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Phases of Differentiated Schooling:
A Theoretical and Conceptual Framework of the Relationship between
Religion and Schooling in New Zealand and Norway

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Abstract

This thesis offers a conceptual and theoretical map of the trajectory of relationship between religion and schooling that explains why and how religion has changed within state education policy. The concepts and theories of *phases of differentiated schooling* are built by applying the theoretical insight from the sociology of religion to the field of education using the case studies of Norway and New Zealand. Phases of differentiated schooling elucidates a general pattern of religious change in schooling, identifying global political, cultural and philosophical variables that have changed the concept of religion within nation state education policy using the methodological insight of historical sociology. The concepts and theories of phases of differentiated schooling are organised by a multi-level structure that allows for the identification and synthesis of these global variables, while also providing flexibility to account for national context and interpretation.

Phases of differentiated schooling identifies three distinct theoretical and conceptual phases of relationship between religion and schooling. The first phase, *undifferentiated schooling*, has its origins in the Middle Ages where Christianity arose to form a monolithic sacred authority over western society. Because Christianity defined knowledge, beliefs and values, Churches held an almost uncontested authority and provision over schooling until the mid-19th century. The second phase, *differentiated schooling* arose from consolidations of the enlightenment, liberalism, the rise of the nation state and, the scientific revolution. These variables contributed to the progressive differentiation and secularisation of schooling. Finally, the third phase, *post-differentiated schooling*, reflects what sociologists have observed as the *de-privatisation* of religion and the *deseccularisation* of society. Religion has changed in concept and increased in significance upon developments in multiculturalism, postmodernism, political ideology and religious education pedagogies. Consequently, from the late 20th century religion has increased in political and public significance, reconceptualising the role of religion within state education policy. This thesis provides a means to understand the variables that determine the conceptualisation of religion within nation state education policy, thereby enhancing the ability to critically evaluate the relationship between religion and schooling.

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Chapter One : Introduction

Religion and schooling are dependent upon social, political, cultural, philosophical, and economic contexts for their conceptualisation and validation. As these contexts constantly change, so too does the relationship between religion and schooling. Thus, the relationship between religion and schooling is dynamic, fluid, and multifaceted. It draws upon a myriad of interconnected variables that shape the practices, possibilities, and limitations of the role of religion within schooling. While these influences are often global phenomena, their influence and manifestation upon education policy is dependent upon a nation's values, beliefs, and historical practices. Consequently, the role of religion within a nation state's education policy is constantly contested. It is a dilemma, and therefore any solution is at best a negotiation between current perspectives on what the "right" relationship is within a given contextual era and what is pragmatically feasible within a specific nation state. As the relationship between religion and schooling can hinder or promote the principles of individual autonomy, cultural diversity, and social cohesion the dilemma of relationship between religion and schooling is a key issue for global organisations and nation states.

This thesis provides one answer to this dilemma by presenting *phases of differentiated schooling*, a theoretical and conceptual framework that explains the changing role of religion in schooling. At the core of this thesis is an attempt to conceptualise and theorise the trajectory between religion and schooling. In so doing, I draw upon not only the theories of secularisation and differentiation from the sociology of religion, but also the case studies of New Zealand and Norway. *Phases of differentiated schooling* identifies the historical foundations of relationship between religion and schooling, its path of change, and its contemporary characteristics. Hence, this thesis provides a meta-analysis that looks down upon, and across, the systems of religion and education.

Phases of differentiated schooling identifies three general phases of relationship between religion and schooling. Drawing upon the work of Émile Durkheim, Niklas Luhmann, Peter Berger, Karel Dobbelaere, and Liam Gearon, I have suggested that these phases are *undifferentiated schooling*, *differentiated schooling*, and *post-differentiated schooling*. The advantages of seeing the relationship in this way, is that at each phase a concept is built that explains *what* the relationship between religion and schooling is, providing conceptual understanding. Moreover, this is

underpinned by a theory that explains *why* and *how* that particular phase of relationship arose, providing theoretical understanding. Thus, each phase identifies and theorises influential epistemological, political, and pedagogical variables, and conceptualises their influence upon the relationship between religion and schooling. *Phases of differentiated schooling* offers historical, contemporary, and theoretical insight that enables the dilemma of religion and schooling to be analysed, evaluated, and negotiated. In essence a map is built from which competing positions of religion and schooling can be located, their origins and rationale exposed, and their appropriateness to national context evaluated.

The first phase of relationship between religion and schooling is *undifferentiated schooling*. Undifferentiated schooling arose within the Middle Ages when religion formed an “overarching sacred canopy” (Furseth and Repstad, 2006, p. 59). Due to religions influence over knowledge, culture, and politics, the authority and provision for schooling rested with the churches who defined a spiritual purpose and religious content for schooling. Religion and education were bound together upon the belief that a religious education would provide the necessary morality, stability, and cohesion of society, as well as the spiritual needs of the individual. However, accumulating political, cultural and intellectual changes from the 16th century meant that religions authority and provision over schooling was largely dismantled by the end of the 19th century.

The next phase of relationship between religion and schooling is conceptualised as *differentiated schooling*. Differentiated schooling is a part of what sociologists have observed as the *secularisation* and *differentiation* of society. Within this era, sociologists have traced the diminishing influence of religion upon secular advances arising from epistemological, political, and philosophical developments (Dobbelaere 1981; Luhmann, 1982). The achievements of science meant that religion lost its significance for explaining the world. The consolidations of the Enlightenment, and a new economic context, meant that religion lost its significance for defining the potential and nature of the individual. While the increasing political salience of pluralism, liberalism and democracy meant that religion was no longer an appropriate means of political socialisation and social cohesion. Thus, the systems of religion and schooling became independent and autonomous, separated by the arising divisions between the secular and sacred worlds. *Differentiated schooling* is characterised by a secular authority and provision over schooling, a secular content, and a secular purpose.

However, developments in the contemporary era have led to new political, cultural, social, and pedagogical conceptions of religion, and thus a new phase of relationship between religion and schooling. In analysis of these developments, sociologists have observed a "desecularisation of the world" (Berger, 1999, p. 2) and a "de-privatisation" of religion (Casanova, 1994, p. 5). These developments have given religion new validity within the public domain, and as a result have changed the relationship between religion and schooling. I have conceptualised this third phase as *post-differentiated schooling*. Post-differentiated schooling encompasses the influence of multiculturalism that gives religion new cultural significance in schooling. It identifies modern political ideologies that have provided new space and opportunities for religion within education policy. In addition, it analyses the influence of global organisations that have encouraged religious education as a source of intercultural communication and understanding, where important here are new religious education pedagogies that provide the means for a neutral, plural, and objective teaching *about* religion. Because of these and other influences, the relationship between religion and schooling is reconceptualised and nation states have negotiated a new role for religion within the structure, curriculum, and ethos of their education policy. However, these new negotiations are anything but simple as the competing political, pedagogical and social perspectives all vie for influence over the conceptualisation of religion within education policy.

1.1 The contemporary dilemma of religion and schooling

The contemporary dilemma between religion and schooling arises from a hybrid of understandings on the definition of, and the role of religion within a state primary education system. Dependent upon ones cultural, political and philosophical commitments there are multiple perspectives on how religion should be legislated and practiced. Underpinning these perspectives are political, economic, social, and national commitments that define the possibilities of relationship between religion and schooling, and thus the dimensions of the dilemma. Political commitments manifest in competing ideologies that define religion and education upon political principles. These principles can support separate religious schooling on the grounds of *consumer choice*, posit religion as the key to upholding the political institutions of democracy and liberalism, or position religion as a means to defining and defending cultural identity and heritage. Somewhat related to political principles are economic concerns that place religion and schooling in the educational marketplace. Within an educational marketplace, religious schools become perceived as a commodity of choice that individuals have the right to choose when shopping for their selection of schooling. A social

perspective raises concern for the role religion has in either promoting or threatening a nation's solidarity and social cohesion. Cultural perspectives point to the interdependent relationship between culture and religion, where it is argued that to acknowledge culture within state schooling necessitates acknowledgement of an individual's religious or spiritual beliefs. Finally, from a national perspective come fears of the consequences of a globalising mass culture where religion is increasingly seen as an integral element for defending and asserting national culture, identity, and heritage. Thus, the relationship between religion and schooling is a complex one. The case studies of Norway and New Zealand illustrate how these different perspectives and abstract principles manifest in the relationship between religion and nation state education.

Within New Zealand, the relationship between religion and schooling is of increasing concern as the boundaries between secular state schooling and religious expressions and practices become blurred. From its foundations in 1877, the New Zealand Education Act has continued to assert that teaching in state primary schooling should "be entirely of a secular character" (Education Act, 1988/2011, §77). However, changes in education legislation in the 1960s and 1970s meant that voluntary religious instruction became a legitimate part of New Zealand state schooling, and religious schools a part of the state education system. In addition, *spirituality* entered the school curriculum in 1999, and increased recognition of Māori culture within schooling has meant recognition of Māori spirituality. Thus, as Blundell states, "the division between church and state looks a little thin" (Blundell, 2004, para. 5). This is particularly problematic in a country that does not have a state church and "which endorses through legislation time and again the secularity of state primary education" (Blundell, 2004, para. 5). In 2012, the "Secular Education Network" was established, initially through social media, to "provide support and information to parents concerned about religious instruction in schools" (Church, 2013, para. 1).

From a global intercultural perspective, New Zealand's primary schooling, with its lack of an official religious education within the curriculum, is increasingly open to critique as a religious education is increasingly seen as a necessary means for intercultural communication and understanding in a global world. One argument posits that secular schooling,

could generate conflicts in the long run: by failing to convey knowledge about religions as vehicles of identity, pupils are deprived of appreciation and respect for the otherness of those who believe or think differently ... it poses the problem of not encouraging an education that promotes a lasting peace (Diez de Velasco, 2008, p. 67).

Thus, respect for religious differences and the desire for peace that led to the secular solution in the late 19th century now arguably warrants a religious education in the 21st century. Advocates for a religious education in state schools in New Zealand argue that an increase in people with no religious affiliation has meant that interreligious dialogue in New Zealand is difficult because “many students may have difficulty in engaging in dialogue as they lack an understanding of religion and a degree of religious literacy” (Wanden & Smith, 2010, p. 462). The argument arises that religious education in New Zealand schools is required to provide students “with the language required to engage in dialogue”, that subsequently “may develop a greater awareness and understanding of different migrant groups and lead to greater social cohesion” (Wanden & Smith, 2010, 470). New Zealand’s education system is believed to be “lagging behind international standards in terms of teaching children about the religions of the world” (Tapaleao, 2012, para. 2).

From a slightly different perspective, is the recent argument that New Zealanders are ignorant of religion, and this ignorance is the “country's greatest weakness in the face of terrorist threats” (Risk, 2012, para. 1). Religion, and not politics, is argued as being the contemporary determinant of terrorist activities, which therefore require a religious studies education (Risk, 2012). This claim is reinforced by Andreas Hasenclever whom claims there is a “positive correlation between religious education and political conduct ... the lower the level of RE, the greater the potential for religious differences to be exploited as a tool for political mobilisation” (Weisse, 2011, p. 113).

From a more conservative perspective spokespeople for Christian education in New Zealand, schools have detected “a public yearning for the teaching of Judeo-Christian principles” (Smith, 2005, para. 4). There is also concern that children from secular families “may never have the opportunity to experience religion as an important dimension of human life” (Williams, 1998, p. 32). This “yearning”, however, is far from universal (Smith, 2005, para. 4). For instance, a survey at one local school found forty per cent of parents opposed to the voluntary bible class within the school (Smith, 2005). Subsequently, within this school the conclusion was reached that a more defined relationship between religion and education “would of divided the school” (Smith, 2005, para. 14).

Schools that do choose to facilitate the voluntary religious education class face problems as recent media attention has been directed towards parental belief that “their children are being punished for not attending religious classes” (Penman, 2012, para. 1). While a decrease of students in voluntary religious instruction has meant that in Auckland three schools have dropped the program (Wade,

2012). These examples highlight New Zealand's continual dilemma between religion and schooling where the assertively plural population has meant that religion is seen as a means of division, limiting the role of religion in public institutions. Thus, historically and contemporarily there is support for secular schooling as the pragmatic solution to the dilemma between religion and schooling.

The secular solution, however, is no longer regarded as neutral. The development of biculturalism in the 1980s encompassed the argument that secular schooling was culturally biased and conflicted with the holistic Māori worldview. As spirituality is interwoven within Māori culture, acknowledgement of Māori culture within schooling requires acknowledgement of Māori spirituality (Human Rights Commission, 2009). Thus, schooling that separates the sacred and profane is incompatible with the Maori worldview. Global indigenous legislation (United Nations, 2007) and the Treaty of Waitangi supports the acknowledgement and accommodation of Maori culture, and Maori spirituality within state education (Webster, 2007). Consequently, Māori spirituality is increasingly entering the official secular hours of the school day upon recognition of Māori cultural rights and indigenous status. This is problematic to notions of justice and fairness where there is a "new-found concern that some schools encourage prayers in Māori and discourage them in English" (Young, 2004, para. 3).

Adding to this religious turmoil is the political perspective where New Zealand has not been exempt from the religious conservative currents sweeping the globe. In 1998, Jenny Shipley, the then Prime Minister of New Zealand argued, "many people would argue that secular education was an important development when it was passed into law in New Zealand. Some would argue now that it is an idea whose time has gone" (Ansley, 1998, pp. 23-24). Aligning political, social and economic arguments the Prime Minister suggested that concerning the secular education system "parents should have the power to replace it with a more doctrinaire regime based on religious, spiritual and cultural values" (Ansley, 1998, p. 23). In response to Shipley's speech, a representative of the Board of Trustees in New Zealand touched on a common sentiment in New Zealand when he commented upon what is, in practice and policy, a covert role for religion within an overtly 'secular' education system; "'we're comfortable with the status quo'" (Ansley, 1998, p. 24).

Norway is also facing the complex contemporary dilemma of religion and schooling amidst a storm of political, social, cultural, and national pressures. Within Norway, the argument is not so much *if* religion and state primary schooling should be aligned but *how*. To contextualise this argument

Norway historically has had a national cultural perspective on religion, which manifested in an accepted role for religion within the ethos, purpose, and content of the school. This reflected the religious character of the historically and comparatively culturally homogenous population and the political alliance of church and state. Traditionally, religion's role in schooling was a means of assimilation designed to create a common base of beliefs, attitudes, and practices from which social cohesion, solidarity, and equality could be pursued. However, from the 1970s this tradition has been challenged by globalisation, immigration, individualism, and postmodernism.

Unlike New Zealand, however, Norway's reaction to contemporary global developments has been a conservative cultural reinforcement of the relationship between religion and schooling where religion has renewed and reconceptualised importance for the social and political goals of the nation state. Increased pluralism and individualism, stemming from contemporary developments, have led to fears of cultural relativism and the disintegration of Norwegian identity, subsequently religion and state schooling have been utilised as a key means to assert Norwegian cultural identity and heritage. The Norwegian Royal Ministry of Education and Church Affairs stated in 1997, "when transitions are massive and changes rapid, it becomes even more pressing to emphasise historical orientation, national distinctiveness and local variation to safeguard our identity" (Royal Ministry of Education, Research and Church Affairs, 1997, p. 29). To this end, Norwegian curriculum changes in the late 1990s "have used the Christian religion as part of a national heritage programme" (Skeie, 2003, p. 51)

Most significant was the 1997 Norwegian core curriculum that asserted religion, in particular Christianity, as having a central role for the social and cultural task of the state school. Christianity was identified as fundamental to defining and continuing Norwegian cultural heritage and identity. Consequently, a new religious education subject, dominated by Christianity was legislated as compulsory for Norway's plural population. The then *Ministry of Education, Research and Church Affairs* made the following statement within the curriculum:

The Christian faith and tradition constitute a deep current in our history - a heritage that unites us as a people across religious persuasions. It has imprinted itself on the norms, world view, concepts and art of the people. It bonds us to other peoples in the rhythm of the week and in common holidays, but is also an abiding presence in our own national traits: in architecture and music, in style and conventions, in ideas, idioms and identity. Our Christian and humanistic tradition places equality, human rights and rationality at the fore. (Royal Ministry of Education, Research and Church Affairs, 1997, p. 10)

Thus, Skeie believes that religious education, as it appeared in the 1997 curriculum is,

intended to contribute to the integration of socio-cultural diversity through establishing a common pool of knowledge above the Norwegian cultural heritage, mainly as it is shaped by Christianity. This knowledge is considered an important part of a common identity in the majority population, and a tool for integration on the part of minorities (Skeie, 2003, p. 60).

Religious education within the 1997 curriculum, while conservative in its social and cultural purpose, did not communicate religious dogma or initiate religious conversion. Instead, it was a means of asserting a common set of values, beliefs, and practices. However, this change of perception, purpose, and nature of religion draws its own particular problems:

While religion has been deprived of the intrinsic claim of truth, it has been gradually transformed into “social cement”. The more this cement is needed for the maintenance of the status quo and the more dubious its inherent truth becomes, the more obstinately is its authority upheld and more its hostile, destructive and negative features come to the fore (Adorno, 1950/1969, p. 337).

Norway’s religious curriculum change was highly controversial, as the legal proceedings from the United Nations and the European Court of Human Rights testified. Particularly problematic was that the compulsory religious education was within a nation that professed a national religion and a state church. The Norwegian Education Act reflected this religious bias with the retaining of a Christian purpose that stated the “the purpose of primary and lower secondary education shall be, in agreement and cooperation with the home, to help to give pupils a Christian and moral upbringing” (Education Act, 1988/2000, §1). Subsequently, the new Christian dominated religious education subject raised conflict within the national and global community. After an ensuing ten-year legal battle, where questions of human, cultural, and national rights were contested, Norway’s religious education was changed upon demands made by the European Court of Human Rights. This incident amply demonstrates the interaction of national and global politics that shape the contemporary dilemma between religion and schooling.

1.2 Research problem: Religion and nation state primary education systems, a global, national, and historical problem

The dilemma of religion and schooling is framed by contesting and evolving political, social, economic, and cultural positions that are constantly disputed and rarely agreed upon. These

positions, in part, arise from global developments that interact with, conflict with, and shape the role of religion within nation state education policy. This can be referred to as the “globalization of education” where “worldwide discussions, processes, and institutions” influence national education systems (Spring, 2009, p. 1). For example global movements such as Christianity, multiculturalism, postmodernism, post-colonialism, and the New Right, influence a nation state’s education policy. Thus, globalisation claims a general causal influence on education, requiring the problem of religion and schooling to be theoretically framed from a global perspective.

A theoretical framework that explains global influence upon religious change in nation state education policy is consistent with Knott’s belief that:

The study of religion in the modern world calls for theories, approaches and methods that engage with the issues and processes that have affected the world within the last two hundred years, such as the impact of colonialism and subsequent post-colonial developments, globalization and the rise of global religious movements (Knott, 2009, p. 33).

This means that the relationship between religion and schooling is not isolated to the nation state. As such, any analysis that is bound “within the context of closed, national systems fail to capture the position of a country within the international system” (Arnove, 1980, p. 50). As Schweitzer (2001) states,

Research on religious education may no longer be limited to a particular country. The national context should no longer be allowed to define the focus of research. We obviously need an internationalisation of religious education (p. 171).

Thus, theoretical frameworks must be built from a global perspective and draw upon more than one nation.

While the problem between religion and schooling has global characteristics and origins, national characteristics and commitments determine the distinctive national expression of global phenomenon, forming an integral and defining element of national educational policy on religion. As Spring (2009, p.1) states, there is “a constant dynamic of interaction: global ideas about school practices interact with local school systems”. Therefore knowledge of national context is vital to understand the local origins of problems between religion and schooling, to make informed analysis, and to understand what will work in each national context. There must be continual context sensitivity and questioning of “what kinds of educational policy ... are appropriate for what kinds of society?” (Kubow & Fossum, 2003, p. 6).

To this end, the theory *phases of differentiated schooling*, draws upon and explains religious change in the education systems of New Zealand and Norway identifying that which is global and thus generalizable, and that which is distinctive to each nation. The case studies of New Zealand and Norway share sufficient similarities as well as intriguing differences, which makes the theoretical framework valid and intriguing. Significantly, both Norway and New Zealand are shaped by a common western heritage of politics, knowledge, and religion. Both nations have a comparatively small similar population size with a balance of rural/urban lifestyles, are of similar land mass, and exist on the outskirts of the major world economic and cultural centres. Equally significant are the differences between the two nations, where while Norway up until 2012 has had a state church and a long and continual history of an overt and accepted practice of religious education, New Zealand has had no state church and a history of a covert and secular relationship between religion and schooling. These differences make the concepts and theories that explain religious change within educational policy in both nations even more powerful.

Balancing the global with the local, and theory with context, is a part of what has been termed as the problem of the theory/context nexus. The theory/context nexus is addressed within this thesis through the application of *phases of differentiated schooling* to Norway and New Zealand, thereby connecting theory to practice. The theory builds from the case studies of New Zealand and Norway, at the same time as it overlays theory onto the case studies. This thesis represents a sustained attempt to not only build explanatory theory of global religious educational change, but to also utilise it to aid in-depth analysis and insight into national context, thereby capturing the full complexity of the dilemma between religion and schooling. In some respects, this makes this thesis unique, and the insights I have gained from writing it all the more significant.

Key to informing both the development of theory and understanding of the national context is the historical perspective that “illuminate[s] important longer-term, broader and philosophical issues” (Freathy & Parker, 2010, p. 229). Historical methods aid “understanding of how specific *contemporary* educational theories, policies, practices or settings originated and how they developed under the influence of social, cultural, political and economic factors” (Freathy & Parker, 2010, p. 233). Thus, a historical perspective provides insight into why and how religion has become problematic within contemporary nation state primary education policy. In addition, this problem should be approached from a scholarly, as opposed to a traditional, theological perspective, because nation state education systems are a public good located within the secular sphere. As such, there is

a need for research conducted from an academic perspective outside of the subjectivities of theological commitments. This perspective utilises historical, educational, and sociological literature that examine religion and/or schooling from a general global and a case specific basis.

The research problem of this thesis is both qualitative and quantitative in nature. A qualitative perspective emphasises “inductive inquiry” and “understanding social phenomenon”, while a quantitative perspective emphasises “deductive inquiry” that looks for “relationships, effects, [and] causes” (Wiersom & Jurs, 2009, p. 15). A particular strength of this thesis is that it not only develops theory, but it evaluates it within a context, testing refining and generalising patterns of religious change in nation state education policy. This thesis while seeking the qualitative goal of understanding the ‘social phenomenon’ of religion and schooling in New Zealand and Norway, also theorises the causes of the relationship between religion and schooling, and the effects these causes have, representing a quantitative approach to research.

1.4 The conceptual context: Educational globalisation within an historical and sociological perspective

The research problems and questions in this thesis are situated across the traditions of sociology, history, and educational globalisation. In essence, this thesis rests upon an accumulation of historical, sociological, and educational literature that is synthesised to explain religious change within schooling. The central concept of this thesis, *differentiation*, derives from traditional sociological theories that explain religious change and developments in society. These sociological theories are utilised to explain religious change in education policy and develop educational theory and concept that is informed by historical and contemporary analysis of the case studies of Norway and New Zealand. In summary, religious change is approached from an educational studies perspective, where sociological theories and historical insight are applied and refined to the field of education to explain religious change in the education systems of both Norway and New Zealand.

Historical sociology is the juxtaposition between history and sociology. Conventionally, there are three defining elements of history: “its concern with events, its concern with change, and its concern with the particular” (Elton, 1967, p. 21). Thus, history is idiographic with historians “seeking to particularize through the description of singular, unique phenomena” (Abbott, 1991, pp.

211-212). In contrast, sociology attempts to shed “new light on this world, offering a unique perspective on human life” (Thio, 1994, p. 3) through the seeking of generalisations and the formulation of theory to apply to “categories of phenomena” (Abbott, 1991, pp. 211-212). Therefore, when sociology becomes concerned in an historical event it is not “for the sake of the event but for the sake of extracting static conclusions from moving elements” (Elton, 1967, p. 22). The sociologist’s interest in history is “legitimate, and necessary” when they wish to “to know how widely over time and space their theories and hypotheses might apply” (Abbott, 1991, p. 216). Thus, historical sociology is located within the common ground between history and sociology, where both are chronological and logical and rest upon empirical evidence and theoretical structuring (Abrams, 1980). It is this methodological perspective that informs this thesis, the use of historical data as evidence to build theory that explains the changing role of religion within schooling.

Central to explaining the changing concept of religion within schooling is this synthesis of the historical perspective with sociology. A balance is sought between thick particularistic description, characteristic of the historical perspective, and general abstract concepts and theories, characteristic of sociology. This balance creates an advantageous relationship where the sociology of religion provides concepts and theories that lead to enhanced illumination and clarification of general “historical patterns and structures” (Bonnell, 1980, p. 161), while thick historical analysis challenges concepts and theory to become more refined, contextualised, and flexible to account for national idiosyncrasies. Thus in balancing the academic insight of both history and sociology there is a commitment of “sensitivity to specific historical or cultural contexts with theoretical generalization” (Neuman, 2006, p. 423).

The traditions of *historical comparative research* and *historical sociology* are useful in coming to understand the balance between history and sociology, and the interaction of theory and case study. *Historical comparative research* promotes the development of concepts and theory through comparison at the macro level (Neuman, 2006). It is interested in both the discovery of what is general across case studies and what is idiosyncratic to a particular nation (Neuman, 2006). Thus, it remains “sensitive to specific historical or cultural contexts”, while translating the “specifics of a context into a common theoretical language” (Neuman, 2006, p. 427). Similarly, *historical sociology* is concerned with the development of “comprehensive explanations for historical patterns and structures” using both inductive and deductive approaches (Bonnell, 1980, p. 161).

The dual method of induction and deduction creates a dialogue between theory development and case study. Theories of religious change derived from sociology are applied to education policy through inductive reasoning where the “specifics” of the historical and contextual relationship between religion and schooling are translated “into a common, theoretical language” (Neuman, 2006, p. 427). The relevance of the developed educational theory in this thesis is increased by the inclusion of two case studies that increases the certainty “that a theoretical proposition applicable to one case sustains its explanatory power when applied to additional cases” (Bonnell, 1980, p. 160).

Although the contribution of historical comparative research is acknowledged, this thesis is not a traditional comparative analysis. Instead, Norway and New Zealand’s education policies are analysed from the field of *educational globalisation*. The field of educational globalisation is actually a new interdisciplinary field that explains the “processes and effects of globalization on educational practices and policies” (Spring, 2009, p. 4). Research from a global education perspective seeks to understand:

1. How global phenomena influence schooling and religion?
2. What “global discourses” shape national education policy?
3. How do “transnational global organisations” influence education?
4. What is the extent and degree of impact of the “global ‘flow of ideas and practices’” on education?
5. What is the influence of “worldwide migrations of peoples on national and local school policies and practices”?
6. Are there “global models of religious and indigenous education”? (Spring, 2009, p. 5).

Thus, this thesis seeks to identify the global “flow of ideas and practices” (Spring, 2009, p. 5) that have shaped the relationship between religion and schooling in both Norway and New Zealand.

While this thesis takes an educational globalisation perspective, it does not seek to impose a global model; rather a broad and abstract theoretical and conceptual framework is outlined. Viewing the educational theories and concepts as broad and abstract is consistent with the view of the “culturalists”. “Culturalists” agree that while there is an “‘abstract’ level of common global practices”, (Spring, 2009, p. 119), this “global education superstructure” does not mean a prescription of uniformity as its influence varies with, and is dependent upon, national context (Spring, 2009, p. 118). Thus, within the abstract and general framework of *phases of differentiated*

schooling is flexibility and responsiveness to national context and divergence, while retaining an emphasis upon global change and developments.

1.5 The paradigmatic context: Critical realism

As a researcher it is necessary to assert paradigmatic commitments to clarify the ontological, epistemological, and methodological assumptions that underpin research. A paradigm is the “complex webs of background knowledge and philosophical commitments that researchers bring with them, either explicitly or implicitly to their research” (Sparkes, 1994, p.18). For the purpose of this thesis, two particular debates on knowledge and philosophical commitments have influenced my argument. These are the debates between positivism and relativism, and systems and agency.

The debate between positivism and relativism is a debate about the nature of reality and how one comes to ‘know’ reality. Positivism perceives reality as knowable through uncovering the general laws and mechanisms that determine structure, systems, and processes. Emphasis is upon generalisation and theory. Ontologically, positivism holds that reality is an objective, independent entity that existed before the knower came to know it, hence, reality is definable and external to the researcher. Consequently, this reality will continue to exist in its original form after the knower comes to know it (Guba, 1990). This reality is knowable if researchers employ the right methodological devices. The positivist researcher searches for the “true nature of reality and how it truly works” (Guba, 1990, p. 19). Objectivity is perceived as achievable, desirable, and powerful, while subjectivity is viewed as a distortion that can be corrected through methodology that allows the researcher to “stand behind a thick wall of one way glass” (Guba, 1990, p. 17). This ontology is described as *realist*. Applied to educational research positivism seeks “invariant relationships that transcend the boundaries of particular societies” (Epstein, 1990, p. 10).

Relativism, in contrast to positivism, emphasises the agency of individuals, the subjectivity of perception, and the social construction of reality. A relativist ontology places reality as being subjective to the perception of the interpreter. Thus, reality is “something that is local and specifically constructed” (Laverty, 2003, p. 13). The application of relativism to education would mean that due to the “particularities of culture” the creation of laws or underlying processes of change that extend beyond the national education system in question is infeasible (Epstein, 1990, p. 10).

The second debate is between systems and agency. This is a key issue that must be confronted in the development of concepts and theory that have ties to sociological theories of systems, structuralism, and functionalism. These sociological theories have often emphasised the power and autonomy of the structures they seek to explain over that of the individual. They have compared systems of society in metaphoric terms to systems of biology that obey laws and operate independently of, and external to, human will. An uncritical adoption of these theories would mean that the systems of religion and education would be perceived as independent from human will and national context. The systems would follow general laws and fulfil specific functions to maintain stability in society, operating in much the same way a biological organism would. From this perspective, the researcher would seek to uncover irrefutable laws surrounding the relationship between religion and education to each other and society. Conversely, on the other side of the debate is the emphasis upon agency, the autonomy of individuals, and the role they have in constructing reality and thus the systems and relationships between religion and education. Within this perception there are no underlying systems or processes that exist outside of human endeavour, and thus the development of theory has no role (Fawcett, 2008).

Critical realism provides a theoretical middle ground between the debates of systems and agency, and positivism and relativism. Critical realism “offers an ontology that can conceptualise reality, support theorising, and guide empirical work” (Clark, 2008, para. 1). Critical Realism views the abstraction of concepts as “properties in reality”, where “concept formations and theory constructions are central goals” (Ekström, 1992, p. 119). However, this realism is limited by the fact that theory is “related to – but not reducible to – empirical reality” (Ekström, 1992, p. 119). Thus, there is a balance between cultural relativism and positivism, the abstract and the empirical, and, the individual and systems.

Roy Bhaskar, a central theorist of critical realism, has divided reality into three realms, the domains of “the actual, the real, and the empirical” (Clark, 2008, para. 4). The actual realm “refers to events and outcomes that occur in the world” (Clark, 2008, para. 4). For example, in this realm would be a nation states education policy. The real realm refers to “underlying relations, structures, and tendencies that have the power to cause change in the actual realm” (Clark, 2008, para. 4). Within this thesis, the real realm refers to the concepts and theories of undifferentiated schooling, differentiated schooling, and post-differentiated schooling. Finally, the empirical realm refers to

“human perspectives on the world” where these perceptions “can be perceived only fallibly” (Clark, 2008, para. 4). The empirical realm is where “I”, as researcher, am located.

In summary, I take the position of critical realism on the positivist, relativist debate, where there is an “existence of an objective reality formed of both events and underlying causes and although these dimensions of reality have objective existence, they are not knowable with certainty” (Clark, 2008, para. 4). Thus, while underlying general processes and structures of change can be identified within the relationship between religion and education, these processes and structures do not claim an infallible objective reality. The development of the theoretical framework of *phases of differentiated schooling* is consistent with the demands made by the paradigmatic position of critical realism. This requires a “strong conceptualization, rigorous description and adequate explanation” (Clark, 2008, para. 15). The culturally relative relationship between religion and education is respected and acknowledged at the conceptual level. The “invariant relationships between education and aspects of society” (Epstein, 1990, p. 4) are theorised by causal and ontological variables.

1.6 Definition of key terms

Underpinning this thesis are three key terms *schooling*, *religion*, and *spirituality*. These terms are building blocks for the development of concept and theory. This section defines these key terms and explains their utilisation within this thesis.

1.6.1 Schooling

Within a thesis that analyses the relationship between religion and schooling as a global and historical process, a definition of schooling needs to elucidate and contextualise its historical and global foundations. Therefore, a broader and historically flexible understanding of schooling is necessary to understand the origins of the relationship between religion and schooling and its process of change. This historical perspective is particularly important, for as Durkheim suggests education cannot exist outside of its historical context, for in its provision there is an inevitable “historical continuity” with the past (Fox, 1956, pp. 19-20). Thus, a historically sensitive and

flexible understanding of state schooling provides continuity to the origins of the relationship between religion and schooling and elucidates its contemporary characteristics.

The term *schooling* in this thesis encompasses the schooling arrangements that preceded the development of nation state schooling, thereby acknowledging the influential historical foundations of state education systems. These foundations are significant as they provide the context upon which nation state education systems were built. The term schooling also encompasses the schooling arrangements that followed after the nation state assumed responsibility for schooling. Within this thesis, two terms are used to designate state authority over schooling, *nation state primary education systems* and *nation state primary schooling*.

Nation state primary education systems are defined as all schooling arrangements that fall under the authority of the state. State education systems can be envisaged as a “group of interacting, interrelated, or interdependent components forming a complex whole” (Bray & Kai, 2007, p. 126). Inclusive here are those schools that although are not officially state schools (by nature of their special character), still receive significant state funding and are under obligation of state legislative requirements. However, the main schooling arrangement within the nation state education system is the nation state’s *primary schooling*. Nation state primary schooling is authorised and provided by the state, it is the common, compulsory (unless alternative adequate schooling is provided), and free mass schooling of a nation. For national comparative purposes, within Norway nation state primary schooling is legislated as the *Grunnskole* that encompasses all children from age six until 15-16 years (Education Act, Norway, 1988/2000). Within New Zealand, nation state primary schools are those schools under the provision and authority of the state for those students from age 5 until 12-13 years (Education Act, New Zealand, 1989/2011).

The analysis of schooling in this thesis is limited to primary education for two reasons. The first is because primary schooling is historically the first level of education that the state has shown interest. Therefore, the changing perceptions, attitudes, and practices of the relationship between religion and state education can be traced over time through primary education. Secondly, the relationship between religion and society can be more easily seen within this level of education because primary schooling is the place where states have been most concerned to identify and transmit the values, norms, attitudes, and beliefs of society, elucidating how nation states perceive religion in relation to the social and political purposes of schooling. In contrast, secondary

education has historically been weighted towards the vocational needs of society to which religion relates less directly.

1.6.2 Religion

Religion is most commonly understood as “the outward and objectified elements of a tradition”- its “scripture, ritual, myths, beliefs, practices, moral codes” (Roof, 2003, p. 138). From this perspective, religion has both “spiritual” and “material” properties (Selinger, 2004, p. 524). The “spiritual sense” of religion concerns “transcendence, sacredness and ultimacy”, while the “material sense” of religion “defines and unifies social, political or community-based groups or movements” (Selinger, 2004, pp. 524-525). This distinction between the spiritual and material properties of religion means that religion within schooling can have theological and/or political and social mandate. Thus, religion within schooling can be upon sacred rationale such as dogma and salvation, or secular rationale that asserts religions claims of social cohesion, political uniformity or social control.

Initially the spiritual and material dimensions of religion were practiced simultaneously, where the spiritual dimension of religion gave authority and power to its material functions. Religion, through schooling, was a means to create a homogenous, cohesive, and politically stable population, while simultaneously providing the religious education necessary for ultimate ends. This intertwined understanding formed the founding understandings of religion in western schooling from the Middle Ages to the mid-19th century. Religion was an institutional and collective phenomenon defined by Émile Durkheim as a: “unified set of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things ... that unite its adherents in a single moral community called a Church” (Durkheim, 2001, p. 46). This definition alludes to the fact that the social function of religion was mandated by its “spiritual sense” where the sacred “by its very nature it has the capacity to bind, for it unites the collectivity in a set of beliefs and practices which are focused on the sacred object” (Davie, 2003, p. 65). Religion’s traditional purpose within schooling was a means to individual salvation, social cohesion, and political conformity.

However, this Durkheimian understanding of religion is no longer appropriate for contemporary, post-modern, and plural societies, as Charles Taylor argues; we live in a “post-Durkheimian” age (Taylor, 2002, p. 111). Religion within the post-Durkheimian age has become individualised where

“individuals make what they can of their ‘religious experience’, without too much concern for how it all fits together at the level of society or how it affects the fate of different churches” (Taylor, 2002, p. 111). This has political implications as religion “has become uncoupled from our political allegiance” (Taylor, 2002, p. 96). A “thoroughly post-Durkheimian society” is when “our religious belonging would be unconnected to our national identity” (Taylor, 2002, pp. 111-112). This changing understanding of religion points to the fact that the word *religion* changes as cultural, social and philosophical contexts change. As Ward states, “place matters then when we begin to think of the future of religion” (Ward, 2006, p. 181). Thus, “what is understood by “religion,” how the word is used, changes where the geography changes and where the historical trajectories of any culture change” (Ward, 2006, p. 179).

In summary, the term religion does not exist “in splendid isolation” but is “part of a network of other words” (Ward, 2006, p. 180). Religion is “bound up with values, practices, cosmologies, institutions, texts, and symbols not only as they appear at one moment but as they are continually being transformed over time” (Ward, 2006, p. 180). Religion is connected to “cultural politics” and “enmeshed in ideologies” and therefore changes with time and location (Ward, 2006, p. 180). Thus, religion is fluid and dynamic, dependent upon the context in which it is used. Consequently, the conceptualisation of religion within schooling changes as the political, social, epistemological, and pedagogical context changes. This changing understanding of religion is illustrated by the recent phenomenon of *spirituality* where the authority of the traditional institutions of religion to designate matters of faith has been challenged by the concept of spirituality.

1.6.3 Spirituality

The western conception of spirituality has its origins in the middle ages (see page 35), where the Church as an institution developed to become characterised by its “visible corporeality or materiality” of objectified religious elements (Roof, 2003, p. 138). This laid the foundations for the distinction between religion - the churches objective expression of faith - and spirituality - the individuals “subjective life of faith” (Roof, 2003, p. 138). This distinction grew in the 16th century where the Reformation institutionalised individual spirituality. The emphasis moved away from the authority of the church and the mediation of priests towards an individual relationship with God. This distinction grew in the late 20th century where within a context of secularism, pluralism, and postmodernism, spirituality moved away from its dependence on religion and subsequently

developed an independent subjective meaning defined by the individual that may, or, may not be, aligned with culture, church, or religion.

Due to its subjective nature, spirituality has an ambiguity, flexibility and multiplicity of meanings, it can be defined by the individual, or bound within a religious or cultural worldview:

Spirituality has been variously described as an approach to God, a religious practice, a devotional path, a discipline, a creative energy, a sense of awe and mystery, a distinctive religious ethos or mode of experience, an inner moral orientation, the ethical transcendence of self, mystical awareness, the sense of the numinous, an appreciation of the mysteries and depths of human experience (King, 1996, p. 343).

Given these multiple perspectives, contemporary understandings of spirituality are characterised by flexibility and ambiguity subsequently the meaning of spirituality “can only be established from its use and then perhaps with difficulty” (King, 1996, p. 344). This ambiguity has particular significance for education systems in plural societies as spirituality in legislation “permits a range of possible understandings and approaches that can satisfy or at least not antagonize the majority of teachers, parents and children” (King, 1996, pp. 343-344). The term spirituality can be “used flexibly in situations where greater clarification would bring greater difficulties” (King, 1996, p. 344). Thus, the inclusion of spirituality can satisfy both holistic education demands and different cultural understandings of the sacred and profane, while not promoting religious warfare within education or threatening the secularity and neutrality of the state.

Thus, spirituality, like religion, is dependent upon the context in which it is used and practiced. Within western societies, such as Norway and New Zealand, the historical predominance of Christianity on society and its institutions has meant that ‘the Judeo-Christian tradition of western society cannot be avoided’, and thus in the discussion of spirituality, “it is therefore probably unrealistic to separate religion and spirituality entirely” (Dyson, Cobb, & Forman, 1997, p. 1184). Consequently, the ambiguity of spirituality means that its use must be treated with caution as its definition maybe defined by the one cultural group, thereby limiting its ability to be egalitarian to all worldviews.

1.6.4 Terminology in concept and theory

While the distinct differences between the terms religion and spirituality are key to this thesis, at the abstract theoretical level the term *religion* is utilised as the key term around which the relationship

between the sacred and secular is conceptualised and theorised. The rationale behind this is pragmatic to allow for historical continuity, theory building, and cross cultural reference. Religion is the most understood and functional term of the sacred. As Ward states, the term religion persists and remains a “part of the vocabulary of the language” (Ward, 2006, p. 180). Furthermore, religion and spirituality are interlinked, where the term religion raises questions of spirituality; and discussions of spirituality questions the role of religion. Thus, *religion* at the abstract theoretical level of this thesis is utilised in a generic sense, described by Ward as “a set of family resemblances” (Ward, 2006, p. 180). Religion is a

generic term that refers to a wide range of phenomena extending from, at one extreme, entire faith traditions such as Islam or Christianity to, at the other extreme, the personal convictions and commitments of individuals (Beckford & Richardson, 2007, p. 397).

Thus, the generic use of the term religion at the abstract theoretical level of *phases of differentiated schooling* refers to phenomena associated with both religion and spirituality.

1.7 Thesis structure

This thesis develops the educational concepts and theories of *phases of differentiated schooling* by applying the theories of secularisation and differentiation from the sociology of religion, to the case studies of Norway and New Zealand. Within the structure of this thesis, the theory underpinning each phase is first identified and developed, reflecting the sociological objectives of building theory and generating insight. This is followed by an analysis of the concept and theory in Norway and New Zealand, providing historical description within each phase. This is consistent with the historical sociological perspective. For example, the theory underpinning the phase of *un-differentiated schooling* is built in Chapter Four and is followed by an analysis of un-differentiated schooling in Norway and New Zealand in Chapter Five. The rationale for this is to provide the reader with the ability to see the connection between theory and case study, thereby achieving a more theoretical understanding of the case study and an applied understanding of the theory. In addition, given the complexity of the theoretical framework introduced, a close proximity between concept and theory, and their manifestation in each historical era provides the reader with greater clarity of the connection between theory and context, and sociology and history.

Chapter Two provides the theoretical and methodological framework for the development of the concepts and theories of phases of differentiated schooling. This chapter outlines the contribution the sociology of religion makes to explaining religious change in schooling through the theories of *secularisation* and *differentiation*. These theories form the lens from which the educational case studies of New Zealand and Norway are approached. New Zealand and Norway are outlined as instrumental case studies from which sociological theory is applied and refined to develop educational theories and concepts. The grounds of comparability between Norway and New Zealand are established with the similarities that allow theory building identified, and the influential differences outlined. Methodically, Goertz's (2006) *three-level concepts* and *two-level theories* provides the framework by which developments from the sociology of religion are synthesised to the case studies of Norway and New Zealand. Goertz's (2006) three-level concepts are used to create a conceptual framework that explains the three phases of relationship between religion and schooling. Underpinning each three-level concept is a two-level theory that explains *why* each concept of relationship between religion and schooling arose.

Chapter Three develops the concepts that constitute each phase of differentiated schooling, using Goertz's structure of three-level concepts. There are three conceptual phases: *undifferentiated schooling*, *differentiated schooling*, and *post-differentiated schooling*. *Undifferentiated schooling* is conceptualised by a religious authority and provision over schooling, and where the curriculum, purpose and ethos of schooling determined by a Christian worldview. *Differentiated schooling* is indicated by a secular authority and provision over schooling, with the content and purpose of schooling determined by secular rationale and knowledge. *Post-differentiated schooling* is characterised by a new role for religion and religious bodies within the authority and provision over schooling, the curricula content, and the ethos and purpose of schooling. From these concepts, two-level theories are built that identify and analyse the causal variables that led to each concept of relationship between religion and schooling.

Chapter Four develops the two-level theory of undifferentiated schooling that explains why and how religion arose to have authority and provision over schooling. There are three basic-level variables of undifferentiated schooling. The first variable, the *political authority of Christianity* arose from the collapse of Rome, the rise of the Catholic Church, and the political consequences of the Reformation. The second variable, *Christianity's authority on knowledge*, is explained by the syntheses of St. Augustine and Thomas Aquinas that contributed to a monolithic Christian theology that in turn created an overarching Christian authority on knowledge. The final variable,

the *ontological authority of Christianity*, is analysed in relation to the development of Christian monism that supported the conformity of religious thought through the all-pervading concept of salvation. This chapter posits that upon these three variables Christianity became the central institution over society, and thus schooling.

Chapter Five applies the concept and theory of undifferentiated schooling to the case studies of Norway and New Zealand. The first half of this chapter examines the case study of Norway, the second the case study of New Zealand. In Norway, the influence of Christianity began with the introduction of the Catholic Church in the 10th and 11th centuries. Over the coming centuries, the Catholic Church arose to dominate politics, knowledge, culture, and subsequently education. Education was mandated by church law that stipulated that parents and godparents had obligations to provide religious education. With the Reformation in the 16th century and State Pietism in the 18th century, the educational significance of Christianity increased. Schooling became increasingly institutionalised to ensure the new literary requirements of salvation, and to contribute to the nation's political conformity, social cohesion, and stability. The significance of religion's influence over schooling is illustrated by the 1739 School Law that compelled a religious schooling as necessary for both confirmation into the Lutheran church and Norwegian citizenship rights.

