malaysian Indians (84.5 percent) adhere to Hinduism, with a significant minority identifying themselves as Christians (7.7 percent). The rest consist of Sikhs (4.0 percent) and Muslims (3.8 percent).

Religion and education policy and practice in Malaysia

Unlike countries like France and the USA, Malaysia is a semi-secular state, i.e., there is only partial separation between the state and Islam, the official religion. There is a dual system of law in Malaysia. Secular law (based on English Common Law) applies to all Malaysians in all matters except those pertaining to Islam but *sharī'ah* law applies to Muslims in certain matters especially those pertaining to religious obligations (for example, *zakat* or tithe payment), family law (marriage, divorce and estate litigation), and morality matters (for example, concerning *khalwat* or "close proximity" between unmarried persons).

Also, unlike the USA and France, religious education is provided by the Malaysian government. The policy and practice of the government in regard to religious education is regulated by Article 12(2) of the Malaysian Constitution:

> "Every religious group has the right to establish and maintain institutions for the education of children in its own religion, and there shall be no discrimination on the ground only of religion in any law relating to such institutions or in the administration of any such law; but it shall be lawful for the Federation or a State to establish or maintain or assist in establishing or maintaining Islamic institutions or provide or assist in providing instruction in the religion of Islam and incur such expenditure as may be necessary for the purpose."

Just before independence was granted by the British in 1957, the government-elect moved swiftly to draft Malaysia's first educational policy. The Report of the Education Committee, 1956 (Malaya, 1956), popularly known as the Razak Report was the government's educational blueprint for post-independence Malaysia to establish a national system of education to provide formal schooling for the masses. Initially, a minimum of six years of primary education was made universally available. Today, mass formal schooling has been made compulsory until the end of primary school whilst universal mass formal schooling has been extended to include five years of secondary schooling. The Razak

Report resulted in Malaysia's first legislation on education as an independent nation: the Education Ordinance of 1957.

Where religious education is concerned, the Education Ordinance of 1957 followed Article 12(2) of the Malaysian Constitution to the letter. Consequently, the government provides *Pendidikan Islam* (Islamic Studies) as a compulsory subject within the national school system to Muslim pupils according to a government-approved curriculum but does not provide religious education for non-Muslims according to their different faiths. Instead, all non-Muslims take *Pendidikan Moral* (Moral Education) as a compulsory school subject that is time-tabled to coincide with Islamic Studies. The subject matter of *Pendidikan Moral* is based on 10 universal ethical values that are supposedly neutral and not solely based on any one particular faith. The 10 values are Cleanliness in Physical and Mental Aspects, Consideration, Moderation, Diligence, Thankfulness, Trustworthiness, Fairness, Affection, Respect and Social Etiquette. However, there is no doubt that the first mentioned moral value – Cleanliness in Physical and Mental Aspects – is one of the core moral values of Islam (Azis, 2007). Loo (1993) suggested that the high status of physical and mental cleanliness could be possibly interpreted as insidious Islamisation of the *Pendidikan Moral* curriculum.

Most pertinently, a serious flaw exists in the school curriculum of Malaysia that is presented as a common curriculum: Muslim pupils take Islamic Studies but not *Pendidikan Moral*. On the other hand, non-Muslim pupils take *Pendidikan Moral* but not *Pendidikan Islam*. It is a Catch-22 situation. On the one hand, the segregation of pupils into two separate subjects is curiously at odds with the need for pupils to be kept together for shared curriculum experiences. On the other hand, whilst Muslim pupils would probably have no objections taking *Pendidikan Moral*, forcing non-Muslim pupils to take *Pendidikan Islam* would be a violation of freedom of worship.

The following paragraphs describe the state of religious education, both state-maintained and otherwise, in regard to the major religions of Malaysia.

Islam and education

Before the arrival of Islam in Southeast Asia, the indigenous people of Malaysia were animists but early Indo-Malay kingdoms in West Malaysia eventually embraced Hinduism and Buddhism from beginning of the first millennium until the fifteenth century. Midway in the second millennium, Malay rulers led their subjects in converting to Islam in order to enhance commercial links with Muslim merchants from the Middle East. Islam was spread rapidly by local Muslim scholars or *ulama'* from one district to another. Their modus operandi was to open Islamic religious training centres called *pondok* (literally, a hut) *in which the ulama' resided and conducted religious classes. Most of the pondok were*

dilapidated buildings and the curriculum was rudimentary, providing little in the way of worldly life and vocational skills or developing mother tongue literacy among the masses as the language of instruction was Arabic, the language of Islamic sacred scripture.

However, a number of *pondok* schools provided curriculum content that was reminiscent of the excellent standards of renowned *madrasah* during the Golden Age of Islam in the Middle East from the ninth to the sixteenth centuries. During the said period, the *madrasah* were Muslim centres of academic excellence where scholars and scientists contributed to astounding advances in fields like mathematics, astronomy, optics, medicine, physics, philosophy, geometry, architecture, and music.

The *madrasah* usually offer two courses of study: a foundation *hifz* course teaching memorisation of the Qur'an and an advanced *'alim* course leading the candidate to become a credentialed Islamic scholar in the community. The *madrasah* curriculum includes courses in Arabic, *tafsir* (Qur'anic interpretation), *sharī'ah* (Islamic law), *hadiths* (sayings and deeds of Prophet Muhammad), *mantiq* (logic), and the history of Islam. With the decline of Islam, the image of the *madrasah* in many parts of the Muslim world diminished to that of village mosque schools offering a rudimentary form of Islamic religious instruction as suggested in the following figure.

Figure 1: Madrasah pupils in Mauritania

(Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Madrasah_pupils_in_Mauritania.jpg)

The negative modern perception of the *madrasah*, however, is not entirely true in Malaysia. The best-known *pondok* in Malaysia is the Tok Kenali *pondok* in Kota Bharu, Kelantan (Bosa, 2005). The Tok Kenali *pondok* established by Muhammad Yusof in 1910 developed into a famous centre of learning, which attracted large numbers of people from other Malay states to learn at the *pondok*. Many students who completed their studies at the Tok Kenali *pondok* in turn established other *pondok* schools in many parts of Malaysia,

Southern Thailand, and *Indonesia while others became well-known community leaders.* Another famous *pondok* that matched the high standards of the *madrasah* is the *Madrasatul Mashoor al-Islamiyah*, established in the state of Penang in 1916. Besides Islamic studies, the said *madrasah* taught secular subjects that emphasised literacy in the Malay language and vocational development.

Although Islamic religious education did little to uplift the economic condition of the Malay masses in the days of the Malay sultanates before colonial times, nevertheless it certainly contributed tremendously to the development of the Malay language and Malay literature because *Jawi* – the first standardised Malay script (that preceded Romanised script that was developed much later during the nineteenth century) – was developed from Arabic.

During the British colonial period from 1786 to 1957, the British built the first primary schools for the Malay masses. Colonial schools for the Malays provided an elementary form of terminal primary education to develop basic literacy skills using the Malay language as the medium of instruction. The British adopted a policy of non-interference with respect to the power of the Malay sultans in matters pertaining to Islam. Consequently, the *pondok* system of Islamic religious education was left unmolested and there was little significant development of Islamic religious education in mass formal schooling. The hands-off approach in regard to Islamic religious education was also applied in the education of the Malay ruling class in elite English-medium schools that provided high quality education up to the secondary school level leading to higher education in British universities.