Undifferentiated schooling arose in New Zealand from the process of British colonisation in the early 19th century that supported the introduction of Christianity and its schooling to aid the colonisation project. Initially, missionaries from different denominations organised schooling for the dual aims of salvation and 'civilisation'. Political authorities recognised this 'civilising' purpose of religion and thus tacitly supported these educational arrangements that were believed to contribute to social control and political conformity. In 1840, the *colonial period* began with the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. The colonial period is characterised by an increased institutionalisation of church schooling as knowledge, morality, and, the prosperity of the nation, were believed to be dependent upon the perpetuation of the beliefs, attitudes and practices of Christianity. In 1847, the state officially recognised church schools through the Educational Ordinance, which provided church schools with financial support and stipulations of content and structure. In 1852, authority over schooling was decentralised to the provincial councils, signifying the beginning of the provincial period. The *provincial period* initially was characterised by a strong ideal of undifferentiated schooling tempered by a growing realisation of the pragmatic limitations of a close relationship between religion and schooling within a plural population and an increasingly modern society.

Chapter Six develops the two-level theory of differentiated schooling that identifies and analyses the key variables that led to the differentiation of schooling from religion. The two-level theory of differentiated schooling posits that there are five basic-level variables that led to differentiated schooling. The first variable is the rise of a *secular perception and rationale of values, human nature and human ability* that developed from the influence of the Enlightenment and liberalism and grew to eventually establish itself as secular monism. The next variable is the *predominance of secular knowledge* where Christian theology was first challenged by, and then replaced by, advances in knowledge made possible by the scientific revolution, the Enlightenment and naturalism. Particularly significant is the variable, the rise of *monolithic secular political authority*, which led to the establishment of nation state's authority over education. This variable arose from the growth of the nation state, the process of nation building, democracy, and liberalism. The fourth variable, *modernity*, changed the economic context of society leading to new secular political and vocational purposes of schooling. Modernity is constituted by industrialism, the growth of the market society, and capitalism. The final variable, *pluralism*, arose from the Reformation, colonisation, and immigration and challenged the appropriateness of religious authority and provision over schooling for a plural nation.

Chapter Seven applies the concept and theory of differentiated schooling to developments of schooling in Norway and New Zealand. From the late 19th century both Norway and New Zealand diminished the role of religion in favour of secular authority, provision, and content. Within Norway, the initial differentiation of schooling from religion was initiated by the Enlightenment that created new secular perceptions of the individual, values, and society, and thus schooling. This push for a diminishing role for religion within schooling was reinforced by developments of liberalism, democracy, and the rise of the nation state. In 1889, the state assumed authority and provision for schooling and the curriculum became predominately secular in content and purpose. Although the subject religious education continued, its status and curricula time diminished over the 20th century. This trend was reinforced by the developments of social democracy, nation state building, and a growing secularism in society that was most apparent through the development of the influential Norwegian Humanist Association.

Significant to the rise of differentiated schooling in New Zealand were the variables of pluralism, liberalism, and the needs of the emerging nation state. These variables meant that a relationship between religion and schooling was perceived as pragmatically unfeasible. Subsequently, in 1877

the state primary education system of New Zealand was established with the stipulation that teaching would be “entirely of a secular character” (Ministry of Education, 2011, §77). By the beginning of the 20th century, developments in psychology, society, and pedagogy provided theoretical support to the differentiation of religion from schooling. In addition, the growth of the nation state, and the development of the welfare state in the 1930s, meant that, the social and economic goals of the state superseded the concerns, fractures, and limitations of religion. Similar to Norway, developments towards a growing secularism of New Zealand society in the 20th century reinforced the authority of the secular school. However, this growing secularism of society also meant challenges to secular schooling where some argued that the secular school no longer represented a pragmatic solution to religious diversity, but instead supported a secularist worldview. The increased salience of this critique signified a new conception of the secular school, religion, and culture that eventually manifested in challenges to differentiated schooling. Within this thesis, these challenges are conceptualised and theorised as post-differentiated schooling.

Chapter Eight develops the theory of post-differentiated schooling that explains why a new concept of religion arose within nation state primary education systems from the 1960s. The theory of post-differentiated schooling posits that philosophical, political, cultural, religious, and pedagogical developments led to a new conceptualisation of relationship between religion and schooling. This chapter identifies six basic-level causal variables of post-differentiated schooling. The first variable *sacralisation* rests upon the space created by secularisation that opened up opportunities for new understandings of the sacred outside of traditional religious authority and institutions. Constituting sacralisation are the movements of postmodernism and the concept of spirituality. The next variable, *multiculturalism*, reasserted a religious/spiritual dimension to culture that was supported by global developments that advocated for the protection of cultural and religious traditions, as well as the rights of cultural groups and parents to determine the religious education of their child. The third variable, *globalisation*, is constituted by increased immigration, a heightened global awareness, and the growing influence of global organisations. These developments led to strong arguments in support of a multifaith religious education for intercultural understanding and communication. The fourth variable, *de-differentiation*, is a modern movement comprised by religious and cultural fundamentalism, both of which posit a return to a traditional relationship between religion and society, and thus religion and schooling. The variable *contemporary political ideologies* has provided new structure and rationale for religion within schooling through political concepts such as cultural identity and choice. Finally, the variable, *new religious education*

pedagogies, has provided pedagogical opportunities for the study of religion within plural state schools outside of the restraints of religious dogma and consistent with liberal principles.

Chapter Nine explains and elucidates the contemporary relationship between religion and schooling through applying the concept and theory of post-differentiated schooling to Norway and New Zealand. In the 1970s, Norway expanded their state education system to include schools of a religious character, subtly altering the balance of religious and secular authority over schooling by recognising religious schools within state education. In addition, pluralism was recognised by the development of an alternative secular philosophy subject to religious education, available to students whose parent (or parents) did not belong to the state church. However, this alternative subject was removed in the 1990s as the Norwegian state reacted defensively to developments of individualism and relativism inherent in the movements of postmodernism and neo-liberalism, and the pluralism arising from increased immigration. In the 1990s religion was reconceptualised from a diminishing influence to become a key means for defining and maintaining national identity, creating social cohesion, and maintaining links with Norwegian heritage. Given the importance of this task, a new multifaith religious education subject, dominated by Christianity, was legislated in 1997 as compulsory for all students. The predominance of Christianity was justified upon the rationale of Christianity's significance to Norway's national cultural heritage, political context, and identity. However, the privileged position of Christianity, coupled with a lack of exemption rights, led to appeals to the United Nations and the European Court of Human Rights. As a result, the Norwegian state was ordered to make changes to religious education based upon the principles of neutrality, objectivity, and plurality.

The case study of New Zealand demonstrates that although the variables of post-differentiated schooling are global in influence, how a nation responds to these variables is not. Since the 1960s, New Zealand has re-institutionalised and reconceptualised the role of religion within its nation state primary education system while maintaining the belief that religion is a private affair. In 1962, the New Zealand state officially recognised voluntary religious instruction within state schools and in 1975 extended the state education system to include schools of a religious character. Throughout the 1970s, the state tentatively questioned the relationship between religion and state schooling based upon developments and re-conceptualisations of religion. These new perceptions of religion, in part, led to curricula changes in the 1990s where spirituality entered the curriculum for the first time. However somewhat paradoxically education policy retained a continual commitment to the secular clause. Spirituality was justified in terms of holistic education, postmodernism, and the

Māori worldview. Māori cultural understandings of religion and schooling also manifested in the development of Kura Kaupapa schools that became part of state education in the 1980s. Kura Kaupapa schools challenged the separation of religion and schooling through the Māori worldview that does not differentiate between the sacred and the profane, as does the secular school. Initially, Kura Kaupapa schools were integrated into the state education system through the political ideology of neo-liberalism. Neo-liberalism provided new opportunities for a relationship between religion and schooling through the political concepts of *choice* and the *educational marketplace*.

Chapter Ten summarises the concepts and theories of *phases of differentiated schooling* and identifies integral national differences that are explained by the principles of individual autonomy, cultural diversity, and social cohesion. From these principles, the *mentalities* of Norway and New Zealand are identified through four constructs that analyse how each nation interprets and practices the concept of religion within education. The second half of this chapter evaluates the contribution *phases of differentiated schooling* can make to policy development where it provides a theoretical, conceptual, and historical map that elucidates the changing boundaries and opportunities of relationship between religion and schooling. Such a framework provides policy makers and researchers with the means to analyse and evaluate past, current, and future education policies with knowledge of the cultural, social, epistemological, and pedagogical dimensions that frame the relationship between religion and schooling.

Chapter Two : Theoretical and methodological framework

The purpose of this chapter is to outline the theoretical and methodological framework that informs the development of the concepts and theories of *phases of differentiated schooling*. The concepts and theories are built through a synthesis of deductive reasoning from the sociological theory of differentiation, and inductive reasoning from the case studies of New Zealand and Norway. This synthesis is structured using Goertz's (2006) three-level concepts and two-level theories that provide the framework from which educational concepts and theories are built. The first half of this chapter outlines the theoretical contributions from the sociology of religion and the case studies of Norway and New Zealand, while the second half provides an overview of Goertz's theoretical framework.

This chapter begins with a summary of the quantitative and qualitative research traditions that shape the methodological commitments of this thesis. The qualitative research tradition characterises the historical case study analysis of Norway and New Zealand, while the commitment towards concept and theory building is reflective of the quantitative research tradition. Section 2.2 outlines the sociological foundations of this thesis, in particular is the *secularisation thesis* and the process of *differentiation* that explains the changing role of religion in western society. From the theories of secularisation and differentiation, three sociological eras are identified. The first is the era of *undifferentiation*, where religion formed a 'sacred canopy' over society (Berger, 1969). Second, is the era of *differentiation* where religion's influence diminished and differentiated due to advances in secular authority and knowledge (Dobbelaere, 1981; Luhmann, 1982). The final era is *post-differentiation*, characterised by a reconceptualisation of religion that increased the significance of religion in contemporary society. Together these three phases form the sociological foundation for the theorisation and conceptualisation of the changing relationship between religion and schooling.

Section 2.3 outlines the methodological contribution of the case studies of New Zealand and Norway and the *grounds of comparability* identified. It is posited that while New Zealand and Norway have substantial differences, there are sufficient similarities in their educational, ontological, religious, political, and legal contexts that provide the foundation necessary for theory and concept development.

The next two sections outline Goertz's theoretical framework of *three-level concepts* and *two-level theories* that are used to synthesise the theories from the sociology of religion with the case studies of Norway and New Zealand. This framework provides a means to map the causal variables and conceptual properties of the changing relationship between religion and schooling to develop educational concepts and theories. Section 2.4 outlines the three-level concept that is in essence a theory "about the fundamental constitutive elements of a phenomenon" (Goertz, 2006, p. 5). Section 2.5 outlines the two-level theory that explains why the three-level concept arose. Two-level theories identify both the immediate and cumulative variables that caused, or constituted, the manifestation of a concept. Finally, Section 2.6 of this chapter addresses common critiques that arise regarding theory building.

2.1 Qualitative and quantitative perspectives

The methodology of this thesis derives from both the qualitative and quantitative traditions, reflecting the dual task of both inductive and deductive analysis. The objective of developing general theory that applies to both Norway and New Zealand is located within the quantitative research tradition that aims to produce "a generalisation or series of generalisations by which we attempt to explain some phenomenon in a systematic manner" (Wiersom & Jurs, 2009, p. 14). Quantitative research is "associated with deduction, [and] reasoning from principles to specific situations" (Wiersom & Jurs, 2009, p. 14). Deductive reasoning is defined as "an approach to developing or confirming a theory that begins with abstract concepts and theoretical relationships and works towards more concrete empirical evidence" (Neuman, 2006, p. 59). Constituting the quantitative perspective in this thesis are the 'abstract concepts and theoretical relationships' from the sociology of religion that are applied deductively to develop a set of concepts and theories to explain religious change in schooling. The educational concepts and theories developed can be described as a "series of generalisations" (Wiersom & Jurs, 2009, p. 14). In summary, a quantitative perspective is evident in the goal of creating general concepts and theories that explain the relationship between religion and schooling.

On the other side of the research divide is qualitative research that has "its origins in descriptive analysis and is essentially an inductive process, reasoning from the specific situation to general conclusions" (Wiersom & Jurs, 2009, p. 14). Qualitative research is "context-specific", whereas quantitative research is "context-free" (Wiersom & Jurs, 2009, p. 15). The descriptive historical

analysis of the case studies of Norway and New Zealand is consistent with the qualitative research perspective where the historical descriptive analysis inductively contributes to the general conclusions reached about the relationship between religion and schooling.

Descriptive historical analysis is not antithetical to theory development, as Neuman explains inductive theorising works towards “developing or confirming a theory” (Neuman, 2006, p.60). The qualitative researcher begins with the “concrete empirical evidence and works toward more abstract concepts and theoretical relationships” (Neuman, 2006, p. 60). The qualitative perspective is therefore conducive to quantitative goals, this is because “over time” the qualitative researcher can observe an “issue evolve ... or a social relationship develop” and thereby “detect process and causal relations” (Neuman, 2006, p.159). In summary, the research in this thesis can be characterised as a movement “back and forth between theory and history in many iterations of analysis as they formulate new concepts, discover novel explanations, and refine pre-existing theoretical expectation in light of detailed case evidence” (Mahoney & Rueschemeyer, 2003, p. 13).

2.2 Sociological foundations: Theories of differentiation and secularisation

Sociology of religion forms the sociological foundation of this thesis and explains religion’s changing role in society through the theories of secularisation and differentiation. The classical secularisation thesis has its origins in the work of Max Weber, Emile Durkheim, and Karl Marx, who all drew upon the historical trajectory of the Christian church in western society and hypothesised the eventual societal and individual demise of religion (Schultz, 2006). The secularisation thesis assumes a baseline beginning in the Middle Ages where the Christian church ascended to form an “overarching sacred canopy” over society (Furseth & Repstad, 2006, p. 59). However, from the 16th century the supremacy of the Christian church diminished to a secular jurisdiction and framework. This transition from the sacred to the secular underpins the theory of secularisation. Upon analysis of this transition Max Weber wrote in 1918 that “the fate of our times” would be characterised by a growth of intellectualism and rationalism that would lead to “the disenchantment of the world” (Weber, 1970, p. 155), while Emile Durkheim stated that;

If there is one truth that history has incontrovertibly settled, it is that religion extends over an ever diminishing area of social life. Originally it extended to everything, everything social was religious – the two worlds were synonymous. Then gradually political, economic and scientific functions broke free from the religious function, becoming separate entities and taking on more and more a markedly temporal character. God ... has progressively withdrawn (Durkheim, 1984, p. 119).

In summary, the classical secularisation thesis posited that the role of religion would be progressively relegated to the “realm of the non-rational” with the subsequent loss of its traditional social functions (Furseth & Repstad, 2006, p. 35).

In the 1960s, the “second generation theoreticians” of secularisation emerged (Schultz, 2006, p. 173). Peter Berger, Thomas Luckmann, Karel Dobbelaere, and Bryan Wilson were a few of the most prominent sociologists whom proclaimed that the secularisation thesis “seemed to be holding true” (Schultz, 2006, p. 173). Bryan Wilson stated in 1966, “it is taken simply as a fact that religion – seen as a way of thinking, as the performance of particular practices, and as the institutionalization of these patterns of thought and action – has lost influence” (Wilson, 1966, p. xi). Similarly, Thomas Luckmann and Peter Berger concluded in the 1960s that “the social structure has been secularized” (Furseth & Repstad, 2006, p. 59).

However, of interest to future developments within the sociology of religion was Thomas Luckmann’s (1971) argument that while “traditional institutional religion is weakening in modern industrial societies”, secularisation also has the consequence of facilitating “the growth of non-institutional religion outside the established religious institutions, a so-called ‘invisible religion’” (Furseth & Repstad, 2006, p. 60). This new conceptualisation of the “invisible religion” had increasing weight in the closing decades of the 20th century as the sacred was reconceptualised by the concept of spirituality, a non-institutional form of the sacred. In addition, religion was observed as having an increasingly visible and active role in the public and political arenas, forcing a reappraisal of the secularisation thesis.

Thus, the secularisation thesis was revised, as it was increasingly evident that religion was not diminishing. Religion held new cultural, social and individual significance - evident as individuals, cultural groups, nation states and global organisations reconceptualised and re-institutionalised the role of religion. In illustration, prominent sociologist Jose Casanova questioned, “who still believes in the myth of secularisation?” (Casanova, 1994, p. 11), while Peter Berger boldly stated that “the assumption we live in a secularised world is false” (Berger, 1999, p. 2). Subsequently, new and alternate theories to secularisation emerged to account for the changing role of religion in society. In summary, the sociology of religion provides us with a theoretical understanding of the changing role and relationship that religion has with society.

2.2.1 Terminology from sociology

This section defines the sociological terms *secularisation* and *differentiation*, and explains how these terms relate to, and are applied to, the field of education. Simply, secularisation is the “process by which sectors of society and culture are removed from the domination of religious institutions and symbols” (Berger, 1969, p.107). Secularisation can refer to “society and culture” and the “consciousness” of the individual (Berger, 1969, p.108). Thus, secularisation properly understood is “not a unitary process” (Sommerville, 1998, p. 249). Secularisation can refer to different “*processes*” such as “decline, differentiation, disengagement, [or] rationalization”, and in relation to different levels of society, such as, “structural, cultural, organizational, [or] individual” (Sommerville, 1998, p. 249). Given these distinctions, the definition of secularisation is dependent upon the level of analysis where there are “different definitions and divergent evaluations of the situation” (Dobbelaere, 1999, p. 229). Therefore, while secularisation refers to the diminishing influence of religion across social structures, social systems and individuals; the term *differentiation* is used only “when discussing social structures” (Sommerville, 1998, p. 250). Differentiation, is secularisation in relation to religious change in the subsystems of society, it is

a process by which the overarching and transcendent religious system of old is being reduced in a modern functionally differentiated society to a subsystem alongside other subsystems, losing in this process its overarching claims over the other sub- systems (Dobbelaere, 1999, p. 232).

Because schooling is a subsystem, *differentiation* is the primary sociological concept used to analyse change between the systems of religion and schooling.

From the sociology of religion, three phases of differentiation can be identified, where each phase is distinguished by what Barker describes as different “configurations of knowledge” (Barker, 2003, p. 200). These different “configurations of knowledge” influence how religion is perceived in relation to knowledge, culture and politics, and schooling. The following sections outline the phases of *undifferentiation*, *differentiation*, and *post-differentiation*.

2.2.2 The phase of undifferentiation

The first phase, *undifferentiation*, is characterised by the predominance of religion over society. Undifferentiation has its origins in the middle ages where reality and knowledge were defined by

religion (Demerath III & Williams, 1992). Within this era “the community ... [was] dominated by a single, undifferentiated churchly presence” (Demerath III & Williams, 1992, p. 190). Christianity defined an overarching framework over society, forming what Peter Berger has described as the “sacred canopy” (Berger, 1969, title page). During this period social structure, political power, and knowledge gained their legitimacy from religion because religion penetrated all aspects of life: “the presence of God was unavoidable; authority itself was bound up with the divine, and various invocations of God were inseparable from public life” (Taylor, 2002, p. 64).

Within the height of the undifferentiated period politics was bound to religion and formed a theological political power from which the social structure and ontological worldview was legitimated. Politically, this arrangement can be characterised as theological absolutism, where rulers ruled by divine right and were unchallengeable except upon theological grounds (Heywood, 2004). Socially and culturally, religion provided the framework for the organisation of society, where “there were no clear boundaries among religion, culture and society” (Hakim, 2006, p. 150). Religion was not “something to think about, but a mode of our understanding of time and space” (Aldridge, 2000, p. 2). Thus, the undifferentiated society was characterised by a strong monolithic theologically determined ontology maintained through a social structure that “traced everything back to God” (Cupitt, 1996, p. 73).

Maintaining religion’s authority were the institutions of education, scholarship, and law that acted as a means of socialisation into faith (Aldridge, 2000). Faith limited reason and the power and autonomy of humans. Consequently, education was determined by a theological understanding of human nature and purpose, where humans flawed by original sin required governance (Arthur, 2008) and “obedience was valued above independence of mind” (Wright, 2004, p. 130).

2.2.3 The phase of differentiation

Differentiation is the process and outcome by which religion lost its overarching authority and control over society to become “one institution alongside other institutions” (Dobbelaere, 1981, p. 11). Upon movements such as the Enlightenment, the scientific revolution, modernity, and liberalism, Christianity moved from having a central role and multiple functions, to become restricted to matters of faith. Thus, religion, once the undisputed authority over society and

education, became a site of contention as the knowledge and authority professed by the church came to be seen as relative to the subjective realm of faith.

Niklas Luhmann (1982) has divided the differentiated society into seven different systems that operate and exist independently of each other. These systems are *religion, education, law, economics, science, politics, and art*. Within the phase of differentiation the system of education is independent and autonomous from religion and has its own distinct purpose - “secondary socialisation” (Laermans & Verschraegen, 2001, p. 9). Education is the means by which the “modes of behaviour that one would like to achieve are defined; the situation from which one starts is evaluated... [and in which] the pedagogical means to achieve what could not occur by itself are chosen” (Vanderstraeten, 2000, 17). In contrast, the purpose of the religious system is restricted to “‘sacred’ communication about the transcendent” (Furseth & Repstad, 2006, p. 54).

2.2.4 The sociological developments for the phase of post-differentiation

From the mid to late 20th century, the theories of secularisation and differentiation were challenged by a reconceptualisation of religion. Religion increased in importance in relation to the individual, culture, and society. As Bijsterveld states, “once again, it is realized that religion is not an isolated area of life, but that it is intrinsically connected with views of the human being, society, and the state, and, therefore, with values and cultural patterns” (Bijsterveld, 2012, p. 1). This reconceptualisation of religion has a variety of terms, reflecting the different forms and roles religion is taking in contemporary society. For example, the new phenomenon of the sacred through spirituality has been referred to as the *sacralisation* of society (Woodhead & Heelas, 2000), while the blurring of the spheres of reason and faith upon movements such as postmodernism has been called *de-differentiation* (Lash, 1990). Sociologist José Casanova believes that religion has “entered the public sphere” (Casanova, 1994, p. 3) and is subsequently in a process of “*deprivatisation*” (Casanova, 1994, p. 5) and Peter Berger tellingly entitled one of his essays the “*deseccularisation of the world*” (Berger, 1999, p. 2). Given the multiple contexts of influence, I will refer to the contemporary period as the era of *post-differentiation*.

Liam Gearon theorises religion’s new role in society in terms of four “critical contexts” (Gearon, 2008, pp. 97-98). The first “critical context” identifies a new role for religion in “political public life”, with “increasing evidence” demonstrating that religion has “persistent and renewed

importance” (Gearon, 2008, p. 97). The second context is the “increased recognition” by the United Nations of the role religion has in creating “a stable world order”, this is in contrast to earlier United Nations policies that “tended to downplay religious and ideological diversity” (Gearon, 2008, p. 97). The third critical context reflects the “broader global trends of religion in political and public life” by recognising “the importance of religion in citizenship and human rights education” (Gearon, 2008, p. 97). Correspondingly, the final context is the recognition of “citizenship/human rights in religious education”, this is in contrast to past policies where “the political has been underplayed in religious education” (Gearon, 2008, p. 97). This new interest in religious education is due to the increased global and political prominence of religion that “has engendered an exponential, previously unknown growth of interest in religious education in political matters it has historically sidestepped” (Gearon, 2008, pp. 97-98).

The post-differentiated society is one in which the spheres and boundaries of the rational and the sacred are blurred (Egan, 2000). Contributing to the blurring of the boundaries is the term *religion* that has become more flexible, subsequently increasing its potential significance (Woodhead & Heelas, 2000). The reconceptualisation of religion does not mean a regression to an undifferentiated society, where religion and spirituality exist above all other systems. Instead, post-differentiation describes the contemporary situation where connections and relationships between religion and other social systems have become closer upon new philosophical, political and cultural movements.

The role of religion within this thesis is analysed within the public sphere at the level of subsystems, specifically how religion manifests in education policy. Thus, my use of the term post-differentiation can be understood by what de Vries explains as “less a change in the societal role of religion than a different governmental public perception of it” (de Vries, 2009, p. 3). The term post-differentiation is concerned primarily with the “changed attitude by the secular state” (Hans Joas, 2004 as cited in de Vries, 2009, p. 3). Thus, the term post-differentiation within this thesis refers to a new attitude by the nation state to religion that manifests in a reconceptualised role of religion within education policy.

2.2.5 Educational terminology of differentiation

The term differentiation needs to be defined and examined in relation to the subsystem of analysis. Hughey has argued that secularisation “must be examined on an institutional level – not as a wide

ranging social process, but more narrowly, in terms of the existing relationship between religion and each separate institutional order of the world” (Hughey, 1979, p. 93). Thus, while differentiation forms the sociological foundation of this thesis, a more precise and refined term is necessary to isolate and theorise the processes of differentiation from society to schooling. For this reason, I develop the terms *undifferentiated schooling*, *differentiated schooling*, and *post-differentiated schooling*. These terms specify that the theories and concepts developed in this thesis, while deriving from the sociological literature on differentiation, focus primarily upon the systems of religion and schooling. In brief, *undifferentiated schooling* is when schooling was a subsystem under religion, *differentiated schooling*, is when schooling became an independent system from religion, while *post-differentiated schooling*, is when religion was reconceptualised and its role within schooling renegotiated.

2.3 The case studies of New Zealand and Norway

This thesis develops educational concepts and theories, drawn from the sociology of religion through inductive theorising from the case studies of Norway and New Zealand. New Zealand and Norway were chosen due to the trajectory of my postgraduate research that begun in 2005 when I completed a post-graduate research paper while living in Norway. This paper was a comparative analysis that looked at the differences between the education systems of Norway and New Zealand. At this time, I was particularly interested in the political differences between the two nations where while neo-liberalism, competition and individualism were influential in New Zealand, they were not in Norway. Underpinning these differences were surprisingly different concepts of equality. In coming to understand these differences of equality, I became increasingly interested in the variables of religion and pluralism. In my search for explanation my Master’s thesis in 2006 expanded to the sociology of religion where I examined how different concepts of equality within Reformed Protestantism and Lutheranism may have impacted on shaping values and beliefs within education in New Zealand and Norway drawing upon the work of Max Weber. Throughout my Master’s thesis I became increasingly convinced that given education’s dependency upon economic, social, political and cultural contexts, sociology can go some way into providing insight into explaining educational developments. Due to the intriguing similarities (despite significant differences) between Norway and New Zealand, I became interested in how the sociology of religion, namely the developments of secularisation and differentiation, could explain the changing role of religion within state education.

2.3.1 Particularistic cases studies

The case studies are limited to and bounded by the foundations and developments of the nation state education systems of Norway and New Zealand. These case studies are classified as particularistic case studies, meaning that they are utilised for their “special features”, focusing on “a particular situation, event, program, or phenomenon” (Merriam, 2009, p. 43). A particularistic case study is significant “for what it reveals about the phenomenon and for what it might represent” (Merriam, 2009, p. 43). Subsequently, the case studies of New Zealand and Norway are utilised for what they reveal about the phenomenon of religion and schooling. The insight gathered is then used to develop educational concepts and theories. In this way, the case studies of New Zealand and Norway are *instrumental* to theory building where while the case studies are studied “in-depth”, the case study is examined primarily “to provide insight into an issue or draw a generalization” (Stake, 2000, p. 437). It is from these insights and generalisations that “theoretical constructs” are created (Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007, p. 25).

There are distinct advantages for using two or more case studies in the development of theory where using more than one case study creates an “increasingly sophisticated theoretical framework in which to describe and analyse educational phenomena” (Phillips, 2006, p. 289). The analysis of two systems of schooling allows for the visibility of “various practices and procedures in a very wide context that helps to throw light upon them” (Phillips, 2006, p. 289). The use of multiple case studies provides a means to elucidate “aspects of social life that are general across units ... as opposed to being limited to one unit alone” (Neuman, 2006, p. 437). Case studies can provide “high levels of conceptual validity” through “conceptual refinements” and the identification and measurement of “indicators that best represent the theoretical concepts” (George & Bennett, 2005, p. 19). Case studies contribute to “constructs and relationships” that are more “precisely delineated because it is easier to determine accurate definitions and appropriate levels of construct abstraction from multiple cases” (Eisenhardt and Graebner, 2007, p. 27).

2.3.2 The grounds of comparability

To provide a theoretical foundation from which concept and theory building can take place it is necessary to establish the *grounds of comparison* between the case studies of Norway and New Zealand. The *grounds of comparison* identify “the parameters for comparability” - the classification

of similarities and differences that are significant to the analysis (Manzon, 2007, p. 118). To establish the theoretical grounds of comparison, two criteria must be met. First there must be “a common basis of sufficient significance to give a starting point”, and second “the situations must differ in some important aspects to make comparison of any value” (Hans, 1959, p. 10)

Common to New Zealand and Norway, and of sufficient significance to theory building, is the shared global influence of Western beliefs, attitudes, values, practices, and institutions. Both New Zealand and Norway have drawn upon, and been influenced by, the theological and philosophical Judeo-Christian heritage that has shaped beliefs, values, and practices. Both nations were influenced by western global political, philosophical, and pedagogical ideas that prompted the development of state funded mass education systems in the late 19th century. Additionally, the Western trajectory of philosophy, politics, and knowledge has had general influence upon both nations in determining changes in not only public policy, but also the content and purpose of schooling. These similarities are educationally significant to the role of religion in schooling as they determine the political, social, and epistemological framework in which religion is positioned in relation to knowledge, the individual, and society. Table 2.1 summarises the theoretical foundation of “the common basis of sufficient significance”:

Table 2.1 *The grounds for comparability: Similarities between Norway and New Zealand.*

	Terms of Comparison
Religious	Predominant Christian heritage.
Educational	Mass schooling under the authority and provision of the state founded in the late 19 th century. Emphasis upon schooling as a means of equality. The development of mixed systems in the late 20 th century; strong state school, with state support for schools of alternative character.
Ontological	Western philosophical influence: The Reformation The Enlightenment The Scientific Revolution. Postmodernism
Political	Western political developments of : The nation state Liberalism Mass education systems The welfare State The new right Multiculturalism
Legal	Bound and signatory to the same international conventions and laws that limit the autonomy of the state in the practice of religion and schooling through human rights, indigenous rights, parental and the rights of the child

In addition, New Zealand and Norway must also exhibit important differences. Differences are advantageous to theory building because a “more sophisticated understanding can arise from the search for similarity in a seemingly different pair” (Eisenhardt, 1989, p. 541). Differences increase academic insight and the “likelihood of generating novel theory”, as “creative insight often arises from the juxtaposition of contradictory or paradoxical evidence” (Eisenhardt, 1989, p. 546). In this respect, the differences between Norway and New Zealand challenge and refine the development of educational theories and concepts to elucidate the changing concept of religion in schooling, while congruently remaining true to its different manifestations.

A significant difference between Norway and New Zealand is the historical variable of *when* the state first demonstrated legislative interest in schooling. Norway first implemented legislation on state schooling in 1739, a time when religion had a significant bearing on political authority in a context of theocracy. Thus, the foundations of Norwegian state schooling were characterised by the strong authority and influence of the Lutheran state church that defined and structured mass schooling. In contrast, the New Zealand state first demonstrated interest in schooling in 1847 by the Education Ordinance. At this time, New Zealand’s population was assertively plural and the government was concerned for religious rights and freedom in a context of liberalism. Subsequently, cultural and religious plurality was recognised by the state in the Education Ordinance of 1847 through granting financial aid to diverse denominations. A plural array of church schools had developed by the mid-19th century, reflecting the religious plurality of New Zealand society. In addition, New Zealand’s assertively plural population necessitated recognition in legislation that teaching must not be contrary to a student’s religious beliefs. Thus, while the New Zealand education system was founded on a religiously plural nation, the Norwegian education system was established on the assumption and belief in a homogenous population.

These differences are important, as historical analysis reveals that contemporary differences of education policy on religion and spirituality are built upon and developed within this influential historical legal and cultural foundation. In summary, within New Zealand, the relationship between religion and schooling was framed by considerations for *individual autonomy* and *cultural diversity*; whereas within Norway religion and schooling was framed by considerations for *social cohesion* and political conformity. Table 2.2 summarises these central differences.

Table 2.2 *The grounds for comparability: Similarities between Norway and New Zealand*

	Terms of Comparison	
	Norway	New Zealand
Religion	Historically religiously homogenous. Religion as a means of social cohesion and political conformity.	Historically religiously plural. Religion feared for its divisiveness.
Educational	Initial state interest in schooling in the first half of the 18 th century	Initial state interest in schooling in the second half of the 19 th century
Political	State church (up until 2012). Historical political compulsion of religion and schooling.	No state church. Historical interest in avoiding the compulsion of religion and schooling.

2.4 Three-level concepts: The conceptual foundation and framework for phases of differentiated schooling

The synthesis of sociological theory, historical analysis, and the case studies of Norway and New Zealand is structured by Goertz's (2006) framework of three-level concepts and two-level theories. This multi-level framework provides the structure by which the relationship between religion and schooling is theorised and conceptualised into educational theories and concepts. The multiple levels of the three-level concept and two-level theory are particularly beneficial as they provide flexibility to case study context, while simultaneously providing general theoretical and conceptual insight elucidating the relationship between religion and schooling. This section outlines the structure and rationale of three-level concepts.

Goertz's three-level concept is "multidimensional and multilevel" (Goertz, 2006, p. 6) allowing for the "fundamental constitutive elements" of the abstract concept to be defined and its occurrence in reality categorised (Goertz, 2006, pp. 5-6). By the three-level concept, the relationship between religion and schooling is conceptualised at an abstract theoretical level, its ontological or constitutive properties identified, and the means to recognise its occurrence in case study asserted. The three levels of the three-level concept are the basic-level, the secondary-level, and the indicator-level.

The *basic-level* is the most primary and abstract level of three-level concept, it is where the concept is abstract and “cognitively central” (Goertz, 2006, p. 6). It is at this level that the concept is “used in theoretical propositions” (Goertz, 2006, p. 6). Within this thesis, the terms *undifferentiated schooling*, *differentiated schooling*, and *post-differentiated schooling* form the basic-level. Defining the basic-level concept are the underpinning secondary-level constitutive ontological properties (Goertz, 2006). The secondary-level defines the constitutive features of each phase of differentiated schooling by its ontological properties. Together “the secondary and basic levels stress the commonalities *across* diverse contexts” and are used to form theory (Goertz, 2006, p. 63). The third level - the indicator level - is the most specific level where the concept is categorised into concrete expression providing the researcher with the ability to identify an occurrence of the concept. It allows the categorisation of “whether or not a specific phenomenon or event falls under the concept” (Goertz, 2006, p. 6). The indicator level “links the more theoretical analysis in the basic- and secondary-levels to the more practical requirements of converting these ideas into empirical practice” (Goertz, 2006, p. 62). At the indicator-level, properties can be classified as being substitutable (meaning that not all variables are necessary to indicate the occurrence of a concept) thus providing flexibility for cultural context.

The three-level concept provides a compromise between theory and context, as Goertz explains, there is a “compromise of theoretical generality at the secondary and basic levels, while the historical and cross-national sensitivity at the indicator levels provides a solid empirical foundation for the theoretical superstructure” (Goertz, 2006, p. 64). The three-levels of the concept balance commitments to general theory with the necessary acknowledgement of national contextual complexity. The general theory of the concept is built by the basic- and secondary-levels elucidating abstract general conceptual features, while the indicator-level provides flexibility to “take into account diversity across nation and time” (Goertz, 2006, p. 64). Figure 2.2, illustrates Goertz’s structure of the three-level concept.

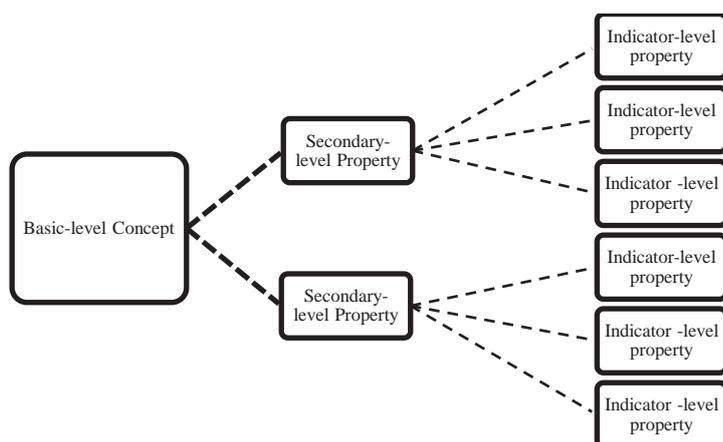


Figure 2-1: Goertz's (2006) three-level concept

As three-level concepts are the “the main building blocks for constructing theoretical propositions” they have a direct link to theory (Goertz, 2006, p. 1). The next section outlines Goertz’s (2006) *two-level theory* that is used to structure and identify the variables that led to the manifestation of the three-level concept.

2.5 Two-level theory: The theoretical foundation and framework for phases of differentiated schooling

While concepts explain what constitutes a phenomenon, theory explains why a phenomenon developed. A theory is a “system of interconnected ideas that condenses and organises knowledge about the social world” (Neuman, 2006, p. 50). Theory identifies the “underlying general processes across different contexts or categories” that separate general patterns from the “context-laden environment” (Mills, 2008, para. 3). From this perspective, the theorisation of the changing relationship between religion and schooling requires the identification of “underlying general processes” (Mills, 2008, para. 3) that have led to each phase of relationship between religion and schooling. As religion is a cultural, political, social, and epistemological phenomenon, a theory that explains religious change in schooling needs to synthesise these different disciplines into its explanation of educational change. Goertz’s theoretical structure of the two-level theory provides the structure and means by which these diverse phenomena can be organised into a coherent theory. The two-level theory organises “causal variables at two levels of analysis that are systematically

related to one another” (Goertz & Mahoney, 2005, p. 497). The two levels consist of the “basic-level causal variable” and the “secondary-level variable or property” (Goertz, 2006, p. 240). Together these two levels explain why the basic concept arose.

The basic-level of the two-level theory “represents the core of the theory focusing on the central causal variables and main outcome under investigation” (Goertz & Mahoney, 2005, pp. 497-498). The basic-level variables form “the building blocks of two-level theories” (Goertz & Mahoney, 2005, p. 501). At the basic-level are “the main causal variables and outcome variable of the theory as a whole” (Goertz, 2006, p. 240). Thus, at the basic-level the central causal variables that have led to each phase of relationship between religion and schooling are identified.

Underpinning the basic-level causal variables are the secondary-level properties or variables. These variables and properties at the secondary-level are dependent upon the basic-level variables as “their effects cannot be understood independently of their relationship with the causal factors at the basic-level” (Goertz & Mahoney, 2005, p. 498). The secondary-level variables help “to bring into being more temporally proximate causal variables”, defining a distinction between “more remote causes” at the secondary-level, in contrast to the “more proximate causes” at the basic-level (Goertz & Mahoney, 2005, p. 503). This is advantageous as it “adds complexity to the argument developed at the basic level” (Goertz & Mahoney, 2005, p. 506). As Pierson states “many important social processes take a long time – sometimes an extremely long time to unfold ... There are important things we do not see at all” (2003, p. 178). Thus, secondary-level causal variables are particularly useful for research that seeks to explain cumulative social processes where influential historical variables may be far removed from the actual instance of the phenomenon in question.

The relationship between the secondary and basic levels can be classified as causal, ontological, or substitutable. As a causal relationship, the secondary-level variables “represent ‘causes of causes’” (Goertz & Mahoney, 2005, p. 503). This means the “are treated as causes of the causal variables at the basic level” (Goertz & Mahoney, 2005, p. 498). These causal variables can be theorised as being “*individually necessary and jointly sufficient*”, meaning that all variables must be present to cause the concept, or *substitutable* meaning that the presence of all the variables is not necessary (Goertz & Mahoney, 2005, p. 498). Substitutable variables are “different ways by which it is possible to arrive at basic-level states” (Goertz & Mahoney, 2005, p. 498). In addition, the secondary-level can be constituted by ontological properties (as opposed to variables), that “represent features that define or constitute causal variables at the basic level” (Goertz & Mahoney,

2005, p. 498). These secondary-level properties are distinctive as they are “the elements that literally constitute basic-level phenomena” (Goertz & Mahoney, 2005, p. 498).

The secondary level of the two-level theory provides the means to identify the historical origins of a phenomenon, recognising that social phenomenon are often the result of socially cumulative processes that require analysis beyond their historical and geographical boundaries. In this way, two-level theories expose variables, processes, and properties that lead to an enhanced and comprehensive understanding of why each phase of relationship between religion and schooling arose. Thus, two-level theories explain how the three-level concept arose.

The construction of two-level theory demonstrates the close relationship between theory and concept where Figure 2.2, illustrates the skeleton structure of the two-level theory in relation to the three-level concept. As the legend in Figure 2.2 demonstrates, the relationship between the levels is represented as an ontological relationship through a dashed line, or as a causal relationship through a straight line. In addition, within each figure a property or variable can be categorised by an ‘asterisk’ indicating the relationship between variables is structured by the logical AND - that is all variables are individually necessary and jointly sufficient - or a ‘cross’, representing the logical OR, indicating that the relationship between variables/properties is substitutable.

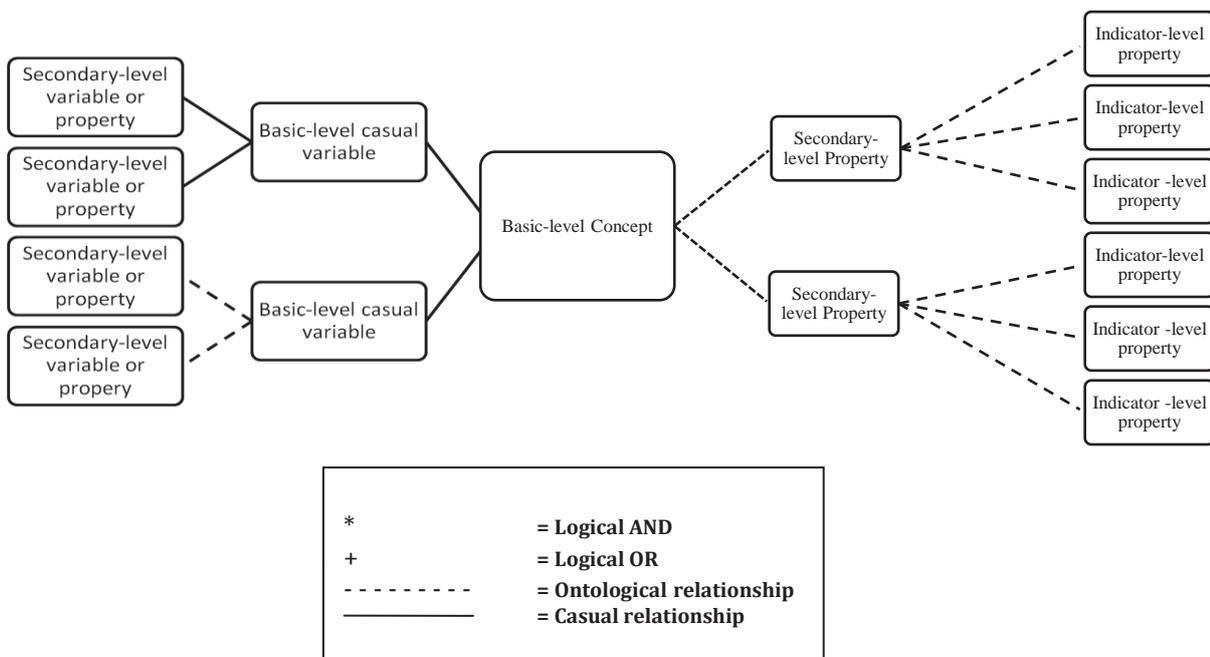


Figure 2-2: Goertz's (2006) two-level theory and three-level concept

2.6 The critique of theory development

A common critique against theory-focused research is that ‘thick description’ of the case in the particular is sacrificed for the development and generalisation of theory, thereby limiting “the historical researcher’s interpretation of the past” (Gall, Gall, & Borg, 2007, p. 544). However, theory and historical research can be synthesised successfully with history and theory having a constructive relationship. As McCulloch and Richardson (2000, p.53) explain, “explicit theory should be regarded as being just as important for historians as for sociologists ... [where] both in their different ways should be “searching for theories that have adequate historical grounding”.

This thesis attempts to develop theory that has a strong historical grounding where extensive historical analysis is utilised to develop the conceptual and theoretical understanding of *phases of differentiated schooling*. The flexibility of three-level concepts and two-level theories allows for case study sensitivity and variance within concept and theory. Thus, the concepts and theories of *phases of differentiated schooling* are context sensitive, providing general conceptual and theoretical understanding without requiring conformity.

2.7 Conclusions

The relationship between religion and schooling is complex and multifaceted, requiring theory and concept to understand its manifestation. This thesis develops educational concepts and theories to explain the relationship between religion and schooling through a synthesis of theoretical insight from the sociology of religion with the case studies of New Zealand and Norway. The sociology of religion provides abstract theory and concepts from which educational concept and theory is deductively reasoned, while the case studies of Norway and New Zealand contribute inductively through providing qualitative data that is used to develop and refine the education concepts and theories. Thus, the concepts and theories developed, *undifferentiated schooling*, *differentiated schooling* and *post-differentiated schooling*, arise from a dialogue between inductive and deductive reasoning. Eisenhardt & Graebner describe this method as “recursive cycling” (Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007, p. 25) where research moves continually back and forward between sociological theory and literature, the case studies of Norway and New Zealand and the new emerging educational concepts and theories. This process, combined with the “insight of the theorist” is

advantageous as it has the potential to “build incrementally more powerful theories” (Eisenhardt, 1989, p. 548).

Goertz (2006) three-level concepts and two-level theories provides the theoretical framework from which *phases of differentiated schooling* is built. The three-level concepts, identifies and structures the ontological and indicator properties of each phase of relationship between religion and schooling, while the two-level theories identify the basic and secondary causal variables that caused each phase of relationship. The multi-levels of this conceptual and theoretical structure provides the means to acknowledge case study sensitivity within abstract theoretical and conceptual constructs elucidating the relationship between religion and schooling. As concepts are the “building blocks of theory” (Neuman, 2006, p. 53), this thesis first develops the three concepts of *phases of differentiated schooling*, before developing theory. The following chapter builds the three-level concepts of un-differentiated, differentiated and post-differentiated schooling.

Chapter Three : The three-level concepts of un-differentiated, differentiated, and post-differentiated schooling

The relationship between religion and schooling at any given time rests upon the accepted and legitimated social, cultural, political, and pedagogical beliefs and practices within that particular era. Thus, the relationship between religion and schooling is not static, but dynamic, changing as these beliefs and practices change. There are three phases of relationship between religion and schooling, which arise from three different cultural, political, and epistemological eras. Underpinning the rationale for these three phases is the idea that different eras are marked by different ways of conceptualising the social world (Barker, 2003), and therefore religion's role within education policy. The purpose of this chapter is to identify and define the three conceptual phases of relationship between religion and schooling: *undifferentiated schooling*, *differentiated schooling*, and *post-differentiated schooling*.

This chapter begins by providing a brief outline of the conceptualisation of the relationship between religion and schooling. Following this the three concepts of *phases of differentiated schooling* are developed. Section 3.2 develops the concept of *undifferentiated schooling* that has its origins in the Middle Ages and was prominent until the mid-19th century. Undifferentiated schooling is characterised by four properties: religious authority and provision over schooling; a strong Christian ontology; the domination of religion over knowledge; and a close relationship between religion and culture.

Section 3.3 develops the concept of *differentiated schooling*. Differentiated schooling gradually increased in explanatory power from the mid-19th century with its conceptual properties remaining dominant until the late 20th century. Differentiated schooling is characterised by four properties: secular authority and provision over schooling; secular knowledge; a “neglect of the ontological dimension” (Connolly, 1995, p. 4); and, a distinction between religion and culture.

Section 3.4 explores the concept of *post-differentiated schooling*. Post-differentiated schooling signifies a new concept of religion that has meant a new role for religion within state education systems. Post-differentiated schooling is characterised by an increased dialogue between the secular and the sacred that differs significantly from the diminishing role of religion in the differentiated period. Post-differentiated schooling is constituted by the following properties: a shared secular,

religious and cultural provision over schooling; new conceptualisations of religious knowledge; a renewed significance of religions link to culture; and a weak ontology.

The final section of this chapter analyses the concepts of *phases of differentiated schooling* as *ideal types* and as *continuous concepts*. *Ideal types* allow for the identification of a case study within a particular concept, elucidating general patterns of change between religion and schooling, without requiring the case study to demonstrate conceptual ‘purity’ or conformity. In addition, the concepts of differentiated schooling are classified as *continuous concepts*, this is because each phase is dependent upon social, political, and cultural characteristics of society that change gradually and continuously. As such, the concept of religion within schooling also changes gradually and continuously. Thus, the movement between each phase of differentiated schooling is not dichotomous, but continuous and “grey”.

3.1 The conceptualisation of the relationship between religion and schooling

The concepts of un-differentiated, differentiated, and post-differentiated schooling are built as three-level concepts that link abstract theoretical propositions and properties to their manifestation in educational policy. The concepts are “theories about the fundamental constitutive elements of a phenomenon” (Goertz, 2006, p. 5). The concepts of phases of differentiated schooling are developed from a synthesis of sociological theory, educational literature, and the case studies of Norway and New Zealand. The abstract basic-level of the concept derives its terminology from the sociological literature and theory of differentiation. The secondary-level properties of the concept derive from a synthesis of sociological theory and case study to develop educational terminology, while the indicator-level properties of the concept, are developed from educational literature and the case studies of Norway and New Zealand.

3.2 The concept of *undifferentiated schooling*

The connection between religion and education in the Western cultural tradition has been long and intimate (Lucas, 1972, p. 184).

Undifferentiated schooling has its origins in pre-modern society where “religion formed an overarching sacred canopy that created an overall legitimation, meaning, and order to the vulnerable

construction that society calls reality” (Furseth & Repstad, 2006, p. 59). Religion was bonded to culture for it determined the ontology of society and defined the means to knowledge that reflected and strengthened the Christian worldview. “Religious and communal values” shaped society, and schooling was under the “traditional authority” of the church (Inglehart, 1997, p. 75). Religion’s dominance over society was reflected in the authority and structure of schooling. Undifferentiated schooling is the first concept of *phases of differentiated schooling* and draws out the initial “general patterns” of relationship between religion and schooling that arose from the global, political, and educational dominance of Christianity.

The concept undifferentiated schooling is composed of four secondary-level properties that “constitute what the phenomenon is” (Goertz, 2006, p. 59). The secondary level is particularly important because it provides the “theoretical linkage between the abstract basic-level and the concrete indicator/data level” (Goertz, 2006, p. 53) and therefore, the connection between case study and concept. The four ontological secondary-level properties of undifferentiated schooling are:

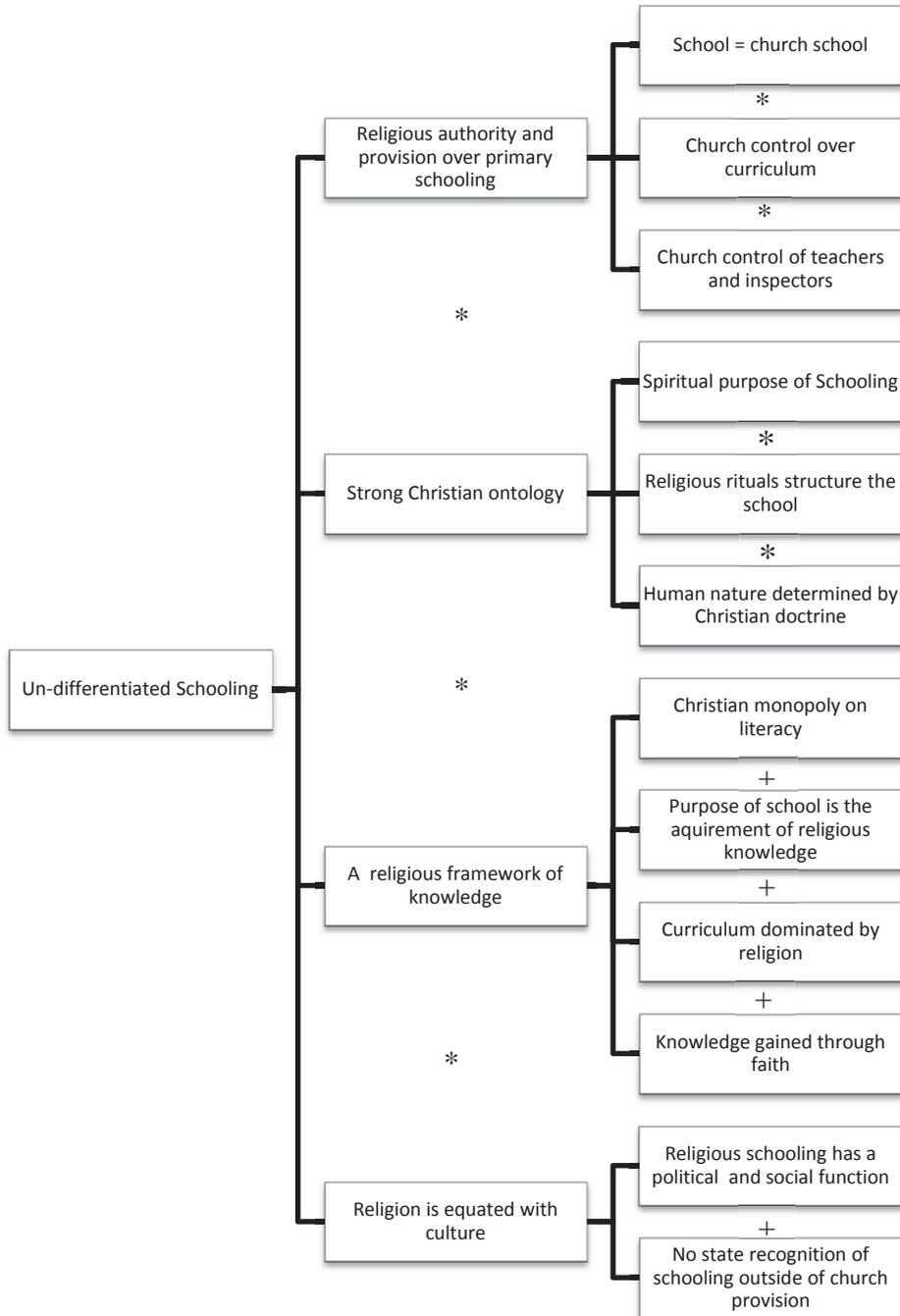
- *A religious authority and provision over schooling*
- *A strong Christian ontology*
- *A religious framework of knowledge, and*
- *Religion is equated with culture*

All four properties are necessary to categorise a case as undifferentiated schooling. Underpinning each of these secondary-level properties are indicator-level properties that operationalize the secondary-level variable into an observable and identifiable concept. As Goertz explains the indicator level “links the more theoretical analysis in the basic and secondary levels to the more practical requirements of converting these ideas into empirical practice” (Goertz, 2006, p. 62). It is at the indicator level that a case study can be identified with the abstract secondary and basic levels of undifferentiated schooling.

Figure 3.1 outlines the structure of the concept of undifferentiated schooling identifying both the secondary and indicator-level properties. In addition, each property is defined as either necessary or substitutable. A necessary property is indicated by * symbolising the logical AND, while a substitutable property is indicated by + symbolising the logical OR. As a concept, the relationship

between the different levels of un-differentiated schooling is ontological, meaning that the variables constitute the concept. The remainder of this chapter analyses each secondary-level variable in relation to its indicator-level properties.

Basic-level concept	Secondary-level property	Indicator-level property
---------------------	--------------------------	--------------------------



*	= Logical AND
+	= Logical OR
- - - - -	= Ontological relationship
_____	= Casual relationship

Figure 3-1: The three-level concept of undifferentiated schooling.

3.2.1 Religious authority and provision over schooling

Within the undifferentiated period, the authority and provision of schooling rested with the Churches. Religious denominations were the central authority and main provider of schooling, and the schools were “the direct arm” of Christendom (Lucas, 1972, pp. 184-185). Illustrative of religious authority and provision over schools, schools within this period were known as church schools, uncontested as being in the rightful domain of the church. The curriculum was determined by religious dogma and the church was responsible for its delivery. Schooling was essential to the success of Christianity, it was “indispensable for the preservation, transmission, and progressive enrichment of a religious worldview” (Lucas, 1972, p. 184).

The Church schools were the foundation for state schooling, as Durkheim states, although they were “very humble and very modest” the Church schools were “the kind from which our whole system of education emerged” (Durkheim, 1977, p. 24). The secondary-level property *religious authority and provision over schooling* has three indicator-level ontological properties that are all individually necessary and jointly sufficient. These properties are: when the school is perceived as a church school; when the Church has control over the curriculum; and, when the Church holds control of teachers and inspectors. Figure 3.2 illustrates this relationship.

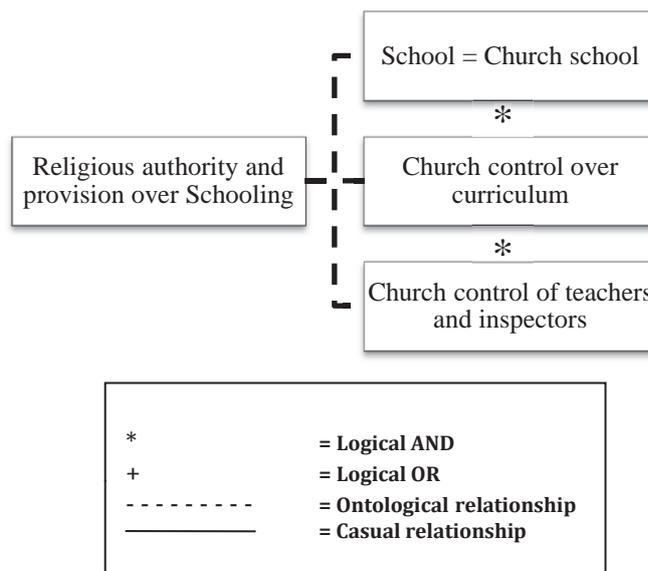


Figure 3-2: The indicator-level properties of *religious authority and provision over schooling*.

3.2.2 Strong Christian ontology

The legitimation of religious authority and provision over schooling rested upon a strong Christian ontology, that is, a prevalent religious ontological conviction within society. As Berger explains a strong Christian ontology “legitimizes social institutions by bestowing upon them an ultimately valid ontological status, that is by locating them within a sacred and cosmic frame of reference” (Berger, 1969, p. 33). *Ontology* refers to a “way of understanding the world” and the “assumptions ... about what kinds of things do or can exist in that domain, and what might be their conditions of existence, relations of dependency” (“Ontology”, 2009, para. 1). Ontology, therefore, is “a set of worldviews consisting of socially constructed beliefs by which people interact with each other and with their surrounding environment” (Gormley, 2005, p. 98). It involves a “set of conceptualizations, commitments, and understandings about the human relationship to things such as self, world, and others” (Howe, 2006, p. 423). When an ontology is classified as being strong it “focuses on the existence and importance of a single ultimate reality” and “insists that what happens in political life and what becomes of our world is or must be determined by this ultimate reality” (Schmaker, 2008, p. 109).

Within the undifferentiated period, it was a strong Christian ontology determined the social, cultural, political, and educational characteristics of society. This pre-modern Christian ontology defined “the way the world is”, the relationship between God and humans, and the opportunities and limitations of human nature (White, 2000, p. 6). In contrast to future developments, the strong Christian ontology was underpinned by an “assumption of certainty that guides the whole problem of moving from the ontological level to the moral-political” (White, 2000, p. 7).

Ontology is connected to the philosophy of education that underpins schooling. Berner argues that educational philosophy revolves around four basic questions: “What is education for? What is the nature of the child? What is the role of adults? Who decides which view is right?” (2012, para. 1). Ontology is intertwined with how these questions are answered as “ontological commitments are entangled with questions of identity and history, with how we articulate the meaning of our lives, both individually and collectively” (White, 2000, p. 4). Within undifferentiated schooling the strong Christian ontology was predominant in determining the worldview of schooling that defined a specific view of human nature and the relationship between students and the world. Consequently, the Christian ontology defined both the content and nature of education.

The secondary-level of *strong Christian ontology* is constituted by three ontological indicator-level properties that are all individually necessary and jointly sufficient. Indicative of a strong Christian ontology is: a spiritual purpose of schooling; religious rituals that determine the structure and purpose of the school; and where human nature is determined by Christian doctrine. All three variables are necessary to indicate that the Christian ontology is strong and influential in determining an undifferentiated relationship between religion and schooling. Figure 3.3 illustrates the structure of the property *strong Christian ontology*.

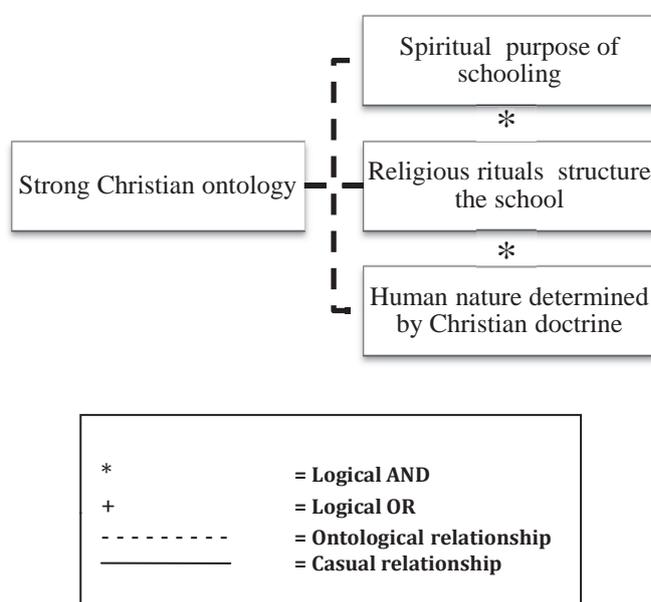


Figure 3-3: The indicator-level properties of a *strong Christian ontology*

As Figure 3.3 demonstrates, indicative of a strong Christian ontology is a spiritual purpose of schooling. Within a strong Christian ontology ultimate ends, human will, and power are framed within a religious framework. According to Durkheim, schooling was “not to embellish his [*sic*] mind with certain ideas or to allow him to acquire certain specific habits, but to create in him a general attitude of the mind and the will which makes him see reality in general in a definite perspective (Durkheim, 1972, p. 206).

Consistent with a strong Christian ontology the role of religion within schooling was “less an acceptance of dogmas and more a total orientation toward human existence in the world, an inclusive way of looking at life” (Lucas, 1972, p. 184). Christianity penetrated schooling to create a “Christian understanding of education” that, in turn, defined schooling “within the framework of a theological economy of salvation” (Wright, 2004, p. 127). Human will and power were limited as spirituality lay “wholly in the grace of God; it is not something that can be achieved by human effort” (Wright, 2004, p. 127).

Thus, schooling worked within the confines of human nature defined by Christian ontology. Emphasis was upon salvation that required acquisition of religious dogma. Worldly success was predetermined and thus the purpose of school was metaphysically limited. Religious rituals structured schooling through prayers, songs, and liturgy. In addition, the life rituals of society were religious and gave political and social motivation for participation in schooling. When schooling was “used to promote secular ends, these were subordinated to the paramount aim of preserving a religious faith” (Lucas, 1972, p. 184).

3.2.3 A religious framework of knowledge

The religious worldview within the purpose and ethos of undifferentiated schooling also imparted a religious framework of knowledge, or epistemology. Epistemology determines what “constitutes knowledge” and truth, and subsequently what and how one should learn (Gormley, 2005, p. 97). Because epistemology is “concerned with the nature and justification of human knowledge” (Hofer & Pintrich, 1997, p. 88), it determines curriculum selection and asks the “metaphysical question: What is truly and essential real?” (Guttek, 2004, p. 4). Within undifferentiated schooling, Christianity held monopoly on defining what was “real”. Christianity defined the nature of reality and knowledge, and thus the curriculum. Indicative of the secondary-level property *a religious framework of knowledge* are four ontological properties that are each individually sufficient, these are illustrated by Figure 3.4.

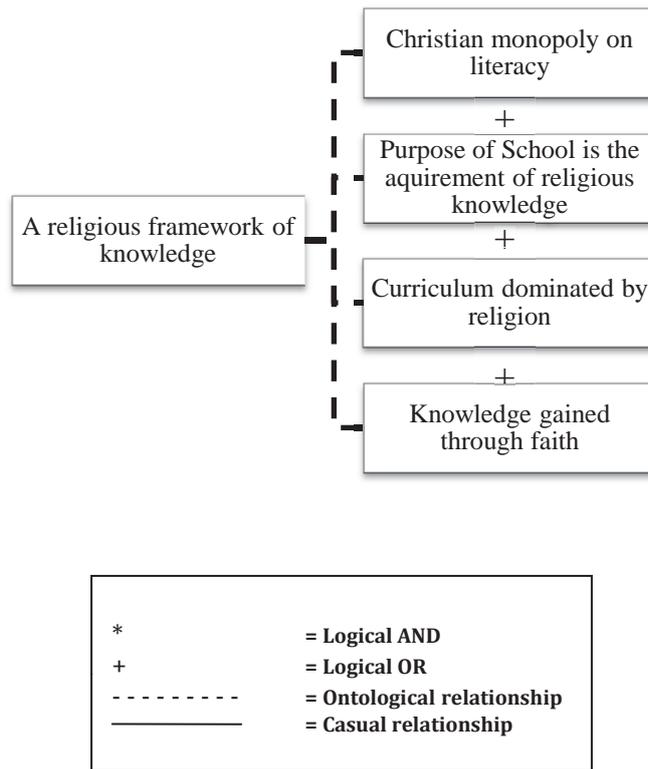


Figure 3-4: The indicator-level properties of *knowledge dominated by religion*.

Education within undifferentiated schooling was a “doctrinal approach” that emphasised faith in the acquisition of knowledge. Knowledge was controlled by religious authorities who provided the teachers, inspectors, and curriculum. The content of schooling was “spiritual knowledge through faith”, as opposed to “secular, worldly wisdom through learning” (Lucas, 1972, p. 248). In addition, the Churches predominance upon knowledge was legitimated by the fact that the churches held a monopoly on literacy and educational institutions, arising from the developments, requirements and institutions of Christianity (Luke, 1989a).

3.2.4 Religion is equated with Culture

The fourth, and final, secondary-level variable of undifferentiated schooling is *religion is equated with culture*. Within the phase of undifferentiated schooling religion was “the primary custodian of culture as well as the dominant social authority” (Lucas, 1972, p. 184). Illustrative of the close relationship between religion and culture is that cultural norms and practices were religions norms and practices. As such the secondary-level property - *religion is equated with culture* - is a defining

feature of undifferentiated schooling and is underpinned by two indicator-level ontological properties that are each individually sufficient. This relationship is illustrated by Figure 3.5.

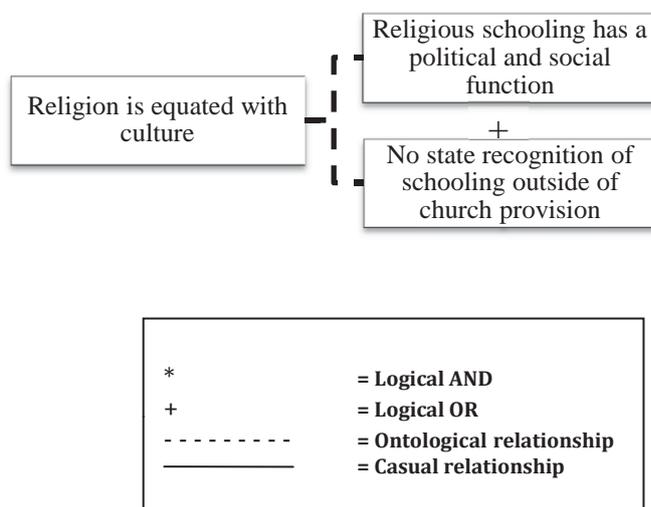


Figure 3-5: The indicator-level properties of *religion is equated with culture*.

Religion's close relationship with culture meant that religious education was commonly perceived as cultural education (Porter, 1999). Religious education had the political and social function of creating and maintaining political conformity and ensuring social cohesion. Subsequently, citizenship education was equated with religious education as religion was closely tied to national identity and social cohesion. As such, nation states supported church schools because they were seen as providing morality, cohesion and political conformity. Society's morality drew from, and was legitimated by religion as Durkheim argued, "God, the center of religious life, was also the supreme guarantor of moral order" (Durkheim, 1961, p. 8). Christianity was believed to be essential to a "certain habitus of our moral being" where "to foster this attitude in the child is thus the essential goal of education" (Durkheim, 1972, p. 207).

3.3 The concept of *differentiated schooling*

Only within comparatively recent times have educational theory and practice been divorced from theological considerations (Lucas, 1972, p. 185).

From the middle of the nineteenth century, secular consolidations and advances in knowledge, politics, and values progressively dismantled undifferentiated schooling. These consolidations led to a new relationship between religion and schooling that is conceptualised in this thesis as *differentiated schooling*. Differentiated schooling was the educational consequence of the secularisation of society as religion's social, political, ontological, and thus educational authority diminished. Religion "lost its capacity to legitimate and unify the society as a whole" (Wuthnow, 1992, p. 92) and subsequently religion changed from having an "integrative" function to an "interpretative" function (Cipriani, 2000, p. 228). Schooling became independent from religion and developed its "own and distinct rationalities" (Pettersson, 2003, p. 2) where the purpose of schooling was "secondary socialisation" (Laermans & Verschraegen, 2001, p. 9).

Within the transition from undifferentiated to differentiated schooling, the values and purpose of schooling changed from the "religious and communal" to an emphasis upon "achievement motivation" (Inglehart, 1997, p. 75). The authority of the church was replaced with the "rational-legal authority" of the rising nation state (Inglehart, 1997, p. 75). The nation state grew to provide secular legislation and provision over schooling, holding control over the curriculum, teachers, and the inspection of schools. In addition, there was an increasing emphasis upon rationality, meaning that faith as a means and definer of knowledge lost its authority and legitimacy. Subsequently secular knowledge, perceived as objective and 'neutral', came to dominate the curriculum.

Differentiated schooling is constituted by four secondary-level ontological properties that form a hybrid relationship. The properties *secular authority and provision over schooling*, a "*neglect of the ontological dimension*" (Connolly, 1995, p. 4), and the *dominance of secular knowledge* are necessary, while the fourth property *religion is distinguished from culture* is optional. Figure 3.6 illustrates the structure of differentiated schooling, while the following sections analyse each secondary-level property.

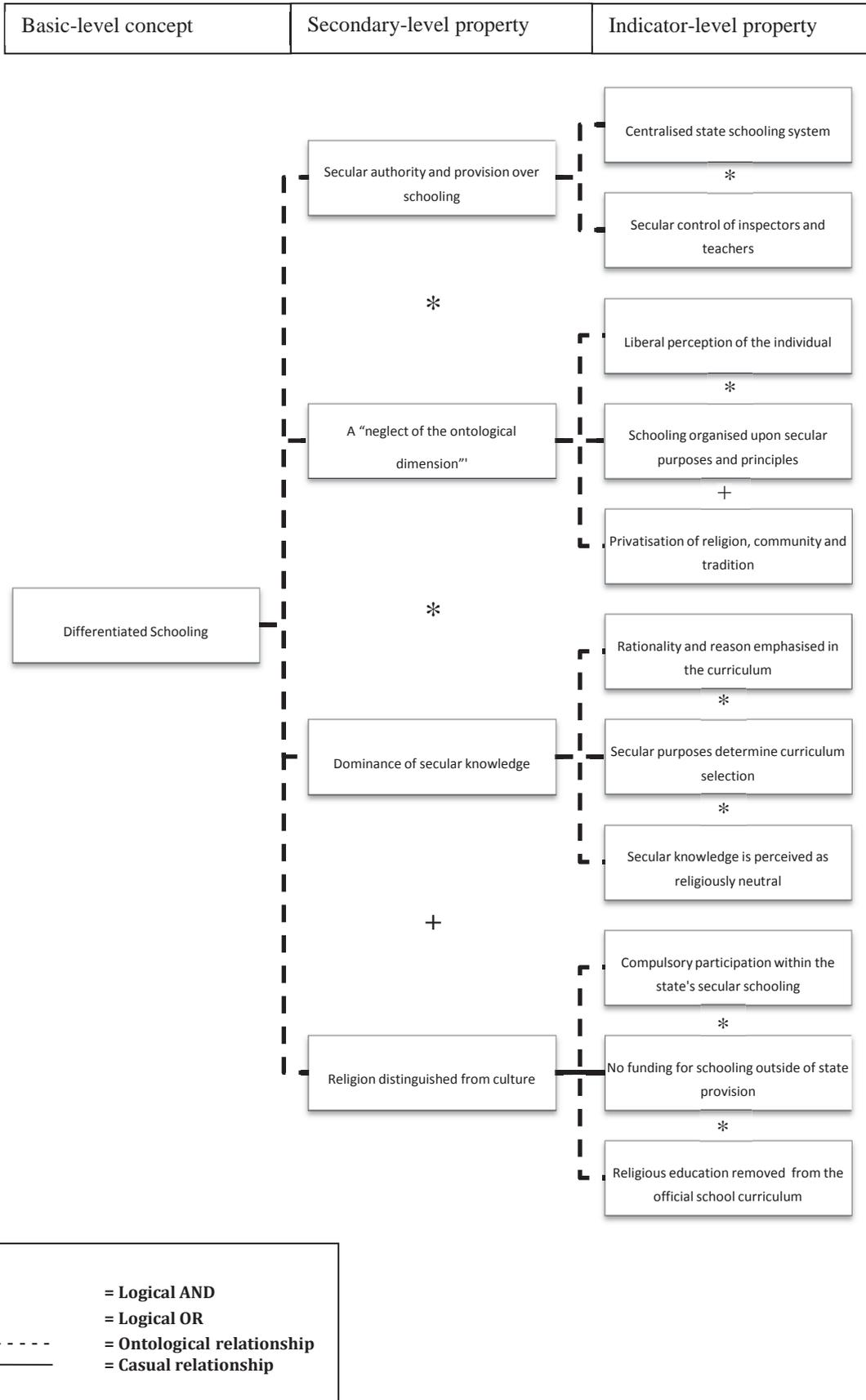


Figure 3-6: The three-level concept of differentiated schooling.

3.3.1 Secular authority and provision over schooling

Key to the concept of differentiated schooling is the change from sacred to secular educational authority. Secular authority over schooling arose from the middle of the 19th century when education was emancipated from “ecclesiastical authority” and the school changed from being defined as a church school to a state school (Dobbelaere, 1999, p. 231). Church authority was gradually reduced to be superseded by secular authority upon the principle of “technical competence rather than on religious acclaimed moral authority” (Wilson, 1996, p. 17 cited in Pettersson, 2003, p. 2). By the end of the 19th century, the nation state had assumed responsibility and authority for the “sponsorship, funding, and control of mass education”, with the nation state school becoming “a central feature of a highly institutionalized model of national development throughout the world” (Ramirez & Boli, 1987, p. 2). In spite of differences in political, social, and cultural contexts, state controlled and provided primary education became the norm in Western Europe arising in “virtually every Western European country” over the 18th and 19th centuries (Ramirez & Boli, 1987, p. 3). There was a “strikingly similar” secular institutionalisation of state schooling and compulsory attendance laws across Western nation states (Ramirez & Boli, 1987, p. 9).

The secondary-level property *secular authority and provision over schooling* is constituted by three indicator-level properties that are all individually necessary and jointly sufficient. These properties are a *centralised state schooling system*, a *secular curriculum* and *secular control of inspectors and teachers*. Figure 3.7 demonstrates the structure of relationship between the secondary-level properties.

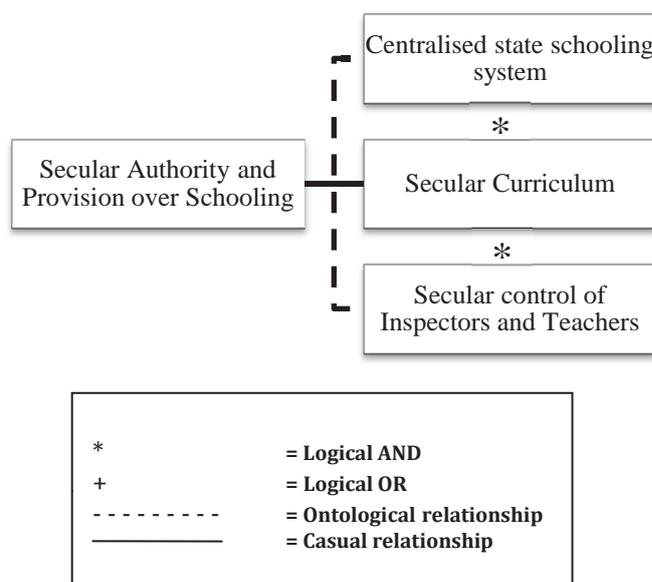


Figure 3-7: The indicator-level properties of *secular authority and provision over schooling*.

3.3.2 A “neglect of the ontological dimension”

During the differentiated period, the strong Christian ontology of undifferentiated schooling was replaced by what Connolly (1995, p. 4) has called a “neglect of the ontological dimension”, or what Howe (2006, p.426) has called a “deontological notion of public reason”¹. The “neglect of the ontological dimension” (Connolly, 1995, p. 4) arose from the concerns of a modern and plural society where it was realised that society could “no longer be integrated on the basis of an encompassing moral or religious worldview” (Laermans & Verschraegen, 2001, p. 9). Ontological differences became superseded by the “pressing contemporary issues of politics, psychology, and ethics” (Connolly, 1995, p. 3).

The secondary level variable a “*neglect of the ontological dimension*” (Connolly, 1995, p. 4) is composed of three indicator-level properties: a *liberal perception of the individual*, when *schooling [is] organised upon secular purposes and principles*, and the *privatisation of religion, community and tradition*. These indicator-level properties form a hybrid relationship, meaning that not all of

¹A “deontological notion of public reason” refers to the role of ontology in relationship to public reason in society (Howe, 2006; Connolly, 1995), as opposed to the study of ‘deontology’ as “moral philosophy” to do with “normative theories regarding which choices are morally required, forbidden, or permitted” (Alexander & Moore, 2008, para. 1).

the properties are necessary to indicate the “*neglect of the ontological dimension*”. The first two properties, the *liberal perception of the individual* and *schooling organised upon secular purposes and principles*, are both individually necessary and jointly sufficient. However, the third property, *the privatisation of religion, community and tradition*, while signifying a stronger conception of the “*neglect of the ontological dimension*”, is not necessary. This hybrid structure provides the concept of differentiated schooling with flexibility to national context, recognising that nations with state churches may still identify religion as having some public significance, while on a whole diminishing the significance of ontology within the structure and policy of their education system. The structure of the “*neglect of the ontological dimension*” is illustrated by Figure 3.8.

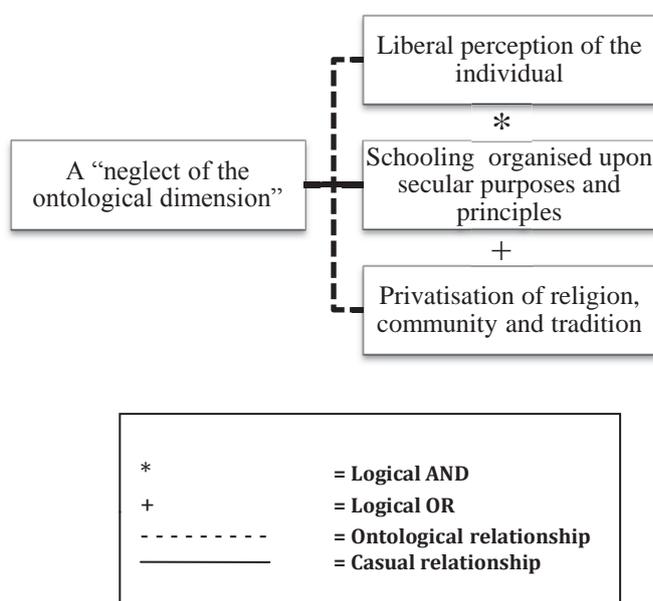


Figure 3-8: The indicator-level properties of a “*neglect of the ontological dimension*”

Integral to the “*neglect of the ontological dimension*” (Connolly, 1995, p. 4) is what Sandel has called the “*deontological notion of the person*” (Sandel, 1982, p. 11). This is a liberal perception of the individual where the deontological self is “*a sovereign agent of choice, a creature whose ends are chosen rather than given, who comes by his [sic] aims and purpose by acts of will, as opposed, say to acts of cognition*” (Sandel, 1982, p. 22). This individual is not determined by “*essential aims and attachments*” of religion and tradition, but rather by “*the values and relations we have are the products of choice, the possessions of a self given prior to its ends*” (Sandel, 1982, p. 176). Over the

twentieth century, the liberal perception of the individual established itself as “an indispensable set of operative presumptions for the organisation of life” (Connolly, 1995, p. 3). This leads to a theory of justice that diminishes the role of religion because as society is “composed of a plurality of persons, each with his own aims, interests, and conceptions of the good, [it] is best arranged when it is governed by principles that do not themselves presuppose any particular conception of the good (Sandel, 1982, p. 1).

Thus, a central idea of the “deontological notion of public reason” is that society, and thus schooling, is comprised “of prudential individuals essentially unconnected to one another by any relationship except rational consent” (Howe, 2006, p. 426). This idea, in part, was dependent upon the rise of the human sciences that “moved into a position to take the world as it is”, where the assumption developed that to neglect ontology was to “escape the realm of ontopolitics” (Connolly, 1995, p. 2). Consequently, ontology was side-lined as its presumptions were not required to be the “explicit objects of reflection” they were in the 19th century (Connolly, 1995, p. 3).

Thus, while in undifferentiated schooling religion and community were key institutions around which schooling was organised, within a “deontological notion of public reason” these institutions “are ruled to be nonrational or private” (Howe, 2006, p. 426). In a plural and modern society, it was posited that difference should be “depoliticised” for the cohesion and peace of society (Howe, 2006, p. 427). Subsequently, a “neglect of the ontological dimension” (Connolly, 1995, p. 4) rejects “policies that would impose some particular vision of the good on society as a whole” (Sandel, 1982, p. 9). Because ““big questions” of philosophy and psychology” are redundant in deontological liberalism (Sandel, 1982, p. 10), religion became superfluous to differentiated schooling with deontological reason contributing to the secularisation and differentiation of the content, authority, provision, and rituals of schooling.

3.3.3 The dominance of secular knowledge

A key property of differentiated schooling is the ascendancy of rationality and reason that became the defining criteria in the selection of curriculum and pedagogy. Because of this ascendancy “a scientific approach to the world and teaching of technical knowledge increasingly replaced a religious literacy formation” in schooling (Dobbelaere, 1999, p. 232). The secondary-level property, *the dominance of secular knowledge*, is constituted by three indicator-level properties that

are all individually necessary and jointly sufficient. These properties are *rationality and reason emphasised in the curriculum*, a *secular purpose determines curriculum selection*, and where *secular knowledge is perceived as religiously neutral*. The structure of the secondary-level property, the dominance of secular knowledge, is illustrated by Figure 3.9.

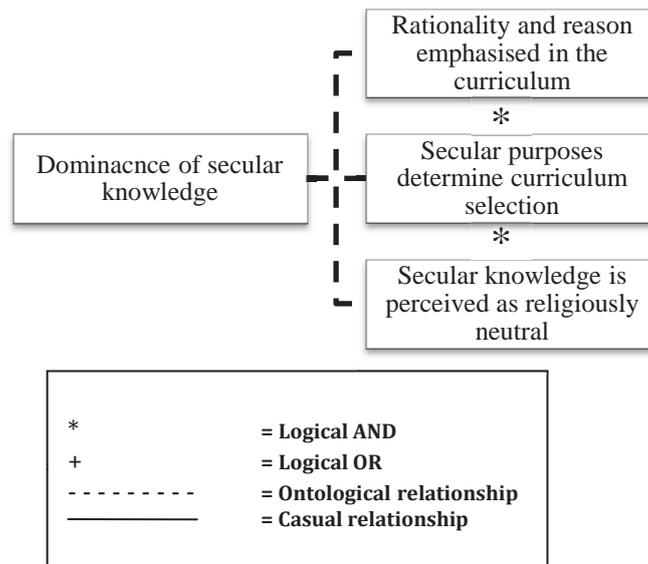


Figure 3-9: The indicator-level properties of *secular knowledge*.

Because knowledge is not static but “changes over time”, the relationship between religion, knowledge, and curriculum constantly changes (Adams, 2004, p. 30). With the rise of secular knowledge, religion came to be ignored as a “social factor” on the grounds that “a modern rational scientific age of Enlightenment would replace religion as the basis for understanding and running the world” (Fox, 2006, p. 539). Thus, religion diminished in emphasis such that,

The paradigm of evolution eventually replaced the paradigm of Creation, reason replaced faith, empirical evidence replaced the Truth of God, scientific inquiry replaced the given text that is to be memorized and so on (Milojević, 2005, pp. 26-27).

In addition, because secular knowledge drew its legitimation from reason and not faith, secular knowledge was believed to be outside of the dissensions of the different knowledge claims from plural denominations.

Education became vested with a secular economic and vocational purpose that was predominantly concerned with “the preparation of a productive labour” (Milojević, 2005, p. 27). There was no inclusion of the “emotional nor the spiritual self” as emotions were “seen as inferior to reason” (Milojević, 2005, p. 27). As Milojević argued, “spirituality became identified with what is often claimed to be a particularly bleak period of western history, known as the ‘Middle Ages’” (Milojević, 2005, p. 27). Consequently, religion diminished in its significance and validity for the modern world and the modern state school.

Within state schools, there were two responses from nation states. The first was the complete differentiation of schooling from religion where state schools became legislatively and assertively secular. The second was a continual, albeit diminished, role for religious education in the curriculum. Within these nation states, there was a marked “decline of the amount of time dedicated to religious education” over the 20th century (Rivard & Amadio, 2003, pp. 215-217).

3.3.4 Religion distinguished from culture

A non-necessary, but elucidating, property of differentiated schooling is the distinction of religion from culture. Within a pluralistic and liberal society religion theoretically could no longer be a binding force. Thus, “cultural bonding” instead must be from a “a secular or religiously-neutral base” (Geering, 1985, p. 227). Secular knowledge was key to the separation of religion from culture because “the empirical sciences ... transcended the cultural boundaries formed by religions...” (1985, p. 223).

The property *religion distinguished from culture* is classified as non-necessary because in nations such as Norway there was a continuation of the state church and religious education. Clearly, this challenges the degree to which this property is manifested in these nations, although elements of it may, and are detected. *Religion distinguished from culture*, has three indicator-level properties that are individually necessary and jointly sufficient; these properties are *compulsory participation within the state’s secular schooling*, *no funding for schooling outside of state provision*, and *religious education removed from the official school curriculum*. Figure 3.10 illustrates this relationship:

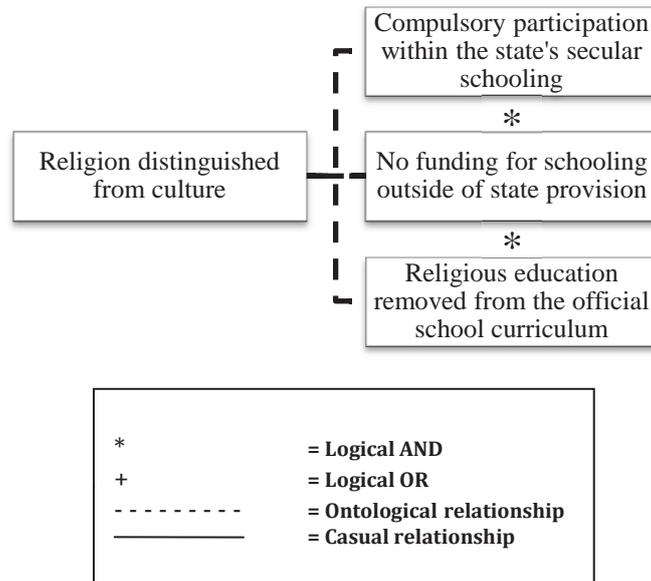


Figure 3-10: The indicator-level properties of *religion distinguished from culture*.

Indicative of the distinction of religion from culture is the perception of the student who enters the secular state school gate as a religiously free individual ready to participate in the plural and secular state schooling. Religion is perceived as a private affair that can be removed from state schooling. Social cohesion is achieved through the religiously neutral secular values and knowledge that permeate secular schooling and in turn, provide a degree of secular homogeneity, despite religious pluralism.

The distinction of religion from culture has been identified as an early conceptualisation of multiculturalism whereby emphasis was laid upon “the importance of judging a person in terms of his or her own merits and not by their phenotype” (Modood & May, 2001, p. 306). Owing to the belief in a common humanity that transcended religious and cultural difference, secular state schooling was legislated as compulsory, regardless of religious belief, with subsequent minimal recognition by the state of those schools that were founded upon religious belief.

3.4 The concept of *post-differentiated schooling*

From the late 20th century, the relationship between religion and state education systems has changed direction. Evident within state education policies are new conceptualisations of religion, and thus a new relationship between religion and schooling. These developments are conceptualised as *post-differentiated schooling*; that is, the developments that *come after* or *follow on* from differentiated schooling. Post-differentiated schooling challenges differentiated schooling's assumptions of religion, while not denying the continual authority of the secular paradigm that characterises a nation state's education system. The variables and properties of post-differentiated schooling add a new layer of complexity and authority to religion, causing nation states to re-evaluate the role that religion should, and can, have within state education systems.

Post-differentiated schooling accounts for the reconceptualised role of religion in late modern society, where the secularisation thesis has been challenged by a new "sacralisation" (Woodhead & Heelas, 2000, p.428). Sacralisation can be categorised into three "sub-theses": "growth (by way of conversion), dedifferentiation (or deprivatisation), and intensification" (Woodhead & Heelas, 2000, p.429). *Growth*, refers to "conversion and related processes" which have increased the "numerical significance of religion" (Woodhead & Heelas, 2000, p. 429). *Dedifferentiation* or *deprivatisation*, refers to the 'reenchantment' of public institutions (Woodhead & Heelas, 2000, p.43) and is evident as religion comes to play a role "in generating policy decisions, mobilising moral commitments, defending human rights, legitimating ethnic or national identities, instilling work ethics, and otherwise influencing sociocultural affairs" (Woodhead & Heelas, 2000, p. 430). The final sub-theses is the "intensification" of religion where "people who are 'weakly' or nominally religious come to adopt 'stronger', more potent, vital, time-consuming, efficacious, life-influencing forms of religiosity", which in turn comes to influence the public sphere (Woodhead & Heelas, 2000, p. 430). While these sub-theses are useful for an initial sketch of the societal context of post-differentiated schooling they do not cover the full complexity of the new conceptualisation of religion within this schooling, this will be discussed in Chapters Eight and Nine.