As pointed out earlier, after Malaysia emerged as an independent nation, the government provides only Islamic religious education to Muslim pupils in state-maintained public schools within the national education system. Teachers designated as *uztaz* (male) and *uztazah* (female) are employed as pensionable civil servants for the sole purpose of teaching Islamic studies subjects. *Pendidikan Islam* (Islamic studies) is a compulsory subject taken by Muslim pupils at both the primary and secondary levels. It is also an examinable subject in the *Penilaian Menengah Rendah* (Lower Secondary Assessment) and the O-level equivalent *Sijil Pelajaran Malaysia* (Malaysian Certificate of Education) public examinations.

Besides the core compulsory subject of *Pendidikan Islam*, other elective examinable subjects offered to upper secondary school Muslim students in the *Sijil Pelajaran Malaysia* are *Tasawwur Islam*, *Pendidikan Al-Quran dan As-Sunnah*, and *Pendidikan Syariah Islamiah*.

At the Form 6 and matriculation levels, Muslim students are offered two Islamic studies subjects – *Syariah* and *Usuluddin* – that are examinable at the A-level equivalent *Sijil Tinggi Pelajaran Malaysia* (Malaysian Higher Certificate of Education) or STPM public

examination. In 2000, a new A-level examination called the *Sijil Tinggi Agama Malaysia* (Malaysian Higher Religious Certificate) or STAM was introduced to cater to the needs of Muslim students who wish to further their studies in the world renowned Islamic university, Al-Azhar University in Egypt or equivalent Islamic universities. STAM may be taken together with STPM. Islamic studies subjects that are offered in STAM are:

- Hifz Al-Qur'an dan Tajwid
- Fiqh
- Tauhid dan Mantiq
- Tafsir dan Ulumuhu
- Hadith dan Mustolah
- Nahu dan Sarf
- Insya' dan Mutalaah
- Adab dan Nusus
- 'Arudh dan Qafiyah
- Balaghah

A system of Islamic religious schools that are not maintained by the central government called *Sekolah Agama Rakyat* (SAR) exists in Malaysia. Most of the SAR are financed and maintained by the Islamic religious authorities of Malaysia's 13 states. Enrolment in the SAR is not compulsory though some states such as Johor make it obligatory for all Muslim children aged six to twelve to attend the schools as a complement to the mandatory Islamic religious education in public schools. Besides the SAR, another alternative for Muslim parents is to engage the services of private Islamic tuition centres. The SAR and private Islamic tuition centres attract the patronage of Muslim parents who are keen on maintaining a more rigorous form of Islamic religious education for their children and also to enhance their chances of achieving good results in Islamic studies subjects in the public examinations. Private Islamic religious education centres are actively monitored by the federal government because of the earlier mentioned threats posed by deviationist Islamic sects, particularly those linked with jihadist terrorist groups.

Christianity and education

Christianity arrived in Malaysia in 1511 when the Portuguese, the first of the three waves of European colonisers, conquered the port city of the Malay sultanate of Malacca at a

time when it was the most powerful sultanate in Southeast Asia. However, by the time the Portuguese arrived in Malacca the populace had already converted to Islam. The day Malacca fell marked the date of the start of Christian proselytising activities in Southeast Asia. Unlike the Spanish who colonised the Philippines from 1521 to 1898, Roman Catholic missionaries had little success in Malacca because as explained by Kana (2004:9):

> "From the beginning, Christianity was perceived by the local populace as the religion of the invaders. To be a Christian was to be Portuguese in their eyes and this evoked resentment even antagonism amongst the Malays towards Christian missionaries and Christian converts."

Nevertheless, there were an estimated 20 000 Eurasian Roman Catholics in Malacca descended from inter-marriage between Portuguese conquerors and local Malay women at the end of the Portuguese colonial era in Malacca (Sibert, 2002). The Dutch who subsequently ousted the Portuguese from Malacca in 1641 had little interest in converting their colonial subjects to Christianity. It was only during the British colonial period that Christian evangelists achieved more encouraging results. Even so, the British colonial government tightly regulated the activities of Christian missionaries and confined proselytising to non-Muslim colonial subjects.

Anglican, Roman Catholic and Methodist mission orders contributed tremendously to the development of education in Malaysia during the British colonial era. Today, schools established by the various mission orders rank among the top schools in the national education system.

Penang Free School is the oldest Christian mission school open to commoners not only in Malaysia but also in Southeast Asia. It was established on 21 October 1816 when the Governor of Penang approved a proposal submitted by a committee headed by Reverend Robert Sparke Hutchings, then Church of England chaplain of Penang, to establish a school open to all children regardless of race or religion, hence the name Penang Free School. Other well-known mission schools that were set up by Anglican missionaries throughout Malaysia include St. Georges Girls School in Penang, St. Mary's Secondary School in Kuala Lumpur and St. Michael's Secondary School, Sandakan.

As for the Roman Catholics, when the Dutch drove out the Portuguese from Malacca many Roman Catholics fled to the island of Junk Ceylon (now called Phuket) off the coast of the Malay sultanate of Kedah because they were persecuted by the Dutch who were Protestants.

In 1778, the Eurasian community was forced to go on the run again after Junk Ceylon was invaded and conquered by the Siamese. The King of Siam, Phraya Taksin who was greatly displeased with the increasing number of Christians in his kingdom ordered all Christians

in Siam to be massacred thus forcing the Eurasians to flee to the island of Penang, then under the protection of the Sultan of Kedah. Eventually, the Sultan of Kedah ceded Penang to Captain Francis Light in 1786 in exchange for promises of military protection from the Siamese that were never honoured.

Francis Light gave the Catholics much land on Penang Island. The Church of The Assumption was built in Church Street in 1786 and a small church school for boys was constructed in the following year. The church was later moved to its present site in Farquhar Street and renamed The Cathedral of the Assumption. In 1807, Penang emerged as the centre for the training of the Catholic priesthood in Southeast Asia when the College General that was originally located in Ayutthaya in the Kingdom of Siam was moved to Pulau Tikus, Penang.

In 1825, St. Francis Xavier's Free School, the first English-medium Catholic mission school for commoner boys was established. Later in the same year, the Brothers of the John Baptist de La Salle fraternity took over the management of the school. In 1856, the school was renamed St. Xavier's Institution and moved to its present site in Farquhar Street in 1857. As for commoner girls, the pioneer missionaries were the Sisters of the Holy Infant Jesus. The Sisters took over the small Georgetown Church School for girls. In 1853, the girls' church school was moved to Light Street and renamed Convent Light Street. When the city of Georgetown, Penang was granted UNESCO World Heritage status in July 2008, both St. Xavier's Institution and Convent Light Street were honoured as world heritage sites. Many other La Sallean and Convent schools have been established throughout Malaysia.

Methodist missionary groups started to establish schools in Malaysia towards the end of the nineteenth century. Among the earliest ones were the Methodist Girls School of Penang established in 1887 and the Methodist Boys School of Penang in 1887.