Post-differentiated schooling does not argue that the predominance of secular knowledge, authority, and educational structures have been dissolved; rather it is a conceptualisation of developments in politics, culture and pedagogy, that have changed the concept of religion in nation state education systems. Post-differentiated schooling is a conceptual explanation for the new role religion has within schooling that the concept of differentiated schooling is unable to explain. A key

characteristic of post-differentiated schooling is the new dialogue between the secular and sacred that has new political and cultural legitimacy, requiring state education systems to acknowledge plural voices and ideas of what the relationship between religion and schooling should be. As Woodhead and Heelas observes “both trends, secularization and sacralization, are operative in the modern world” (Woodhead & Heelas, 2000, p. 431). Post-differentiated schooling is characterised by four secondary-level ontological properties that are all individually necessary and jointly sufficient, this is illustrated by Figure 3.11.

Basic-level concept	Secondary-level property	Indicator-level property
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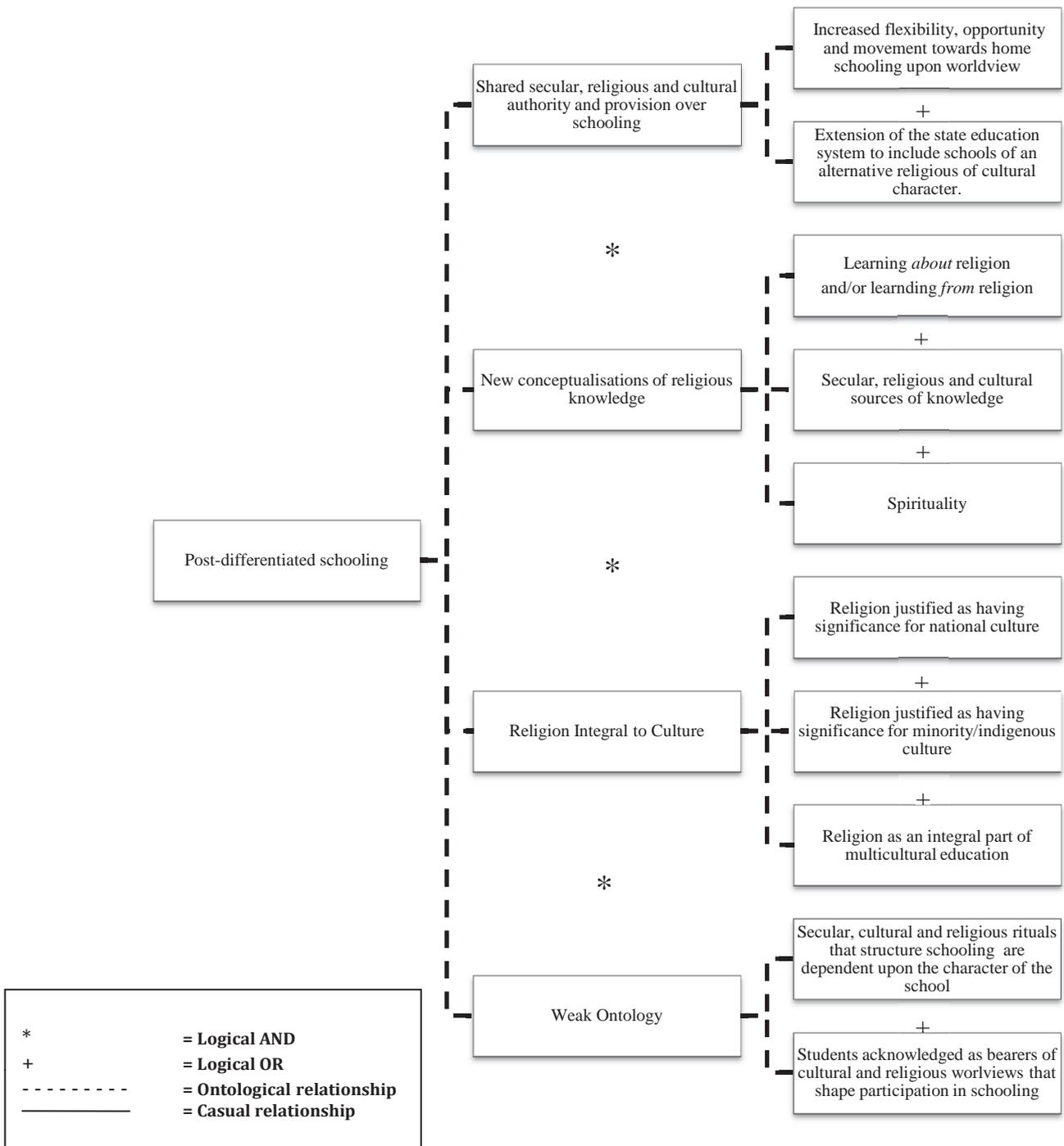


Figure 3-11: The three-level concept of *post-differentiated schooling*.

As Figure 3.11 demonstrates, four secondary-level properties constitute post-differentiated schooling. The first property is the expansion of state education systems to recognise religious and cultural identity and commitments within schooling. Within post-differentiated schooling the individual, religious, and cultural groups have increased autonomy to define the relationship between religion and schooling within the state education system. This is indicated by the expansion of state education systems to include schools of a religious and cultural character, and the growth of home schooling based upon worldview (where this has been predominantly religious). The second property, *new conceptualisations of religious knowledge*, rests upon pedagogical developments that allow for the study of religion outside of religious commitments. This property is important in a global context where religious knowledge has increased in significance for intercultural dialogue and understanding giving religious education new importance in the social purpose of schooling. In addition, postmodern and cultural concepts of spirituality have defined a spiritual task for schooling that overlaps with the pedagogy of educating the whole child.

The third property, *religion integral to culture*, is one of the most influential manifestations of religion within post-differentiated schooling. Religion has become realigned with culture as a symbol and distinguisher of heritage, values, and identity. Global legislation and ideology have supported cultural rights to religion and subsequently state education systems are increasingly required to acknowledge the religious and cultural identities of their students. The final property - weak ontologies - replaces differentiated schooling's "neglect of the ontological dimension" (Connolly, 1995, p. 4). This property acknowledges the diverse ontological commitments of students that effect their participation in schooling, recognising that there are multiple legitimate ways of viewing the world and constructing knowledge. However, while both these properties suggest an equal respect and treatment of religious attributes of cultural identity, in education practice and policy this is not always the case.

The relationship between the secondary and indicator-levels of post-differentiated schooling is characterised as substitutable such that "there are no necessary conditions ... Instead, as long as cases have enough characteristics associated with the family, these cases are members of the family" (Goertz & Mahoney, 2005, p. 504). This has distinct advantages when working in cross-cultural studies as the substitutability of the indicator level allows identification of both national idiosyncrasies *and* connections to general concepts arising out of global phenomenon (Goertz, 2006). This means that while a broad framework of the changing conceptualisations of religion within education policy can be identified, case study conformity to every property is not required

thereby giving flexibility to national characteristics. This means that the concepts and theories of phases of differentiated schooling can explain religious change in education policy in both Norway and New Zealand, despite differences between the two case studies.

3.4.1 Shared secular, religious and cultural authority and provision over schooling

Indicative of the post-differentiated context is the decentralisation and devolution of schooling from state authority and provision, to a shared secular, religious and cultural authority and provision over schooling. This devolution and decentralisation provides recognition of parental religious and cultural educational rights. The state has provided a legislative framework from which parents can choose to homeschool, or to participate within a cultural or religious school that reflects their worldview.

The secondary-level variable - *shared secular, religious and cultural provision over state schooling* - is constituted by two indicator-level properties that are each individually sufficient, illustrated by Figure 3.12. The first indicator-level property is *increased flexibility, opportunity and movement towards home schooling upon worldview*. The second property is the *extension of the state education system to include schools of an alternative religious or cultural character*.

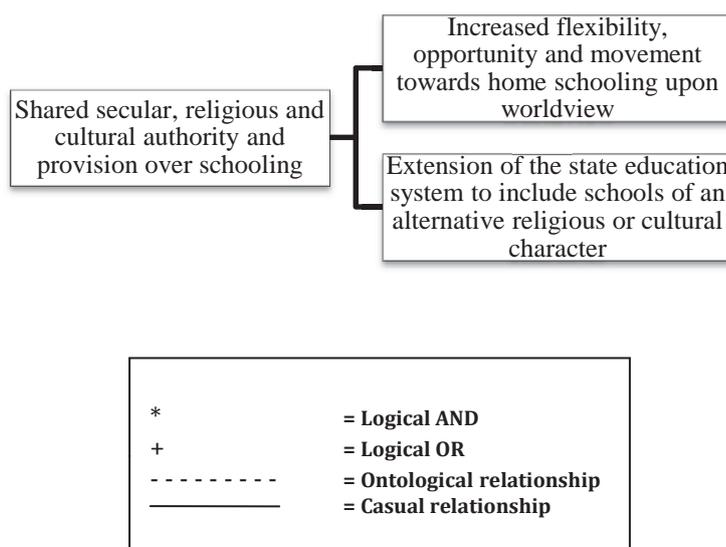


Figure 3-12: The indicator-level properties of *shared secular, religious, and cultural authority over schooling*.

The existence of homeschooling is dependent upon its “antithesis” compulsory state schooling, this is because “homeschooling only becomes a phenomenon in the context of (almost) universal education in institutional settings provided by or at least regulated by the State” (Glenn, 2005, p. 45). Religious rationale provides a key motivation for modern homeschooling as a significant proportion of home schoolers are motivated by religious reasons (Apple, 2005b). This differs from the traditional rationale for home schooling that was pragmatic based upon the geographical isolation of rural populations. The movement towards modern home schooling, together with “faith-based schools” is viewed by Glenn (2005, p.60) as “signs of renewed appreciation of the primary role of the civil society of families and voluntary associations in preparing free women and men for life in a free society”.

In addition, the state education system has extended to include schools of a religious and/or cultural character. These schools exercise independence in defining the school’s religious and cultural character and content, but remain accountable to the state that sets minimal guidelines and requirements. This is what Parekh calls a “multiculturally based educational system accommodating different kinds of schools within an agreed national framework” (Parekh, 2000, p. 333). The presence of religious and cultural schools within state education systems is a global phenomenon. Spring (2009) has conceptualised religious and cultural schools into “religious education world models” and “indigenous education world models” (p. 19-20).

The *religious education world model* is characterised by an “emphasis upon spirituality”, in contrast to the traditional “economic and secular emphasis” of state schools (Spring, 2009, p. 19). Spring identifies five characteristics of religious education world models, these are, “study of traditional religious texts”; “study and practice of religious rites”; “emphasis on spirituality”; “emphasis on instilling moral and ethical standards”; and a “rejection of secularism (Spring, 2009, p. 19). The objective of religious schools is to pass on “a particular set of religious beliefs and values” and to nurture “religious faith in pupils” (Hand, 2003, p. 90). While, religious schools are growing upon the “increasing relevance of church and religion”, they are also “strongly overrepresented”, (Dronkers, 2004, p. 288). Dronkers identifies that a key reason for the increased popularity and demand for religious schools is a growing belief in their academic and social prestige (see Section 8.7.1).

The *indigenous education world model* establishes a new relationship between religion and schooling because integral to many cultural groups is a spiritual or religious dimension that is

believed to be vital to developing the pupil's cultural identity. The indigenous education world model is a response from indigenous people to "restore their control over education and ensure recognition of traditional educational methods" (Spring, 2009, p. 20). The aim of cultural schools is to "sustain pupil's ethnic or cultural identity, cultivate a sense of pride in their history and achievements and help create cohesive ethnic communities" (Parekh, 2000, p. 225). There are four characteristics of the indigenous education world model, these are, "indigenous nations control their own educational institutions"; "traditional indigenous education serves as a guide for the curriculum and instructional methods"; "education is provided in the language of the indigenous nation"; and, "education reflects the culture of the indigenous nation" (Spring, 2009, p. 21).

As state education systems have recognised religious and cultural authority, so too have they recognised religious and cultural knowledge, as the next secondary-level property of post-differentiated schooling illustrates.

3.4.2 New conceptualisations of religious knowledge

In the post-differentiated period, state education systems have increasingly taken into consideration religious knowledge upon developments in religious education pedagogy, global concerns for intercultural understanding and communication, new conceptions of spirituality, and the recognition of alternative cultural and religious ontologies. These variables have led to a reconceptualisation of religion within state education systems. The secondary-level ontological property - *new conceptualisations of religious knowledge* - is constituted by three indicator level properties that are characterised by equifinality, meaning that one or more of the indicator level properties are sufficient to indicate membership. These indicator level properties are *learning about religion and/or learning from religion, secular, religious and cultural sources of knowledge*, and, *spirituality* and is illustrated by Figure 3.13.

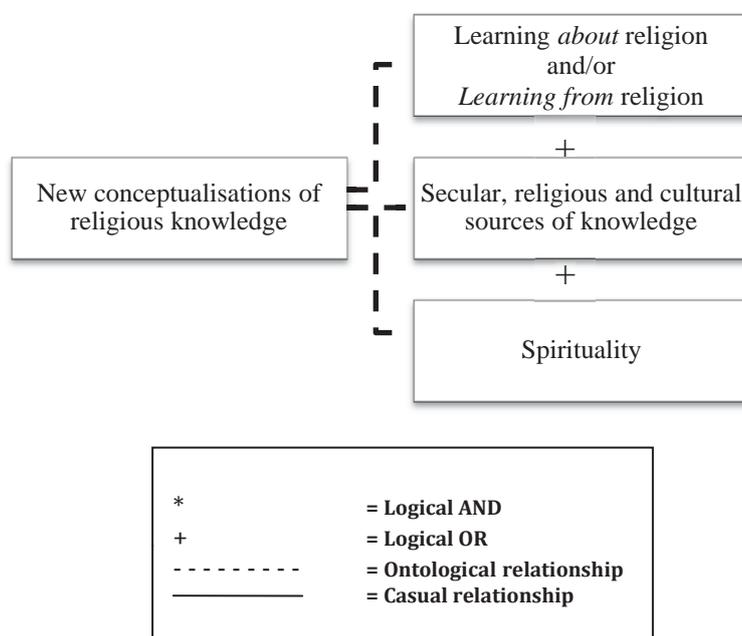


Figure 3-13: The indicator-level properties of *new conceptualisations of religious knowledge*.

The indicator-level property, *learning about religion and/or learning from religion*, has its pedagogical foundations in the phenomenology of religion that is characterised by a “nonconfessional” and “multifaith approach to religious education” (Barnes, 2007, p. 19). The phenomenological approach to religious education is one where the student learns *about* religion (see section 8.8.1). A multifaith approach to religious education builds from the phenomenological foundation of learning *about* religion, but also requires religious education to contribute to a student’s identity formation through *learning from religion* that encourages religious education to contribute to a student’s identity formation (Schreiner, 2005). Additionally increased emphasis upon religious knowledge is found in the widening of state legislation to include voluntary religious classes where this religious knowledge is justified by being optional, dependent upon the parent’s choice

The second property - *secular, religious and cultural sources of knowledge* – arises from the inclusion of religious and cultural schools in state education systems, which has led to the inclusion of cultural and religious sources of knowledge. This means that religious knowledge re-enters the

state education system not only as *teaching about/from religion* but also as *teaching in religion*. The final property, spirituality, arises out of developments in postmodernism and holistic cultural worldviews and manifests within the purpose and curriculum of the state school.

Indicative of the success of the new conceptualisations of religious knowledge is the quantitative increase of time spent on religious education within state schooling. One international study recorded an increase in religious education curricula time from 4.2 per cent in the period that I have called differentiated schooling, to 8.1 per cent in the period of post-differentiated schooling (Rivard & Amadio, 2003, pp. 215-217). While the study's authors urge caution in their interpretation, their consistency with the other variables of post-differentiated schooling would give credence to their validity..

3.4.3 Religion integral to culture

An important property of post-differentiated schooling is the reasserted relationship between culture and religion. Ideologies such as multiculturalism have increased the authority and presence of culture within public policy and thus, education policy. Within multiculturalism, religion is asserted as an integral part of cultural identity, tradition and worldview (Parekh, 2000). The secondary-level property - *religion integral to culture* - has three ontological properties that are each individually sufficient. These properties, illustrated by Figure 3.14, are *religion justified as having significance for national culture*, *religion justified as having significance for minority/indigenous culture* and, *religion as an integral part of multicultural education*.

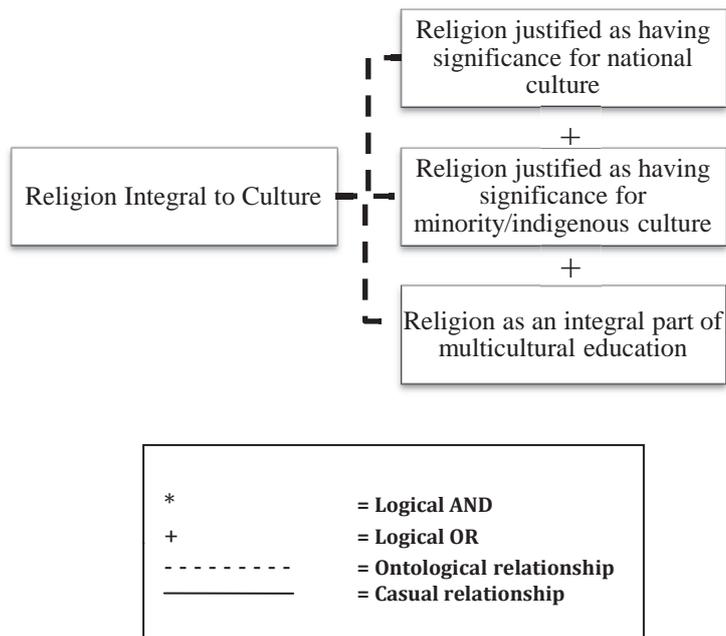


Figure 3-14: The indicator-level properties of *religion integral to culture*.

One manifestation of religion's new relationship with culture is religion's reasserted link with the 'cultural heritage' and 'cultural identity' of the nation, where to acknowledge culture requires acknowledgement of religious identity. For example, in nations such as Norway, Christianity has been reconceptualised as integral to Norwegian national identity and heritage. Religion has also been argued as being an inextricable part of minority and indigenous cultures due to their holistic worldview that does not separate the sacred from the profane. From this perspective, state education systems are criticised as prioritising and cultivating the "scientific and secular spirit" that, in part, forms the "values and sentiments" that "underpin and are cherished by European civilisation" (Parekh, 2000, p. 225). However, for those who do not share this worldview, the "scientific and secular spirit" is not culturally neutral but discriminatory. Consequently, new policies and practices of cultural and religious 'accommodation' arise, illustrated by the establishment of cultural and religious schools, alternative education arrangements, and exemptions from normal curricula (Levinson, 2009, p. 430).

In addition, religion's recognised relationship with culture has developed into political and educational support for a multifaith religious education that is believed to promote greater social cohesion and intercultural understanding (Wanden & Smith, 2010). Knowledge of other culture's religious beliefs is envisaged as creating tolerance and respect, legitimating and sustaining cultural and religious differences (Wanden & Smith, 2010). A multi-religious education subsequently becomes an important part of "civic reasonableness and civic equality" (Levinson, 2009, pp. 430-431).

3.4.4 Weak Ontology

Post-differentiated schooling is characterised by an "ontological turn" (White, 2000 p. 4) from a "neglect of the ontological dimension" (Connolly, 1995, p. 4) to a "weak ontology" that "resists strong ontology, on the one hand, and the strategy of much liberal thought on the other" (White, 2000, p. 7). Weak ontology is distinctive "from both those who want to make strong ontological claims" (characteristic of undifferentiated schooling), and "those who believe ontology should make no claims at all" (characteristic of differentiated schooling) (Howe, 2006, p. 428). Differentiated schooling's "neglect of the ontological dimension" (Connolly, 1995, p. 4) that sought to provide neutrality in public institutions is critiqued as a "liberal illusion" as all "political orders ... embody *some* values; the question is *whose* values prevail, and who gains and losses as a result" (Sandel, 1982, p. 11). Thus, from this perspective the deontological perception has "shortcomings" that "undermine the primacy of justice" (Sandel, 1982, p. 11). The secular certainty that underpinned the "neglect of the ontological dimension" is challenged by an awareness that in late modern times of the "conventionality of much what has been taken for certain in the modern west" (White, 2000, p. 4). As Arthur (2010) contends, "secular self-understandings cannot pretend to be neutral" (p. 878). Weak ontology instead posits that individuals are inseparable from "family or community or nation or people, as bearers of history" (Sandel, 1982, p. 179).

A weak ontology is defined as, "an ethic of forbearance and agonistic respect toward the ethical inspirations of others precisely because one acknowledges the contestability of one's own inspirations, even as one offers them as worthy of endorsement" (Howe, 2006, p. 423). Thus, it is closely related to the modern developments of pluralism, leading Schmaker to state that weak ontologies are "friends of pluralism" (Schmaker, 2008, p. 109). According to Schmaker, weak ontologies support the "pluralist belief that political communities as a whole should make their own

histories, generate their own conception of rights and responsibilities, and be governed through democratic means” (Schmaker, 2008, p. 131). This idea has consequences for the structure of education systems, where there is new support for cultural and religious schools to be included within the state education system.

A *weak ontology* challenges the monolithic secular state school, thereby opening it up to alternative perceptions regarding the relationship between religion and schooling. This manifests in an extension of the state education system to include religious and cultural schools, arguments for a religious education subject in schools that teaches *about* religions, and the acceptance of cultural rituals in state schooling. It requires schools to “rethink the importance of certain ‘attachments’ required for ethical life” and to “think ethically and affirmatively beyond the dangers of impassivity and nihilism” (Smits, 2006, p. 56).

The secondary level property weak ontology is characterised by two substitutable ontological indicator properties, meaning that only one property is necessary. These properties are *secular, cultural and religious rituals that structure schooling are dependent upon the character of the school, and students acknowledged as bearers of cultural and religious worldviews that shape participation in schooling*. Figure 3.15 illustrates the secondary-level property *weak ontology*.

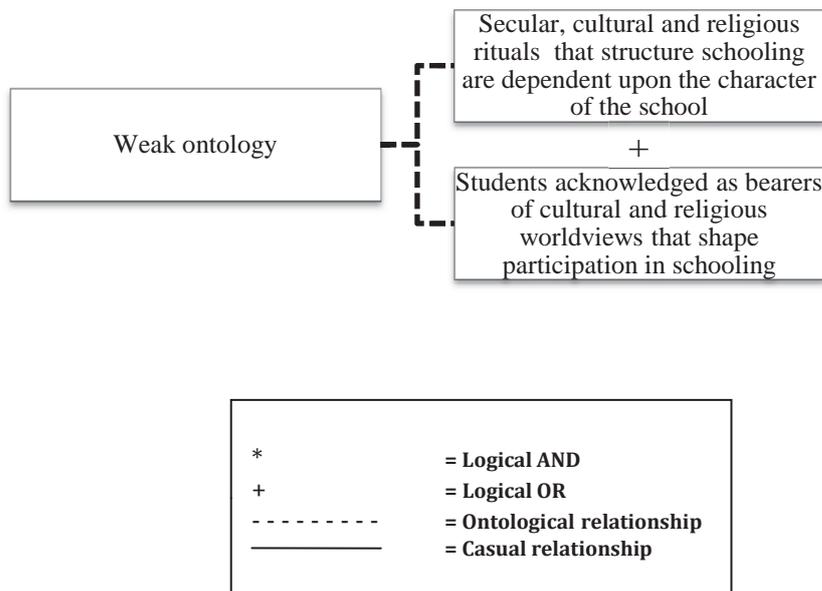


Figure 3-15: The indicator-level properties of *weak ontology*.

3.5 Three-level concepts as ideal types and continuous concepts

The concepts *undifferentiated schooling*, *differentiated schooling* and *post-differentiated schooling*, while illustrating a general changing conception of religion within state education policy, must also be sensitive to national context. To this end, they are utilised as *ideal types*, ideal types provide theoretical advantage because they elucidate general patterns and structures, providing insight into social phenomenon, without requiring case study conformity (Huberman & Miles, 2002). The ideal type, while not expected to occur in reality, creates “pure, abstract models that define the essence of the phenomenon” (Neuman, 2006, p. 55). Ideal types provide a “conceptual yardstick for examining differences and similarities, as well as causal connections, between the social processes under investigation” (Appelrouth & Edles, 2008, p. 144). A general theoretical pattern, allowing recognition of its recurrence in case studies, can be recognised without demanding standardisation (Huberman & Miles, 2002). Thus, ideal types balance the theoretical insight gained by abstract concepts with the necessary contextual sensitivity to case study.

Applied to three-level concepts, an ideal type is indicated by the presence of all variables at the secondary and indicator-level, that is when all instances of the indicator-level that constitute the secondary-level “are at the maximum” (Goertz, 2006, p. 84). However, as this is an “ideal”, the case study requires only “enough resemblance” to the ideal type (Goertz, 2006, p. 63). The case studies are not expected to have all categories present, only a sufficient number to locate them within the concept. This allows the researcher to identify the case study as part of a theoretical or conceptual construct, elucidating the changing concept of religion, without sacrificing contextual complexity. In addition, the ideal type can provide “a foil against which unique cultural features can be more easily seen” (Neuman, 2006, p. 468).

In addition, the concepts of *phases of differentiated schooling* should also be perceived as *continuous concepts* this is because the relationship between religion and schooling is transitional, where knowledge, authority, and values change slowly . As continuous concepts, it is acknowledged that cases “pass through intermediate stages” and thus theoretical flexibility is needed to allow for traces or residues from the previous conceptual stage, or, indicators of the next (Goertz, 2006, p. 119). Viewing concepts as continuous “directly confronts the problem of the grey zone” and thus allows “for the existence of borderline cases” (Goertz, 2006, p. 34). This means that case studies can be seen “in reality” (Goertz, 2006, p.34). Thus,.

3.6 Conclusions

This chapter has developed the concepts that define the three *phases of differentiated schooling*. The concepts *undifferentiated schooling*, *differentiated schooling*, and *post-differentiated schooling*, each represents an era’s distinctive understanding and practice of religion in relationship to the individual, culture, knowledge, and thus to schooling. These concepts are structured by Goertz’s three-level concept where inherent is the idea that “concepts are about ontology”, and that “to develop a concept is more than providing a definition: it is deciding what is important about an entity” (Goertz, 2006, p. 27). As Neuman (2006) suggests a concept should be “a system of interconnected ideas that condenses and organises knowledge about the social world” (p. 50). Thus, each concept identifies the beliefs, values, worldview, culture, and educational authority that underpins and defines each phase of relationship between religion and schooling.

The first phase is *undifferentiated schooling* wherein the Christian worldview held influence over society and as such, religion held authority over the provision, content, and purpose of schooling. The second phase is *differentiated schooling* where schooling was characterised by a secular purpose, worldview, and knowledge base. Administering this secular worldview was the rising nation state that assumed authority for the provision of schooling. Secular knowledge gradually replaced religious knowledge within the school curriculum, while pluralism and new conceptualisations of individual rights moved religion into the private sphere. The final phase, *post-differentiated schooling*, conceptualises a new role for religion within state education systems. Within this phase, nation state education systems have widened to recognise religious and cultural schools. In addition, religious knowledge and spirituality have new authority upon developments in pedagogy, post-modernism, and recognition of individual and cultural rights that provide for plural definitions of religion/spirituality within education. In summary, undifferentiated schooling can be conceptualised as a sacralisation of schooling, differentiated schooling as a secularisation of schooling, and post-differentiated schooling as a dialogue between the secular and the sacred.

While each of these three-level concepts explains what the relationship is between religion and schooling in each era, they do not explain *why* religion has changed in concept. This is the task of theory, thus, accompanying each conceptual phase of relationship between religion and schooling is a two-level theory that identifies the influential variables that led to each phase. The next chapter develops the two-level theory of undifferentiated schooling that explains why schooling was initially within a religious framework.

Chapter Four : The Theory of Undifferentiated Schooling: Political, Cultural, and Ontological Foundations for Religious Authority and Provision over Schooling

Historical investigation of the formation and development of systems of education reveals they depend upon religion, political organization, the degree of development of science, the state of industry, etc. If they are considered apart from all these historic causes, they become incomprehensible (Durkheim, 1956, p. 66).

Undifferentiated schooling arose within an era where Christianity formed an “overarching sacred canopy” over society (Furseth & Repstad, 2006, p. 59). Christianity held influence over politics, knowledge, and culture, and subsequently Christianity was the logical authority and provider of schooling. A religious framework of knowledge determined the curriculum, a strong Christian ontology characterised the school’s worldview and ethos, and the religious education provided was perceived as equivalent to a cultural education. This chapter theorises *why* Christianity came to have this dominance over schooling and it seeks to answer the following questions:

- What were the social and political influences that led to religions authority and provision over schooling?
- How did religion come to have authority over knowledge?
- How did a strong Christian ontology come to dominate schooling?
- How did religion become synonymous with culture?

To answer these questions, this chapter posits the two-level theory of undifferentiated schooling.

The two-level theory of undifferentiated schooling identifies and explains the causal variables that led to religion’s dominance over schooling. Section 4.1 identifies the basic-level causal variables and outlines the structure of the two-level theory of undifferentiated schooling. Three basic-level variables are identified - the *political authority of Christianity*, *Christianity’s authority on knowledge*, and the *ontological authority of Christianity*. Underpinning each of these basic-level variables are secondary-level variables that are “the more remote causes” (Goertz & Mahoney, 2005, p. 503). While these variables that identify historical processes and phenomena do not exert an immediate influence on determining un-differentiated schooling, they make an integral contribution to understanding the political, cultural, and educational context upon which un-differentiated schooling was legitimated.

Section 4.2 identifies the secondary-level variables that led to the *political authority of Christianity*. These secondary-level variables include the *collapse of Rome*, the *rise of the Catholic Church*, and the *political alignments of the Reformation*. Secondary-level variables are historically and socially cumulative and should be thought of as “causes of causes” (Goertz & Mahoney, 2005, p. 504). Thus, while these secondary-level variables were indirect in their educational significance they form an integral part of the rise of the political and social authority of Christianity that was necessary for religion to assume authority and control over schooling.

Section 4.3 analyses the secondary-level variables that brought about *Christianity’s authority on knowledge*. The first two variables outline the contributions of *St. Augustine* and *Thomas Aquinas* who were influential theologians who synthesised, and subjected, the secular knowledge and logic of Plato and Aristotle to Christian theology. These synthesises were fundamental to determining a theological basis and authority over knowledge, defining what was taught and how it was taught. The third variable, *Christian theology* acknowledges the cumulative and general influence of Christian theology and incorporates the consolidations of theological reasoning that developed from the 5th century. Common to all three secondary-level variables is the emphasis upon faith as a necessary epistemological condition where the role of religion and the church was vital to knowledge. Thus for most children in this era, church education became the first, if not only education. The importance of religious education rested upon the reasoning that faith was prior to understanding and thus religion was prior to knowledge (Martin, 1996).

Finally, Section 4.4 identifies the secondary-level variables that led to *the ontological authority of Christianity*. Underpinning the ontological authority of Christianity was a prevalent *Christian monism* that defined reality by the “‘one and true’ religion” (Parekh, 2000, p. 24). Giving authority to this reality was the doctrine of *salvation*, where salvation determined the purpose of life and the educational means towards this purpose. In effect, schooling became a fundamental life ritual for the monolithic Christian ontology that created *conformity of religious thought*. Christianity was institutionalised as the worldview by which life, and schooling, became referenced and structured.

4.1 The basic-level variables of undifferentiated schooling

The theory of undifferentiated schooling posits three basic-level causal variables that led to undifferentiated schooling: *the political authority of Christianity*, *Christianity’s authority on*

knowledge, and, the *ontological authority of Christianity*. These basic-level variables are all “individually necessary and jointly sufficient”, the “underlying logical structure” of these variables is a “conjuncture of necessary causes” (Goertz & Mahoney, 2005, pp. 501-502). The basic-level causal variable of political authority was necessary for Christianity to be accepted as the legitimate authority over schooling. However, this alone was not enough for Christianity must also have possessed authority on knowledge to determine the content and teaching of education. In addition, ontological authority was vital to position schooling as part of an individual’s life ritual, justifying the necessity of schooling. As Figure 4.1 illustrates, underpinning each of these basic-level variables are secondary-level variables that together form the two-level theory of undifferentiated schooling.

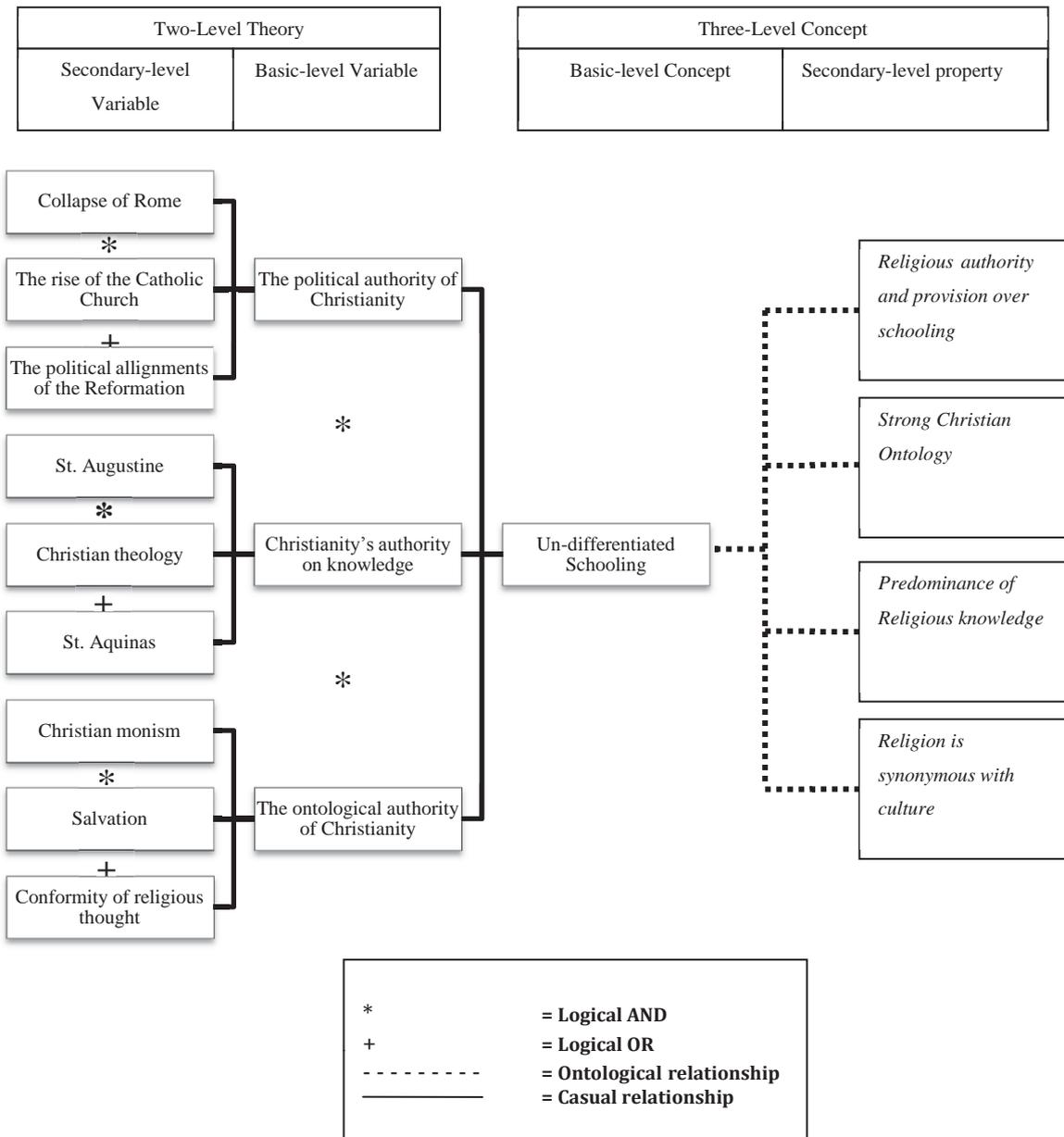


Figure 4-1: The two-level theory of undifferentiated schooling.

4.2 The rise of Christianity's political and social authority

The origins of Christianity's political authority can be traced back to approximately 300 A.D when the Christian Church formed the crucial institution that provided continuity from the Ancient to the Medieval world, thereby becoming the governing political authority over society (Elias, 2002). Political authority was structured by the ideology of theocracy that defined political power as being "derived downwards from God" (Canning, 1996, p. 19). The church was the mediator between the spiritual and sacred world, where the spiritual world determined and legitimated the structure of the secular world. As such, rulers governed by divine right and were unchallengeable except upon theological grounds (Heywood, 2004). Key to the success and growth of the political and social authority of the church was education. Education was necessary for both an individual's spiritual development and to establish the ascendancy of the Christian church.

Underpinning *the political authority of the Christianity* are three causal variables. The first two variables - *the collapse of Rome* and *the rise of the Catholic Church* - are necessary for the rise of Christianity as a political authority, while the third variable *the political alignments of the Reformation* is not. This third variable is not necessary due to the reasoning that a political authority of Christianity was established before the Reformation. Thus, while the Reformation reconceptualised the political and educational authority of Christianity, Christianity before this time had already possessed political authority and educational influence. This relationship is demonstrated in Figure 4.2.

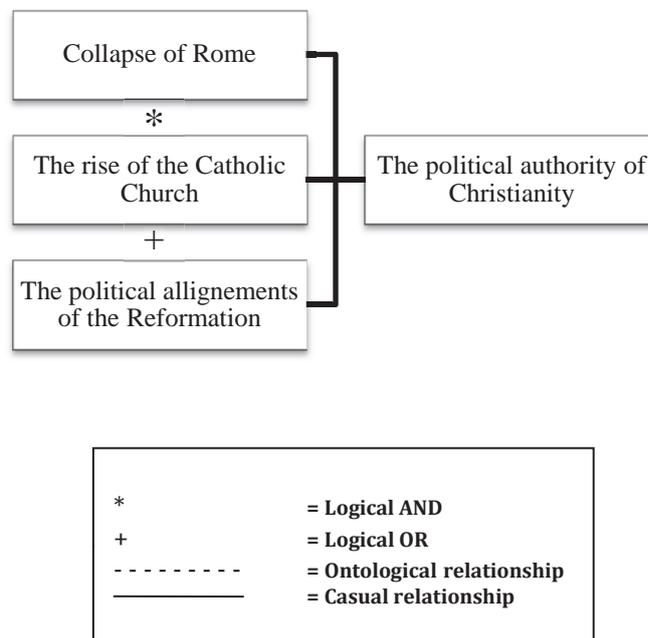


Figure 4-2: The secondary-level variables of the *rise of Christianity's political authority*

4.2.1 The collapse of Rome and the rise of the Catholic Church

The collapse of Roman civilisation was the founding political event that provided the political foundation for Christianity to become the overarching authority over society and education. The breakdown of Roman civilisation meant the loss of Roman secular education institutions and the demise of secular knowledge and authority (Chambliss, 1996). Upon this absence, the Christian Church formed the authority over society that spanned the period from 300 -1500 A.D. (Elias, 2002). Within this period the Church grew to have power and authority that extended beyond “the Medieval world’s localism and provincialism”, to claim global influence over knowledge, structure and the institutions of societies (Gutek, 2005, p. 81).

The Christian Church developed into a multifunctional organization whose authority extended to education, as Painter explains:

The Church regarded education as one of its exclusive functions, and under its direction nearly all instruction had an ecclesiastical character. The purely secular studies of the *trivium* – grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic – and of the *quadrivium* – music, arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy – were pursued chiefly in the interests of the Church. Latin, the language of the Church, was made the basis of instruction, to the well-nigh neglect of the mother-tongue. The works of the Church fathers were read, though expurgated editions of the Latin classics were used. Logic was applied to theology, arithmetic extended to only a few simple rules, geometry consisted in scanty extracts from Euclid, astronomy was limited in most schools to the arrangement of the Church calendar, and music was confined to learning hymns (Painter, 1889, p. 77).

While secular political authorities had no role in the control or provision of education, it is significant that St Augustine, a key theologian of the Middle Ages, believed that the state had a role as acting as both “a check on evil doers” and a promoter and keeper of “relative justice in human society” (Spitz, 1997a, p. 61). Later Augustians understood the term of justice to mean that the state was bound by duty to support the church (Spitz, 1997a).

4.2.2 The political alignments of the Reformation

With the Reformation in the 16th century, the political authority of the Church changed significantly. The Reformation was a momentous event that disestablished the monolithic Catholic Church and led to the development of plural Christian denominations. The Protestant churches that arose sought political affiliation with the secular political authority of the newly independent Princes. This was advantageous to the Princes who, no longer loyal to the Catholic Church, needed to form loyalty, identity, and authority within their national boundaries independently of Rome. In this endeavour, the princes recognised that the new Protestant churches offered an assurance and extension of their own power and liberties. In turn, Martin Luther recognised that Royal authority was preferable to the cultural dominance of Rome and necessary for the success of the Reformation (Lucas, 1972). Luther saw both the state and church as divine institutions; where the purpose of God works through the dynamic relationship between the bible and secular authority (Spitz, 1997a).

Education increased in importance after the Reformation as “schools were seized upon as instruments for the advancement of sectarian interests” (Lucas, 1972, p. 248). Education was vital as the success of both the new churches and political authorities were dependent upon a “moral and intellectual rebuilding of the populace” (Luke, 1989b, p. 121). A re-education of the populace was necessary to build religious and political stability, countering the political and religious fragmentation created by the Reformation. As a result, religion and education became a binding force in asserting the authority of the Princes and the new Reformed Churches (Luke, 1989a).

Schooling became vitally important to the political authority of the Princes and to the new Protestant churches whose success was dependent upon precluding religious heterodoxy (Luke 1989a).

Education was the means to ensure the initiation of, and reproduction of a set of common beliefs, morals, and attitudes consistent with Protestant doctrine (Luke, 1989a). Religious education, as Martin Luther stated, was in the interest of both church and state:

“The prosperity of a country depends not upon the abundance of its revenue, nor on the strength of its fortifications, nor on the beauty of public buildings, but it consists in the number of cultivated citizens, in its men of education, enlightenment and character” (Luther cited in Spitz, 1997b, p. vii).

On these grounds, Luther believed that secular political authorities had a duty to use its authority to provide the conditions for compulsory schooling:

“Even if there were no soul... the maintenance of civil order and the proper regulation of the household, needs accomplished and well-trained men and women” (Luther cited in Painter, 1889, pp. 64-65).

The state’s theological appointed role as peacekeeper was extended by the theology of Luther to the authority of education, as Luther stated, the state was “the kingdom of Gods left hand” and held responsibility for schooling (Luther cited in Spitz, 1997a, p. 68):

“I maintain that the civil authorities are under obligation to compel the people to send their children to school... If the government can compel such citizens as are fit for military service to bear spear and rifle, to mount ramparts, a perform other martial duties in times of war; how much more has it a right to compel the people to send their children to school, because in this case we are warring with the devil” (Luther cited in Painter, 1889, p. 65).

Consequently, the Reformation required the state to provide authority for compulsory schooling, in partnership with the Church, which was responsible for the provision of schooling.

In summary, religious schooling was posited as necessary for the salvation of the individual, the prosperity of the church, and the political stability and cohesion of a nation. Individuals had a duty and right to receive an education that would provide them with the literacy necessary for their salvation. For political authorities and Protestant churches, compulsory religious education provided social control, conformity, and loyalty to both the Princes and the independent reformed churches. Religion and education came to be seen as the providing the most effective means to ensure social control and social conformity. The influence of the Reformation was not be

underestimated as it provided the establishment of public schooling and a secular administration system that was “the foundation for modern schooling”, intrinsically linking religion to education for the building and well-being of nation states and protestant churches (Luke, 1986b, p. 120).

4.3 Christianity’s authority on knowledge

Throughout the Middle Ages Christianity developed to become not only a political authority but also an authority on knowledge. This was achieved through Christian theology that posited faith as the means to knowledge, thereby legitimating the Christian church’s authority over knowledge (Gutek, 2005). As such, the sacred was given priority over the secular as it was from faith that knowledge began, and it was within faith that knowledge concluded. Accordingly, the knowledge of antiquity based on reason, and theorised by Plato and Aristotle, was possible only through faith. This synthesis of the Greek philosophy of reason with the Hebrew understanding of revelation led to, and constituted, the rise of Christianity’s authority on knowledge and the concept of undifferentiated schooling. It formed the foundations of Western culture and Western education systems (Wogaman, 1994).

The basic-level variable *Christianity’s authority on knowledge* is characterised by three secondary-level variables: the synthesis of *St. Augustine*, the general consolidations of *Christian Theology*, and the synthesis of *Thomas Aquinas*. These variables form a hybrid relationship. The first two variables are necessary and jointly sufficient as the work of St. Augustine and the general consolidations of Christian theology are essential to acknowledge the ascendancy of Christianity’s influence upon knowledge. However, the last variable - the synthesis of St. Aquinas - while valuable, is not essential, this is because a Christian authority on knowledge was established before the work of Aquinas. Figure 4.3 illustrates this relationship.

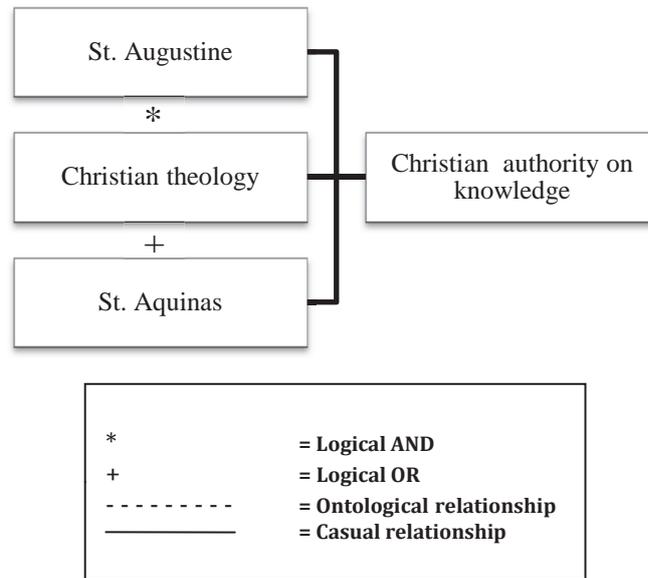


Figure 4-3: The secondary-level variables of the *rise of Christianity's authority on knowledge*.

The theological thought of St. Augustine (354-340) was crucial to the synthesis of revelation and reason, and by correlation, religion and education. St. Augustine's influence is "without parallel" (Wogaman, 1994, p. 51). Augustine worked within the period of transition from the ancient to the medieval world, during which time theological doctrine and philosophy were seen as rivals for the metaphysical, epistemological and axiological basis of society (Gutek, 2004). Within this context, Augustine created a synthesis of Hebrew and Greek by which knowledge fell under the canopy of Christianity.

St. Augustine synthesised the work of Plato with Christian theology forming a logical link between Christianity and idealism and ensuring Christianity's authority on knowledge. Idealism, a central concept in Plato's philosophy, posited reality as "an extension of a highly abstract universal idea, an organizing principle or world concept" (Gutek, 2004, p. 16). In Augustine's synthesis God became the universal idea, whom through revelation made knowing possible (Gutek, 2004).

This synthesis had an enduring contribution to medieval society and educational philosophy as Augustine solved the problem of faith versus reason, and philosophy versus theology. Augustine posited knowledge and morality as inseparable from faith. Augustine argued that epistemologically,

divine assistance is necessary to come to true knowledge, for in the absence of God human weaknesses will lead reason astray (Chambliss, 1996). Secular knowledge, therefore, is placed under and is dependent upon religious knowledge - for it is only God that makes understanding possible. In the pursuit and attainment of knowledge, St. Augustine emphasised humility and humbleness, for knowledge and virtue can never be known solely through human reasoning or striving alone. Augustine's axiology is located in idealism, where idealism asserts that due to the spiritual nature of human beings whose origins lies in God, values too are spiritual derived from God, "universal, eternal, and unchanging" (Gutek, 2004, p. 22). The Christian monopoly on education after the Decree of Justin in 529AD meant that Augustine's thoughts on education were influential in the development of Western education and society.

Although St. Augustine's curriculum reflected his philosophy on scientific and eternal knowledge, where both were reasoned as necessary, the scriptures formed the central place in the curriculum from which the liberal arts were to be viewed. Faith was essential as knowledge could only occur "when there is present in the mind of the learner a conviction as to the real existence of what he seeks" [sic] (Howie, 1969, p. 47). The overriding purpose of education was "the understanding and teaching of the word of God" (Howie, 1969, p. 228) and "to enable individuals to obtain complete union with God" (Elias, 2002, p. 40). Reason was not the ends to knowledge, but only an instrument in its acquirement. Alone reason cannot discover truth, but when faith is prior to reason, and within the exercise of reason, reason can provide support for Christian beliefs (Howie, 1969). Subsequently, education within the Middle Ages was founded on "thought and belief" and proceeded through "reason and faith", with each necessary for understanding (Howie, 1969, p. 52).

St. Augustine contributed to a Christian theological paradigm where the individual was regarded as "a channel through which a universal and divine intelligence operated" (Dewey, 1942, pp. 340-341). The individual was not responsible for their knowledge because its attainment was through God (Dewey, 1942). Religious knowledge was not questioned, as its manifestation was through divine intelligence and intervention that was subsequently infallible (Wright, 2004). Thus education was defined both by and for religion because "Christianity was a revealed religion, not an abstract theoretical system to be added to other systems or schools of antiquity" (Lucas, 1972, p. 182).

Augustine's influence continued throughout the middle ages but his synthesis was amended by Thomas Aquinas who addressed the theological challenges presented by the rediscovery of

Aristotle's work in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, which challenged the foundations of Augustine's synthesis:

[For while] Augustine and his followers were forever finding traces, footsteps, even clues of fingerprints, of divinity in the world: in knowledge, in order, in beauty, in finality. Aristotle offered an explanation of all these parts of the world itself was ordered: he did not need to bring God in at every stage to explain them (Martin, 1996, p. 113).

The work of Aristotle posed a significant threat to the Christian world of the Middle Ages because according to Aristotle, human happiness and purpose were not dependent upon, nor orientated towards, the final meeting with God. Human beings had their own direction, or point, that was independent of God and could be located within this world. Happiness therefore could be achieved in this world, without God, and heaven was not the "real fulfilment of the human being", merely an additional benefit (Martin, 1996, p. 114).

Addressing this challenge Thomas Aquinas synthesised the philosophy of Aristotle with divine revelation allowing for the continual co-existence of faith and reason under the umbrella of Christianity (Guttek, 2005). Aquinas posited that Aristotle's philosophy was indeed compatible with divine revelation for when the system was viewed as a whole, it moved beyond a temporal worldly purpose. While God was no longer needed to intervene to allow humans to gain knowledge, knowledge itself pointed to God:

The existence of the world and of the mind, of truth and knowledge, as well-matched and systematic whole that function and relate to one another independently of God's special intervention, itself points beyond the world, beyond the finite mind, beyond finite truth, to God (Martin, 1996, p. 124).

Consequently, faith was still necessary for divine revelation and importantly, not contradictory to human intellect for intelligence itself was endowed by God (Guttek, 2005).

While God is central to the epistemological process of education in Augustinian thought, Aquinas posited that the acquisition of knowledge "occurs through the natural processes of sensation of objects in the environment and abstractions of this sensory data into concepts" (Guttek, 2004, p. 58). Applied to education, the temporal purpose of education is happiness on earth through the discovery of one's potential and truth and goodness, where the fulfilment of this temporal purpose leads to salvation (Murphy, 2006). Thus, God has moved from the centre stage of the education process to occupy a more distant space beyond the process of learning. Metaphysically, God was still present

but now within the human condition, the endowment of free will, intellect, and a person's final purpose - heaven.

Aquinas's thought developed into Theistic Realism. Realism is the belief of an objective and external world, where knowledge can be gained through rational thought. Theism is the belief in God's influence in the creation of the "laws, patterns, and regularities that govern the universe" revealed through divine revelation (Guttek, 2004, p. 53). Theistic Realism, therefore, encompasses dual aims derived from both theism and realism where each is complementary in coming to understand truth. The laws of the external world, according to Aquinas, can be discovered through human reason (Guttek, 2004). However, a complete understanding of knowledge is only possible through a theistic belief in divine revelation. God is necessary for knowledge because God created the laws and human intelligence that allowed the discovery of knowledge. Subsequently, Aquinas's axiology is also dependent upon God for values come from God and are "essential", and despite some necessary contextual variance, values are perceived as "universal and timeless" (Guttek, 2004, p. 58)

A hierarchy of knowledge was evident in Thomas Aquinas's synthesis, ordered upon the use of faith and reason. At the top of Thomas Aquinas's curriculum was religious studies, followed by subjects that utilised and encouraged reason (Guttek, 2004). At the bottom were those "bounded by space and time" concerned primarily with "earning a livelihood and the economic sustenance of society" (Guttek, 2005, p. 87). Thus, while reason is important and should form a substantial part of education it should always be concerned with the purpose of life - "the beatific vision of God" (Guttek, 2005, p. 87). Education is a religious holistic approach to the whole Christian person defined as the "life-long process of advancing individuals to spiritual and intellectual excellence in the virtuous life" (Guttek, 2004, p. 60).

Aquinas's synthesis on the relation between faith and reason did not come to dominate society as Augustine's had. However, theistic realism was influential in the development of Western education and became "the standard and approved method of scholarship used in the medieval universities" (Guttek, 2004, p. 56). In addition, Aquinas's synthesis was influential in the development of Catholic schooling.

The syntheses of Augustine and Aquinas are significant to understanding the trajectory of relationship between religion and schooling as it highlights the fact that within the sacred canopy,

that legitimated undifferentiated schooling, were secular influences. As Durkheim states, “from their origins the schools carried within themselves the germ of that great struggle between the sacred and the profane, and the secular and the religious” (Durkheim, 1977, p. 26). Thus, within the synthesis of Greek to Hebrew knowledge was the “principle of secularity” (Durkheim 1977, p. 27). In effect, the Church had borrowed the “subject –matter of its educational system from paganism”, infusing within its curriculum a secular knowledge and character (Durkheim, 1977, p. 25). This provided the seeds of differentiation from which schools would later develop “to take on an increasingly secular character” (Durkheim, 1977, p. 25)

4.4 The authority of Christian ontology

Significant to the legitimacy of undifferentiated schooling was the influence of Christian ontology. Ontology is the presuppositions “of conceptualizations, commitments, and understandings about the human relationship to things such as self, world, and others” and raises questions about the nature of reality and the relation that humans have to it (Howe, 2006, p. 423). Ontology questions whether ultimate reality is “material, ideational, or supernatural?” (Schmaker, 2008, p. 107). Ontology also considers questions of “ultimate ends”, that is are they determined by “divine or super-natural causes”, or are they “undetermined, subject to human will and powers?” (Schmaker, 2008, p. 107). How a society answers these ontological questions at any given time determines the content, ethos, and purpose of education.

Within the undifferentiated society, Christianity constituted the dominant means by which reality, and ultimate ends were understood. Theological belief defined reality and thus the conditions and requirements to live within this reality (Sheldrake, 2007). Christianity, therefore, held the ontological legitimation to form the content and purpose of education through its beliefs surrounding human nature.

The dominance of Christianity, and the intolerance for beliefs outside of a Christian ontology, meant that the ontology within the undifferentiated era was not only Christian but also strong. The relationship between the individual and knowledge was authoritarian, with a perception of the individual that emphasised conformity. As Schofield (1972, pp. 149-150) states, “the doctrine and dogma of the Church were constraints on individual and freedom of thought, and because the

constraints dominated thinking, they also determined behaviour”. Thus, “there was no distinction between religious doctrine and dogma and education” (Schofield, 1972, p. 150).

The variable - the *rise of Christian ontology* - is constituted by three secondary-level properties: *Christian monism*, *salvation*, and *conformity of religious thought*. These properties form a hybrid relationship where while a general Christian monism and salvation are necessary, the property conformity of religious thought is not. The flexibility of this last property is to acknowledge situations where a Christian pluralism formed with accepted denominational differences in religious thought. This relationship is illustrated by Figure 4.4.

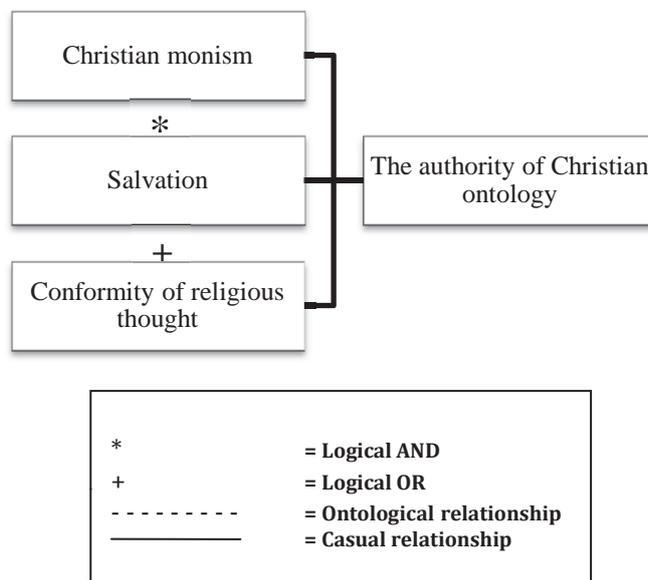


Figure 4-4: The secondary-level variables of the *rise of Christian ontology*.

The hegemony of the Christian religion over schooling in the undifferentiated phase is defined as monism. Monism assumes a “uniformity of human nature” where all humans “share a common nature consisting of unique capacities, dispositions and desires” (Parekh, 2000, p. 17). Monism asserts that “only one way of life is fully human, true, or the best” (Parekh, 2000, p. 16). Consequently, a Christian moral monism asserts the Christian “way of life” as superior (Parekh, 2000, p. 25).

The Christian moral monism that underpinned undifferentiated schooling was “theologically grounded” and founded on the belief that Christianity was the “‘one and true’ religion” (Parekh, 2000, p. 24). Religion was viewed “not only a matter of personal faith but also a matter of collective responsibility and collective identity” (Berman, 1990, p. 151). Consequently, the relationship between the individual and society was authoritarian and was maintained through Church practices that emphasised conformity. As Schofield states, “the doctrine and dogma of the Church were constraints on individual and freedom of thought, and because the constraints dominated thinking, they also determined behaviour” (Schofield, 1972, pp. 149-150).

The development of Christian monism meant that worldview became defined by a theological belief that was particularly concerned with salvation. As Lucas states, “the only real significance of earthly life was that its character determined the fate of a man’s soul struggling on a perilous journey toward heaven or hell” (Lucas, 1972, pp. 238-239). Thus, the purpose of life was spiritual with secular concerns secondary to the “higher and otherworldly purpose” of “the eternal reward of the supernatural life that came after the body’s death” (Gutek, 2005, p. 79). By association, the predominant purpose of schooling was spiritual, as Wright (2004) summarises,

For Christianity the final goal of education lay in the reuniting of fallen humanity with its creator, a goal that was essentially eschatological: though this end could be prefigured, at least in part, in this present life it was necessary to look beyond the grave for its final consummation (Wright, 2004, p. 128).

Consequently, education was concerned with preparation for salvation where these preparations had utilitarian civil, moral, and vocational consequences.

With the Reformation, salvation came to have particular significance for the institutionalisation of schooling. Martin Luther, a key initiator of the Reformation, decreed salvation as being the responsibility of the individual for it was “only individual confrontation with the divine words that would enable an authentic and unmediated relationship between God and the individual” (Luke, 1989a, p. 70). This was a marked difference from Catholic Church doctrine where salvation was mediated through the church, priests, and liturgy. Thus the Protestant denominations that arose from the Reformation posited salvation as dependent upon literacy because the individual needed access to the word of God, untainted by priest or church (Lucas, 1972). To this end, literacy became a religious requirement because “scripture is the only authority on morality and religion, children must learn to read” (Rorty, 1998, p. 5).

Because of the practice of “individual confrontation with divine words” there arose an individualism and religious and political fragmentation that challenged the stability of society (Luke, 1989a, p. 70). Luther feared that this was because people were misinterpreting the Bible (Luke, 1989a). As a result, initial movements towards individualism facilitated by the Reformation were countered by an increased institutionalisation of religious schooling. Schooling became a central means to respond to the individualism and fragmentation that arose from the Reformation, and thus ensure political and religious stability and authority:

the institutionalization of the child in the school was seen as one way to reinstate the social order; as the reformers had hoped, instilling a selective tradition of desired values, morals, ethics and social discipline in the young (Luke, 1989a, p. 79).

To this end, Martin Luther wrote the Short Catechism and the Longer Catechism to replace the Bible in schools, thereby ensuring the correct interpretation of Lutheran doctrine (Luke, 1989b). The Catechism was an authoritarian textbook in which Christian doctrine was explained in “a small, concise and simple form” (Luke, 1989b, p. 124). Through the catechism schooling became the memorisation of “religious principles” through a standard set of questions and answers that instilled in students minds “correct religious dogmas” (Guttek, 2005, p. 112).

The pedagogical method and content of the catechism was designed to ensure conformity of thought and behaviour where students were recreated into “an embodiment of suitable knowledge” (Luke, 1989b, p. 128). Luke refers to the catechism as a “lawful and centrally controlled indoctrination program” (Luke, 1989b, p. 124). Textbooks and teaching methods were standardised to catechetical instruction to ensure that students remained faithful to their religion during a time of “religious warfare” (Guttek, 2005, p. 112). The ability of individuals to “defend their faith against rival antagonists” was perceived as essential (Guttek, 2005, p. 112). Confessional examinations structured schooling and ensured conformity of thought to a body of knowledge, belief, and morality that precluded participation in society.

To meet the theology of the church, the spiritual needs of the individual, and the political needs of the state, the Reformation recommended states compel its citizens towards literacy and thus salvation. Luther argued that the state would provide the authority for compulsion of education while the church would be the provider. State and Church would work together in the administration and provision of schooling based on Luther’s belief that parents could not be entrusted with their children’s education. (Luke, 1989b)

4.5 Conclusions

The two-level theory of undifferentiated schooling identifies and analyses the causal variables and properties that led to religious authority over the provision, curricula, and ontology of education. Undifferentiated schooling had its origins in the Middle Ages where the Catholic Church arose upon the collapse of Rome to become the central political, social and educational authority. Underpinning its educational authority was its control of knowledge, Greek knowledge was synthesised to Hebrew understandings, creating an authoritative Christian paradigm that prioritised faith and religion. This formed an ontological authority over society and subsequently education. A Christian monism developed where the key purpose of schooling became the attainment of salvation. This education for salvation also held social and political advantages to nation states. Subsequently, nation states developed a stake in maintaining conformity of religious thought, primarily through the increased institutionalisation of religion and schooling.

Because undifferentiated schooling had global significance through the transnational impact of Christianity, the initial relationship between religion and schooling in both New Zealand and Norway is elucidated and explained in terms of the theory of undifferentiated schooling. Undifferentiated schooling exposes global epistemological, political and social developments that shaped early conceptions of religion and schooling within both Norway and New Zealand. However, how these variables were interpreted and practiced within each nation was dependent upon each nation's unique social, cultural and political context. The following chapter will explore how undifferentiated schooling manifested in Norway and New Zealand.

Chapter Five : Undifferentiated Schooling in Norway and New Zealand

This chapter explores the historical foundations of religion and schooling in Norway and New Zealand elucidating the conceptual and theoretical insight of undifferentiated schooling. The general explanatory power of undifferentiated schooling has its origins in the middle ages where the Catholic Church arose to become a “supranational power” (Kent, 2000, p. 16). The Catholic Church provided both Norway and the British Isles (and correspondingly New Zealand) with “a common culture, and membership of an international organisation” (Jewell, 1998, p. 155). This common Christian foundation continued throughout the Reformation where, while “there was no longer any supranational institution capable of unifying them”, across the British Isles and the Nordic countries there was a continuance of “similar structures and aims” between the nations (Österlin, 1995, p. 107). Of particular significance was belief in the necessity of education for salvation and the recognition of cultural and political advantages of a religious schooling. Subsequently, the theory and concept of undifferentiated schooling is a common educational phenomenon in both Norway and New Zealand where the universal text – “the big international reader, the Bible” (Telhaug, 2002, p. 9, own translation) - structured the content of both early educational systems.

This chapter will illustrate that while there was a common concept of undifferentiated schooling in New Zealand and Norway, thick historical research elucidates a structure dependent upon each nation’s cultural, political, and educational context. Thus, while undifferentiated schooling provides an abstract conceptual and theoretical framework that explains the initial relationship between religion and schooling, differences exist in national interpretation. In this way, undifferentiated schooling should be envisaged as an ideal type; that is as a “conceptual yardstick for examining differences and similarities, as well as causal connections, between the social processes under investigation” (Appelrouth & Edles, 2008, p. 144). Thus, insight is drawn from the explanatory power of undifferentiated schooling; as well as the influential national characteristics of New Zealand and Norway, where particularly important is how each nation perceives religion in relation to the principles of social cohesion, individual autonomy and cultural diversity.

This chapter spans from the Middle Ages to the mid-nineteenth century, a period that encompasses the historical foundations of western education systems and the initial interest of the state in schooling. This chapter is divided into two halves; the first analyses the historical foundations of

religion and schooling in Norway while the second explores the initial relationship between religion and schooling in New Zealand. Reflecting the two-level theory of undifferentiated schooling, this chapter explores both proximate and immediate influences as well as historical, social, and educationally cumulative events.

The first half of this chapter explains the establishment and institutionalisation of undifferentiated schooling in Norway beginning with the identification of applicable ontological properties. Section 5.1.1 examines the introduction of the Catholic Church in the 11th century and its educational significance in establishing “a spiritual culture based on knowledge in reading and writing, [where] the Church was the centre for education and teaching work” (Myhre, 1998, p. 12, own translation). Within Catholic Norway the priest was deemed “prophet, teacher and judge”, communicating and representing both “the sacred and the profane” (Furseth, 1999, p. 110).

Section 5.1.2 explores Norway’s religious change to Lutheranism in the 16th century. Lutheranism had explicit educational requirements and significantly changed the content, purpose, and method of schooling with the introduction of salvation by literacy. Significantly, Lutheranism encouraged the state to assume authority for the compulsion of the religious education of its populace. Section 5.1.3 explores Norway’s state pietism in the 18th century that closely aligned the power of the state with the educational authority and provision of the church. Under this ideology, religious education became increasingly institutionalised and compulsory for all citizens in Norway. Effectively, the state recognised religious schooling as having a social and political purpose. The final section explores the impact of undifferentiated schooling upon the Sāmi, the indigenous people of Norway, specifically in terms of the dual policies of assimilation and cultural suppression. Across Norway’s expressions of undifferentiated schooling was a perception and practice of religion and schooling as a means of social cohesion that restricted cultural diversity and individual autonomy.

The second half of this chapter explores undifferentiated schooling in New Zealand. While the initial nature and shape of schooling in New Zealand was characterised by the ontological properties of undifferentiated schooling, its structure and character differed significantly from Norway. Crucial to understanding the differences between Norway and New Zealand is that while schooling in Norway emphasised conformity of religious thought, New Zealand did not. These differences, in part, were due to the different time periods in which schooling was implemented and the specific cultural demographics and characteristics of each nation.

Due to the process of colonisation in the 19th century, the New Zealand half opens with a brief overview of the British institutions and ideas of religion and schooling that forms the foundation for un-differentiated schooling in New Zealand. Section 5.2.2 examines the European ideals of schooling and religion that were introduced in New Zealand through the educational endeavours of the missionaries. Section 5.2.3 explores the expanding influence and increasing institutionalisation of religion and schooling in the Colonial period during which time the government acknowledged the churches as providers of schooling by passing the Education Ordinance of 1847. Finally, Section 5.2.4 analyses the establishment of the provinces in 1852 where there was an initial strong alignment between religion and schooling in most provinces as religious denominations worked with the provincial councils to provide schooling. Crucial to understanding the particular structure and character of undifferentiated schooling in New Zealand is the fact that central government did not attempt to impose a religious homogeneity. Instead, emphasis was placed on the plurality of Christian denominations and the rights of the different Churches to preach and educate according to their beliefs and practices.

5.1 The concept and theory of undifferentiated schooling in Norway

The concept and theory of undifferentiated schooling explains and elucidates the relationship between religion and schooling in Norway up until the middle of the 19th century. Figure 5.1 identifies the applicable proximate and distant ontological properties of undifferentiated schooling to Norway. The variables of proximate influence are visible within the historical trajectory of religion and schooling in Norway and directly influenced the manifestation of undifferentiated schooling. The variables of distant influence, while not directly visible, provide intellectual, political, and philosophical foundations that were influential in the development of undifferentiated schooling in Norway.

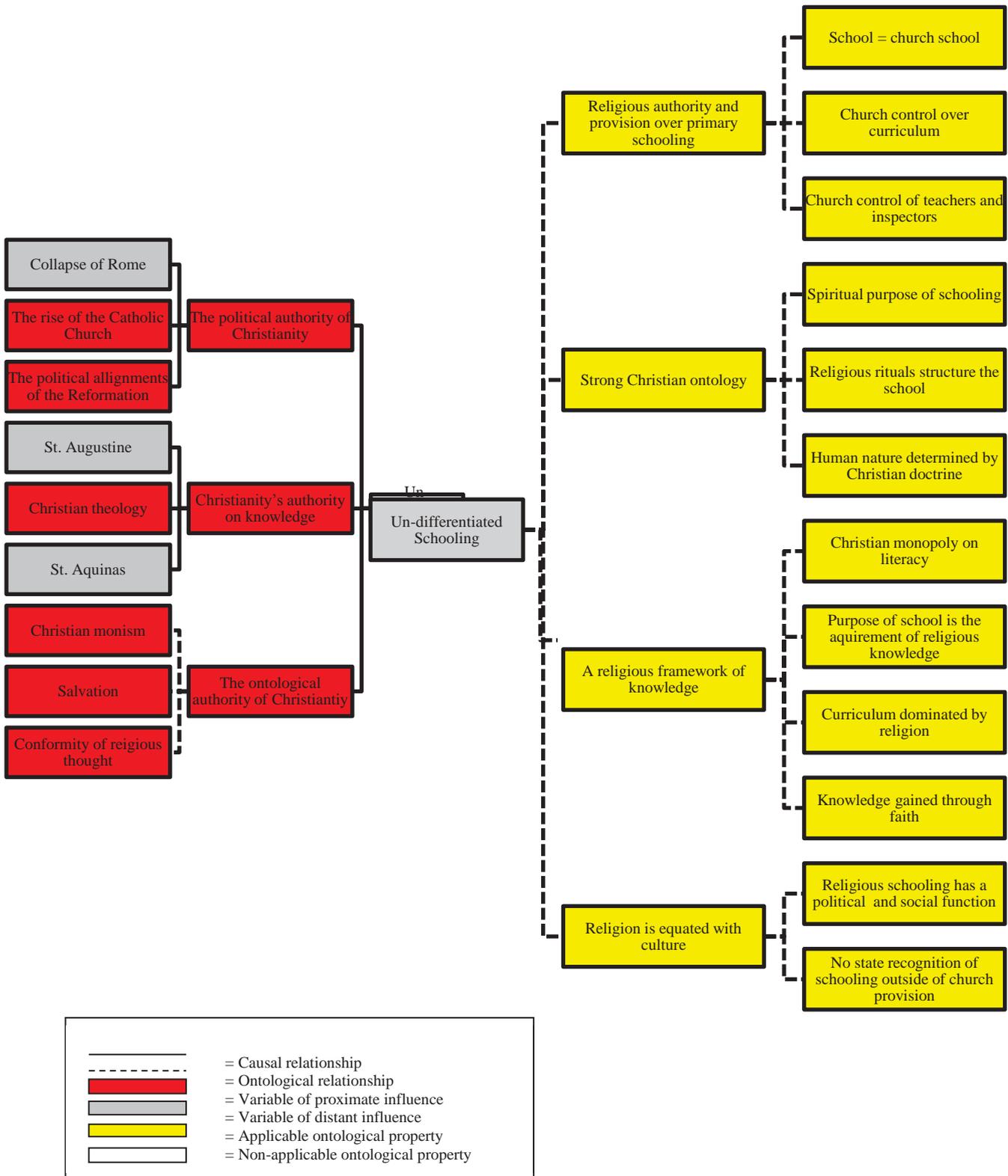


Figure 5-1: The concept and theory of undifferentiated schooling in Norway.

5.1.1 Catholic Norway: The rising cultural and political significance of religion

The founding relationship between Christianity and schooling in Norway arose from the cultural, ontological, political, and educational implications of the establishment of Christianity. Over the 10th and 11th centuries, the Catholic Church arose to become the “most powerful social authority in the pre-reformation Nordic region” (Kent, 2000, p. 16). The rise of the Catholic Church meant the introduction of Christian theology and an increasing conformity of thought to Christianity through education. The Church had a distinct educational purpose that led to a close relationship between religion and schooling.

Within the Middle Ages religion was synonymous with culture, as such within Norway “religion” as a word did not exist - the closest one finds to it is “custom” (Myhre, 1998). This indicates that what was religious could not be separated from what was cultural (Myhre, 1998), and as such the religious education of the Church was a cultural education (Danielson et al., 1995). The arrival of Christianity in Norway was referred to as “*sedskifte*” – a change in customs (Myhre, 1998, p. 12, own translation). It is noteworthy that Norway’s shift to Christianity was a “conversion as a collective” (Bagge, 2005, p. 112). The Christian Church “penetrated deeply into everyday life”, with its values, beliefs and practices becoming the “common mentalities” of Norwegian society (Danielson, Dyrvik, Grønlie, Helle & Hovland, 1995, p. 87). Consequently, Christianity evolved to become “undoubtedly the strongest social cement in the more cohesive Norwegian society that took shape in the high middle ages” (Danielson et al., 1995, p. 87).

As religion was inseparable from culture, it also was inseparable from the practice of politics (Bagge, 2005). Throughout the Middle Ages, the church and the king vied for power in Norway where “at times the Church was above the State, [and] at others the King held the greatest power” (Church of Norway, 1990, p. 25). Generally, however, the Medieval Monarch was the “military leader” and responsible for upholding the law “in the widest possible sense”, while the church was expected “to implement Christianity as the sole prescribed religion and to [administer] its rules” (Danielson et al., 1995, pp. 81-82). As such, education was the responsibility of the church.

The implementation of Christianity in Norway required a substantial re-education of the populace due to the introduction of the soul, Christian morality, Christian rules, and a religion based on literacy (Høigård, Ruge & Hansen, 1971). Education was the means to introduce Christian doctrine and to implement and ensure the change of customs (Danielson et al., 1995). Education was

centralised by the overarching authority of the Church that was responsible for its teaching and content, subsequently “virtually all formal education in medieval Norway took place in ecclesiastical institutions” (Danielson et al., 1995, p. 83). For the vast majority, this schooling was indirect with the Church compelling parents and godparents to take responsibility for the provision of their children’s religious education (Myhre, 1998). This religious education consisted of “uniform religious doctrine” (Danielson et al., 1995, p. 29) containing “the Creeds, the Lord’s Prayer and the Hail Mary” (Danielson et al., 1995, p. 87). Additional religious teachings could also be required, including important events in the life of Jesus, the Ten Commandments, and understanding of the ceremonies and rituals of the church (Myhre, 1998).

Religious rituals were a strong influence in structuring both the content and the purpose of education in Catholic Norway. Through a child’s baptism, the church imposed on the parents and godparents the obligation to provide “a specific educational program” for the Christian upbringing of the child (Høigård et al., 1971, p. 12, own translation). This education was monitored through the religious ritual of confession where parents and godparents were questioned about whether they were fulfilling their educational obligations (Høigård et al., 1971). The culminating educational ritual was confirmation at 12 years of age that symbolised the “affirmation of baptism” (Høigård et al., 1971, p. 13, own translation).

5.1.2 Lutheran Norway: Theological principles for religious authority and provision over schooling

Norway’s relationship between religion, culture, nation, and school changed significantly with the advent of the Reformation. The Reformation brought the political, social, and educational vision of Martin Luther to Norway that altered the relationship between religion and schooling. In 1537, the Danish King Christian III inspired by Martin Luther and upon “political as well as personal grounds”, established the “Evangelical Lutheran faith as the official faith of Norway and Denmark”, thereby uniting Norway and Denmark into one kingdom (Church of Norway, 1990, p. 18). Governance shifted from the “Pope and his Bishops” to the “King and his lay councillors” (Lausten, 1995, p. 34). The Catholic Church was replaced by the Lutheran State Church and Lutheranism became “nationalised” (Sørensen & Stråth, 1997, p. 10). Christianity grew to be closely connected with the formation of the nation state (Bagge, 2005). Under the legitimization of Lutheranism,

Norway became a “Christian State”, the king possessed theocratic legitimacy through the belief that political authority derived from God (Lausten, 1995, pp. 34-35).

Within reformed Norway there was no separation between the laws of the state and the Church (Stenius, 1997). The clergy “represented both God and king” (Thorkildsen, 1997, p. 139) and it was “from the pulpit” that the local clergyman “preached the word of God and proclaimed royal decrees” (Thorkildsen, 1997, p. 150). The clergy were both “officers of the Crown and school governors, supplying the Protestant King, the absolute Head of State, with loyal, knowledgeable subjects of moral conduct” (Haakedal, 2001, p. 89). By his coronation, the King was vested with educational and religious responsibilities for the “introduction and preservation of true Christian worship” and was explicitly obliged to “help his subjects to salvation” (Lausten, 1995, p. 35). Subsequently, the Church Ordinance included education, and effectively became “educational law” (Lausten, 1995, p. 37).

The Norwegian Kirkeordinansen (Church Ordinance) of 1537 and 1539 was consistent with Luther’s educational vision and established children’s lessons based upon Luther’s Little Catechism (Høigård et al., 1971). The Structure of the Catechism had three components: Christian and salvation history, Christian piety and practice, and ethics (Jensen, 2006). The Parish Clerk was required to teach these children’s lessons before or after Church in what amounted to the “first attempt to organise Christian education for all children” (Høigård et al., 1971, p. 23). Within this education philosophy was an early conception of “equality of educational opportunity”, where it was argued, “all God’s children possessed the capacity to be saved and therefore had an equal right to salvation” (Hansen, 2006, p. 77). This was reasserted by the Norwegian Church Ordinance of 1607 that stipulated, “all children should have catechism education from the parish clerk once a week” (Haraldsø, 1989, p. 11, own translation). In addition, the 1687 law stipulated that priests, parish clerks, and parents were all responsible for a child’s education (Haraldsø, 1989). These laws formed a strong connection between religion, culture, and education. Morality was inseparable from religion, religion was inseparable from culture, and schooling in religion was necessary for the social, culture, and political needs of the King and Church. Consequently, in the years following the Reformation, schooling was a significant means “to secure religious uniformity” (Österlin, 1995, p. 111).

Pedagogical thinking in 16th and 17th century Norway was dominated by a “religious point of view” where a strong Christian ontology underpinned schooling (Høigård et al., 1971, p. 40). Religious

knowledge dominated the curriculum through the Lutheran requirement that all subjects be educated through “house tables, catechization, house examinations ... and Church schools” (Thorkildsen, 1997, p. 139). The Catechism was constructed to create religious, and thus cultural, homogeneity and can be viewed as being an important educational tool that would ensure conformity in both “cognitive and affective acquirement” (Jensen, 2006, p. 103, own translation). Religious schooling in this period can be regarded as being a “crucial step in the construction of society” (Jensen, 2006, p. 108, own translation).

5.1.3 State Pietistic Norway: Church schools for citizenship and social control

At the beginning of the 18th century, state pietism entered Norway and remained the influential ideology until the 1850s (Church of Norway, 1990). State pietism emphasised conformity of religious thought through the increased institutionalisation of schooling. Significantly, state pietism represented a move away from Luther’s theology that was primarily concerned with belief, to a greater priority upon moral upbringing (Høigård et al., 1971). Within this period, the church and school became interdependent, with the school becoming known as the “Church’s daughter” (Holter, 1989, pp. 44-45, own translation). State pietism continued the political authority of religion where “it was not possible to think about politics without religion” (Koeford, 2004, p. 35, own translation). The state and the Church “were only two sides of the same thing” (Christopherson, 1979, p. 289). Religion was both “society’s culture and knowledge, and played a crucial role in all facets of life” (Koeford, 2004, p. 35, own translation). Thus, religion characterised “the whole collective society and each resident individually” (Rasmussen, 2004, p. 35, own translation).

State pietism gave education a new significance with the confirmation act of 1736 and the corresponding school law in 1739 that held political and educational influence until the 1840s (Furseth, 1999). The universal and compulsory Confirmation and School Laws of 1736 and 1739 required a degree of literacy for all children because reading the bible and catechism was a “decisive step on the path toward salvation” (Horstbøll, 2004, p. 149). The purpose of schooling was the “intellectual and religious preparation” for confirmation, the first partaking of Holy Communion at the age of 14-15 years (Guttormsson, 1990, p. 19). Thus, the purpose of schooling was spiritual through the teaching of faith and the “way to salvation” (Telhaug & Medias, 2003, p. 62, own translation). Confirmation, and its corresponding educational requirements, also had important social and political objectives where legally, confirmation was necessary for citizenship

(Haraldsø, 1989). Without confirmation there was “no marriage license, no land holding, and no enlistment in the armed forces” (Tveit, 1991, p. 246). One became a “citizen by virtue of being a Christian” and thus, civic education was embedded within religious education (Haraldsø, 1989, p. 21, own translation).

The confirmation act of 1736 and the school law of 1739 were the first expressions of compulsory state primary schooling in Norway. The church and clergy held “both the political and administrative power over the school” (Telhaug & Medias, 2003, p. 48, own translation). Thus, schooling was undifferentiated and there was no distinction between the vocation of teacher and clergy - as the 1736 confirmation law illustrates by calling the Priests “teachers” (Haraldsø, 1989, p. 15, own translation). In addition, the church school was the community school and there was no differentiation between the church congregation and membership in the community (Jensen, 2007).

The curriculum of the church school was bound within the structure and teaching of *Pontoppidan's Catechism* that provided schools with one “authorized uniform framework” (Horstbøll, 2004, p. 145). This catechism was the “obligatory confirmation manual” written by Erik Pontoppidan, the court pastor of Christian VI (Horstbøll, 2004, p. 145). Pontoppidan's catechism replaced previous and “local variations of catechism instruction with an authorized uniform framework” (Horstbøll, 2004, p. 145). The influence of Pontoppidan's Catechism cannot be underestimated for not only was it “perhaps the most important tool in framing people's perception of Christian faith in Norway” (Furseth, 1999, p. 109), but it also played a central role in education for nearly 200 years and was a “defence of the state's official religion” (Thorkildsen, 2005, p. 98, own translation). Embedded within Pontoppidan's text was the political ideology of autocracy and the theology of piety (Haraldsø, 1989).

In keeping with ‘God's social order’ Pontoppidan's catechism emphasised behaviour such as humility and obedience “to maintain the social scheme, for they express God's own order” (Thorkildsen, 2005, p. 100, own translation). Acceptance of the social order extended naturally to political authority where Pontoppidan emphasised that “the subject shall obey all public officials, honour them and entreat them, [and] one should never be disobedient against public officials” (Thorkildsen, 2005, p. 99, own translation). Pontoppidan linked salvation with social virtue where the consequence of disobedience and sin that would be “punished by God both in life ... and in the eternal life with “the condemnation of hell” (Thorkildsen, 2005, p. 100, own translation). In addition, it was taught that the “injustices and accidents of life ... [were] an expression of Gods

order and will” (Thorkildsen, 1995, p. 108, own translation). Thus, schooling was not intended to “unsettle the social order” (Thorkildsen, 2005, p. 100, own translation).

Pontoppidan’s catechism was intended to produce a homogenous and loyal population, where “children learned how they should relate in different life situations and relationships” (Thorkildsen, 1995, p. 39, own translation). It provided an overarching framework over ethical, social, and legal considerations where “almost half the book – 326 questions – deals with the law” (Gilje & Rasmussen, 2002, p. 69, own translation). As Thorkildsen states, “nothing was left to themselves” (Thorkildsen, 1995, p. 39, own translation), obedience was “the greatest moral virtue” and “self-determination was the last” (Telhaug & Medias, 2003, p. 37, own translation).

As social norms and laws were subject to religion, so too was knowledge. Pontoppidan’s own epistemology was a “slipping transition” between religion and a scientific understanding of the natural world (Blikrud, Hestmark & Rasmussen, 2002, p. 186, own translation). For Pontoppidan the Bible provided the foundation for nature study, and the “nature book” merely supplemented the “book of revelation” (Blikrud et al., 2002, p. 186, own translation). This was a typical representation of the time where from the time of the Reformation until 1814 intellectuals were theologians and “attempts to describe and understand both religion and nature dominated large parts of theology” (Blikrud et al., 2002, p. 185, own translation). The Norwegian school curriculum itself was characterised by a hierarchy of knowledge that reflected Christianity’s hegemony:

All secular knowledge had to be subordinated to instructions for man’s final and proper aim: salvation. The schism between secular and spiritual matters in pietism has been described as a two story building. On the lower floor we find secular themes, that is reading, writing and arithmetic. On the upper floor we find the spiritual themes. The aim is to lead the pupils up to this higher floor of Christian faith and moral... This was the ideal not only for the primary schools, but for the grammar or classical school as well (Holter, 1990, p. 38).

Thus, within 18th century Norway, religion and science were still synthesised under the umbrella of theology, and it was not until the 19th century that Christian knowledge became narrower in its scope (Rasmussen, 2004).

5.1.4 The Sámi in undifferentiated Norway

The Norwegian school’s objective of citizenship through Christianity, social uniformity, and cohesion meant a policy and practice of assimilation for the indigenous Sámi people of Norway. The Sámi were recognised as a “separate population” and in the interests of one common cultural

and religious identity it was deemed important for the state to ensure “this population to become a loyal group of citizens and be converted from unbelief to Christianity” (Hirvonen, 2004, p. 8). The religious education and conversion of the Sámi people was an important objective of the nation state, and was of greater importance than the education of citizens who posed less threat to the political, social and cultural homogeneity of the nation (Hirvonen, 2004). Subsequently, from the early 1700s there was “a strong need to convert the Sámi to Christianity” realised through the “systematic teaching ... Christianity to the Sámi in the Sámi language” (Hirvonen, 2004, p. 20). This agenda of assimilation increased in the 19th century as political interest heightened towards the creation and maintenance of “strong national states” (Hirvonen, 2004, p. 30). Within this agenda was a systematic process of “Norwegianisation” where “schools were the main instrument through which the Sámi were to be systematically Norwegianised” (Hirvonen, 2004, p. 30).

5.1.5 Summary: Norway

Undifferentiated schooling provides a theoretical and conceptual framework that elucidates and explains the developments of religion and schooling in Norway in the pre-modern era. The rise of the Catholic Church in the 11th century required a religious, cultural, and political socialisation into Christianity that initiated the foundations for a religious authority over education. With the Reformation in the 16th century, the institutionalisation of education increased due to the new requirements of literacy for salvation and the increased political interest in schooling. Religious schooling was seen not only as a means to salvation, but also as a means towards political conformity and social control. Key to understanding undifferentiated schooling in Norway is that the collective took primacy over the individual, with unity more important than individual convictions in the pursuit of collective religious and cultural homogeneity.

In effect, undifferentiated schooling created an equality of sameness in Norwegian society, where the religious composition of Norwegian society became broadly homogenous with Christian values, beliefs, and attitudes. Over time, the blending of religion and culture meant that the Evangelical Lutheran State religion was seen as representing the values, attitudes, and beliefs of the Norwegian people, and, importantly shaped the historical and educational heritage of the Norwegian state. Religion, and importantly religious schooling, therefore had not only a spiritual purpose but also important political and social functions. The following section examines the case study of New

Zealand that highlights both the common influence of undifferentiated schooling as well as the significant bearing of national context.

5.2 Undifferentiated Schooling in New Zealand

Similar to Norway, the concept and theory of undifferentiated schooling explains the initial relationship between religion and state schooling in New Zealand. However, the undifferentiated structure of schooling in New Zealand was significantly different to Norway due partly to the different time eras in which undifferentiated schooling was implemented. Undifferentiated schooling in New Zealand was implemented in a context of liberalism, pluralism, and on the consolidations of the Enlightenment. In addition, there was a strong and assertive Christian pluralism in New Zealand and a general apprehension to the imposition of religion by political authorities. These characteristics of 19th century New Zealand shaped the form and structure of undifferentiated schooling. Figure 5.2 illustrates both the proximate and distant variables and properties of undifferentiated schooling in New Zealand.

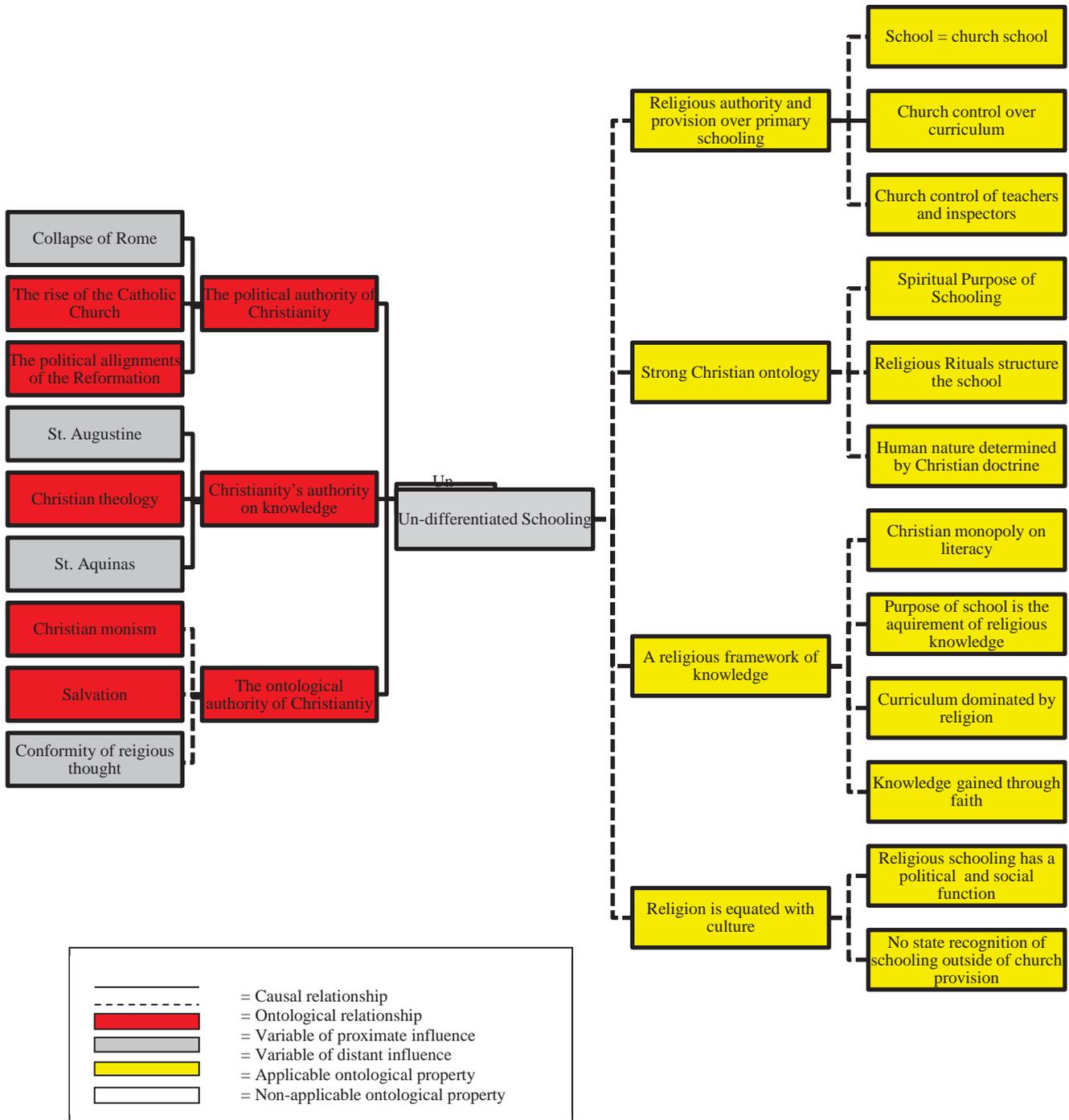


Figure 5-2: The concept and theory of *undifferentiated schooling* in New Zealand.