In total, 425 Christian mission schools were established in Malaysia during the British colonial era (MCSC and MSASS 2009). Before independence Christian mission schools were schools that were not maintained by the colonial government, i.e., they were independent schools. Unlike schools maintained by the colonial government like the Malay College, Kuala Kangsar that were reserved exclusively for Malay royalty and nobility as well as other members of the Malay ruling elite, mission schools were open to children of commoners, regardless of ethnicity and religion. The school curriculum of mission schools consisted of mainly secular subjects taught mostly by lay teachers but Bible Knowledge was taken as an elective subject by Christian students. Nevertheless, the curriculum and extra-curricular activities of mission schools were regulated by colonial education authorities to ensure that no Muslim students were exposed to overt or covert proselytising activities.

In the post-independence education system, all Christian mission schools were given the option to be absorbed into the national education system. In order for any mission school to be fully integrated into the Malaysian education system as a national school and to receive full aid, i.e., both capital grant[5] and grant-in-aid,[6] the mission school has to use the national language – Malay – as the medium of instruction and the school land title has to be surrendered to the federal government. The mission school authorities baulked at the latter condition and chose to retain land ownership or could not fulfil the condition because many mission schools were built on leasehold land. Consequently, all Christian mission schools only qualified for grant-in-aid and were absorbed into the national education system as partially-aided national type schools. In many Christian mission schools, Malay Muslim head teachers have been appointed. In colonial times, Malay parents were reluctant to enrol their children in Christian mission schools but have been eager to do so in the post-independence national-type mission schools because of their excellent academic reputation. In certain Christian mission schools known for achieving exceptionally good O-level and A-level examination results, hostels have been built for Muslim *bumiputera* students resulting in Muslim students forming a significant proportion or even the majority of the student population.

The insensitivity of a number of Malay leaders to the rich Christian heritage of mission schools has upset Christians in Malaysia. In one incident on 29 October 2007, two Malay Members of Parliament belonging to the ruling party created a furore by taking advantage of parliamentary immunity to call for the removal of the Christian cross and the demolition of Christian statues in the mission schools.[7] The loyalty of mission schools was questioned and baseless allegations were made that Muslims studying in mission schools are potential apostates. In response, the Opposition leader chided the Deputy Minister of Education for not denouncing the extremist statements of his party colleagues and reminded him that mission schools had produced many Malay leaders, including the then Deputy Prime Minister, Datuk Seri Najib Razak (now Prime Minister).

Reports of Christian religious club closures have also surfaced. In one news report, the Education Department of the state of Selangor (*The Sun*, 12 July 2010) issued a directive to order the closure of non-Muslim religious clubs in three schools, including a Christian fellowship club. Following a huge public outcry over the closure, the Director General of

5 Capital grant covers "the provision of buildings; the alteration to or extension of existing premises; the provision of furniture or equipment for new, altered or extended premises; or such other purposes as may be prescribed" (Education Act, 1996:11).

6 Grant-in-aid means, "any payment from public funds, other than a capital grant, made to an educational institution" (Education Act, 1996:13).

7 http://blog.limkitsiang.com/2007/12/03/extremist-demands-for-removal-of-cross-and-demolition-of-christian-statutes-in-mission-schools/

Education reportedly said that the directive was a "misunderstanding" by the Selangor Education Department and ordered that the affected religious clubs be reinstated. The feeling of Muslim takeover of Christian mission schools was made even more apparent when the senior assistant of St. Thomas Primary School in Kuching, Sarawak, a Muslim, caned a 10-year old Christian pupil ten times on the palm for bringing pork fried rice for his school break (*The Star*, 10 November 2010).[8] The senior assistant eventually apologised to the boy's outraged mother who accepted the apology but insisted that the senior assistant be transferred to another school.

Another grievance that Christian parents have is the earlier mentioned ban on any form of religious education apart from Islamic religious education in state-maintained schools. Although Bible Knowledge is offered as an O-level elective subject to Christian students, the teaching of the subject itself is not allowed in all schools, including mission schools. In the 2009 Conference of Christian Mission Schools (MCSC & MSASS, 2009), the following resolution was unanimously passed.

> "13. That the subject, Bible Knowledge, be taught to Christian students in mission schools in place of *Pendidikan Moral*."

Hinduism, Buddhism and education

Prior to the arrival of Islam, Hinduism and Buddhism were the dominant religions in much of Southeast Asia, including Malaysia from around 300 CE to the fifteenth century. Traces of Hindu influence remain in the Malay language, custom, literature and art.

Evidence of an advanced Hindu-Buddhist Indo-Malay civilisation has been found in the Bujang Valley in the state of Kedah; it is the richest archaeological site in Malaysia (*myMalaysiabooks*, 2010). More than fifty ancient Hindu and Buddhist tomb temples called *chandi*, have been unearthed. Archaeological artefacts from the Bujang Valley include inscribed stone caskets and tablets, metal tools and ornaments, ceramics, pottery, and Hindu-Buddhist religious icons.

The archaeological evidence indicates that local Indo-Malay rulers in the kingdom of Langkasuka or Kadaram (now known as Kedah) adopted Indian cultural and political models of society up to the twelfth century. Unfortunately, a great deal of physical evidence of Hinduism and Buddhism was destroyed in the twelfth century after the ninth ruler of Kadaram converted to Islam. Another major Indo-Malay centre of civilisation was located around Kota Gelanggi, once the capital of the Srivijaya Empire (650-900 CE). In

8 http://thestar.com.my/news/story.asp?file=/2010/11/10/nation/7396801&sec=nation.

Malacca, the next centre of Malay civilisation, Hinduism was the dominant faith until the beginning of the fifteenth century.

What education was like in the days when Indo-Malays in pre-Islamic days were Hindus or Buddhists is uncertain as there is a dearth of archaeological evidence on the matter. However, it was probably similar to the situation in ancient India. Education in India has its genesis in the excellent academic tradition of Hindu religious education. During the Vedic period (the formative phase of Hinduism) from about 1500 BCE to 600 BCE, education was largely based on the Veda (hymns recited or chanted by priests) and later Hindu texts and scriptures. The curriculum of Hindu education included recitation of the Veda, the rules of sacrifice, grammar and derivation, composition of music and poetry, the study of nature, reasoning, the sciences, and vocational skills. However, with the establishment of the caste system, only members of the highest caste had full access to Vedic education.

As for Buddhism, a small enclave was maintained in Malacca during the rule of the fifth Sultan, Mansor Shah (1456-1477). According to *Sejarah Melayu* (the Malay Annals) that is part history and part legend, the sultan cemented his alliance with the Ming emperor of China by marrying a Chinese princess called Hang Li Po. The princess was said to have arrived in Malacca along with 500 male and female palace attendants. Hang Li Po converted to Islam in order to marry the sultan in accordance with Islamic law. However, many of the descendants of the attendants remained Buddhists. They were given a permanent home at *Bukit China* (Chinese Hill), and the Sam Poh Teng temple was built for them to worship in.

There is much dispute regarding the authenticity of the legend of Hang Li Po as there is no mention of her royal genealogical record in the Ming Chronicles, a much more reliable historical record compared to *Sejarah Melayu*. What is certain, however, was the stopover of the vast expeditionary naval armada of Admiral Zheng He (the emissary of the Ming Emperor) in Malacca during the reign of Mansor Shah. It is more likely that Mansor Shah allowed a small Chinese settlement and Buddhist temple to be built in Bukit China in order to cement his military alliance with the Ming Emperor to fend off the Siamese.

As with Hinduism in the Bujang Valley, there is also little historical evidence of Buddhist religious education amongst Chinese subjects of the Malacca Sultanate. However, amongst the Chinese it is common knowledge that religion has had a lesser impact on education compared to philosophy, in particular Confucianism. Education for both the ruling elite and the masses in ancient and dynastic times was based on Confucianist thought that emphasise the reinforcement of the institution of the family and the hierarchical order of Chinese society by means of traditions, customs and rituals, including the practices of ancestor worship and filial piety. Because of the generally ambivalent attitude of the Chinese towards religion, inculcation of Confucianist values takes place in the form

of informal education, conducted mainly by female elders in the typical household. However, with the spread of Buddhism to China and Japan in the early part of the first millennium, Buddhist and Zen monasteries emerged as centres of academic learning and provided a more rigorous form of religious instruction. Thus, it may be surmised that formal Buddhist religious education could have had a limited presence in Malacca during the fifteenth century.

Hinduism and Buddhism did not emerge but rather *re-emerged* in Malaysia with the Indian and Chinese diaspora respectively in Southeast Asia during the British colonial period. Indian settlers from Tamil Nadu brought back Hinduism to Malaysia in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Many of them came to work as labourers on rubber plantations, while those who were English-educated occupied more professional positions. A minority of Indian immigrants to Malaysia during this time-period came from Northern India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka. As for Buddhism, the reappearance was made possible by the influx of workers from China into West Malaysia and East Malaysia for the tin mining and agricultural sectors respectively that coincided with the arrival of Indian immigrants during the British colonial period.

British colonial educational provision for the new subjects from China and the Indian sub-continent was even more meagre than the tokenistic policy of providing terminal basic primary education to the Malay masses because the British generally regarded the new arrivals as transient subjects. In essence, the Chinese were forced to build Chinese-medium schools using their own collective communal resources. As for the children of Indian workers in the rubber plantations, a number of plantation owners grudgingly made provisions for Tamil-medium primary education using dilapidated or abandoned buildings like abandoned rubber sheet smoking huts. Many Chinese and Indian parents who resided in urban areas, however, enrolled their children in the English-medium Christian mission schools.

As with the Christian mission schools, Chinese and Tamil schools were given the option of absorption into the national education system. Unlike Christian mission schools which had to replace English with the Malay language as the medium of instruction, the Constitution of Malaysia guarantees the inalienable right of the Chinese and the Tamil-speaking Indians to mother tongue instruction in government-maintained schools. This is clearly spelled out in Article 152 of the Malaysian Constitution, particularly clause 1b:

> "(1) The national language shall be the Malay language and shall be in such script as Parliament may by law provide:

Provided that –

(a) no person shall be prohibited or prevented from using (otherwise than for official purposes), or from teaching or learning, any other language; and

(b) nothing in this Clause shall prejudice the right of the Federal Government or of any State Government to preserve and sustain the use and study of the language of any other community in the Federation."

As in the case of Christian mission schools which were absorbed into the national education system, primary schools which use Chinese and Tamil as media of instruction are categorised as national type schools. However, following the implementation of the Education Act of 1961, Chinese and Tamil as media of instruction was eliminated as media of instruction in national type secondary schools between 1970 and 1975. Consequently, a number of Chinese-medium secondary schools opted out of the national education system to exist as independent schools in order to maintain the use of the Chinese language for instructional purposes. Also, as with Christian mission schools, Chinese-medium and Tamil-medium national type primary schools are not given capital grant aid, i.e., only partial aid by the government because of their refusal to surrender school land to the government.

The status of Hindu and Buddhist religious education in state-maintained schools is similar to that of Christian religious education, i.e., religious education of other faiths is not permitted as Article 12(2) of the Malaysian Constitution only permits Islamic religious education for Muslim pupils in such schools. The Malaysian Hindu Dharma Mamandram (MHDM), a non-government organisation that promotes the religious and spiritual development of Hindus have been appealing to no avail since 1999 to allow the teaching of Hinduism to Hindu students in government schools using the MHDM syllabus. The most recent appeal was made in 2008 (Rajendran, 2008). The Chinese Buddhists, however, have so far not attempted to coax the government to provide for the religious education of Buddhist pupils in state-maintained schools.

Thus, for both Hindus and Buddhists in Malaysia religious education is carried out outside the domain of formal education. Among Hindu non-government organisations that provide Hindu religious education are the MHDM and the Hindu Sangam. As for the Buddhists, the Malaysian Buddhist Association and the Buddhist Missionary Society are among a number of organisations that organise Sunday classes for Buddhists. For both Hinduism and Buddhism religious education is in the form of dharma education. Dharma is derived from the root Sanskrit word "dhri" which means "to hold together". Basically, dharma is the path of righteousness and living one's life according to the respective moral codes of conduct of Hinduism and Buddhism.

Analysis, recommendations and conclusion

Since independence, education is considered as the linchpin and the main instrument used by the government to achieve national unity amongst Malaysia's multi-ethnic community. Unfortunately, by creating two classes of citizenship – *bumiputera* and non-*bumiputera* – the Malaysian Constitution inevitably created a society that to a certain extent is underpinned by a policy of state-sponsored separatism that somewhat resembles apartheid (Loo, 2000; 2007). The unequal state of Malaysian citizenship according to ethnicity notwithstanding, the government has launched a new effort to project a sense of shared nationhood called 1Malaysia. 1Malaysia is was designed and launched by Malaysian Prime Minister Najib Tun Razak on 16 September 2008 to more strongly promote ethnic harmony, national unity, and efficient governance.

The evidence of the state-of-the-practice suggests that both education and religion in Malaysia are essentially dual carriageways; in each dual carriageway, there is one path for the *bumiputera* and another for the *non-bumiputera*, and never the twain shall meet. The dual meritocratic carriageway that favours *bumiputera* and discriminates against non-*bumiputera* students has been separately analysed earlier by Loo (2007). As for religion, Figure 2 graphically portrays the dual carriageway of religious education and moral education in Malaysia, separated by the Constitution, the foundation statute of Malaysia that ultimately divides multi-ethnic Malaysia instead of helping to facilitate social cohesion.

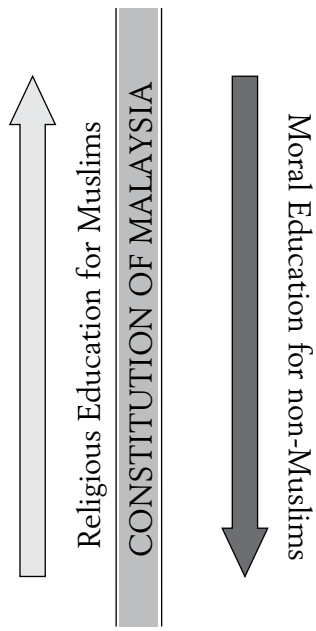

Figure 2: The dual carriageway of religious education and moral education in Malaysia

The present practice of segregating Muslims and non-Muslims into separate classes in school to take *Pendidikan Islam* and *Pendidikan Moral* respectively is incommensurate with the philosophy of providing shared curriculum experiences to foster a truly 1Malaysia. It is recommended that the two subjects be scrapped and replaced with a common subject that explores all the religions of Malaysians. Such a subject should be made compulsory for pupils of all faiths in all schools in order that they can appreciate the similarities and differences amongst the diverse religious value systems. This world religions subject will provide a universal human experience of shared religious values that will truly foster mutual respect, religious tolerance, and ethnic harmony in Malaysia.