5.2.1 The British legacy of Christianity, education and pluralism

The educational attitudes, beliefs, and practices of undifferentiated schooling came to New Zealand through the process of British colonisation. The first “tide” of Europeans came to New Zealand from 1769 and their numbers increased steadily over the following century (Belich, 1996, p. 115). These Europeans brought with them a heritage of ideas and institutions that had a distinctly British character and history. Within these ideas and institutions was a strong role for religion founded upon the influence of Christianity upon British politics, culture, and education.

This British heritage is integral for understanding the foundations of state primary schooling in New Zealand as the “settlers” did not “instantaneously develop a new philosophy of education by crossing the Equator” (Campbell, 1941, p. 2). As Campbell explains, the “settler” was “culturally and educationally ... less interested in adapting himself to his new environment than in surrounding himself with the institutions and ideas that formed the background of his existence in the homeland” (Campbell, 1941, p. 2). Thus, the history and institutions of religion and schooling in Britain played a significant part in the founding relationship between religion and schooling in New Zealand.

Christianity in Britain, like Norway, has its origins in the Middle Ages where schooling was centralised by the Church, under the authority of the Pope, thus creating a degree of cultural and educational homogeneity across Europe. Across medieval Europe there developed a “shared educational history” because, as Jewell states, “the English educational system in place at the start of the early medieval period was simply the form of Western Christian church education”, this was similar to Norway, and consistent across the British Isles (Jewell, 1998, p. 155). As such, education was provided predominantly for religious and spiritual purposes (Jewell, 1998). The responsibility for popular education fell to “responsible persons, clergy, teachers and parents [whom] were enjoined to teach the Lord’s Prayer and Ten Commandments and other rudiments of the faith to children” (Jewell, 1998, p. 21).

Different to Norway, however, was the Christian pluralism that developed across the British nations after the Reformation. A universal religious change proved to be impossible, as the efforts to impose religious hegemony were fraught with political, social, and cultural strife resulting in social and political insurgency and instability. While there were multiple Christian denominations within each nation in the British Isles, ultimately the Reformation aligned religious denomination with national culture. The religious identity of England became characterised by the Anglican

denomination of the Church of England, Scotland was aligned with the Presbyterian state church, and a distinct Catholic identity remained in Ireland.

It is this perception of religion as not only a signifier of belief and doctrine, but also of culture and nation, that the early immigrants from Europe brought with them to New Zealand in the 19th century. The Anglican Church was a strong influence in the province of Canterbury and carried with it not only the religion of England but also its culture, whereas Scottish Presbyterians influence was most clearly felt in the province of Otago. The Irish Catholics formed a considerable proportion of the Christian settlers across New Zealand and brought with them their experience of the attempted imposition of Protestantism as well as the Catholic pedagogy, theology, and practice of education. Subsequently, New Zealand's Christian and educational heritage and context was plural with no overriding consensus on "which" Christianity was to be established in New Zealand. Christianity therefore was as much a divider as a unifier with the migrants seeing "themselves very much in denominational terms" (Ahdar, 2006, p. 622). This assertive pluralism was fiercely protected due to the history of religious strife, compulsion and warfare in Britain.

In summary, while it could be broadly agreed that schooling belonged within the Christian worldview and was the responsibility of the churches, which Christian worldview and connotatively how it should be taught were matters of deep contention. Consequently, a single universal arrangement of schooling was infeasible and unwanted. As a result schooling was religiously fragmented and tolerance for religious diversity was a valued principle to ensure political and social peace.

5.2.2 The missionary period: Religion and schooling a means of cultural governance

The first stage of Western influenced schooling in New Zealand began with the arrival of the Missionaries in 1814. Within this period, education was within the authority of Christianity, and its provision by the missionaries, was characterised by a strong Christian ontology and knowledge. The most influential missionary groups in establishing schooling were the Church Missionary Society (CMS) from the Church of England, the Wesleyans, and the Catholics (Breward, 1967). A common priority to all these missionaries was the religious education of the indigenous Māori people. This education had not only a spiritual purpose but also a cultural and political purpose and was recognised by political authorities as a key tool of colonisation where "commerce, 'civilisation' and

Christianity would advance together” (Porter, 1999, p. 235). This was attested to early when the Secretary of State for the Colonies asserted that, “the prevalence of the Church of England in those colonies is the best security that Great Britain can have for their fidelity and attachment to her Constitution and Interest” (Knox, 1876, cited in Porter, 1999, p. 223).

Thus, colonisation was “aided by religion” where “Christian missionary work supported the colonial enterprise ... acting as the agent of a cultural imperialism” (Woodhead, 2009, p. 5). Missionary schools were integral to this plan by providing the means by which indigenous people would gain “religious understanding”, and thus “cultural change” (Porter, 1999, p. 236). As Porter explains, “the introduction of English and vernacular literacy” were “essential foundations of Bible study, religious understanding and cultural change” (1999, p. 236). It was widely believed that through Christianity, with its educational institutions and practices, Māori would become ‘civilised’ and thus supportive and a part of British culture and aspirations. This alignment of religion and culture through education for planned cultural change was in essence a political policy of assimilation to be achieved through Christianity.

The legitimacy of assimilation rested upon the belief in a “racial hierarchy” in which the British believed themselves to be the superior and most ‘civilised’ race (Simon, 1994, p. 50). Assimilation and the “civilisation” of the Māori people were therefore seen as “an act of enlightened generosity”, informed by humanitarian values and a British colonial history that was increasingly seen with disgrace (Belich, 2001, p. ix). Thus, with secular political philosophical support and with the approval of the first governors, the missionaries founded schools for Māori, that later extended to the children of the settlers. These missionary schools were essentially “a means of evangelisation and training in Christianity” (Davidson, 2004, p. 64). The religious authority of the Churches was “inevitable” as there was “little precedent” of Government responsibility for schooling in the British Isles (Campbell, 1941, p. 24). These missionary schools were in effect community schools because as “one learnt to read in order to read the Bible, and was taught by reading the Bible, there was little difference between the congregation gathered together to worship and the community assembled in ‘school’” (Barrington & Beaglehole, 1974, p. 3).

For the Māori, Christianity and the Churches were seen not only for their spiritual characteristics but also as a source of knowledge and as a means to material progress. Because reading the bible was central to religious education, religious education was seen as a means of literacy that provided access “to European knowledge” (Belich, 1996, p. 165). Aware of this, the Missionaries stressed,

“the superiority of European culture in their teachings [and] ... linked European skills and technology to Christianity” (Simon, 1994, p. 51). Thus, Māori actively participated in the Missionary schools and educational endeavours seeking access to “Pākehā wisdom” (Simon, 1994, p. 51).

Schooling during the Missionary period was consistent with the established European ontology. It contained a predominately-religious purpose upon the belief that a person’s ultimate purpose was salvation and religious education was integral to saving ones soul. Both Protestant and Catholics shared these beliefs when it came to schooling. Catholicism, with its origins in St. Augustine and Thomas Aquinas, regarded schooling as inseparable from religion: religion must “permeate all other branches of education. It could not be taught adequately at home or in Sunday school, but had to be taught in school every day” (van der Krogt, 1993, p. 19). Catholicism also emphasised the importance of religious education “both temporally and eternally” (van der Krogt, 1993, p. 19). The Protestant belief concerning the relationship between religion and schooling did not differ widely from Catholicism at this time where the all-encompassing role of Christianity in schooling was not questioned. As Turley and Martin (1981) state:

What was beyond dispute to most teachers then was the presence of a religious dimension in education. This was not something appended to the school’s curriculum or isolated in a compartment of life. Religious assumptions undergirded their whole approach to the task (Turley & Martin, 1981, p. 4).

However, Christian ontology was not static and within the new colonial context of New Zealand it evolved beyond traditional ontological beliefs. New Zealand differed remarkably from England in regard to economic opportunities and social class structure where the passive acceptance of ‘one’s lot’ as part of some Godly order lost some of its importance in an environment where through one’s ability and effort one could determine one’s worldly success. Additionally, Māori were not passively converting to a monolithic Christian ontology. The Māori development of Christianity was quite different from the established Western Christian belief structure, as Belich states, “a Māori conversion of Christianity was apparent from the first” (1996, p. 219).

In summary, the concept of undifferentiated schooling explains the relationship between religion and schooling within the Missionary period. Particularly evident is the strong link between culture and religion in determining a political purpose for religion and schooling. With the beginning of the colonial period in 1840, the dominance of the Missionaries over schooling was replaced by a

stronger institutionalisation of schooling as church provided education was recognised by the state through the 1847 Education Ordinance.

5.2.3 The colonial period: The growing institutionalisation of church schooling

New Zealand became a Crown Colony in 1840 with the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi and remained so until 1852. Within this period authority for the provision for schooling remained with the different denominations and there was no tradition or suggestion “that the state, central or local, should turn school master” (Campbell, 1941, p. 26). The role of the state, as in England, was to be limited “to encouraging and assisting the work of the churches” (Campbell, 1941, p. 27). The cultural and denominational divisions of Christianity, evident in the Missionary period, were a key factor in the colonial period that needed to be handled carefully by the officials. There was a general belief and practice that no Church would stand on “higher ground” than another (Ahdar, 2006, p. 622). Thus Christian pluralism, combined with the English tradition of State non-interference in education, meant that any monetary assistance for educational purposes would be distributed to the plural Christian denominations such that each would be entitled to “its fair share” (Campbell, 1941, p. 26).

The New Zealand Education Ordinance (Grey’s Ordinance) of 1847 was the first national education legislation put into effect in New Zealand (Butchers, 1932). It recognised the religious plurality of the nation by providing financial assistance to the Anglican church, the Catholic church, the Wesleyan mission and “the Head or Minister of any other Religious Body who shall have engaged in the education of youth in the Colony of New Zealand” (Education Ordinance, 1847, p. 293). The Education Ordinance was not intended to be universal and, consequently, the educational grants were restricted to Māori children and the Province of New Ulster (the North Island) (Butchers, 1932).

Grey’s Ordinance gave authority to the religious denominations for schooling for three reasons. The first was the close relationship between religion, culture, and citizenship that regarded religious education as indispensable for the growth of the British colony. Secondly, there was the widely held tradition and belief that schooling belonged under the authority and provision of the Churches. The final reason was pragmatic where while the state had no established schools or teachers, the Churches did. For these reasons, the ordinance mandated that the churches would receive financial

assistance conditioned upon their providing a curriculum including religious education, industrial training, and English. (Grey, 1848)

The inclusion of religious education in Grey's Ordinance reflected the belief "that civilisation and Christianity were complementary processes inextricably bound together... and that both were necessary to elevate native peoples" (Grant, 2005, p. 261). Grey believed that the colonial context with its pluralism and lack of established institutions meant there was a "peculiar necessity for insisting upon religious instruction forming important part of any plan of education which was supported by the Government" (Grey, 1848, p. 161). Because Christianity remained closely bound with morality and civilisation, religious education was necessary to ensure the morality of the colony (Breward, 1967, p. 1). Morality and knowledge were believed to be derived from the Bible, as Breward (1967) explains:

The Bible was the fount of British morality. Childhood absorption of its words and teachings led to adult virtue. Hence the importance of religious observance and instruction in education that was worthy of the name, and the concern of Churchmen that they be assisted from public funds to meet the rising demand for education (Breward, 1967, p. 2).

However, religious authority and provision in practice was limited by the nation's religious diversity. The Education Ordinance stipulated that parents who dissented to the religious doctrine of the school had the right "to be taught ... without being instructed in the doctrines of religion" (Education Ordinance, 1847, p. 292). This signified an early understanding of educational individual autonomy. In addition, schools were required to be "subject to inspection" (Education Ordinance, 1847, p. 292). However, as this inspection was generally by Ministers of the denominations involved, religious authority was ensured (Education Ordinance, 1847).

Within Auckland, Grey's ordinance led to the prevalence of the "denominational system" (Butchers, 1932, p. 11). Partly, this was due to the "severe disadvantage" private schools faced without the state aid granted to the Churches (Butchers, 1932, p. 11). Consequently Church authority extended to some private schools that were "brought within the denominational system either wholly or, in some cases, more loosely by the granting of Church recognition in return for concessions respecting denominational instruction and inspection sufficient to enable the school to receive State aid" (Butchers, 1932, p. 11).

In Canterbury, schooling was under the authority and provision of the English Anglicans, while schooling within Otago was by the Scottish Presbyterians (Butchers, 1932). Otago's formal position on education was that it was a "church rather than a civic responsibility", a reflection of the Scottish aspiration to create "parish schools throughout Otago, each under the control of a Presbyterian congregation" (McKean, 1993, p. 5-6). Subsequently, the Presbyterian Church was prevalent in Otago, and "no schools belonging to any other denomination were established in Otago during that period" (Butchers, 1932, p.14).

By way of comparison, the provinces of Wellington and Nelson demonstrated the beginning of a changing relationship between religion and education. Within Wellington, schooling was predominantly characterised by private initiatives with only a few denominational schools (Butchers, 1932). Whereas the Nelson province had the "first system of public schools", where religious differences were resolved through legislation that forbid sectarian views, and that when the Bible was read it was done so "without note or comment" (Butchers, 1932, p. 13).

Thus, within the colonial period there was the beginning of a shift away from undifferentiated schooling, of significance to this shift was the New Munster (South Island) protest against the 1847 Education Ordinance. New Munster argued that religious education must "not include instruction in the peculiar or distinguishing doctrines of any denomination of Christianity" (Seymore, 1849, Resolution 11). The New Munster Legislative Council maintained that schooling was the concern of the state and consequently it was "the duty of every Government to see that its subjects were provided with the means of education" (Seymore, 1849, Resolution 1). Alfred Domett, of Nelson, took this argument one-step further in his Minute on Education, when he made the following premises: first, that education should be compulsory; second that the provision of schools for every religious denomination in every geographical location was unfeasible; and, thirdly it was impossible for religious education not to be biased towards one denomination (Domett, 1849). Upon these premises, Domett concluded that education must be secular (Domett, 1849).

The arguments of the New Munster Legislative Council and Domett however were in the minority as the majority firmly held that religious education was necessary and that schooling rightfully was under the authority and provision of the churches. Domett's arguments for a more liberal vision of schooling were before their time and subsequently were strongly critiqued as this article in *The New Zealander* attested:

Our New Zealand Education Ordinance has gone quite far enough – (some think that, for an act of professedly Christian legislation it has gone too far) – to consolidate “the Galileo of modern liberalism” in the provision that children “may upon application to be made in that behalf by their parents or guardians, be taught in the schools without being instructed in the doctrines of religion (*The New Zealander*, 1849, p. 2).

Reflecting unswerving faith in undifferentiated schooling, the *New Zealand Spectator and Cook Strait Guardian* asserted the limitations of the state upon schooling and that:

... The only object the State has in the education of its subjects is to improve their morality, and that can only be effected through the medium of the Christian religion. If therefore parents will not allow their children to be so educated the State can have no inducement to give them mere intellectual instruction, which is a mere personal accomplishment and not requisite for the well being of the State (*New Zealand Spectator and Cook Strait Guardian*, 1849, p. 2).

Thus, Christian ontology exerted its religious authority and provision over schooling for much of the Crown Colony Period (1840-1852). However, the voices of dissension and the pragmatic infeasibility of undifferentiated schooling in a plural and increasing modern context and these found expression in the provincial period (1853-1876).

5.2.4 The provincial period: From the ideal of undifferentiated schooling to the pragmatics of the New Zealand context

In 1852, the New Zealand Constitution Act established the provincial councils, each of which was given authority over schooling until their abolition in 1876 (McKean, 1993). The provincial period is marked by initial strong aspirations for undifferentiated schooling, followed by an increasing pragmatic realisation that for a religiously plural population with increasing secular educational needs, religious authority and provision of schooling was no longer appropriate or adequate. Thus during the provincial period education was in a transitional phase, from undifferentiated schooling under church control towards an increasingly differentiated schooling under secular control. As Campbell has observed, educational change in New Zealand was a “double movement from local to central control and from Church dominance to complete secularism” (Campbell, 1941, p. 25).

Essentially each provincial system provides historic testament to the differing positions on religion and schooling that would prove to be recurring themes in the changing historical relationship between religion and schooling in New Zealand. The first theme is a *conservative perception* where it is believed that schooling should be compulsory within a collective religious authority and framework of education. The conservative perception is illustrated by the Province of Canterbury

where initial legislation deemed education as being doctrinal, and therefore the direct responsibility of the church. Next, there is the *denominational perception* where schooling is provided by different religious denominations. This perception is found in the province of Auckland where state aid was provided to a range of denominations, with no one denomination having dominance. The third theme is a *dichotomous perception* where schooling is divided into two parts – secular compulsory schooling and religious voluntary schooling. This is clearly demonstrated in Nelson where there was an early legal division between religious voluntary education and compulsory secular education. This arrangement meant that secular education was the responsibility of the Nelson Provincial Council while religious education was the domain of the church (but on school property), voluntary and outside of official school hours. The final theme is the *secularist perception* where schooling is posited as being independent from religion. The province of Wellington where provincial legislation deemed schooling to be secular, best illustrates this theme. The following section will explore these arrangements in more detail.

5.2.4.1 The Provinces

The Canterbury Province represents one of the strongest examples of undifferentiated schooling during the provincial period. Canterbury's rationale for the close relationship between religion and schooling is elucidated through the undertaking and publication of the reports of the Canterbury Education Commission in 1863. The Canterbury Education Commission asserted that education and religion had "a most intimate, and almost necessary connection" and that it "would be unwise to shrink from recognizing ... the natural relation between religion and education" (Canterbury (N.Z.: Province) Education Commission, 1863, pp. 50-51). Religion had both a social and political purpose that was bound within Christianity's close relationship to culture and as such was an essential part of schooling:

It would be impossible in any system of teaching which professed to fit men for the social and civil duties of everyday life, to ignore the existence of Christianity, as pervading the laws, literature, and institutions of the civilised world (Canterbury (N.Z.: Province) Education Commission, 1863, p. 67).

The Commission concluded unanimously that "religious instruction ought to form not merely a contingent or accessory, but an essential and fundamental element of any system of education supported by a Christian country" (Canterbury (N.Z.: Province) Education Commission, 1863, p. 68).

Religion's authority over schooling in Canterbury is further illustrated by examining the structure and nature of educational authority, that was overseen by the Bishop of Christchurch who appointed the majority of school teachers (Canterbury (N.Z.: Province) Education Commission, 1863, p. 47). The position of the schoolmaster was considered a "Church Office, [with] the Teacher holding it under license from the Bishop" (Canterbury (N.Z.: Province) Education Commission, 1863, p. 66). Religious rituals structured the school day where it was prescribed that "every school shall be open daily with prayer and reading of the Bible" (Canterbury (N.Z.: Province) Education Commission, 1863, p. 69). Not surprisingly, religious knowledge became a central part of schooling – statistics recorded that 95.8 per cent of children received religious instruction, 94.7 per cent reading, 78.2 per cent writing, 68 per cent arithmetic, 44.5 per cent geography and 38.2 per cent grammar (Canterbury (N.Z.: Province) Education Commission, 1863, p. 43). However, over time, the Anglican Church's dominance was increasingly challenged by religious pluralism, and by 1864, the council extended financial assistance to all denominational schools, thus ending Anglican domination of education.

Similar to Canterbury the province of Otago initially asserted strong links between religion and schooling. Empowered by the Constitution Act of 1852, the Otago Provincial Council assumed responsibility for education and gave the Presbyterian Church control over schools and teachers in order to realise the Scottish vision of a comprehensive Presbyterian schooling system (McKean, 1993). Under Presbyterian authority teaching was to "be based upon 'the principles of religious knowledge'", with teachers required to obtain certificates attesting to their "religious and moral character" signed by a minister (McKean, 1993, p. 10). The early desire for a homogenous Presbyterian education is highlighted in a clause that allowed teachers to be dismissed for teaching "religious opinions at variance with the doctrine of Holy Scripture" (McKean, 1993, p. 10).

In Auckland, education was denominational with religious instruction being a central feature. Like Canterbury, state interference was limited with the churches recognised as being "the proper bodies to undertake the organization of education facilities" (Butchers, 1932, p. 21). This limited "the state's "interference" chiefly to the provision of grants in aid" (Butchers, 1932, p. 21).

Contrary to the other provinces, Nelson and Wellington were an anomaly to undifferentiated schooling. Central to this anomaly was the emphasis placed upon the religious rights of the individual and secular authority and knowledge. The Wellington statute provided "that 'no religious instruction shall be given in any school maintained wholly or in part under this Act, and no

ministers of religion shall be allowed to teach in or otherwise directly interfere in the conduct or management of any such school” (Butchers, 1932, p. 22). In Nelson due to the requirement that every settler had to financially support the schooling system, religious education was to be “free from all controversial character and imparted at such hours that parents objecting [might] be able to withdraw their children from the school at the time when it was given” (Simon, 1994, p. 41). The provinces of Nelson and Wellington indicated that the role of state and church within schooling had changed:

The question in these Provinces, and ultimately in the others and throughout the Colony ... became, not ‘in what manner and to what extent the State ought to interfere’ but to what extent and in what manner, if at all, the Church should be allowed to interfere, ‘in the education of the young’ (Butchers, 1932, p. 22)

5.2.4.2 *The native schools system*

Outside of the provincial arrangements of schooling, but under the authority of the state, was the Native Schools System. Māori schooling initially was included within the 1847 Education Ordinance because a key concern of the colonial state at that time was “to assimilate the Māori to European ways of thinking and behaving” on the foundations of “nineteenth century discourse of race and civilisation” (Simon, Smith, & Cram, 2001, p. 250). Christianity and education were seen as essential for this conversion. In 1867, Māori education provided through the Native Schools Act was transferred to the Native Affairs Department. Although officially the denominational system was repealed at this time, aid continued to be provided to denominational schools and while religious instruction was not explicitly mentioned, it was taken for granted that this would be the case. Attendance to the Native Schools was not compulsory and students could choose whether to attend the Native Schools or the state schools.

What is important to note is that within this period it was Western conceptions of schooling and a strong Christian ontology that defined education for Māori in a project of assimilation, dismissing and relegating the Māori worldview. The main official policy was “to convert them into Brown Britons” (Belich, 2001, p. ix). Thus, the Native Schools Act continued the assimilative policy implicit in the missions (Simon et al. 2001). Māori were to be assimilated into European ways of knowing, believing, and practices. Religion, in policy and practice, was limited to Christianity with Māori spirituality seen as a threat to the social cohesion and political conformity of the new state.

5.2.4.3 Catholic Schooling

Catholic schooling developed separately from the predominately protestant and increasingly secular Provincial Councils. This was due to the strong differences in belief and educational philosophy between Catholicism and Protestant denominations. The Catholic Church condemned the “religious integration of Catholics and Protestants” (Akenson, 1990, p. 168) and held that the state “had no fundamental rights in education” (Akenson, 1990, p. 148). Accordingly, the Irish Bishops in New Zealand asserted that Catholic children, by religious necessity, were to be taught only the Catholic worldview within the authority and provision of the Catholic Church.

The Syllabus of Errors issued by Pope Pius IX in 1864 testified to the developing separate system of Catholic schooling by affirming Catholic authority over schooling and dispelling movements towards “mixed” (meaning Catholics and Protestants) or secular arrangements of schooling. Of particular interest was that the Syllabus condemned the belief that “human reason, without any reference whatsoever to God, is the sole arbiter of truth and falsehood, and of good and evil” (Pope Pius IX, 1864/2008, #3). The Syllabus also condemned the participation of Catholics in a “system of educating youth unconnected with Catholic faith and the power of the Church” (Pope Pius IX, 1864/2008, #48). Moreover, state authority that overrode “ecclesiastical authority, control and interference” was judged as being inappropriate interference in schooling (Pope Pius IX, 1864/2008, #47).

5.2.5 Summary: New Zealand

The first period of schooling in New Zealand demonstrates an ideal of undifferentiated schooling. This ideal, however, was not unified under one religious denomination, for as religion was assertively plural, so too was schooling. While religious schooling was envisaged as being socially and politically cohesive due to a common Christian denominator, Christian pluralism meant that schooling was fragmented, dependent upon one’s religious affiliation. This led to an early recognition that the relationship between religion and schooling must be limited by a pragmatic and necessary tolerance for religious diversity. Thus, undifferentiated schooling was established under the authority and provision of plural denominations each with a religious curriculum and purpose.

5.3 Conclusions

Prior to the mid-19th century, the relationship between religion and schooling in Norway and New Zealand is best explained by the theory and concept of undifferentiated schooling. Evident within both New Zealand and Norway are the four ontological properties that conceptualise a nation's education system as un-differentiated. These properties are religious authority and provision over schooling, a strong Christian ontology, the predominance of religious knowledge, and the equation of religion with culture. Consistent with the theory of undifferentiated schooling, both New Zealand and Norway perceived the amalgamation of religion and schooling as a necessary means for an individual's salvation, and the cohesion, morality, and political stability of society. Thus, undifferentiated schooling elucidates the rationale and structural relationship between religion and schooling in both New Zealand and Norway.

It is important to note that within and between the conceptual similarities exposed by the theory of undifferentiated schooling are differences between national contexts. National context determines the significance and weight of the variables of undifferentiated schooling and subsequently the manifestation of the conceptual properties. The historical analysis of Norway and New Zealand demonstrates that national context is key to determining how undifferentiated schooling manifests. Within Norway, a strong emphasis was placed upon religious conformity, social cohesion, and thus national homogeneity through religious education. This meant that individual autonomy and cultural diversity were subordinate to religion and schooling's function of social cohesion. Thus, undifferentiated schooling in Norway was centralised, universal, and compulsory with a strong partnership existing between the national Lutheran church and the nation state. Conversely, New Zealand's religious and cultural plurality, along with a strong consciousness of religious autonomy, meant that ideas of religion and schooling as a means of social cohesion were treated with distrust and caution. Instead, emphasis was placed upon an individual's right to choose religious affiliation, and thus schooling. This was accompanied by a necessary respect for cultural diversity within Christian pluralism. Thus, while the relationship between religion and schooling was undifferentiated, it was based upon plural arrangements that reflected New Zealand's denominational differences.

Concern over pluralism and the liberal right to freedom from religion would influence both Norway and New Zealand during the second half of the nineteenth century, challenging the undifferentiated relationship between religion and education. Of significance would be the rise in secular values,

knowledge, and political authority that would drastically change the cultural, political, and economic context that legitimated undifferentiated schooling. The next chapter explores the changes in schooling from sacred to secular rationale through the two-level theory of differentiated schooling.

Chapter Six : The Theory of Differentiated Schooling: The transition to secular authority and provision over schooling

For a people to feel at any given moment the need to change its education system, it is necessary that new ideas and needs have emerged for which the old system is no longer adequate (Durkheim, 2007, p. 23)

During the second half of the 19th century accumulating political, social, and cultural developments challenged and displaced religion's authority and influence over schooling as society became a "more secular, scientific, industrial civilisation" (Milojević, 2005, p. 27). By the 20th century, many Western nation states had assumed authority for the provision of schooling that's curriculum was predominantly secular to reflect the new social, economic and political characteristics of society (Ramirez & Boli, 2007). In effect, education had changed in concept where:

The "educated" person of the twentieth century finally became "an effect of teachable knowledge, not an effect of divine dispensation or natural evolution" ... This new, scientific, secular and rationalist discourse was based on an alternative vision of the future and an alternative reading of the past. The paradigm of evolution eventually replaced the paradigm of Creation, reason replaced faith, empirical evidence replaced the Truth of God, scientific inquiry replaced the given text that is to be memorized and so on (Milojević, 2005, pp. 26-27).

Differentiated schooling was conceptualised in Chapter Three as being defined by four secondary-level ontological properties: *secular authority and provision over schooling*, a "*neglect of the ontological dimension*", the *dominance of secular knowledge*, and the *separation of religion from culture*. The purpose of this chapter is to discuss and develop the two-level theory of differentiated schooling that explains how these properties arose.

Section 6.1 of this chapter outlines the two-level theory of *differentiated schooling* and identifies five basic-level causal variables that caused its manifestation. These variables are *a secular perception and rationale of values*, *human nature and human ability*, the *predominance of secular knowledge*, *monolithic secular political authority*, *modernity*, and *pluralism*. Underpinning each of these variables are the constitutive secondary-level variables and properties that are the "causes of the causal variables at the basic level" (Goertz & Mahoney, 2005, p. 498). These secondary-level variables, while historically distant and educationally removed from the 19th century development of state mass schooling, are socially and educationally cumulative. These variables take into consideration the cumulative nature of religious change in schooling, as Durkheim explains, "the

secularization of education has been in process for centuries”, and a “purely rational education” is the “result of a gradual development whose origins go back, so to speak, to the very beginnings of history” (Durkheim, 1961, pp. 5-6).

Section 6.2 explores the basic-level variable the *secular perception and rationale of values, human nature and human ability*. Underpinning this variable are two secondary-level variables - *the Enlightenment* and *liberalism* - and one secondary-level property - *secular monism*. These variables and property contributed to, and constituted, a new perception of the individual and values outside of the religious worldview. This had significance for schooling as students came to be perceived in relation to their secular purpose and position in the world.

Section 6.3 examines how the basic level variable, the *predominance of secular knowledge*, arose to provide a knowledge base outside of religion to which schooling could differentiate. Constituting this variable are three secondary-level variables: *the Enlightenment*, *the scientific revolution*, and *naturalism*. Upon these variables the “nature of society was redefined” toward “progress and equality” (Boli, Ramirez & Meyer, 1985, p. 156). Thus, the individual was to be no longer educated toward salvation but educated toward rational autonomy (Boli et al., 1985, p. 157). In addition, secular knowledge formed a common base from which national solidarity could be built outside of the divisions from religious denominations.

Section 6.4 analyses the third basic-level variable of differentiated schooling – the rise of a *monolithic secular political authority*. Underpinning this variable is the rise of the nation state that became not only “an omnipotent and benevolent entity, replacing God in the secular world” (Inglehart, 1997, p. 74), but also the “ultimate unit of culture” (Webb, 1937, p. 2), displacing religion and subsequently religion’s authority over schooling. Consequently, the political task of the schools changed from creating loyal Christian subjects to producing rational democratic citizens able to exercise their rights and make informed decisions.

Section 6.5 examines the basic-level variable of *modernity* that developed from the 18th century to become “a post-traditional order” (Giddens, 1991a, p. 20). Modernity is a complex economic process constituted by four secondary-level properties: *industrialism*, *the nation state*, *the market society*, and *capitalism*. This section explains how these properties constituted a new economic structure of society and subsequently a new content and purpose of the school.

The final section of this chapter explores the variable of pluralism. Pluralism is constituted by three secondary-level variables - the divisions created by the *Reformation*, and the processes of *colonisation* and *immigration*. In the era of differentiated schooling, pluralism assumed a new significance due to the political principles of liberalism. Liberalism asserted a freedom of religion and individual autonomy, which meant that were schooling to be made compulsory and universal, then it also must be sensitive and responsive to the plurality of religious belief.

6.1 The two-level theory of differentiated schooling

Fundamental to understanding differentiated schooling is the realisation that differentiation “is the result of specific historical causes” ... [and] ... “is not a cause itself” (Hughey, 1979, p. 99). Thus, the theory of differentiated schooling identifies and examines the “specific historical causes” that separated schooling from religion. A specific theorisation of differentiation in relation to schooling is necessary because as Hughey states, “evidence of secularisation must be located in the relations of religion to each of the rationalized, secular institutional orders with which it drifts into contact” (Hughey, 1979, p. 99). The two-level theory of differentiated schooling identifies the influence of secularisation and explains the complex historical processes that caused schooling to become autonomous under the rational-legal authority of the nation state. As Figure 6.1 illustrates, the two-level theory of differentiated schooling is constituted by five basic-level causal variables that are all individually necessary and jointly sufficient.

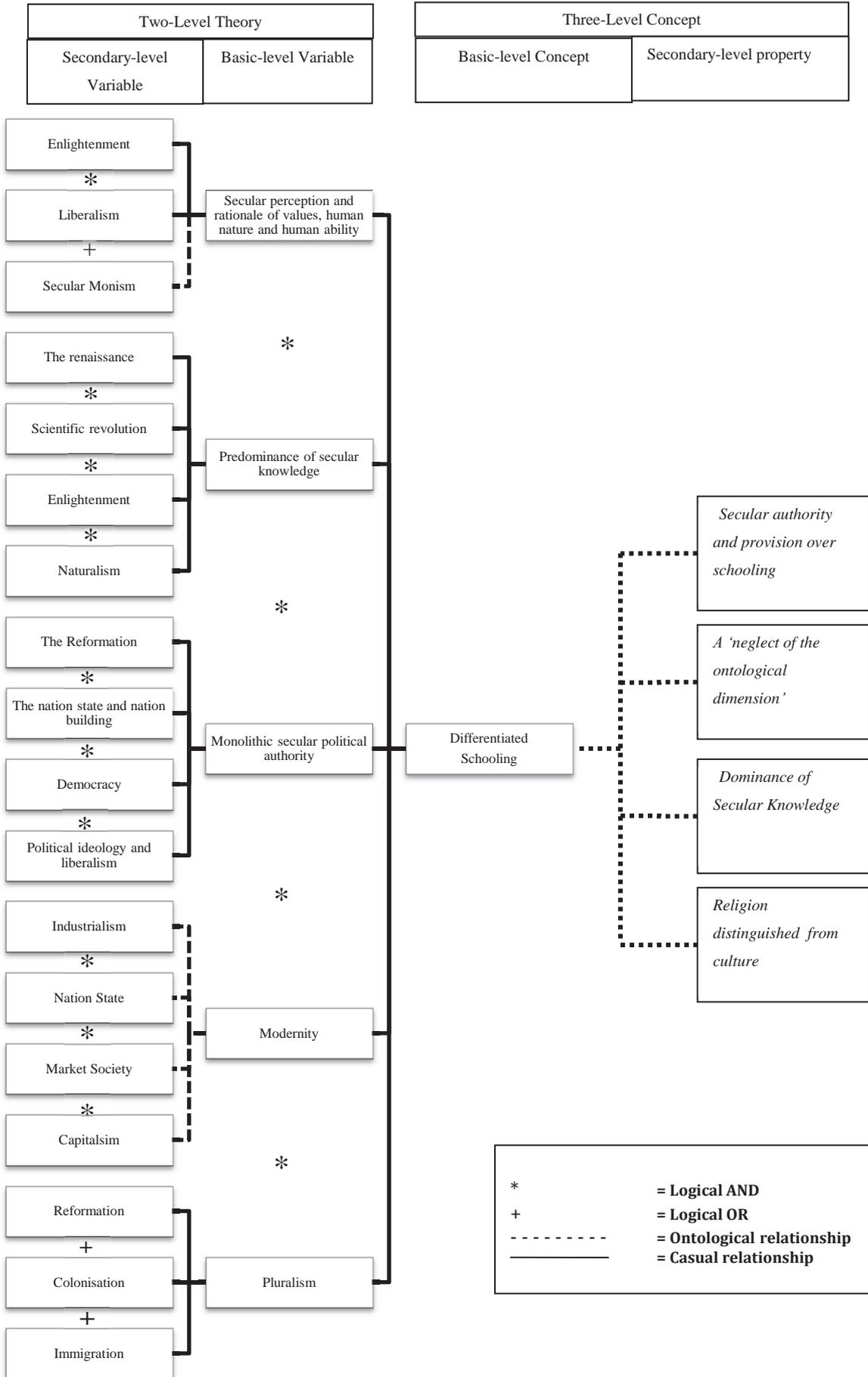


Figure 6-1: The two-level theory of differentiated schooling.

6.2 A secular perception and rationale of values, human nature, and human ability

Fundamental to the differentiation of schooling from religion was the changing perception of values, human nature, and human ability. Based upon the premise that as the values of society and the perception of human nature changes, so too does the ethos, nature and purpose of the key institutions of socialisation also change. When society becomes dominated by secular attitudes and beliefs, the schooling system changes to reflect the society that gives it its mandate. Differentiated schooling arose from a change of worldview from a Christian perception of human nature to a secular perception. Within differentiated schooling the mind became identified with the “individual self” and a “private psychic consciousness” that replaced the traditional Christian belief that the individual was “a channel through which a universal and divine intelligence operated” (Dewey, 1942, pp. 340-341)

Figure 6.2 illustrates the the basic-level variable of a *secular perception and rationale of values, human nature and human ability* that is underpinned by two secondary-level causal variables - *the Enlightenment* and *liberalism* - and one secondary-level ontological property - *secular monism*. The Enlightenment and liberalism were both fundamental to redefining the perception of the individual and values outside of a religious worldview, and therefore are posited as being individually necessary and jointly sufficient. However, the ontological property *secular monism*, understood as an encompassing monolithic worldview that perpetuates a secular source and understanding of life, while influential to redefining the ethos and purpose of the school, is not a necessary property. This is because secular monism was *not* a property that held political consensus for the initial differentiation of schooling. Accordingly, secular monism cannot be characterised as necessary. Nevertheless, over the 20th century secular monism developed to have educational and political significance that necessitates its inclusion in the development of differentiated schooling.

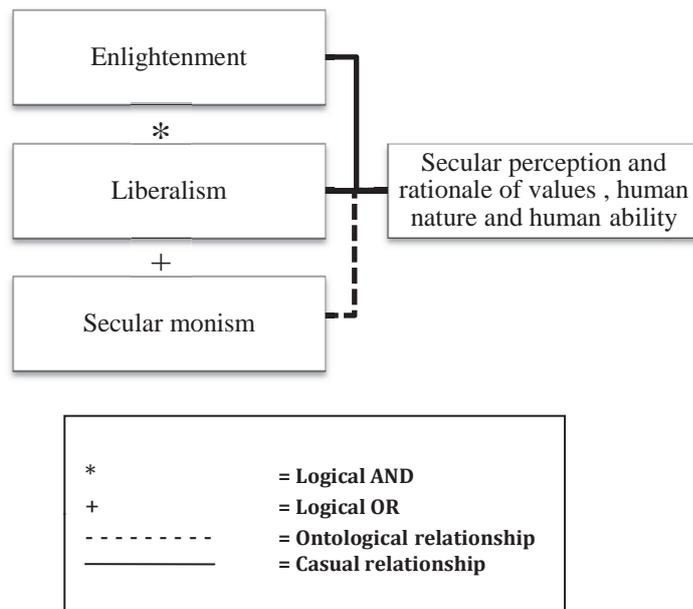


Figure 6-2: The secondary-level variables and property of a *secular perception and rationale of values, human nature and human ability*.

The following three sections explain how each of these variables/properties contributed to the changing perception of values, human nature and human ability.

6.2.1 The Enlightenment

The Enlightenment was a socially cumulative event that contributed to the secular perception of values, human nature, and human ability that came to predominate state schooling in the differentiated era. The goal of the Enlightenment was “human and social progress” and “perfectibility” through the exercise of reason (Adams & Sydie, 2002, p. 11). The enlightenment posited that reason, “without any arbitrary restraint” such as religion, was to be the means for the “happiness and welfare of society as a whole” (Adams & Sydie, 2002, p. 11). Subsequently, salvation became secondary to the goals of happiness and equality that would be realised through the creation of an “autonomous, rational individual” (Usher & Edwards, 1994, p. 30). Education was integral because “through education the individual can develop the capacity to think and act for himself” (Mueller, 2009, p. 176).

Subsequently education changed from having a role of governance and salvation, informed by a religious worldview, to a role of liberation as human nature came to be seen as perfectible (Arthur, 2008). In contrast to the prevalent belief of the Middle Ages that humans were inherently sinful, the political philosophers of the Enlightenment had an optimistic belief in human nature. In the words of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, there was “no original sin in the human heart” (Rousseau in Wright, 2004, p. 127). Emphasis was placed on education where John Locke believed that “of all the Men we meet with, Nine Parts of Ten are what they are, Good or Evil, useful or not, by their education” (Locke in Wright, 2004, p. 135). Consequently, education became vested with an important role in determining the character and future of the individual. Education was no longer focused upon salvation in the next world but upon an array of “possible futures” in this world (Sparkes & Isaacs, 2004, p. 93). As Milojević states, “reason rather than faith ... started to form the core nucleus of modern education ... the meaning of life was to be found within the vocational sphere and intelligent development (Milojević, 2005, p. 27).

Isaac Newton was significant in changing the perception of the individual owing to his scientific discoveries that altered the perception of the ability and power of human beings. Newton believed that “if human reason could penetrate to the farthest limits of the universe there should logically be no limit to the bounds of human reason” (Arthur, Gearon & Sears, 2010, p. 65). Subsequently, the belief developed that knowledge could be learnt by human reason independent of theology (Lucas, 1972). As such, knowledge would no longer be based upon “assent to any proposition, not thus made out by deductions of reason, but upon the credit of the proposer, as coming from God, in some extraordinary way of communication” (Pearson, 1978, p. 248). This is what Dewey refers to as an “intellectual individualism” (Dewey, 1942, pp. 346-347).

John Locke similarly made important contributions to the ascendancy of reason, Locke posited that upon the “natural faculties” of the mind - “sensation” and “reflection” - knowledge should be based upon a “certainty or probability of such propositions or truths” (Locke in Pearson, 1978, p. 259). Locke believed that “humans are equally endowed with mental ability to understand the principles that govern how things work”, thus all have the equal ability for reason (Sparkes & Isaacs, 2004, p. 94). Upon this philosophy of human nature and equality there is the theoretical foundation for the development of the universal provision of education on the grounds that it is by “the law of nature that each person is able to think for themselves and to make property” (Sparkes & Isaacs, 2004, p. 95). Locke’s philosophy also had implications for the Enlightenment’s “argument for religious

tolerance” as “Locke’s idea of the mind with equal natural rights” meant that “the accumulation of knowledge would lead people in different directions, and each individual had a right to his own interpretation of God” (Mueller, 2009, p. 176).

A central ideal of the Enlightenment was that knowledge should become “generally” if not “universally, available” (Coulby & Jones, 1995, p. 26). The Enlightenment posited that “knowledge and moral principles” can be “applied across time, space and cultural differences” (Barker, 2003, p. 196). Education was central to this goal and was “the vehicle by which the Enlightenment ideals of critical reason, humanistic individual freedom and benevolent progress are substantiated and realised” (Usher & Edwards, 1994, p. 24). In summary, the concept of schooling that arose in the differentiated era is “very much the dutiful child of the Enlightenment” (Usher & Edwards, 1994, p. 24).

6.2.2 Liberalism

Classical liberalism, the “first modern ideology”, is closely connected with the Enlightenment. This is illustrated by the fact that the classical liberals were described as “products of the Enlightenment” (Schmaker, 2008, p. 27). The developments (contained within the Enlightenment) towards the ascendancy of reason meant that politics “could no longer be based on traditional and religious beliefs”, subsequently liberalism was initially defined as “the science of politics (Schmaker, 2008, p. 27). Liberalism was believed to have the ability and depth to “establish the conditions in which people and groups can pursue the good life as each defines it”, thereby avoiding a definition or promotion of “any particular notion of what is good” (Heywood, 2007, p. 26). Liberalism is characterised by the principles of toleration and freedom. Toleration is a “willingness to accept and, in some cases, celebrate moral, cultural and political diversity”, that together with the principles of “reason” and “freedom” means that people have the right to order their own lives (Heywood, 2007, p. 35). Over the 20th century, liberalism developed to become perceived as “morally neutral” (Heywood, 2007, p. 26).

Liberalism challenged the political rationale for the traditional theological dominance over schooling due to its belief that education was a key means for establishing “fundamental values and ... a particular vision of human flourishing of excellence, usually linked to personal autonomy” (Heywood, 2007, p. 26). Consequently, in the 19th century “the drive for universal state-provided

education ... was led by liberals imbued with ideas from the Enlightenment” (Mueller, 2009, p. 321). Education came to be perceived as having a meritocratic function in the distribution of society’s rewards according to ability and effort, freeing the mind and person.

This concept of freedom is limited within modern liberalism through the development of positive freedom. Positive freedom views the state as having a role in creating conditions to enhance an individual’s freedom. In this way, liberalism is “linked to welfarism and state intervention” (Heywood, 2004, p. 260), and therefore provides the rationale for state intervention in education, while also limiting the role of religion upon the principles of toleration and freedom. When applied to education, a liberal education can be defined as one that seeks to liberate or free (Kimball, 1996).

6.2.3 Secular Monism

The emphasis upon reason in society and education increased over the 20th century to become a secular monism. Monism is the assumption that “human nature was unchanging, unaffected in its essentials by culture and society, and capable of indicating what way of life was best” (Parekh, 2000, p. 10). Consequently, secular monism is defined by the universal belief in secular values and human characteristics, where individuals, regardless of “however much they are divided by time and space, share a common nature consisting of unique capacities, dispositions and desires” (Parekh, 2000, p. 17).

Secular monism rests upon the assumption that the “centrality of reason” is universally shared and that the ‘good life’ should be defined upon “critical rationality, choice and personal autonomy” (Parekh, 2000, p. 36). The belief in a common rational human nature was fundamental to justifying universal compulsory schooling where, regardless of cultural or religious difference, there is a “shared human nature” on “the basis of both equality and moral uniformity” (Parekh, 2000, p. 47). Thus, schooling had the purpose of moulding individuals to become “rational, purposive, and empowered to act with autonomy and competence in the new universalistic system” (Boli et al., 1985, p. 157).