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Education and religion in Iran: An annotated bibliography

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Introduction

The intent of this chapter is to describe the impact of the 1979 Islamic revolution and the ideological and value changes that it introduced to the Iranian educational system. In Iran, there is a symbiotic relationship between religion and education. The two are united and reflect those values deemed important for personal, societal, and cultural growth. This chapter explores the connection of religion and education through examination of an annotated bibliography of articles that represent various decades. While time is an important element of analysis, each of these articles also have important contributions that result in a holistic understanding of the connection of religion to education in Iran. These articles directly or indirectly have addressed the historical and now contemporary context of religion and education in Iran. As such, their review in an annotative bibliography format allows an understanding of the development of Islamisation of education in Iran.

Historical foundation

The Islamic revolution of Iran was first and foremost an "ideological" revolution. The Ministry of Education defined it such in 1980 as a revolution in which the cultural issues were at the core of the revolutionary movement as opposed to a "non-ideological" Revolution in which politics is in command. Since the aim was to alter the old beliefs with the new ones in order to create a new person, a cultural transformation took place and the

Iranian government imposed a value change on the society in general and the schooling system in particular. As a result, not only the political system, but the whole cultural pattern of the nation changed (Bahonar, 1985).

Throughout the world, policies on religion and education regarded and continue to view religious convictions and sacred values as personal and private. Therefore, there is an inherent separation in which religion does not play a major role in public affairs, including education. The Islamic government countered these philosophies. The Islamic ideology, while sacred, was not limited to personal and private use. Instead, these convictions affected every aspect of Iranian public life including educational values and structure. The premise was that only those who could demonstrate their Islamic convictions in practice would be accepted in public offices.

The cultural change that was the aspiration of the Islamic government influenced three specific aspects of education. The first change was a foundational one that affected all areas of society, education and culture. The introduction of the concept of the Islamic person, as an individual who was loyal to the revolution ideals and a true adherent to Islam, specifically and undeniably set a tone that change was a central concept of the revolution. Hence, the socialisation of a religious/and political person, was the purpose of the educational system. In turn, this person would be committed to support the new regime and its ideals.

The second major change involved changing textbooks and curriculum to reinforce the characteristics needed to create such a person. The importance of changing the curricular content was of such urgency that only nine days after the victory of the revolution, Ayatollah Khomeini; the Supreme leader of Iran, asked the educational authorities to fundamentally overhaul the curricular content of all the textbooks at all three levels of primary, secondary and higher education. The aim was to purify the textbooks from all tyrannical and colonial topics replacing them with Islamic and revolutionary subjects and to eradicate the pro-western and anti-Islamic messages of the pre-revolutionary textbooks (Mehran, 1989). Soon after the revolution, all subjects, specifically sensitive ones such as humanities were written to create and then reinforce this ideal Islamic person.

An example of these changes was the incorporation of the concept of Commitment. This became the most important principle of education for the revolutionaries as it was believed that the education system before the 1979 revolution failed to produce "committed" true Muslims who were concerned about the welfare of their country and prepared to overlook their narrow personal interest to be at the service of the society and the world. Consequently, the creation of a committed and doctrinaire expert became the goal of education in the Islamic Republic (Mehran, 1990).

The third major educational change was the reform of universities based on the Islamic ideology. Specific changes occurred on college campuses one year after the Islamic revolution on 21 March 1980. On this day, the supreme leader of Islamic revolution, Ayatollah Khomeini in his speech to the nation said, "All of our backwardness has been due to the failure of most university educated intellectuals to acquire correct knowledge of Iranian Muslim society." He also went on to say "those who are creating disturbances on the streets or in the universities and for the government and the nation are followers of the west or the east". To this effect, he ordered a "cultural" revolution to take place in the universities. Subsequently on 26 April 1980, he delivered another speech entitled "The meaning of Cultural Revolution" in which he warned that the Islamic Revolution could not reach its ideals without purifying the anti- Islamic elements from the campuses and making universities independent of the foreign influences. He said "We want our young people to be truly independent and to perceive their own real needs instead of following the East or the West" (Algar, 1981).

In response to Khomeini's summons, the Headquarter of Cultural Revolution was organised to reform the universities based on the Islamic ideology. These actions confirmed that the Iranian revolution was mainly an "ideological revolution" as the cultural transformation was a prime target and the "political religion" was in command. As a first step, faculty and students labelled as "westoxicated" meaning those who were blindly following the western values were expelled from the universities. In June of 1981, all of the universities were closed down and it was announced by the Headquarters of Cultural Revolution that the universities would not be re-opened until purification was over (Echo of Iran, 1987).

When universities gradually re-opened between 1982 and 1983, the Islamic ideology had reflected itself in a three-pronged programme that involved purging courses and textbooks believed to slander Islam and substituting courses on religion; purging faculty to ensure that only those who understood the true meaning of Islam remained in their institutions; and regulating the behaviour and dress of students by introducing a dress code for men and women.

Another example of the change made to the universities involved the modification of the Konkur or the university entrance exam to include ideological questions. These questions were added to the exam to select those students who were loyal to the revolution and to reject those who were not in favour of the cultural and ideological changes. Thus, the purpose of testing to enter universities shifted from being just a mere test of knowledge to an instrument to ensure the "Islamisation of universities," aimed at admitting students committed to the ideology of the revolution. The university entrance exam judged admissions candidates not only by their academic test score but also by their social and political background and loyalty to the Islamic government (Keiko, 2004). In conclusion,

major changed were incorporated in the education system to bring about a revolution in values to the schooling system (Mehran, 1990).

The Annotative Bibliography in the next section highlights specific articles from the 1980s, 1990s, and the past decade to show the influence of the Islamic ideology on education system of Iran.

Annotated bibliography: Discussion of themes

The following articles and chapters are reviewed in a chronological order and span the past thirty years since the inception of Islamic government in Iran. These articles cover topics that range from the history of educational development in Iran to women in higher education to changes in the university entrance exam, and to the creation of a Giant Islamic Azad university in Iran.

While the primary themes of these articles vary, each includes targeted discussions on the intersection of religion and education in Iran. Several of these articles are devoted to the philosophy of using education to create a religious/political person through changing the textbooks and incorporating new religious classes into the curriculum of all levels of education in Iran. The changes in the university entrance exam (Konkur), to test applicants on their ideological understanding and commitment to the revolution to be admitted to the universities is also discussed. Two articles also embrace a comparative focus. One of these articles compares the Chinese revolution to Islamic revolution in Iran and elaborates the differences and similarities in two revolutions. The other article studies the degree of the religiosity of Iranian youth which is then compared to the youth in the west. The impact of Islamic ideology on the participation of women in higher education and in the labour market is addressed in several articles has an important place in this annotative bibliography. And finally, the educational inequalities in Iran with respect to gender, language, socioeconomic status, textbooks and ethnic diversity which is explored in a chapter book is reviewed. Combined, all of the included articles and the chapters set the tone for merging religion and education and assessing outcomes.

Khosrow Sobhe. (1982). "Education in Revolution: Is Iran Duplicating the Chinese Revolution?"

In this article, Sobhe discusses the similarities and the differences between the "Cultural Revolution" in Iran and that of China. According to Sobhe, both Iran and China closed their institutions of higher learning to purify the system to achieve independence from foreign powers, to reach self-sufficiency and to produce adherents to revolution. While in China, the education authorities favoured class background and social origins of the

applicants to intellectual and academic ability; in Iran both academic ability and loyalty to Islamic ideology were the criteria for admissions into universities.

With regards to administration of universities, the management of Chinese higher education became decentralised and Revolutionary committees "replaced the university presidents and directors of higher education institutions". In Iran, a seven-member council referred to as the "Management Council of the University" consisting of four devoted Muslim faculty members, two Muslim students and one Muslim non-faculty member was created to run the universities. One council member would be the acting president, which would be appointed by the minister of higher education. A heavy presence of the clergy members was noticeable in the administration of universities in Iran.

As for the curricula, in China, old textbooks were destroyed while there was no replacement. Students were encouraged to learn by doing and practicing and "to learn from people". On the contrary, in Iran, new textbooks especially in humanities were written. The field of humanities was severely criticised as it was believed that it was imported from the west. One of the dramatic changes happened in the field of economics as the western economics theory was replaced by Islamic economics which calls for an interest-free banking system and which allows for a limited private ownership of means of production. In summary, the main differences between the two Cultural Revolution was emphasising "Red" in China vs. "Religion" in Iran.

Bahram Mohsenpour. (1988). "Philosophy of Education in Post- Revolutionary Iran".

In this article, Mohsenpour, who was the director of the Bureau of Research on International Education Systems of the Ministry of Education in Iran in the early years of Islamic revolution, compares the goals of pre- and post-revolutionary Iranian educational system. According to him, the philosophy of the educational system of the country during the Shah's time was to weaken the religious beliefs of students, spreading atheism and polytheistic teachings, presenting the monarchy as a plausible political system, and presenting capitalism as the best and most suitable economic system as was revealed in the curriculum and teaching programmes.

After the Islamic regime took over in 1979, curriculum designers and educational planners eliminated the influence of the ideology of the former regime by writing a host of new textbooks. The new books reflected the ideals of the Islamic regime by strengthening the beliefs of students with respect to oneness to God, prophethood and revelation, justice of God, the dignity of humanity, its superior role, its freedom and its responsibility before God. His article indicates that the Islamic government that has replaced the monarchy is the highly valued political system and instead of the shah, only almighty God has the right to rule over human being.

Mobin Shorish. (1988). "The Islamic Revolution and Education in Iran."

Mobin's research paper is based on data collected from examining the Iranian textbooks, interviews, and fieldwork. A sample of Iranian textbooks from the 1984 and 1985 academic year include the Farsi language textbooks for Grades 1-5; Islamic culture and religious education textbooks for Grades 2-5; teachings of the sacred religions and ethics for the religious minorities in Iran for Grades 2-5; textbooks of the second year of the Guidance cycle; and Islamic perception textbooks for years 1-3 of senior high school.

Mobin's rationale to examine the textbooks was to demonstrate that the revolutionaries' aspirations was to instil the ideal of revolution and in the case of Iran, the Islamic ideology in the minds of the children through changing the content of the school textbooks. In addition, Mobin's findings confirm the congruity which exists between the textbooks, sermons of the Friday prayers and the decrees and laws issued by the government. He also explores the fact that there were no mention of the pre-Islamic era in the new textbooks and the West and the East (USSR) were depicted as the exploiters of the poor nations. Furthermore, the Iran's textbooks discourage Westoxication, which means those who have swallowed what comes out of the west, hook, line and sinker, so to speak.

Val Moghadam. (1988). "Women, Work, and Ideology in the Islamic Republic"

This article is a qualitative and quantitative analysis of Islamic ideology and female employment in Iran. Moghadam examines the impact of Islamic regime's philosophy regarding women's role in society including the inconsistencies and contrast it with women's employment patterns. In doing so, Moghadam compares the current women's employment pattern with those of pre- revolution. Her analysis leads to the conclusion that much of the initial ideological rhetoric discouraging women from employment and an attempt to impose a domestic role for women in the society has not been successful. Her analysis of data reveals that currently, employment rate for women is low but that is even lower for men but the women's employment is even higher than before the revolution. Finally, she argues that there's irregularities between the regime's ideology and the economic imperatives.

Golnar Mehran. (1989). "Socialisation of Schoolchildren in the Islamic Republic of Iran"

This article provides insight into the restructuring of the Iranian education system after the revolution. In her article, Mehran discusses the socialisation process instituted in the national education system to demonstrate how the Islamic government of Iran is creating a new generation of Muslims in Iran. The socialisation in this context as defined by Sigel

(1970), is the process by which people learn to adopt the norms, values, attitudes, and behaviours accepted and practiced by the ongoing system.

By means of examining textbook content , Mehran identifies the political and cultural values and behavioural norms that Islamic government is instilling in school children. She concludes by stating that the content of social studies books in the Islamic Republic is openly and avowedly political and every topic is used for conscious political ends. The ultimate aim of the socialisation process in Iranian schools is the creation of a model citizen eligible to live in the ideal Islamic society. The new Islamic person is religious, politically aware and involved, respectful and obedient to their country's religious and political leaders. The ideal Islamic person hates the pre-revolutionary regime, rejects any form of dependence on the west, mistrusts the non-muslim world and is highly critical of Western ways and sympathises with all oppressed peoples, especially Muslims. In conclusion, Mehran questions whether the contradictory social, political, and cultural values transmitted by secular and/or western-educated families sufficiently outweigh the message communicated by the educational authorities to sustain the tradition of the dual culture in Iran.

J. Matini. (1989). "The impact of the Islamic Revolution on Education in Iran"

In this chapter, Matini describes Iran's state of the education development from the Arab invasion in the seventh century to Islamic revolution of the 1979. As he points out, the Islamic education was imposed on Iranians after Iran was conquered by the Arabs in the seventh century and it resembled the religious education in the Islamic Empire. Later in the year 10 AD, Iranians departed from the established tradition by creating pedagogical institutions known as Madrasah. A few years later Madrasah was extended to religious colleges called Nazamieh in great cities of Baghdad, Isfahan and Nishapur where the greatest teachers of the Islamic empire taught and lived.

The curricula of these institutions was devoted to religion and Arabic was the dominant language of instruction. From the beginning of the Islamic era until the Pahlavi time, all education in Iran was controlled by the clergy.

The first change in the nature of the education authority happened during the early nineteenth century under the Qajar king, Nasir Aldin Shah. During his reign, several Iranians were sent to Europe for higher education and in 1851, the first state run polytechnic, called Dar-Al-Funun was established and European faculty were imported to oversee the school's function. Throughout this time, the clergy was opposed to privately owned or state run secular education. During the first half of the twentieth century, governmental authority over education advanced on the legislative front and the supplement to the constitution of 1907 promulgated separation of powers.

In 1925, the beginning of Pahlavi era, the government controlled all the Iran's educational institutions with the exception of religious schools which were still controlled by the clergy.

One important milestone in this era was the creation of university of Tehran in 1934 and subsequently coeducation was introduced in schools of medicine, education and administration in 1937. After Reza Shah Pahlavi was deposed and his son came to power, secular education progressed even further in the country and number of universities grew larger. Despite the growth of the higher education, the seats at the universities were very limited and as a result, families of means sent their children to European countries and the United States to study. Matini concludes that shortly after the Shah was over-thrown and the Islamic government took over, the "Cultural Revolution" took place, which required all the higher education institutions to close to purify and purge the curricula, faculty and students. Matini takes issue with Khomeini's restructuring of the Iranian education system by stating, "Khomeini's worldview does not comprehend the legitimacy of modern education". That is why he proclaimed a "Cultural Revolution" whose major function is to reorganise and remould the Iranian universities.