Secular monism has consequences for how the concept of ‘secular’ is perceived and practiced within an education system. Crucial here is the difference between secularity and secularism. An education system characterised by secularity “in its best form guarantees a neutral governmental

framework for accommodating and protecting different belief systems” (Cole Durham, 2012, pp. 359 - 360). Secularism, however, is “an end in itself” (Cole Durham, 2012, p. 360).

6.3 The predominance of secular knowledge

The second basic-level variable of differentiated schooling - the *predominance of secular knowledge* - rests upon the growth of the “supremacy of reason” (Semali & Kincheloe, 1999, p. 27). In 1918, Max Weber stated, “the fate of our times is characterized by rationalization and intellectualization, and above all the ‘disenchantment of the world’” (Weber, 1970, p. 155). This increasing prominence of secular knowledge and reasoning was fundamental to the development of society and schooling. There are four secondary-level variables underpinning the predominance of secular knowledge: the *renaissance*, the *Enlightenment*, the *scientific revolution*, and *naturalism*. These variables are classified as jointly sufficient and independently necessary because all the variables are interrelated and ontologically cumulative in supporting the development of the prominence of secular epistemologies that gradually moved knowledge away from a religious worldview. Figure 6.3 demonstrates this relationship.

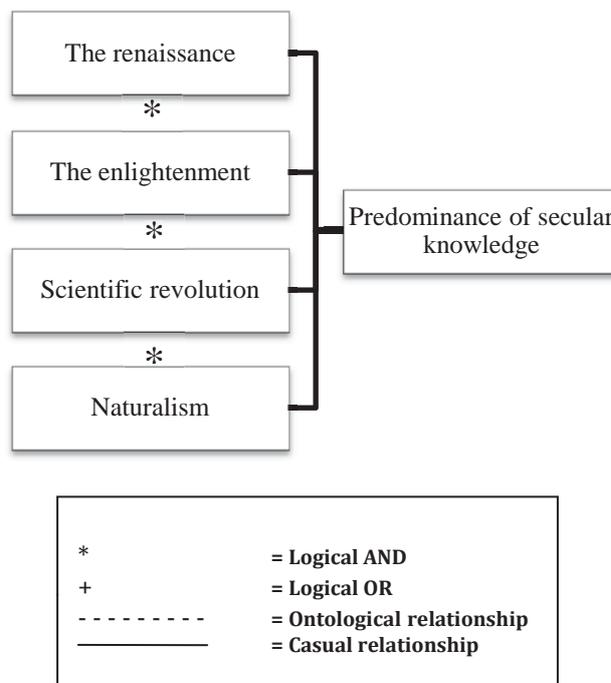


Figure 6-3: The secondary-level variables of the *predominance of secular knowledge*

The Renaissance in the 13th and 14th centuries meant a new “birth” and emphasis upon “classical learning” that challenged the theocratic monopoly on knowledge and the “intellectual hegemony” of the church (Arthur et al., 2010, p. 63). The Renaissance had significance for education in two ways; first it involved the “the revival of the idea of the liberal education”, and second it emphasised “humanism in education” (Cordasco, 1981, p. 43). The idea of liberal education is explained by Paulus Vergerius (1349-1420) as promoting knowledge that is

worthy of a free man; those studies by which we attain and practice virtue and wisdom; that education which calls forth, trains and develops those highest gifts of body and mind, which ennoble men and are rightly judged next in dignity to virtue only (Vergius cited in Cordasco, 1981, p. 43).

The Renaissance’s emphasis upon *humanism* placed importance upon the “language and literature of ancient Greece and Rome” in education (Cordasco, 1981, p. 43). Although the renaissance had limited influence upon the restructuring of the relationship between religion and schooling for the masses, its significance lies in its contribution to the Enlightenment. As Arthur et al. (2010, p.64) states, “without [the] Renaissance and [the] Reformation, [and the] movements within Christianity, the Enlightenment would ... have been unthinkable”. The Enlightenment was central not only to the development of the secular rationale of values, human nature, and ability but also to the predominance of secular knowledge.

The Enlightenment’s emphasis upon “reason and sense experience” led to a rise in secular knowledge because for the first time human beings now had the ability to construct knowledge and morality “independently of God and tradition” (Cupitt, 1996, p. 73). Humans became central to the process of knowing and there was a significant shift of epistemology from knowledge being dependent upon God and faith to knowledge being dependent upon human reason.

A key variable in the growing supremacy of reason was the scientific revolution that compelled philosophical reason “to break with metaphysical constructions of totality and history” (Habermas, 2010, p. 16). The scientific revolution, along with the Enlightenment, had their origins in the “age of reason” dating back to the 16th and 17th century (Semali & Kincheloe, 1999, p. 26). The age of reason posited that through reason, subjectivity could be removed and knowledge could become an independent objective reality where the “knower” was epistemologically separated from the “known” (Semali & Kincheloe, 1999, p. 26). Thus, by removing subjectivity modern science became perceived as the “guarantor and route to truth and emancipation” (Usher & Edwards, 1994,

p. 172). Consequently, “the synthesis of faith and knowledge forged in the tradition extending from Augustine to Thomas fell apart” (Habermas, 2010, p. 16)

Issac Newton, an influential scientist of the scientific revolution, applied mathematics to the universe and dismantled the “Aristotelian-Christian universe of purposes and final causes” (Lucas, 1972, p. 305). This development, among others, led to an educational movement called “educational realism” that replaced the theology/philosophy of the Middle Ages (Lucas, 1972, p. 307). Because of these developments, there was demand for the “application of scientific understanding to teaching and learning problems” (Lucas, 1972, p. 307). This led to “a decline in the importance of religion and spirituality” (Semali & Kincheloe, 1999, p. 27) and the development of “scientific methods ... to reach the truth” (Furseth & Repstad, 2006, p. 75).

The scientific revolution “diminished the impact of the theological outlook on the world” and “completely reoriented the educational system” (Dobbelaere, 1981, p. 17). There was a change in the structure, content, and purpose of education where “church schools [were] replaced by secular schools” and “within secular and religious schools the significance of religious education and rituals greatly diminished” (Dobbelaere, 1981, p. 17).

Closely related to the epistemological distinctions of the scientific revolution is naturalism. There are two readings of naturalism - ontological realism and methodological realism. Ontological realism asserts that “reality has no place for [the] ‘supernatural’”, whereas methodological realism is concerned with the “ways of investigating reality, and claims some kind of general authority for the scientific method” (Papineau, 2009, para. 5). Common to both forms of naturalism is the distinction between subjectivity and objectivity:

Naturalism invites us to draw a sharp distinction between, on the one hand our objective and verifiable knowledge of the brute facts of physical reality, and on the other our subjective and unverifiable opinions regarding the fictional realm of beliefs and values (Wright, 2004, p. 17).

Thus, a sharp distinction is made between naturalism and theism, and reason and faith:

It is said that naturalism is science, whereas theism belongs to religion; naturalism is based on reason, whereas theism is based on faith; and naturalism provides knowledge, whereas theism provides only belief. Science, reason and knowledge easily trump religion, faith and belief (Johnson, 1995, p. 10).

Naturalism came to dominate intellectual and popular culture to the extent that a “naturalist understanding of reality” (Johnson, 1995, p. 9) came to define the worldview of educational and social institutions.

In summary the Renaissance, the Enlightenment, the scientific revolution, and naturalism provided a new means of understanding the world outside of religion. Secular knowledge developed to have academic, vocational, political, and social purposes and consequently became an essential means for participation in society and a defining property of schooling. This point became increasingly clear as nation states became progressively more interested in schooling for its social, economic, and political capacity.

6.4 The rise of monolithic secular political authority

Though cultural differences among national societies persist, it is increasingly taken for granted that all peoples must be organized into national units, that states must control those units, that economic development and social justice are attainable goals reflecting the highest purposes of humanity, that the state must play a central role in society if those purposes are to be realized, and that an expanded, state educational system is essential to individual and national progress (Ramirez & Boli, 1987, p. 14).

Central to the development of differentiated schooling was a change of political authority from “religious belief systems to rational-legal states” (Inglehart, 1997, p. 74). From the 18th to the 19th century, the nation state arose to become “an omnipotent and benevolent entity, replacing God in the secular world” (Inglehart, 1997, p. 74). The nation state’s authority was legitimated by the development of political ideologies that “substantially reduced or totally eliminated” the function and position “of supernatural beliefs” (Nolan & Lenski, 2011, p. 238). Moreover, the nation states that arose “were keen to draw on the resources provided by the sciences, which in turn seemed to depend upon a widening of educational opportunities” (Smart, 1993, p. 73). Thus, the nation state’s secular political authority superseded the educational authority of the church and changed the social, economic, political, and academic purposes of the school.

The *monolithic secular political authority* basic-level variable is constituted by four secondary-level causal variables that are all individually necessary and jointly sufficient. These are *the Reformation*, *the nation state and nation building*, *democracy*, and *political ideology and liberalism*. Figure 6.4 illustrates this relationship.

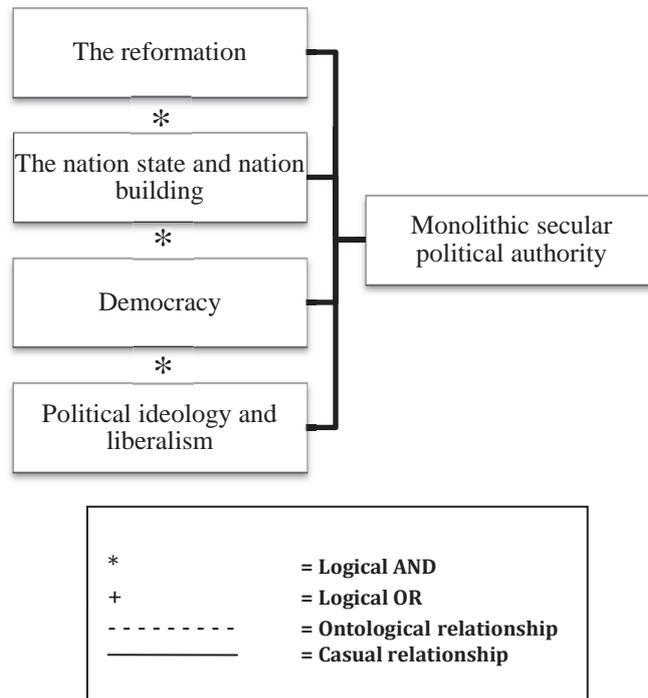


Figure 6-4: The secondary-level variables of *monolithic secular political authority*

6.4.1 The Reformation

The Reformation is a complex variable due to its socially cumulative influence. The Reformation is a variable for both undifferentiated and differentiated schooling as its educational and political significance extended beyond its immediate and anticipated outcomes. This is because at the same time as the Reformation placed increased emphasis on religious education for political, social, and religious socialisation reinforcing the conceptual properties of undifferentiated schooling, it simultaneously provided legitimation and theological justification for increased secular authority.

The initial growth of secular authority resulted from Luther's distinction between secular and sacred authority. Using biblical reasoning Luther argued to "render unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's and unto God the things which are God's" (cited in Spitz, 1997a, pp. 109-110). Upon this reasoning, Luther decreed that the authority for the compulsion of schooling rested with secular authorities. Thus, those secular authorities aligned with the reformed church were "under obligation

to compel the people to send their children to school” (Luther, cited in Painter, 1889, p. 65). Subsequently, the authority of the state increased to promoting “the establishment of a system of schools, controlled and partly supported by the state” (Cordasco, 1981, p. 51). While total secular political authority and provision for schooling did not emerge from the Reformation, it nevertheless provided a key contribution that only “awaited the emergence of other political ideas” (Cordasco, 1981, p. 51).

6.4.2 The nation state and nation building

The political idea of the nation state is integral to the concept of differentiated schooling. In the 19th century, there was an “inexorable growth of the economic, political, and social role of government” (Inglehart, 1997, p. 74). Society came to be “increasingly identified with government” and “divorced from religion” (Berman, 1990, p. 160). Thus, during the 19th century the nation state developed into a “secular substitute for the overarching Church” (Ramirez & Boli, 2007, p. 210). It assumed responsibility for the church’s traditional “social functions” leading religion to retreat into the private sphere (Ahdar, 2009, p. 42).

The nation state diminished religion’s political significance upon the principles of individualism and “cultural and social homogenisation” (Parekh, 2000, p. 8). Upon the tenet of individualism, the modern nation state “generally recognised only the individual as the bearers of rights and sought to create a homogenous legal space made up of uniform political units subject to the same body of laws and institutions” (Parekh, 2000, p. 8). The individual was abstracted away from religion and culture, affiliations that were seen by the nation state as “rival foci of loyalty” (Parekh, 2000, p. 182). Thus, the citizen of the nation state must,

... transcend one’s ethnic, religious and other particularities, and to think and act as a member of the political community. Because their socially generated differences are abstracted away, citizens are homogenized and related to the state in an identical manner, enjoying equal status and possessing identical rights and obligations (Parekh, 2000, pp. 181-182).

Consequently, the individual was “expected to find their primary identification with the nation” (Ramirez & Boli, 1987, p. 3), a clear shift away from the dominant position once held by the churches.

The success and authority of the nation state was believed to be dependent upon the character of the “nation’s children”, subsequently “the state was impelled to play a role in the socialization of children” (Ramirez & Boli, 2007, p. 209). Nation states developed mass education systems “in order to transform all individuals into members of the national polity ... to build devotion to a common set of purposes, symbols, and assumptions about proper conduct in the social arena” (Boli et al., 1985, p. 159). Schooling became “almost wholly secularized” with its goals determined by the state and not the churches (Berman, 1990, p. 159). Schooling was the means to “citizenship development” and “the homogenization of the masses” (Ramirez & Boli, 2007, p. 209). Nation building politically and economically disempowered groups who “resisted these sorts of nationalizing policies” in what amounted to a process of “demographic engineering” (Kymlicka, 2003, p. 149).

6.4.3 Democracy

Democracy was a key variable that changed the political purpose of schooling. While in a theocracy the political education of citizens is toward the goal of accepting the established divine monarchy, the political purpose of education in a democracy is to foster the knowledge, values, and ability to support and participate in the democratic political process. Democracy requires an educated citizenry along with a political authority that is religiously tolerant – “if not the strict neutrality of the state in relation to various religious groups” (Lane & Ersson, 2003, p. 107). Education was integral to democracy as the state-provided mass schooling was “necessary in order to sustain the polity of the masses by the masses” (Arthur et al., 2010, p. 67). As Dewey stated, “the devotion of democracy to education is a familiar fact” (Dewey, 1942, p. 101).

Religion’s changing role in education under democratic ideals is illustrated by John Dewey’s educational philosophy. Dewey placed democracy as a central means and ethos of schooling where

politically ... education should reflect democratic ideals; educationally, that democratic ideals be reflected in pedagogy; and that both politics and education should be secular, the future role for any prospective religion is humanistic, conceived as serving the pragmatic concerns of democratic politics (Arthur et al., 2010, p. 76).

The lack of reference and acknowledgement of religion in Dewey’s writings is reflective of the power that secular knowledge and political authority came to exert over schooling under

democracy. It is also a matter of contention for those who are sympathetic to a religious worldview, as Arthur et al.'s (2010) critique of Dewey demonstrates:

If post-Enlightenment religion essentially lost much philosophical, political and wider educational influence, Dewey is prime evidence of this within the early twentieth century. Dewey hereby represents the sacralisation of secular politics through the educational deification of democracy (Arthur et al., 2010, p. 76).

Such a critique illustrates the power that democracy exerted over shifting schooling from the authority of the churches to the secular authority of the nation state.

In summary, through democracy schools became a “training grounds for citizenship” by bonding “future citizens together through a common experience” (Coleman, 2003, p. 103). An objective of schooling was to “inculcate the proper values in children, values that ought to be common to all liberal citizens” (Coleman, 2003, p. 103). Within schooling and politics, there was a belief in the autonomy and ability of human reason where a social contract between the people and the state came to replace the previous theocratic political arrangement. A secular state schooling for a religiously plural population was a necessary condition for the subsequent success and perpetuation of democracy.

6.4.4 Political ideology and liberalism

Liberalism is fundamental to the new secular framework through its distinction between church and state, and school and religion. Key to liberalism is the concept of toleration. John Locke developed the liberal principle of toleration within the conflicts of religious pluralism in post-Reformation England (Outram, 2005, p. 115). Locke declared in his *Letter concerning Toleration*, that “all the power of civil government relates only to men’s civil interests, is confined to the care of the things of this world, and hath nothing to do with the world to come” (Locke, 1689/1991, p. 19). It was posited that a separation (or some degree thereof) between state and church, politics, and religion was necessary to allow for individual religious dissension and social peace. Upon this principle liberalism became concerned “with the practical task of ordering a society divided between the singularity of scientific fact and the plurality of a range of potentially conflicting value systems” (Wright, 2004, pp. 133-134). These developments meant that the schooling provided by a nation state must be religiously tolerant.

6.5 Modernity

Giddens (1991a) defines modernity as a “post-traditional order” that “can be understood as being roughly equivalent to ‘the industrialised world’” (Giddens, 1991a, pp. 15, 20). Modernity’s emphasis on economic development pushed religion “away from the public sphere into the private arena” (Selinger, 2004, p. 527). During the twentieth century, modernity developed to claim global significance in its “institutions and modes of behaviour” (Giddens, 1991a, pp. 14-15) that in turn initiated processes of secularisation and rationalisation, significantly changing the economic and social context of society and schooling. Consequently, within modernity, “education became predominantly about the preparation of a productive labour force as well as about the creation of a complete human being ... Neither includes the emotional nor the spiritual self” (Milojević, 2005, p. 27).

Four ontological secondary-level properties constitute modernity - *industrialism*, *the nation state*, *the market society*, and *capitalism*, figure 6.5 illustrates this relationship:

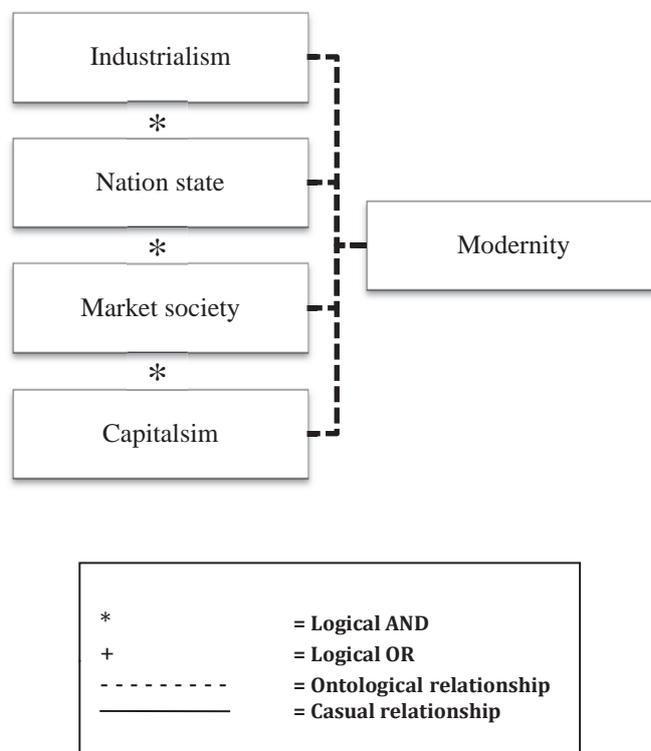


Figure 6-5: The secondary-level properties of *modernity*

Industrialism, the first property of modernity, was influential to a new purpose and context of schooling as industrialism “led to global changes in the total structure of society” (Luckmann, 1963, p. 150). Industrialism according to Bruce (2002) contributed to the “fragmentation of the lifeworld, the decline of the community, the rise of bureaucracy, [and] technological changes” (p. 36). These social changes led to the declining significance and plausibility of religion (Bruce, 2002). With respect to the system of education, industrialism required an educated workforce and thus supported the development of the secular purpose of primary level schooling (Neal, 2007).

The second property of modernity - the nation state - was concerned with the creation of an educated workforce, and the economic benefits this would bring to society. The functions of the nation state in the context of modernity were the “control of information”, “social supervision and “the means of violence” (Giddens, 1991b, p. 59). The state became the key source of power through “the secular maintenance of new codes of criminal law, plus the supervisory control of ‘deviance’” (Giddens, 1991b, p. 59).

The market society - the third property of modernity - is concerned with the “productivity and loyalty of individuals” and is a central feature of the nation state (Ramirez & Boli, 2007, p. 212). This is because the primary and “dominant societal goal” of the state is “economic growth” (Inglehart, 1997, p. 5); thus, the nation state is “closely connected” to the “market economy” (Woodhead & Heelas, 2000, p. 215). The market economy shifted the focus away from the religious and social goals of schooling towards “achievement motivation” as the “the dominant individual-level goal” (Inglehart, 1997, p. 5). Thus, differentiation is “reinforced by the action of the market economy” (Woodhead & Heelas, 2000, p. 215).

The final property of modernity is capitalism. Capitalism was a key variable in the “development of secular universal education” (Hussain, 1981, p. 169). Within capitalism “the industrial organizations of modernity have been organised along *capitalist* lines, a mode of production premised on the private ownership of property and the pursuit of profit” (Barker, 2004, p. 125). This change in economic ideology had political and social implications leading to an “increase in social value of secular education” (Ramirez & Boli, 2007, p. 212). Schooling had a new vocational purpose where, unlike pre-capitalist societies, the “distribution of the labour force” was not hereditary but was “distributed at the end of period of schooling rather than before or independently of it” (Hussain, 1981, p. 169). Thus, secular schooling became perceived as an important route to “occupational success and social mobility” (Ramirez & Boli, 2007, p. 212).

6.6 The growing recognition and significance of pluralism

Pluralism is the final causal variable that changed the nature of society and thus the cultural and political context of religion and schooling. The influence of pluralism, combined with liberalism's concept of tolerance, meant there was a "moral obligation to resist the imposition of absolute homogeneity" (Cladis, 1998, p. 26). Pluralism was recognised as being "implicitly divisive" and therefore "could only be instituted with equality or near equality of rights for different faiths" (Wilson, 1996, p. 21). Thus pluralism promoted "laicization in order to reduce social conflicts by transferring social issues out of the religious area to more neutral grounds" (Dobbelaere, 1981, p. 151). Applied to schooling this meant that for a pluralistic population the relationship between religion and schooling should be characterised by equality for all religious beliefs with no imposition of religion.

Underlying pluralism are three secondary-level causal variables - the *Reformation*, *colonisation* and *immigration* - that form a relationship of equifinality meaning that there are "no necessary conditions in this structure" but "multiple paths" (Goertz & Mahoney, 2005, p. 502). Figure 5.6 illustrates this structure.

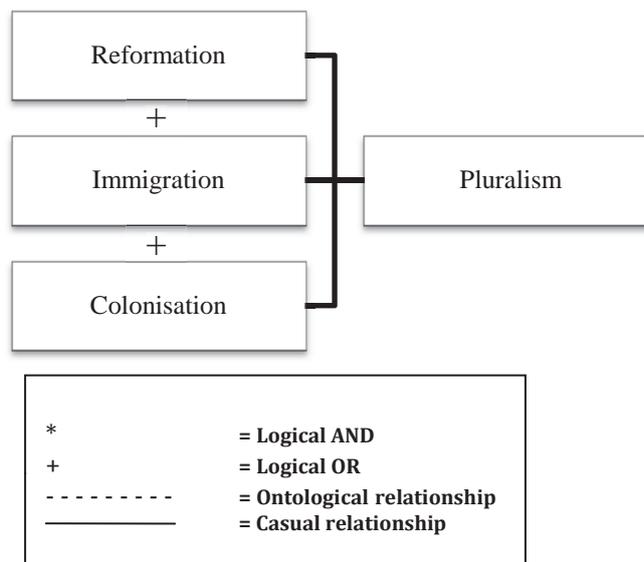


Figure 6-6: The secondary-level variables of *pluralism*

The Reformation created cultural and religious fragmentation and was a central variable that contributed to 19th century pluralism. The Christianity that arose after the Reformation was institutionally and culturally diverse, with the differences between denominational beliefs fiercely contested in terms of their theological, social, political, and educational consequences. In addition, the number of Protestant denominations continually increased as new interpretations of Christianity arose leading to increased Christian plurality within nation states. Processes of colonisation and immigration accentuated these differences, as well as giving rise to new religions outside of the Christian tradition.

Colonisation is a political and cultural process that encouraged settlement from diverse cultures to settle under 'new' nations. This led to a cultural and religious pluralism between indigenous culture and the culture of the colonisers, as well as a religious and cultural pluralism within the groups of immigrants. While colonisation initially reinforced a closer relationship between religion and schooling through an agenda of assimilation, within the period of differentiated schooling pluralism increasingly demanded neutrality and tolerance for religious beliefs in nation state schools.

The pluralism that arose with colonisation continued and expanded with continuing immigration over the 19th and 20th century. This growing religious pluralism nullified the purpose of religion as "a provider of societal cohesion, integration and solidarity" (Beyer, 2007, p. 99). Subsequently, religion's cultural and social mandate in schooling was challenged. Within a system of universal schooling under the nation state, pluralism was perceived as being too great to continue the Church's monolithic authority and provision over schooling. A predominantly secular curriculum and a limited decreasing influence of Church and clergy was deemed to be the best (though in the 19th century, not ideal) way to cater for, and respect pluralism.

In conclusion, pluralism has an intimate connection with the secularisation of society through being a key variable that prompts the nation state to question the role of religion within its institutions. Within a plural liberal society, the state must refrain "from trying to impose a monopolistic worldview" (Berger, 2001, p. 449). Consequently, religion becomes reconceptualised into the private sphere, reinforcing secularisation, with pluralism "continued by the process of secularization itself" (Wilson, 1966, p. 222).

6.7 Conclusions

Differentiated schooling arose from the consolidations of global cultural, intellectual, and political movements that over time diminished religion's authority over knowledge, culture, politics and thus schooling. Upon these movements, schooling became structured by a secular authority and provision, its knowledge drawn from secular epistemologies, and its increasing secular character shaped by a diminishing recognition of religion in relation to culture and ontology.

The Enlightenment and the scientific revolution provided a secular framework of knowledge based upon reason, diminishing the churches authority on knowledge and schooling. Enlightenment thought also, along with liberalism, contributed to a change in the perception of the individual. The Enlightenment emphasised the autonomy of the individual and their ability through reason to pursue their own happiness and fulfilment within this world. This increased the importance of education, specifically education that provided the means for an individual to develop their potential through reason.

Capitalism, industrialism, and the market society created a new economic context that prompted nation states to take an interest in schooling for the economic well-being of the nation and its citizens. Schooling developed to have important vocational and economic purposes that drastically reduced the previous dominance of religious and social purposes. In addition, within the new political context of democracy, the nation state became interested in schooling for its political purposes, as a successful democracy demanded an educated citizenry capable of exercising their democratic rights with educated reason.

Consequently, schooling differentiated from religion with the nation state assuming authority and provision over schooling. Working within the confines of liberalism and pluralism, the nation state was forced to ensure a tolerance and/or neutrality concerning religious belief in schooling. Thus, there was an increasing recognition of a student's right to freedom *from* religion. Religious schooling as a means to social cohesion was challenged by these variables and its legitimacy opposed leading to the establishment of predominately secular nation state education systems in the late 19th century. Through the 20th century, this initial differentiation was accompanied by an increasing secularisation of worldviews. The following chapter will explore how differentiated schooling manifested in Norway and New Zealand.

Chapter Seven : Differentiated Schooling in Norway and New Zealand

By the 20th century, schooling in both Norway and New Zealand had shifted from a religious authority, content, purpose, and ethos to a new secular framework. The role of religion in schooling diminished in line with the new secular concerns of the nation state and its citizens, while new secular epistemologies redefined the nature of reality. The education system arose to become independent, “self-referential”, and “self-organizing” outside of the overarching authority of religion (Luhmann, 1985, p. 60). The school moved from its traditional role as “the ‘church’s daughter’” (Holter, 1989, p. 44, own translation) to become, in the words of one Norwegian educationalist, the “state’s heart” (Evenshaug, 2004, p. 53, own translation). Drawing upon the theory of differentiated schooling, this chapter analyses the historical trajectory to differentiated schooling in Norway and New Zealand. This chapter is divided into two halves; the first half examines differentiated schooling in Norway and the second half examines New Zealand. This chapter analyses the variables that held proximate influence to the development of differentiated schooling in each nation, while the previous theoretical chapter provides analysis of the underpinning historically removed (though educationally cumulative) variables.

The Norwegian half begins with the application of the concept and theory of differentiated schooling to Norway where the variables of proximate and distant influence, as well as the applicable conceptual ontological properties, are identified. Section 7.1.1 examines the philosophical and educational challenge from the Enlightenment, that together with the political requirements of liberalism, contested religion’s authority over schooling. This contributed to the increasing educational authority of the Norwegian nation state that in 1889 assumed authority and provision over schooling, however while schooling was officially differentiated a limited, albeit decreasing, role for religious education remained. Section 7.1.3 analyses the political developments of the welfare state and social democracy in the 20th century that decreased the significance of religion and the status and curricula time of religious education. Section 7.1.4 examines the anomaly in the period of differentiated schooling - World War II - that instigated for a brief period a renewed role for religion as a means of affirming Norwegian cultural identity in response to the German occupation of Norway. The final section examines Norway’s return to differentiated schooling after the war, where religious education again reduced in significance and curricula time. This was instigated and accompanied by a growing secularism in society. Significantly, the 1969

Education Act was the culmination of the secular currents in society as the church's relationship to schooling was officially terminated.

The New Zealand half opens with an overview and application of differentiated schooling where the key influences and manifestations of the concept and theory of differentiated schooling are identified. Section 7.2.1 outlines the developments towards the establishment of New Zealand's state funded, *secular*, and compulsory primary education system in 1877. The contentious secular clause was due to the influence of pluralism that along with liberalism, democracy and the rising authority of the nation state, removed religion from the public to the private sphere. Section 7.2.2 analyses the developments in pedagogy, psychology, and sociology in the 20th century that were utilised to justify and support the separation of religion from schooling. Section 7.2.3 examines the development of the welfare state that prioritised economic concerns in the goal of economic homogenisation, diminishing further the significance of religion. Finally, Section 7.2.4 examines the development of secular ontological belief systems that over the 20th century manifested into a secularist worldview. This secularist worldview, while supporting differentiated schooling, challenged the perception that secular schooling was indeed a pragmatic solution.

7.1 The concept and theory of differentiated schooling in Norway

The school, ‘daughter of the church’, has come of age, and put her “old mother” to port... With a hint of remorse, which allows for reciprocal visits, but nothing more. (Asheim, 1989, p. 159, own translation)

From the mid-nineteenth century schooling in Norway slowly, but steadily, moved from the sacred to the secular sphere as politicians, labour movements, and the general tide of educational thought advocated for schooling to be “brought into closer relationship with the occupational life” (Smehaugen, 2001, p. 10). Subsequently, the school increased its function of preparing students “for life as citizens” (Haraldsø, 1989, p. 20, own translation) and there was a growing belief and practice that the pastor belonged “in his church”, while the teacher belonged “in his school” (Holter, 1990, p. 40). By the end of the 19th century, educational discourse had shifted grounds from debating whether it was the schools mission to “give civic information next to Christianity”, to “whether it is actually the schools mission to provide Christian education” (Myhre, 1998, p. 39, own translation). In 1889, the state gained “power over the church” in the authority and provision of schooling (Sanders, 2004, p. 6, own translation), subsequently the nation state’s role in education changed from “passive and accommodating” to “active and intervening” (Thuen, 2004, p. 68, own translation). Schooling became characterised by economic and vocational purposes, build upon a secular knowledge base, administered and provided for by the nation state.

The theory of differentiated schooling elucidates and explains these changes through identifying variables of proximate and distant influence. The variables of proximate influence have a direct correlation with the outcome of differentiated schooling in Norway. In contrast, the variables of distant influence, while not directly influential to differentiated schooling, are significant for their educationally and socially cumulative influence. These distant variables provided essential social, cultural, political, and economic foundations that over time grew to shape the structure of differentiated schooling.

Figure 7.1 identifies the variables of proximate and distant influence as well as the applicable ontological properties of differentiated schooling in Norway. Due to the comparatively long educational history of schooling in Norway, variables such as the Enlightenment and the Reformation played a key role in changing perceptions of religion, knowledge, and human nature within schooling. However, the lack of influence of variables such as immigration and colonisation

meant that the influence of pluralism was not strong in Norway. This had consequences for the concept of differentiated schooling because while Norway exhibits some indicators of the secondary-level property *religion distinguished from culture*, the continuation of religious education and the state church within this period means that this property cannot be classified as an applicable ontological property.

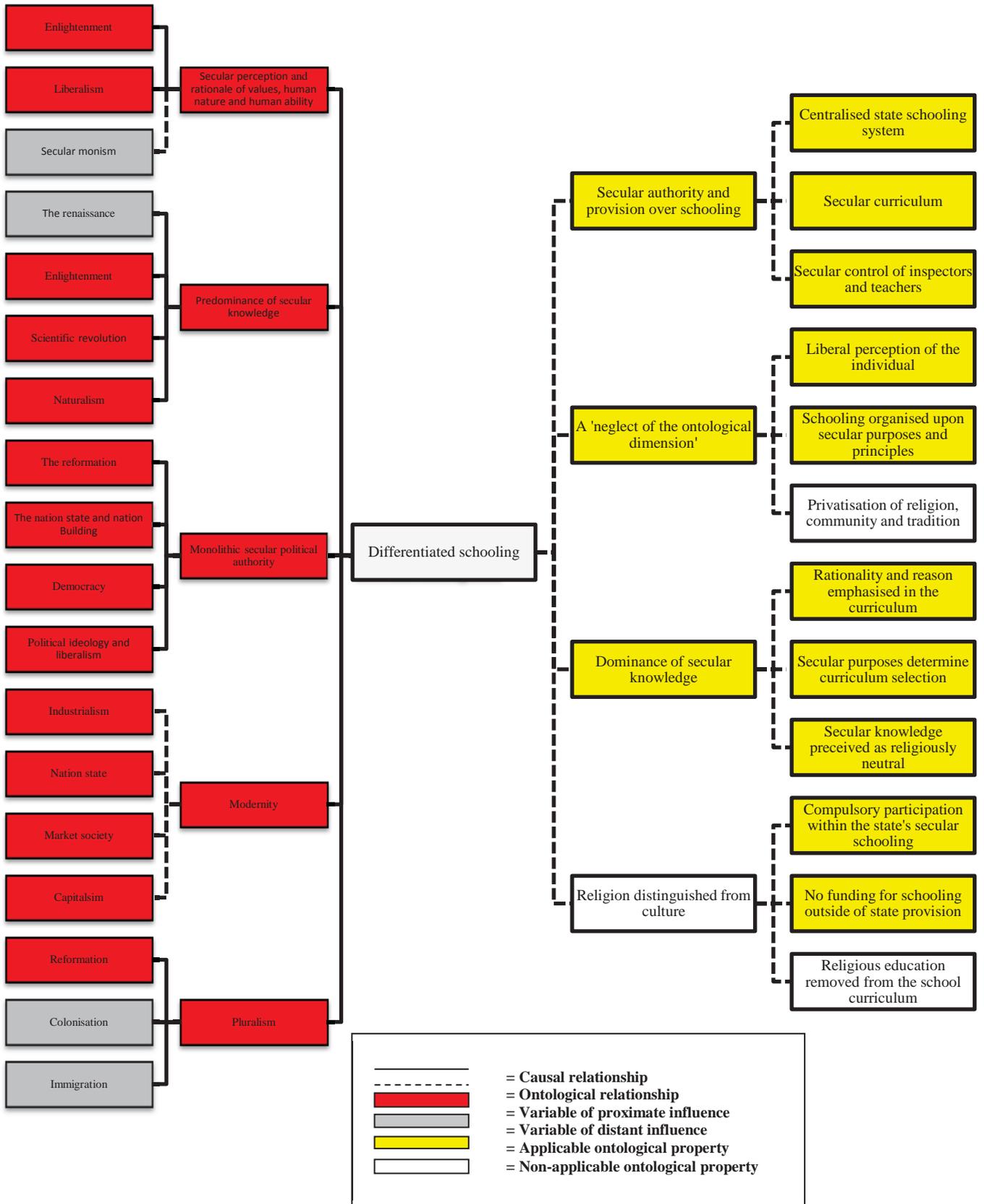


Figure 7-1: The concept and theory of differentiated schooling in Norway

7.1.1 The Enlightenment, liberalism and democracy: Changing the political and economic purpose of schooling

7.1.1.1 The Enlightenment

The Enlightenment was an influential movement that changed the character of the Norwegian school from pietistic values and practice to Enlightenment ideals. Central to Enlightenment belief were the principles of reason, utility, and the self-directed individual who had the “ability to govern herself, independent of her place in a metaphysical order or her role in social structures and political institutions” (Christman, 2008, §1).

Within Norway, because the Enlightenment happened within the church its emphasis upon secular knowledge and practices was not contrary to religion. Illustrative of this, in the second half of the 18th century the priests were the first teachers and promoters of Enlightenment thought. Known as “potato priests” they “stopped preaching about God and the bible” and instead promoted the utility of new agricultural knowledge and practices (Sanders, 2004, p. 5, own translation). The potato priests taught knowledge and skills that would improve people’s life (Haraldsø, 1989). Consequently, schools placed “more emphasis on training young people to life on earth than everlasting life” (Høigård et al., 1971, p. 40, own translation).

Enlightenment thought gained prominence over the 19th century with the consequence that school legislation placed more emphasis upon Enlightenment ideals and methods. The ideas of the Enlightenment were “central in the preparation work” of the 1827 School Law and changed the theological direction of schooling from “piety” to “rationalism” (Skrunes, 1999, p. 66, own translation). However, it was the 1848 School Law that first clearly reflected Enlightenment ideas placing Church and society “side by side” (Høigård et al, 1971, p. 89, own translation). This differed significantly from earlier laws that had regarded the spiritual side of the schools as its “*raison de’etre*” - its reason of being (Høigård et al, 1971, p. 89). The 1848 School Law recognised both the spiritual educational requirements of Christianity, and the secular educational requirements of society (Høigård et al., 1971). Students were perceived as not only Christians but also as future citizens of the Norwegian state. Subsequently more emphasis was placed upon preparing “students for life as citizens” (Haraldsø, 1989, p. 20, own translation).

After 1850 the ideals, values, and beliefs of the Enlightenment in Norway spread from “a liberal citizenship to farmers, and eventually also to the demanding working class” (Holter 1989 p. 44, own translation). In 1850, Markus Thrane, founder of the Workers Union, advocated for a school that reflected the changing social and economic characteristics of society. He believed that the school had to rise to meet the requirements of a more “complex and differentiated society”, one where there was an “emphasis on worldly knowledge” (Helsvig, 2003, p. 450, own translation). This argument acknowledged that scientific technology was gaining in prominence and there was an “increasing connection between human skills and economic efficiency”, such that schooling was increasingly seen as the provider of “economic opportunities and goals” (Smehaugen 2001, p. 10). Consequently, there were demands for “better public information and education” as a “way to greater prosperity and more satisfied workers” (Holter, 1989, p. 46, own translation). The dominance of religion over the school was seen as “inappropriate to the socialization of the right values of the new work-force demands” (Smehaugen, 2001, p. 10). Accordingly, religious authority and knowledge over schooling was contested with Marcus Thrane asking the following questions: “Should the inspection of schools withdraw clergymen or not? Is the school a state institution or a religious institution? Should it be a people’s school independent of all faith confessions?” (Holter, 1989, p. 46, own translation).

In 1851 the *Selskapet til Folkeopplysningens Fremme* [society for the promotion of the people’s Enlightenment] was founded with its chairperson Hartvig Nissen. Similar to the workers movement, Enlightenment ideals guided the educational vision of the company. The *Selskapet til Folkeopplysningens Fremme* reasoned that,

Enlightenment and education would integrate the lower levels of society in the new social structures and economic conditions, and that this would lead the nation toward stable economic growth and democratic development (Helsvig, 2003, p. 450, own translation).

Selskapet til Folkeopplysning placed emphasis upon secular knowledge as a means to “improve people’s progress in life and lead society towards prosperity and democracy” (Holter, 1989, p. 47, own translation).

The influence of the Enlightenment continued in the 1860 School Law that symbolised a significant move toward differentiated schooling. Hartvig Nissen, credited with writing the legislation, applied Enlightenment ideas to schooling placing emphasis upon secular practical education that had utility to public life (Holter, 1989). The 1860 School Law synthesised the sacred and the secular, where it

was reasoned that there was no conflict between worldly and spiritual ideals (Holter, 1989). Nissen believed there must be equilibrium between church and secular power, where the governance of the school should be shared between church officials and “educational scholars” (defined as “government officials”) (Holter, 1989, p. 47, own translation). Consequently, the 1860 Law decreased the church’s power of governance and extended the state’s hand (Holter, 1990). The school now had a “double task”: to “serve Gods kingdom” and to “prepare students for the secular life in the community” (Telhaug & Medias, 2003, p. 62, own translation). The curriculum broadened to place a greater emphasis on secular subjects that had a utilitarian purpose for a “mobile modern society” (Stugu, 2001, p. 114). The school became not only a means of salvation but also as a means for “security, peace and economic well-being” (Tøsse, 1997, p. 58, own translation).

7.1.1.2 Liberalism

Liberalism challenged the traditional relationship between religion and society through its “unrelenting commitment to individual freedom, reasoned debate and toleration” (Heywood, 2004, p. 30). Over the 19th century, liberalism became influential in defining the political context of Norway, and placed increasing emphasis upon tolerance, autonomy, and the individual. In Norway, a limited religious freedom was first legislated in 1845 by the Dissenter Law that recognised the pluralism that had developed from the growth of Protestant dissenters. This pluralism challenged the relationship between religion and schooling where it was argued that the “public school must be the people’s school” and as such if the people were not united by a single religious worldview then the role of religion must be reconsidered (Haraldsø, 1989, p. 41, own translation).

However, the Dissenter Law and its corresponding recognition of pluralism, invoked a defensive response in education policy. In 1848, the School Law for the first time included an additional paragraph that asserted the Christian purpose and nature of the school. This Christian purpose had a “symbolic function in society” and was in essence “about society’s norms and values” in relation to the function of the school (Thoresen, 2007, p. 109, own translation). Its inclusion indicated that the government, despite the dissenter law, wanted to retain some control over the values and beliefs of the population.

7.1.1.3 Democracy

Equally significant to the changing political context of the Norwegian school was the concept of democracy. The development of democratic ideas and institutions gave the school a new political objective – the education of citizens capable of participating in the democratic process. Education became a “political instrument for the democratization of society” (Smehaugen, 2001, pp. 33-34). As such, there was a significant change “from philosophy of education to politics in educational discourse” (Smehaugen 2001, p. 34). In sum, the Enlightenment, liberalism, and democracy contributed to the diminishing role of the Church and Christianity within the Norwegian school, culminating in 1889 when a new nation state school was legislated, independent from the church and religion.

7.1.2. The 1889 School Law: Establishing the educational authority of the nation state

Skolen er Statens Hjerte '(The school is the state's heart)
(Frederik Moltke Bugge, 1806-1853, Cited in Evenshaug, 2004, p. 53, own translation)

7.1.2.1 Nation building and nationalism

As liberalism diminished the authority of religion to unite societal values and goals, a new ideology of nationalism developed in Norway. Nationalism became the functional alternative to religion, and made it possible “to give citizens a greater degree of freedom when it came to the question of religion” (Thorkildsen, 1995, p. 109, own translation). The nation state created the conditions for “a cultural and political nationalism” undermining religions influence upon society (Thorkildsen, 1995, p. 21, own translation). Nationalism compelled loyalty to the nation state and replaced religion as the definer and expression of social life (Thorkildsen, 1995). In short, nationalism became the “glue that held society together” (Thorkildsen, 2005, p. 114, own translation).

While Norwegian nationalism can be traced back to 1814 when Norway gained political independence from Denmark, it did not gain real influence in schooling until the mid-nineteenth century when there developed a “new awareness of the school's importance to the nation's social and cultural integration” ([Thuen & Vaage], 2004, p. 15, own translation). By the 1860s, there was

a “strong commitment to nation building” which correspondingly meant “new and expanded goals for the compulsory school sector” (Telhaug & Medias, 2003, p. 74, own translation). The 1860 School Law situated the school as an integral part of the “Norwegian nation-building project” and as the foundation for “national and civic state formation” ([Thuen & Vaage], 2004, p. 45, own translation). By 1889, upon the consolidations of the Enlightenment, liberalism, democracy, and nationalism, a new school law was implemented that gave the nation state sole authority and provision over schooling.

7.1.2.2 The 1889 School Law

The 1889 School Law represents “the decisive defeat” of church authority and provision over schooling (Telhaug & Medias, 2003, p. 78, own translation). The school became legally independent from the church and the place where “children were socialised into a national unified culture” (Thorkildsen, 1995, p. 104, own translation). The objective of the state school was to provide a “public education for citizens of a democratic and pluralistic people” (Aadnanes, 2000, p. 210). For the first time the school was unified, common to all classes and geographical locations ([Thuen & Vaage], 2004). Thus, underpinning the 1889 School Law was a “liberal cultural vision” of unity where there was to be no “cultural distinction between the ‘common people’ and the ‘better off classes’” (Oftestad, 1989, p. 74). The School Law was underpinned by the principle that “the school should be a school for the entire nation, governed by the people and free for all” (Myhre, 1989, p. 49, own translation).

By the late nineteenth century, the nation state school had replaced the Church and religion as the “most important nationally integrative institution” (Stugu, 2001, p. 118). The objective of the school was to make “the pupils conscious of themselves as citizens of the Norwegian state” (Stugu, 2001, p. 118). As Frederik Bugge, a prominent educationalist of the time, stated, “the school is the State’s Heart” (Bugge, cited in Evenshaug, 2004, p. 53, own translation).