Golnar Mehran."Ideology and Education in the Islamic Republic of Iran".

In this article, Mehran reviews the principles and goals of education in the Islamic Republic and she compares them to that of pre-revolution Pahlavi era. According to her, educational goals in Iran are determined by the social, political and cultural ideology of the Islamic Republic. She states that the following objectives to be promoted by the Iran's government in education are: Independence from foreign domination, economic self-sufficiency, social justice for the oppressed and cultural pride and strength against colonial intimidation. Another important goal of the cultural revolution in Iran has been the transformation of the "Westernised" person into an Islamic one who is proud of his/her Islamic heritage. The educational system, therefore must bring about rejection of Western values and create a sense of pride and glory in being part of an Islamic culture that is presented to the school children as being "morally superior" to the West.

Education in both Islamic Republic and shah's reign has been openly political; the former creating adherents to Islam and the latter instilling loyalty to the ruling power and especially the Shah himself. Belief in the "grandeur" of the Iranian-Aryan heritage was an essential part of schooling in the pre-revolutionary period. In 1969, a plan for a new educational system was proposed in which patriotism, national pride, respect for the monarchy and love of Shah were the main objectives.

In summary, the post-revolutionary's goal was to use Islam as a unifying force to unite Iranians as opposed to pre-revolutionary period where Iranian identity was emphasised

and the goal was "the enrichment of the Iranian cultural heritage and civilisation" and glorification of the pre-Islamic Iran.

Golnar Mehran. (2003). "Khatami, Political Reform and Education in Iran".

In this article, Mehran talks about the hope and the promise of a major political reform in the country with Khatami's election in 1997 since the establishment of the Islamic Republic in 1979. Khatami took over with the promise of creating an Islamic civil society and bringing about a major political reform, rule of law, freedom, and religious democracy. His reformist agenda advocated such values as tolerance, moderation, respect for diversity, and dialogue at the domestic and international arenas.

Khatami assigned schools the task of creating pious, moral, politicised, and empowered individuals with a strong sense of Iranian-Islamic identity, which is capable of healthy and balanced relationship with the west. During his presidency, Khatami strived to build a new society and implement new values by challenging the status quo and introducing an alternative approach to governance. His vision to build a new country appealed to majority of the people and especially the children of the revolution. Although, the conservative members of the ruling religio-political elite obstructed the implementation of his ideals, leading to frustration and dismay among his many followers, Khatami remained a critical figure in Iranian intellectual thoughts. His speeches to the Iranians and the international audiences, distinguished him as a thinker whose vision is to transform Iran into a "pivot" of tolerance, moderation, spirituality, and ethics.

Was Khatami successful to influence the education system of Iran? An analysis of the prevailing educational goals that dominates the education system of Iran illustrates that although some attempts were made to bring about change in the goals of education during Khatami's era but schools are still parochial, separating "us" from "them", with no intention to prepare the youth for global citizenship. Mehran asserts that the Iranian schools continue to remain bastions of conservatism and ideology.

Keiko Sakurai. (2004). "University Entrance Examination and the Making of an Islamic Society in Iran: A Study of the Post-Revolutionary Iranian Approach to Konkur".

In this article, Sakurai describes the post-revolution criteria changes for university admissions. As she argues, after the 1979 Islamic revolution, the pre-revolutionary method of Konkur was criticised on three fronts. First, the pre-revolutionary method is advantageous for the candidates from the urban areas as they are better prepared origination from the upper and upper-middle classes. Second, the pre-revolutionary Konkur could not prevent the entrance of students who were over-influenced by the West and the

East not understanding Islam and Cultural independence. Third, the pre-revolutionary method increased the concentration of student population in the major urban cities. As she described, the preferential treatment of candidates from under-privileged areas contributed to the revolutionary ideals which was the establishment of social justice.

The preferential quota for loyal adherents and the veterans of Iran/Iraq war and their families filled the universities with ideologically committed students. The new approach to Konkur also played a significant role in limiting Student migration to the larger urban cities as the preferential treatment for the native (Bumi) candidates was encouraging to high-school graduates to attend universities in their native provinces.

In addition, the unintended result of removing the gender-based restrictions to Konkur was the increased number of female participation and their subsequent admissions in the 1980s. The number of female women in the universities exceeded the male enrolment in the later years. According to Sakurai, one of the major limitations of the existing Konkur is that the political and socio-economic criteria are given priority over academic criteria for admission.

Mitra K. Shavarini. (2005). "The Feminisation of Iranian Higher Education".

According to Shavarini, the increasing number of women have steadily gained access to higher education in Iran since 1989 as the 60 percent of university students are women. The purpose of this study was to explore the reasons behind the unprecedented number of females in the colleges and universities of Iran. In order to do this, Shavarini conducted a survey questionnaire which was distributed at five public instiutions of Shariati University, Tehran Polytechnic, Bu Ali Sina, Sharif and Tehran university. For the purpose of this study a total of 600 questionnaires were distributed and 417 responses were obtained. The women who returned the questionnaires ranged in age from 19 to 23 and they represented the unique feature of Iran which is the linguistic and ethnic diversity.

The findings of this paper are derived from a single question that asked about the factors that college female students believed prompted them to pursue higher education. The women's responses revealed that they chose seeking higher education because college for them was an experience of intangibles; of feeling uncontrolled; of increasing their "worth" for marriage; of gaining respect; and of acquiring independence.

Shavarini concludes by stating that young Iranian women seek higher education to liberate themselves, to find a suitable marriage partner, to enter the job market, and to gain respect and honour in the society and to change their social status.

Abdolmohammad Kazemipur and Mohsen Goodarzi. (2009). "Iranian Youth and Religion: An Empirical Study".

In this article, the authors utilised both an empirical quantitative data from four large-scale, nationwide surveys conducted in Iran between 1974 and 2003 and data from an international survey, known as the world values survey, to compare various dimensions of religion and religiosity of Iranian youth with those in five other countries, namely, Britain, Canada, Egypt, Turkey and the United States.

The results of the comparisons revealed that the Iranian youth have a unique combination of attachment to various components of religion, a combination that sets them apart from both the youth in the Western world and their peers in Muslim countries such as Egypt and turkey. The first dimension of the religion being a set of abstract ideas, such as belief in God, heaven, hell and life after death. In all these measures, the Iranian and Egyptians were almost tied at the top followed by Turkish, American, Canadian, and British youth. In addition, the data revealed indicated that the presence of a theocratic state with an Islamisation mandate has not resulted in Iranian youth being more religious than youth in the two other Muslim countries.

Overall, the authors conclude that three elements have been competing to influence religiosity among Iranian youth: a purely philosophical element, a purely social element, and a strongly political element. As it is supported by the data, the philosophical element has lost its relevance, the social element has a strengthening effect on religiosity, and the political element has a weakening impact.

Golnar Mehran. (2009). "Doing and Undoing Gender": Female Higher Education in the Islamic Republic of Iran".

In this article, Mehran argues that since the establishment of the Islamic Republic in Iran in 1979, the Islamic rule affected the entire nation, but it radically changed the lives of women, including their education experience. Compulsory veiling, banning co-education at the elementary and secondary levels, reinforcing gendered practices by determining "appropriate" fields of study for women, compiling different technical/vocational textbooks for girls and boys, barring unmarried women from studying abroad using state scholarships are just some examples of post-revolutionary educational policies to ensure that women do what is deemed "proper".

Despite the state's discriminatory policies measures against women's education and exclusion of women from "masculine" fields of study during the early years of the revolution, women today represent the majority of students in all fields, except engineering in Iranian universities. Mehran believes that an important challenge is to understand why men are

not entering different specialisations and whether there is a possibility of "re-doing gender" – this time in addressing male inequality and disempowerment at undergraduate levels.

Shahrzad Kamyab. (2009). "Iran's Giant Semiprivate University".

In 1983, the new Islamic Azad University was founded to respond to ever- increasing demand for higher education in Iran. Azad literally means "free" in Persian but it means, "open access" as well. While this spotlight might imply absence of criteria for admission, Azad does in fact use an entrance exam for admission. Despite the high fee that is imposed on the applicants, the students willingly pay the high tuition, because 1) a university degree in Iran disproportionately improves social ad professional status and mobility; and 2) It is easier to get into Azad than the public universities as the entrance exam for the public ones is stringent and the number of applicants is huge.

The administrative structure of Islamic Azad University differs from public universities. The university is run by several councils and the most important one being the supreme council, which is responsible for the appointment of president and approval of the budget. While the establishment of such a university further democratised university admissions by offering a more relaxed entrance requirement criteria than the public ones, Azad's fees are an obstacle for many. In addition, since the economy has been characterised by a high unemployment rate (11 percent), the graduates of Azad cannot be guaranteed to have a better chance of finding employment than graduates of the public universities. Islamic Azad enrols a record 1.3 million students of the 3 million university students in Iran.

Kheiltash Omid & Val D. Rust. (2009). "Inequalities in Iranian Education: Representations of Gender, Socioeconomic status, Ethnic diversity, and Religion diversity in school textbooks and curricula".

In this chapter, the authors, Kheiltash and Rust, examine issues related to education equity with respect to gender, socioeconomic status, and religious and ethnic minorities. Their treatment covers a range of educational policies and practices such as the language of instruction, national curricula, and textbook content, which the authors use as measures of educational opportunity provided to less – privileged and minority groups within Iran. They also explore the degree to which curricular content and pedagogy differ by minority and less privileged groups. One of the findings was that the current educational system of Iran was the result of the transformational efforts of the theocratic regime to instil religion into the schooling system in particular and into every aspect of society in general.

A major conclusion supported by the authors is that post revolution educational policies are themselves instruments of certain kind of social inequalities in that they treat everyone the same. Policies, benefit those whose language, gender, ethnicity, social class, and religion

correspond to the ideals valued by the Islamic government. The authors feel that the sameness and uniformity are pushed to the limit in the Islamic education system of Iran.

Conclusion

As it is revealed by the articles and the chapters reviewed, the educational principles and the goals of the education in the last three decades since the establishment of the Islamic Republic in Iran have been strictly to politicise the education system and to instil the Islamic way of life, "appropriate" attitudes, values and beliefs in the mind of the young (Mehran, 1989). Those values, just to name a few, are: personal virtues, family, peers, interpersonal relationships, role models, education and study, cleanliness, reward and punishment, patriotism, solidarity, self-sacrifice, religion and worship. The educational system was and continues to be a central component of change. In addition, changing curricula, revising textbooks, and reforming educational institutions have all been part of the process. Indeed, all of the articles reviewed address the deliberate intent of educators in the Islamic Republic to create committed, loyal and true adherents to Islam and more importantly to maintain the status quo of the leadership of the revolution.

The creation of the new Islamic person is at the foundation for all educational reforms in Iran and is the focus of all of the articles reviewed. Despite the government's efforts through the state-run media and the textbooks to socialise Islamic life style for each new generation, the influence of the counterbalancing forces such as exposure to western cultures and lifestyles through technology and travel cannot be overlooked (Kazemipur, 2009). The emergence of a global youth culture has created a distinct dual culture in contemporary Iran. Increasingly there is a visible contrast between the ideals and values promoted locally by the Islamised education system, which calls for the rejection of the western values and those reinforced by the global popular and social media. For some, this is leading to the youth's confusion and lack of trust in the values promoted locally. For others, it allows validation of official doctrine. In recent years, the paradox of governmentally sponsored education and external ideals that are globally attractive to the youth has created a situation that has encouraged many youth to leave the country to study or work abroad. Indeed, this has further contributed to an existing outflow of human capital from Iran caused by strict social restrictions and lack of jobs.

With regards to Iranian female participation in higher education, the reviewed articles highlight feminisation of higher education and discuss the unprecedented participation of women in higher education especially after all the limitations were lifted by the mid-1990s. Many reasons such as economic liberation, gaining higher social status and a place to experience limited freedom have been discussed in the articles. In addition, the support for higher education increased among the traditional religious families who sought a sex

segregated, "safe" educational environment with an Islamic identity for their girls. Aside from those factors which led to increased number of females in Iranian universities, it is important to note that historically, education and especially seeking higher education has been highly valued in Iran as education is regarded a means of gaining social status and social mobility (Kamyab, 2008).

In recent years, the overwhelming number of women in higher education has become an alarming issue to the Islamic Republic of Iran and the growing female numbers have provoked wide debates in the parliament. The question that was posed to legislatures was that if the government should place a quota on female admissions to the universities. The justification for placing a quota was that: 1) Since only 20-25 percent of college educated women enter the work force, thus granting higher education degrees to such a large number of women would be a waste of nation's resources; and 2) The higher number of educated women than men would create social and family problems and as such will threaten the sacrosanct family structure of Islamic society (Shavarini, 2005). Despite the government's effort to impose some restrictions on female admissions to the universities especially in the field of medicine where female students are rapidly outnumbering males, the female participation continues to be high. Although the women have made great progress in the last few years but because of the high unemployment rate for both men and women, the majority have not been able to find employment upon graduation (one out of 10 unemployed youth holds a university degree), (Kamyab, 2007).

In conclusion, there have been three decades in which Islamic values to create a new generation of committed and doctrinaire Muslims have been introduced through education, media, and daily life in Iran. During that time, some of the values may have taken root. However, as with all cultures, there is a dynamic flow of new cultural values through mobility, exposure to social media and discourse. These values are countering certain aspects of the revolutionary Islamic values which in turn disturb the ideals of a harmonious Islamic society.

It remains questionable how deeply the ideals intended to bring about change through inculcation of Islamic values, are internalised by the Iranian youth since the inception of the Islamic Republic. These are areas for future research.

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Religion in education continues to be, as it has been for quite some time, a controversial subject. In almost every society, long before the state began to assume responsibility for education, schooling was based on religion and education was supplied by organised religion. When state-supplied education systems came into being, the religious ethos of schools at first remained intact. During the past 50 years, that model came, for a variety of reasons, under increasing pressure.

In the quest for an acceptable formula for the relation between education and religion, this book provides international comparative perspectives from the following national education systems, regarding the place of religion in education: Brazil, the United States of America, the Netherlands, Greece, Armenia, Israel, Iran, Malaysia, Japan, Tanzania and South Africa.

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ISBN 978-1-920382-37-7

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