The inclusion of a Christian curriculum, although contended in the political debates preceding the 1889 law, remained a part of the school owing to Norway’s predominately homogenous Lutheran population, and its long national institutionalisation of church and school. However, Christian education was of a markedly different character than the secular school subjects. It was “considered and treated as a special subject under special supervision” (Holter, 1989, p. 66, own translation).

The clergy retained their role in the supervision and teaching of religious education and it remained “an important part of the churches baptism education” (Helsvig, 2003, p. 452, own translation). In addition, all teachers had to be members of the state church and the religious ritual of beginning and ending school with prayer and hymns was established by law (Helsvig, 2003). However, the content of religious education changed as Bible stories replaced the catechism as the dominant means of religious education (Haakedal, 2001). Within the school textbook, the depiction of religion changed tellingly to take on a new secular value, with its significance lying as “part of historical heritage” (Thorkildsen, 1995, p. 115, own translation). To an extent religion became “nationalised”, a part of the “national heritage” (Aadnanes, 2000, p. 208) because in both school textbooks and school law, Christianity was promoted for its utilitarian contribution. As Aadnanes (2000) observed, for “as long as the Christian faith and morals could be seen as the basis for “‘useful’ citizen virtues”, “a Christian upbringing was still desirable” (p. 210).

In summary, the continuation of the role of the church and religious education in schooling can be envisaged as being the grey zone between undifferentiated and differentiated schooling. Within the new secular structure and purpose of schooling, there remained some beliefs and practices from the undifferentiated period. This differentiation can therefore be seen as incomplete, indicating that over the 20th century the process of differentiation in Norway would continue.

7.1.3 The welfare state and social democracy: Prioritising the secular, economic, and social purposes of the school

Social democracy was influential in continuing the structural and philosophical differentiation of schooling from religion in Norway. Initially liberalism was the central political ideology in Norway, however by the 1930s social democracy had arisen to ascendancy (Antikainen, 2006). Social democracy prioritised the school as a means toward social and economic equality and reduced the role of religion. The Labour Party, in power from 1935 to 1965, built a “hegemonic and harmonizing ideology in the post war era” that was guided by social democratic ideals (Skeie, 2003, p. 55). Class society was to be replaced by “a community involving solidarity, cohesion and mutual respect”, with the school having a key role in meeting this goal (Telhaug, 2002, p. 12, own translation). The historical trajectory of the Labour Party provides insight into social democratic politics regarding the relationship between religion and schooling in 20th century Norway.

Initially, the Labour Party was guided by socialist ideology that condemned religion for contributing to inequality. Consistent with Karl Marx's political perspective, the Church in Norway was seen as a part of bourgeois society and therefore an "important opponent of the labour movement" (Midttun, 1995, p. 16, own translation). Marx himself maintained that:

Religion is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the heart of a heartless world, just as it is the spirit of a spiritless situation. It is the opium of the people. The abolition of religion as the illusory happiness of the people is required for their real happiness (Marx, 1884/1969, p. 94).

As such, the early educational policies of the Labour Party urged the separation of religion and schooling. The Labour Party's 1918 manifesto restricted the role of religion in education to a "part of history education" (Skeie, 2007, p. 222), as Christian education was believed to be "both repressive and contributed to stupidity" (Oftestad, 1989, p. 87, own translation).

By the 1930's the Labour Party had toned down its radical socialist currents, and while it was not overtly hostile to religion, neither was it particularly sympathetic. Indeed, with the election of the Labour Party in 1935 there was for the first time a political party in governance in which the church was not a key ally (Midttun, 1995). In the end this had little significance, for although the status and time given to religious education reduced this was believed to be part of the process of differentiation (Midttun, 1995). This decrease in the significance of religious education was seen as a pragmatic readjustment to the new social and cultural context that led to an increase in the place and status of secular subjects (Oftestad, 1989).

The 1939 School Law continued the process of differentiation decreasing religious education in teaching hours by one-third in city schools and over one-third in country schools (Oftestad, 1989). Furthermore, the religious education that remained had "a broader Christian profile with less emphasis on the Lutheran confession" (Skeie, 2007, p. 222) with the teacher required to "be aware of the fact that parents had different thoughts about the questions that were taken up in religious education" (Skeie, 2007, p. 222). Subsequently, the teaching of Christianity had to be as such that "all could identify with it" and show respect to religious diversity in society (Oftestad, 1989, p. 103, own translation). This was recognised by parents outside of the Lutheran church who began to allow their children to attend the subject (Haakedal, 2001). Church and school co-operation continued, however, with the Church having supervision over religious education and representation on the school board. In addition, the content of Christian education would continue to "promote children's Christian upbringing" (Oftestad, 1989, p. 98, own translation).

7.1.3.1 *The welfare state and the Sámi*

The Welfare state influenced not only the politics of religion in Norway society but also the politics of culture; this had particular significance to the indigenous Sámi people. Welfare state policies were founded upon the principle that “there should be no difference between rich and poor – or between Norwegian and Sámi” (Breidlid & Nicolaisen, 1999, p. 9). The social democratic policies prioritised economic homogeneity and suppressed cultural and religious difference. This was part of the process referred to as *Norwegianisation* whereby the state mandated that all would “share the same cultural skills that underpinned the reconstruction bureaucracy, namely Norwegian language, culture and identity” (Bjørklund, 2000, p. 15).

In effect, this meant a policy of assimilation of the Sámi to Norwegian culture and religion where within schooling, ‘history’ and ‘religion’ meant kings and the Norwegian state Church” (Bjørklund, 2000, p. 11). Sáminess was “presented – and perceived – as a barrier to development” with Sámi culture regarded as “inferior, poor, and almost morally reprehensible” (Bjørklund, 2000, p. 16). Perhaps not surprisingly many Sámi learned to “despise their own background” (Bjørklund, 2000, p. 16) and perceived the Norwegian “language and cultural skills” as “absolutely essential if they were to participate in the general rise in living standards” (Breidlid & Nicolaisen, 1999, p. 11). The welfare state therefore reduced culture and religion to an economic baseline in the pursuit of economic equality and cultural sameness.

7.1.4 **The War: Reinstating religion in defence of foreign occupation**

The ever-increasing differentiation of schooling experienced a brief respite with the occupation of Norway by German forces during World War II. The presence of an alien and unwanted power united the church and school in an alliance of “military, political and ideological struggle” against the “improper state as the enemy” (Harbo, 1989, p. 105). Illegal teacher organisations were founded to resist the German imposition of the Nazi youth programme (Cleven, 1989) and drew upon the Evangelical-Lutheran church as the representation and definer of Norwegian values, traditions, and beliefs prior to the Nazi occupation. Subsequently, links between religion and schooling were re-established with the home emphasised as the proper authority on religious education. This relationship, however, was short lived, as it was dependent upon the presence of an external other.

By the end of the war two developments had emerged; the first was the return to the differentiated 1939 school curriculum laws and practices, and the second was the formation of IKO, an “independent institution” that advocated for a church-school alliance and “a particular focus on Christianity” as a “discipline in the school” (IKO, 2009, Para 1, own translation). The establishment of IKO acknowledged that religious education could no longer be assumed a key concern of state schools and therefore needed avocation, protection, and advancement.

7.1.5 The return to, and growth of, secularism in society and schooling

After the war, despite the efforts of IKO, religion resumed its differentiation from society and schooling. There were growing currents in society of both ambivalence and complete hostility towards religion. In 1953 a Norwegian journalist introduced the slogan “Christianity out of schools”, arguing that religious education was “direct spiritual violence against defenceless children” (Midttun, 1995, p. 38, own translation). An increase of non-Christian life attitudes further alienated the relevance and importance of religion from the ‘normal’ subjects of the curriculum and life (Oftestad, 1989).

The growing resistance to Christianity in the school, reduced as it was, was an indication that religion and the church were increasingly seen as segregated from the secular functions of the school. Religion and education were, as sociologist Niklas Luhmann (1985) argued, separate systems where interference between the two should be minimised. The increasing structural differentiation of religion and school was accompanied by an increased philosophical separation.

The establishment of the National Association of Secular Humanists in the 1950s illustrates the increased secularism of society (Skeie, 2007). The Association was particularly active in education pushing hard for a new understanding of the relationship between religion and schooling. The Association argued, “there should be a common subject for all dealing with worldview and ethics” (Skeie, 2007, p. 223). The National Association of Secular Humanists would come to play an important role in the next phase of the relationship between religion and schooling.

In summary, between the 1930s and 1980s, religious education diminished in terms of curriculum time and significance such that by 1989 Asheim could announce that the subject Christianity “is one of the subjects that is the weakest in the teaching profession’s formal knowledge base” (Asheim,

1989, p. 160, own translation). Secular knowledge and values had diminished the role and significance of religion within schooling and there were fears that “the supervision of Christian education in school is less and less effective every year” (Oftestad, 1989, p. 93, own translation). There was concern that these “secular inroads were irreversible” with society demanding “new knowledge and skills” that “reduced the relative amount of time devoted to religious education during the days and weeks of an expanding school year” (Flint, 1990, p. 83).

7.1.5.1 The 1969 Education Act

The 1969 Norwegian Education Act is the final piece of legislation in the era of differentiated schooling and is the “central event in the secularisation of religious education in schools” (Andreassen, 2008, p. 10, own translation). By the 1969 Act, the Church’s traditional relationship and authority over education was legislatively terminated so that Christian education in schools could no longer be confessional or contribute to the church’s baptismal education. However, while the government no longer gave its approval, informally the “church could still consider religious education as part of its baptismal education” (Helsvig, 2003, p. 453, own translation). In addition, the 1969 Education Act asserted that the Bishop had the right to “listen to the teaching of religion and to give advice connected with this instruction” (Education Act, 1988/2000, § 41).

Pluralism had a significant impact upon the 1969 Norwegian Education Act with the inclusion of clauses of exemption to religious education, as well as the right for students of other religious beliefs to be absent on days that “their community holds to be holy” (Education Act, Norway, 1988/2000, §13). The Education Act’s religious conscience clause stated, “children of parents who do not belong to the Church of Norway shall be wholly or partly exempted from religious instruction when their parents demand” (Education Act, Norway, 1988/2000, §13). In addition, while teachers were required to teach religious education “in accordance with the Evangelical doctrine”, the teachers who do “not belong to the church of Norway or the Evangelical-Lutheran Free Church shall not be under any obligation to teach the subject” (Education Act, 1988/2000, § 18). The understanding of religion in the curriculum was also broadened through the inclusion of teaching about “other religions and worldviews” in social sciences (Skeie, 2007, p. 222).

Overall, the 1969 Education Act paved the way for the traditional relationship between church and school to be replaced with a new relationship between “Christianity and the school” (Mogstad,

1989, p. 134). This marked the beginning of a new understanding of religion within schooling where the “norms and standards of Christianity gain a greater position in the school”, but at the “expense of personal faith and commitment” (Cleven, 1989, p. 192). This new role of religion forms the beginning of a new conceptual understanding of religion that would assume greater significance in the next phase of relationship between religion and schooling.

7.1.6 Summary: Norway

From the 1850's to 1970's the concept of religion changed within Norwegian education policy as secular advances diminished the role and significance of religion and changed the social and cultural characteristics of society and schooling. The philosophical and ontological advancements of the Enlightenment, liberalism and democracy shifted authority over schooling from the Church to the nation state. In conjunction, the epistemological advances of the Enlightenment and the scientific revolution, as well as the changing economic context of society diminished the significance of religious knowledge and placed more emphasis upon the secular academic and vocational purposes of the school. Politically, the growth of social democracy contributed to a growing secular ethos in society that further removed religion from schooling. By the end of the 1960s schooling was differentiated, despite an informal role for the church and continuation of a Christian education subject, albeit with exemption clauses. This Christian education however, had become almost an appendage to the ordinary work of the school as religions influence had diminished within society and schooling.

7.2 The concept and theory of differentiated schooling in New Zealand

The case study of New Zealand demonstrates the flexibility and generalisability of the concept and theory of differentiated schooling. Differentiated schooling is responsive to national context through its structure as an ideal type. As an ideal type, differentiated schooling represents the “essence of the phenomenon”, without requiring the presence of all the variables or properties within the case study (Neuman, 2006, p. 44). From this perspective, differentiated schooling is a ‘conceptual yardstick’ from which the concept of religion within schooling can be identified.

By the late 19th century, schooling in New Zealand had moved from the authority and provision of the Churches to the secular state. The school curriculum was directed by secular epistemologies and the ethos and purpose of the school was shaped by secular social, vocational, and academic purposes. However, while Norway retained a religious education subject New Zealand did not. Religious education became the responsibility of the Church – autonomous from the secular school. However, despite the differences in the role of religious education between Norway and New Zealand, differentiated schooling pertains to, and explains, the changing relationship between religion and schooling in both nations.

The multi-levels of the two-level theory of differentiated schooling have particular advantage to New Zealand as they identify both the proximate variables, and the historically and geographically distant variables. The identification of historically and geographically distant variables is of specific importance for a nation such as New Zealand because its education system developed upon an accumulation of European ideas and knowledge outside of New Zealand’s geographical and historical limitations. Thus, the two-level theory of differentiated schooling elucidates important and essential foundational variables that while not directly visible in 19th century New Zealand nevertheless contributed significantly to the changing concept of religion that helped to establish differentiated schooling.

As Figure 7.2 illustrates, differentiated schooling in New Zealand drew its political legitimation from liberalism and democracy, its social legitimation from pluralism, its vocational legitimation from modernity, and its epistemological legitimation from the rise of secular knowledge. These variables were proximate and key to the rationale of the formation of New Zealand’s nation state secular and compulsory primary schooling. However, the historically and geographically distant variables (such as the Enlightenment and the scientific revolution) provided essential

epistemological, political, and social foundations that were integral to forming a new relationship between religion and schooling. Enlightenment reason and reflection perceived individuals as being inherently valuable and autonomous in their capacity to reach fulfilment in this world, while the scientific revolution provided the means by which this could happen outside of theological ontology. By 1877, these secular values and knowledge formed an integral foundation for the New Zealand state school; they provided the framework upon which the negotiations between pluralism, liberalism, and the educational needs of the state could be made. Figure 7.2 applies the theory and concept of differentiated schooling to New Zealand.

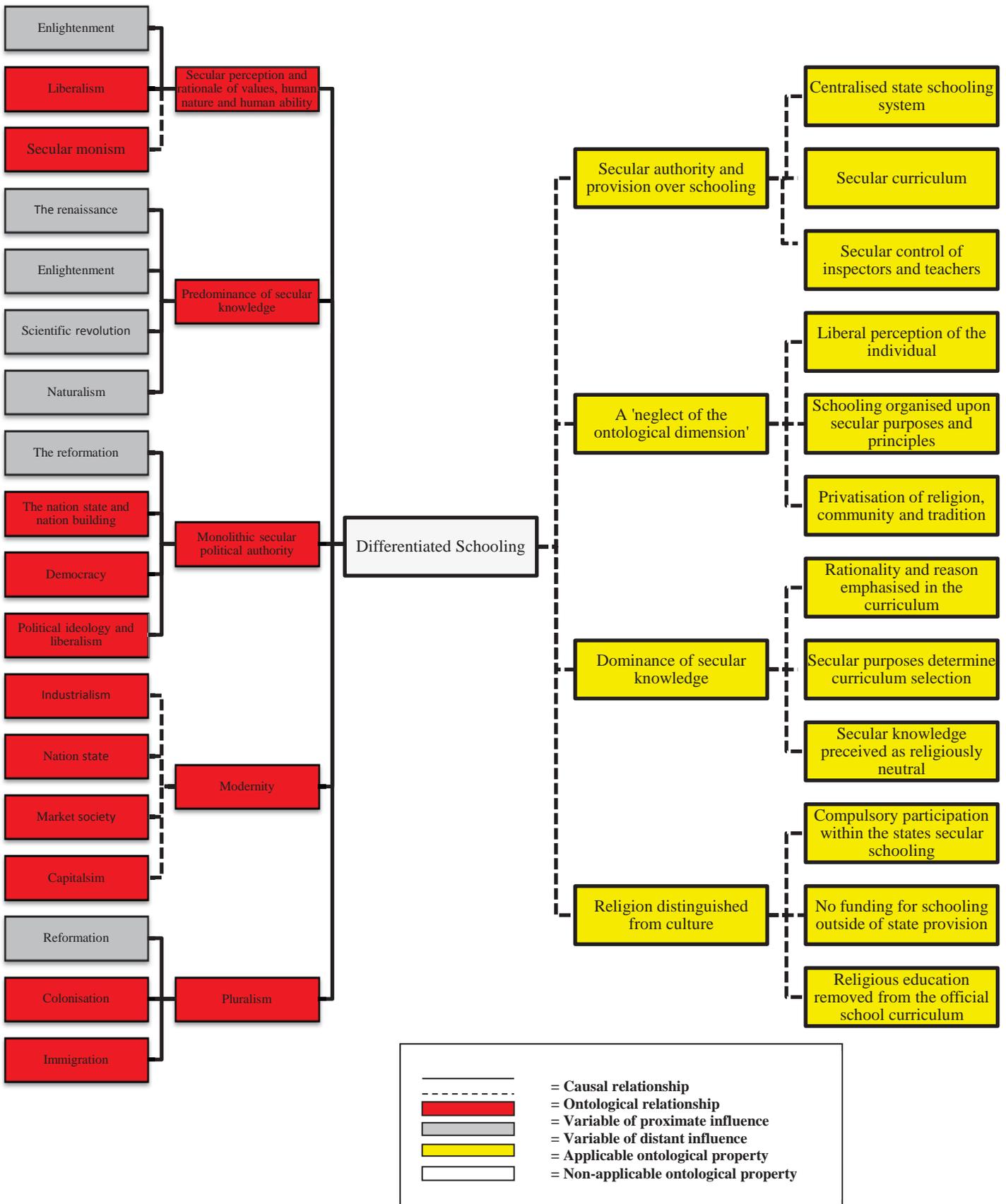


Figure 7-2: The concept and theory of differentiated schooling in New Zealand

7.2.1 The secular school: a pragmatic negotiation for state neutrality

That New Zealand should seek a national system of education in the latter half of the nineteenth century was to be expected. The development of industrialization, of national states, and of democracy, caused all the European and English-speaking countries to be concerned, during the latter half of the nineteenth century, with the problem of common education (Mackey, 1967, p. 265).

A secular system is not a secularist system. It is not anti-religious even in spirit. It is merely an abstention from the teaching of religious subjects owing to the State's inability to give such teaching on the same fair and equitable footing it gives instruction in non-religious subjects. It is sectarianism, not secularism that limits the State's teaching to non-religious or secular subjects (Caughley, J., Representing the New Zealand Educational Institute, Education Committee, 1914, p. 55).

The formation of the New Zealand nation state and the foundations of its schooling system were in the epoch of liberal democracy where religious pluralism was an acceptable principle for political reasoning and behaviour. Because individuals had the right to freedom from religion there was no political legitimacy for a state church, as such it was reasoned that any national system of education had to be not only tolerant to religious pluralism, but also religiously neutral. Thus an education system that was compulsory must be such as "all parents alike may without violence to conscientious scruples be compelled to send their children to partake of" (Domett, 1849, p. 3). Based upon this rationale Alfred Domett concluded in 1849 that religious education "must be abandoned" (Domett, 1849, p. 3). Domett's rationale for a secular schooling however was not recognised until 1877 when it became the key to a universal and compulsory primary education system in New Zealand.

Prior to the development of a national system of education, schooling was under the authority of the Provincial Councils that were established in 1852. These councils were synonymous with local governmental control over schooling. While each province's development was unique, generally there was an initial strong conception of the interdependence between religion and schooling, followed by a gradual movement towards the secular solution in line with Domett's earlier reasoning that the secular system was the "only practical system" (Domett, 1849, p. 3). When the provinces were abolished in 1876, the common belief was that primary schooling should be secular if it was to be universal and compulsory. This belief became a key clause in the Education Bill in 1877 that would establish a secular state primary education system in New Zealand.

Charles Bowen's 1877 Education Bill proposed that state primary schooling should be compulsory, universal, and secular. The secular clause was introduced upon the principle of liberalism in a plural context because, as Bowen stated in 1877, "we are bound to be fair; we are bound not to interfere with the conscience of any man" (*New Zealand Parliamentary Debates*, 1877a, p. 36). However, the secular clause proposed was limited by what Bowen perceived as being the needs and desires of a Christian population that legitimated and necessitated a daily Bible Reading:

But, while we exclude religious teaching from our schools, I do not think there is any necessity for excluding any illusion to a Higher Power. I feel certain that it is the desire of nineteen-twentieths of the people in this country that the Bible should not be absolutely excluded from our public schools; and if we take care that it should be so arranged that no child should be obliged to attend at the time the Bible was being read, if his parents objected to the presence at such reading, I am sure that no injustice can be done to anybody (*New Zealand Parliamentary Debates*, 1877a, p. 36).

This proposed inclusion of Bible Reading reflected the belief that despite denominational differences, New Zealand was united in a broad consensus of Christianity. Ahdar labels this a "cultural or *de facto* establishment of Christianity" that arose from New Zealand's predominately-Christian population, wherein New Zealand's "law and institutions ... naturally reflected Christian values" (Ahdar, 2006, p. 633, 629). As Mr Tole stated in 1877, the common perception was that "although there is no established religion in the colony ... still we live in a Christian nation" (*New Zealand Parliamentary Debates*, 1877b, p. 215). Thus, when it came to the establishment of a national primary system of education the *de facto* Christian nation seemed to necessitate some role for religion.

However, the proposed Bible Reading was superseded by the significant differences between the Christian denominations. The depth of discord between denominations meant that these differences overturned Bowen's proposal for the inclusion of Bible reading. Differences within Protestantism led to the argument that secular schooling was the only way towards religious equality, while differences between Catholicism and Protestantism contended the proposed secular authority and provision of schooling. Catholics contested the neutrality of the proposed secular school with its additional bible reading by arguing that while this arrangement supported Protestant theology which placed the Bible and the individual as integral and central to salvation, it was in direct conflict with Catholic theology that necessitated the Church as central (Mackey, 1967). In addition, Catholic's argued that their worldview was holistic and therefore there was no separation between the sacred and the profane. Subsequently for Catholics the secular curriculum could not be differentiated from religion, as "all education was religious education" (Akenson, 1990, p. 168). Catholic education

philosophy held that “intellectual development, religious faith, and personal growth” were interrelated, interdependent and indivisible (O’Donnell, 2001, p. 19). Thus, a state provided secular education was useful to Protestants but contrary to Catholic educational and religious philosophy, as Mr Wakefield argued in 1877:

How can this be a system of secular education when Protestant school-masters and schoolmistresses are to conduct Protestant services before beginning the proceedings of the school everyday? (*New Zealand Parliamentary Debates*, 1877b, p. 182).

To compound this difficulty the Catholic philosophy of education in 1877 was guided by the Syllabus of Errors issued by Pope Pius IX in 1864 that condemned the belief and practice of any education that was “freed from all ecclesiastical authority, control and interference” (Pope Pius IX, 2008, Error. 47). Catholics therefore were forbidden to participate in secular state schooling as it was “unconnected with Catholic faith and the power of the Church”, and educated only in “the knowledge of merely natural things, and only, or at least primarily, the ends of earthly social life” (Pope Pius IX, 2008, Error 47 and 48). Within the debates of the Education Bill Catholics took issue with the state control and authority over publicly funded schooling with no funding provided for denominational schools. The proposed secular, compulsory and universal state education therefore was stated as one that “the Catholics of New Zealand cannot avail themselves of” (*New Zealand Parliamentary Debates*, 1877c, p. 125).

Due to the protest against the proposed Bible Reading clause and the general religious pluralism and dissension of New Zealand society, the Bible Reading and the Lord’s Prayer were struck out. Subsequently, the 1877 New Zealand Education Act stated that:

The school shall be kept open five days in each week for at least four hours, two of which in the forenoon and two in the afternoon, shall be consecutive, and the teaching shall be entirely of a secular character (*Education Act, New Zealand, 1877, §84(2)*).

The New Zealand nation state concluded in line with John Locke, who had stated in 1689, that the jurisdiction of the state “relates only to men’s civil interests, is confined to the care of things of this world, and hath nothing to do with the world to come” (Locke, 1689/1991, p. 19). Religion was, by pragmatic necessity, best located in the private sphere and was not a public matter. Catholics rejected the secular state schooling system, opting instead by religious necessity to establish their own schooling system that in effect became a parallel system outside of the state education system.

The secular solution to New Zealand state schooling can be classified as *passive secularism* as it is a “pragmatic political principle that tries to maintain state neutrality towards various religions” (Kuru, 2007, p. 571). Under this principle, the state does not establish religion but allows “for the public visibility of religion” (Kuru, 2007, p. 571). As the *Evening Post* asserted in 1913, “the state is not hostile to religion, but neutral and its neutrality would cease as soon as it undertook religious teaching ... neutrality is the only safe and just course (Politics in the Pulpit, 1913, p. 6).

This passive secularism tacitly supported informal and voluntary religious education in state schools through a “loop hole” in the 1877 Education Act (McGeorge & Snook, 1981, p. 12). While the Education Act stipulated schooling to be secular, this was *only* during official school hours. Accordingly, there were possibilities for voluntary religious education outside of the ‘official’ hours of schooling. Exploiting this loophole the ‘Nelson system’ emerged characterised by the practice of a voluntary religious education class, typically for 30 minutes once a week before school ran by various local Churches (McGeorge & Snook, 1981). Initially the Nelson system was not universally accepted, as advocates “scorned it as a ‘back-door’, second best arrangement” to a more overt, legal, and respected role for religion in schooling (McGeorge & Snook, 1981, p. 12). However, despite its slow start and contentious position, from 1897 “the Nelson system persisted and slowly spread” (McGeorge & Snook, 1981, p. 12).

7.2.2 Psychological, sociological, and pedagogical influences and implications for the differentiation of schooling

Over the 19th century and early 20th century, developments in the fields of psychology, sociology, and pedagogy supported New Zealand’s secular schooling. These developments were utilised as justification for the continual separation of schooling from religion, and contributed to the increasing legitimacy of the school as a separate institution outside the domain of the church. In addition, these developments provide valuable insight into the changing attitude and perceptions of religion and schooling in the differentiated period. This section will discuss the influence of functionalism, faculty psychology, and secular moral pedagogy.

7.2.2.1 *The theory of functionalism*

The differentiation of schooling from religion was a part of the larger differentiation of society, and according to sociologists such as Durkheim, was something that could be traced back to “the very beginnings of history” (Durkheim, 1961, p. 5). Differentiation and secularisation were seen as an inevitable part of the progress of society. Secular schooling was just one more step in a process that had been occurring for centuries (Durkheim, 1961).

This differentiation of society was supported by the theory of *functionalism* that viewed society as an “integrated unity”, comparable to a “living organism” (Furseth & Repstad, 2006, p. 33). Society was divided into systems, each of which had “functions that contribute to the maintenance of the system” (Furseth & Repstad, 2006, p. 34). Religion and schooling were two different systems that were autonomous and had particular functions unique to that system, these two systems together with the other autonomous systems contributed to the maintenance of society.

As a result of differentiation religion no longer performed its traditional function of social integration, and therefore concern arose for new “institutional bonds between people” (Guneriusen, 1996, p. 67). Social integration was of particular concern to New Zealand, which was not only religiously and culturally diverse but also characterised by a colonial context of individualism. Consequently, social cohesion was perceived as being vulnerable and politicians saw that a new institution was needed for social integration. Durkheim’s position on schooling is significant here as he believed that the school was the modern institution most capable of fostering social integration. The school through “the shape of new syllabuses and modes of cooperation, might restrain individualism” and educate children “in the spirit of solidarity” (Guneriusen, 1996, p. 67). Consequently, the New Zealand secular schooling system was defended on the grounds of “bringing together children of different nationalities, languages, and traditions and creeds, and thus promoting the social unity out of which in the end genuine religious unity must grow” (Hunter, 1914, p. 34). Thus, in the differentiated society the education system emerged to provide “the maintenance, legitimation, transmission and internalization of the ‘collective conscience’” (Meighan & Siraj-Blatchford, 2003, p. 253).

Functionalism supported the secular character of the national state primary education system on the premise that because religion could be divided from society, so too could it be divided from education. By this reasoning, secular schooling was regarded as being only one part of the

educational experience that would be completed by further religious education provided outside of the authority of the state, as Mr Hodgkinson argued in 1877:

These public schools are not to be the sole means of educating the children, but only the means of imparting some secular knowledge. The main part of a child's education must take place at home, and can be supplemented by the teaching of the Minister and that given at the Sunday School (*New Zealand Parliamentary Debates*, 1877b, p. 203).

According to Hodgkinson, the rationale for secular schooling in New Zealand depended upon the development of an effective Sunday school system that would operate alongside the secular state system of schooling. However, the success of the Sunday Schools, that would “complement the day school” (Beward, 1967, p. 21) was dependent upon “adequate national coverage by the churches and an educational effectiveness that did not lag far behind the state schools” (Beward, 1967, p. 22). This, however, was not to be the case as student enrolments far outstripped the capabilities of the church (Beward, 1967). In addition, the esteem of religious knowledge, and thus religious education, was decreasing as “knowledge about the world and man was expanding at a great rate” (Beward, 1967, p. 22). Thus, the aspiration for a parallel system of voluntary religious schooling to complement the secular state schooling was not successful (Beward, 1967).

With the acknowledged demise of the Sunday Schools, there arose increasing concern for state schools to take some responsibility for the religious education of New Zealand children. Interestingly, the secular character of state schools was defended by a reassertion of the differentiation between the functions of the church and the functions of the school. In 1914, the 557 Clergy and Ministers who submitted a joint letter to the Special Committee on Religious Instruction in State Schools supported the secular system upon the rationale that it is the role of the churches to impart religious education, as they are “the only bodies qualified to give such teaching” (Cited in Hunter, 1914, p. 220). The clergy claimed that the secular clause should “awaken the churches to a sense of duty and responsibility which are theirs and theirs alone” as “it is not the function of the state to impart such teaching” (Cited in Hunter, 1914, p. 220).

Similarly, the New Zealand Educational Institute argued that the Bible placed the responsibility of religious education upon the parents as opposed to the state and thus religious instruction was a “duty which only the parent and Church can carry out” (Caughley, 1914, p. 60). The belief in the functional divide between church and state, religious education and secular education, remained

prominent through the first half of the 20th century. In 1962, the (Currie) Commission on Education reiterated “the primary intellectual aim” of the schooling system where:

although no one could question the importance of the physical, moral, and social development of the individual, nor the school’s contribution to the character formation in which this development is mainly expressed, the Commission wishes to emphasise its belief that the primary source of the development of these traits lies outside the school, in the educative influences of family, of contemporaries, of the community at large with its organised and unorganised activities, indeed, in the whole physical and mental environment of each individual (Commission on Education in New Zealand, 1962, p. 22).

7.2.2.2 Faculty Psychology

Educational psychology in the late 19th century closely related to the divisions of functionalism through its emphasis on faculty psychology and atomism that supported the separation of religion from schooling. The central principle of faculty psychology was that “entities can be individuated and exist independently of other entities to which they may be related” (Greenwood, 2009, p. 24). As such, faculty psychology posited that because the “mind operated through distinct powers or faculties” (McGeorge, 1985, p. 210) “atomistic and mechanical principles” could be applied to schooling (Mackey, 1967, p. 70). There were three broad categories of faculties: “the faculties of the mind”, “the intellectual virtues” and the “moral and social virtues” (McGeorge, 1985, pp. 210-211). The psychology of the time assumed that learning was “atomistic and mechanical rather than molar and organic” (Mackey, 1967, p. 70). This belief in the separation of faculties justified the separation of religion from schooling because while secular schooling only educated part of the individual, together with other sources of education it contributed to the development of the individual as a whole. Religious education, it was believed, could be separated from secular schooling because “what was needed was a series of specialists who, like man piling stones on a heap, would finally build up the aggregate that made the educated man” (Mackey, 1967, p. 71).

As such, educational psychology provided support for the differentiation of schooling from religion within New Zealand’s *de facto* Christian society. Schooling could be secular and thus neutral without denying the importance of religion. Secular state schools would provide the specialist education on secular knowledge in order to,

... sharpen the faculties so that they could be efficient tools in the acquisition of knowledge and wisdom. Skill, not content or attitudes, was the purpose of the common school education... To make up that “complex physical and mental being, a highly educated and accomplished man (Mackey, 1967, p. 71).

Faculty psychology also provided rationale for asserting the moral contribution of secular education where it was posited that the teaching of “ordinary school subjects ... had moral payoff” (McGeorge, 1985, p. 215). This was particularly important due to the belief that moral education was embedded within religious education, and thus an education system that had no religious education had no moral education. Faculty psychology, however, asserted that secular education had a “moral payoff” on the premise that faculties “could be trained and developed” and that “once trained these faculties could be applied to activities never attempted in the schoolroom” (McGeorge, 1985, p. 210). Nature studies, for example, not only “demonstrated to children an order and beauty in nature which could not be accidental” but also taught “children to be kind to animals” (McGeorge, 1985, p. 222) while technical drawing instilled “habits of care, neatness and diligence” (McGeorge, 1985, p. 215). Thus, faculty psychology “was an extremely useful doctrine” (McGeorge, 1985, p. 214), especially when “it came to defending the schools from those who argued that godless schools could not teach morality” (McGeorge, 1985, p. 215).

7.2.2.3 Secular moral pedagogy

Education pedagogy in the 20th century supported the implicit teaching of morality in secular schools and, like faculty psychology, maintained that moral education, although covert and indirect, was embedded within the secular school. This was an important argument as the churches were increasingly unsuccessful in imparting religious education and for many this meant a lack of moral education and thus morality in society. In defence of the secular schools, pedagogical support from the work of Froebel, Pestalozzi and Dewey was utilised to argue that moral education was inherent within secular schooling because “moral education [happened] through the experience of school life” (Breward, 1967, p. 107). For example, it was claimed, “a strict timetable would make children quiet, obedient, and punctual; arithmetic would make them methodological and patient; and spelling and handwriting would make them careful and orderly” (Snook & McGeorge, 1978, pp. 8-9). Explicit moral education or religious education therefore was unnecessary. Durkheim’s philosophy of education reflected this belief, as Cladis summarises:

Moral education cannot be so rigidly confined to the classroom hour ... it is implicated in every moment ... The teaching of science, history, literature and the social sciences all contribute to the construction of the social worlds in which the child will ethically develop and participate (Cladis, 1998, p. 21).

Consistent with this rationale the New Zealand 1904 Moral Syllabus asserted that, notwithstanding the defence of religious education, morality *was* being taught in New Zealand's state schools. The Moral Syllabus asserted that morality was an almost natural consequence of any education and that moral lessons need not have "a separate place on the time-table" but that they should "dominate the spirit of the whole school life" (Moral Instruction, 1904, p. 294). New Zealand's 1904 Moral Syllabus was synonymous with "John Locke's *Thoughts Concerning Education*" which "aimed at habits of industry, obedience and respect for lawful authority through unswerving discipline and strict routines" (McGeorge, 1992, p. 42). A latter example of this philosophy is the 1928 Syllabus, known as the "Red Book", that declared that "character training should not be regarded as a subject" (Education Department, 1928, p. 63). Instead, the opportunity for the teacher to provide teaching in "right conduct and implanting such moral habits as honesty, modesty, perseverance" (Education Department, 1928, p. 6) was available in "every lesson" and, furthermore, that

character training includes not only right conduct so far as morality is concerned but also desire for accuracy, love of beauty and nobility, willingness to cooperate with others, readiness to sacrifice selfish desires, eagerness to give more than asked (Education Department, 1928, p. 64).

This moral education, both covert and secular, avoided the antagonism associated with the close relationship between religion and morality that was incompatible in a plural population. It also supported the differentiation of education by reiterating that religious education was "a matter for parents and churches while moral education was not a matter of set lessons to expound and justify moral beliefs but of forming habits and developing virtues through practice" (Snook & McGeorge, 1978, p. 8). This legitimated the secular schools whilst avoiding the religious conflict that inevitably came to the fore when the question of the moral task of schools was raised (Snook & McGeorge, 1978).

7.2.3 The nation state and the welfare state: A political framework for the secular school

The future of the Welfare State depends upon the nature of the education given to the rising generation (Mr Pollen, *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates*, 1877c, p. 119)

The rise of the nation state in the 19th century, and the welfare state in the 20th century, prioritised the school as a key state institution with important secular social, cultural, political, and economic purposes. From 1880 to 1930, the beginnings of a modern economy began to converge with the state in the “regulation of social and economic life” (Shuker, 1987, p. 52). Of relevance to this thesis was the development of the state’s ‘supremacy’ in education (Webb, 1937, p. 2). Webb explains that the rising educational authority of the state was partly due to “its superior financial resources and organising power, partly of the desire to strengthen national sentiment, and partly of the belief that the nation is the ultimate unit of culture” (Webb, 1937, p. 2).

The New Zealand nation state gave the school a key role in social integration, as religion could no longer “bind together” the population (Grimshaw, 2005, p. 22). In this way, the secular state school provided the means to ensure a degree of homogeneity, necessary in religiously plural societies such as New Zealand. As Parekh explains the nation state required one to “transcend ... ethnic, religious and other particularities and to think and act as a member of the political community” (Parekh, 2000, p. 181). Differences, in effect, were to be “abstracted away” (Parekh, 2000, p. 181). This belief was inherent within the establishment of compulsory universal state primary schooling in New Zealand, as the Commission of Education described in 1962:

To men and women who found themselves faced with the task of creating new societies out of colonial wilderness, the need to fashion institutions that would create and strengthen bonds of common citizenship was strongly felt. Lacking a common tradition, they set out to provide the means of a common experience and one of the most important of these means was public education. In the development of public schools, which were to be freely available for children of all creeds and from all sections of the community, they saw one of the surest guarantees of that unity of purpose and common understanding which are the basis of a stable democratic society (Commission on Education in New Zealand, 1962, p. 709)

The developing welfare state in New Zealand not only asserted and reinforced the secular school but also promoted a conception of society that was “dominated by strict notions of consensus and uniformity” (Shuker & Openshaw with Soler, 1990, p. 19). This homogeneity reduced all individuals to an economic base line, conveniently ignoring the contentious issues of culture and religion. The lack of significance attributed to religion may in part explain the reaction of the churches to the welfare state, where social and economic reforms were “accepted rather than applauded” (Barber, 1985, p. 22). The philosophy and practice of the welfare state meant “one aspect of the total social structure – exchange comes to dominate our understanding of the whole”

(Bedggood, 1982, p. 197). Thus, the “ideology of social harmony” that guided the welfare state in New Zealand was critiqued by Bedggood in 1982 for representing society wholly “in terms of the market” giving a “one-sided and distorted view” (Bedggood, 1982, p. 197). Applied to education, intellectual goals in service to vocational and economic ends became the predominant objective of schooling.

Embedded within the vocational and economic purposes of the school was the powerful social ideal of *equality of opportunity* that situated the school as the key means for determining an individual’s vocational and economic opportunities and success. Upon society’s progress towards “rationalisation” and “specialisation”, the school was no longer perceived as a route to salvation but “a route to social mobility” (Shuker, 1987, p. 55). From the late 19th century, the economic value of school became commodified, as school credentials became increasingly recognised and demanded by employers (Shuker, 1987). This did not go unnoticed by parents who recognised schooling as a means to “competitive individual mobility” (McKenzie, Lee & Lee, 1996, p. 107). With the opening up of the secondary school system, school credentials became perceived as the means to vocational and economic success (McKenzie et al., 1996).

7.2.3.1 Nation building, schooling and the Māori

Nation building, with its homogenisation of values and purposes, had significant costs to Māori as the process of national integration and standardisation was to a European ideal. This process is described by Belich as the “three harmonies” - the “processes of social, moral and racial integration” (Belich, 2001, p. 121). From the late 19th century, schooling was the “major agency” that facilitated this “cultural invasion” through “educational structures, in the Pākehā dominant curriculum, pedagogy, and general organisation of schooling” (Smith, 1997, p. 186). The Native Schools Act of 1867 contributed to the assimilation of Māori into European culture through “actively discouraging Māori beliefs and practices and replacing them with Pākehā belief systems and ‘manners’” (Smith, 1997, p. 192). This process of “assimilation required the complete destruction of Māori culture and in its earliest phases there was little regard held for any aspect of Māori beliefs, values or practices” (Smith, 1997, p. 193).

7.2.4 The development of secularism. Changing the nature of differentiation

It is a battle, I say it soberly, between Christianity and Secularism (Bishop Wallis, cited in “Christianity v. secularism”, 1905, p. 2).

The process of differentiation in schooling can only be grasped fully when it is viewed as a continuous (rather than dichotomous) process. Thus, while the 1877 Act symbolised an important development towards differentiated schooling, processes of change towards the secular would continue for some time. This is because schools initially took with them understandings and practices from the undifferentiated period, and thus operated in an essentially “Protestant milieu” (Shuker, 1987, p. 246). Clergy were employed as teachers, school board members, and school inspectors, and in addition, textbooks still referenced a theological understanding of the world (Shuker, 1987, p. 246). For some time, schools continued to have a church presence where “Protestant clergymen appeared, unquestioned, at state schools on formal occasions” (McGeorge, 1987, p. 161). Thus, despite its seemingly inflexible wording, in practice the secular clause “did not have the effects its uncompromising wording might suggest” (McGeorge, 1987, p. 167).

This “Protestant milieu” of state schooling was a common defence against critics of the secular clause in state schools (McGeorge, 1985, p. 489). In 1882, Robert Stout expressed “surprise that any person of candour, of truth, of honesty, could read the lesson books and then declare that the schools were godless” (Stout, cited in “Godless Schools”, 1882, p. 9). Stout, in a paradoxical defence of the secular system, pointed to the religious characteristics inherent within the state education system where within the school readers one “would find not only Theism taught, but that in almost all of them Christianity was taught” (Stout, cited in “Godless Schools”, 1882, p. 9). Within one school textbook, the following examples were cited: “All good men pray to God”, and “Be Thou, O Christ, the sinner’s stay when heaven and earth shall pass away” (Stout cited in “Godless Schools”, 1882, p. 9). However, these remnants of religion’s influence within the school were diminishing and gradually were replaced with a more secular understanding of the world and the school.

A more secular understanding of the world, and thus the school, was evident as early as 1874 when Martin stated in the *Transactions and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New Zealand* that there were “altered circumstances of our existence. The intellectual and industrial callings of the present day require very different attainments from those entering upon their service than in any era or past history” (Martin, 1874, p. 170). Sacred knowledge was fading in light of the increased utility of

secular knowledge that was becoming increasingly acknowledged as “man's best servants” (Martin, 1874, p. 170). Thus, secular knowledge was perceived as being the key to “success in any station of life” and consequently, there should be equal access to secular knowledge as the “highest rewards are held out to those who can best master these wonderful agencies and bring them into their service” (Martin, 1874, p. 171). This created the need and desire for secular education that served ‘worldly’ goals, displacing the “sense of sin” with “a sense of ignorance” (Campbell, 1941, p. 9). Applied to education, this meant that schooling was to educate for ignorance, rather than sin, thereby decreasing the significance of religion within schooling. By 1912, McGeorge concluded that within schools:

Gods sphere of action had become rather more restricted. He sustained the Empire, sanctified the family, and called the young to stern duty; but He no longer taught spiders how to spin or swallows the way home, nor was every childish misdemeanour submitted to His stern judgement (McGeorge, 1987, p. 166).

The increasing secular ethos and purpose of the state schools led Bishop Neligan (of Auckland) in 1908 to observe that in New Zealand schools God had become “an ‘extra’”, and as such, he feared that God would also eventually “become an “extra” in the minds of a great proportion of citizens” (“Unbelief in new nations”, 1908, p. 11). These fears were prophetic for as the twentieth century unfolded differentiation was accompanied by a small but growing influence of indifference to religion, and a growing secular worldview. Religion lost influence not only in state schools, but also in social practices, beliefs, and attitudes.

As the 20th century unfolded, there was a changing character and ethos of the school marked by increasing reference to secular knowledge. New Zealand school readers increasingly referenced “explicit, favourable references” to evolution (McGeorge, 1985, p. 484). This new worldview was evident in 1912 when the School Journal “included the anniversary of Darwin’s death in a list of appropriate days” to raise the school flag (McGeorge, 1985, p. 485). Darwin’s theory of evolution was regarded in the Pacific reader as “the most central, all embracing doctrine of zoological and botanical science” (cited in McGeorge, 1985, p. 485).

This developing secularism in schools reflected the increasing secularism in society where “developments in biblical and historical criticism and the controversy over evolution” decreased religion’s authority (Davidson, 2004, p. 90). These criticisms contributed to what Bishop Henry William Cleary noted as a spread of “indifferentism and irreligion” that “enormously lowered the

Bible in the estimation of their people” (Cleary, 1914, p. 4). Between 1926 and 1976 all major church denominations experienced decline, while the proportion of “agnostics”, “atheists” or “no religion” increased from 0.4 per cent over the same period (Hill, 1982, p. 169). As Turley and Martin (1981) argued where once religion had been “assumed”, people now had to be “converted” (Turley & Martin, 1981, p. 6). There was a “growing public conviction that the churches did not stand for anything really significant in private or national life” (Breward, 1967, p. 78).

These changes in society had the inadvertent consequence of altering how the secular education system was perceived. The argument that the *secularity* of the state schools was a pragmatic solution to religious pluralism was challenged by the growth of *secularism* in society. Secularism is when an individual’s beliefs, rituals, practices, attitudes and morals exist outside of, and are independent from religion (Dobbelaere, 1981). Some perceived the growth of secularism as arising from, and/or characterising, the state schooling system of New Zealand. Thus, an argument formed that the growing secularism in society was an outcome of secular schooling, as one Bishop declared ‘if you could only see the heathenism which is the result of secularism! ... If you could only live in the colony and see what I have seen!’” (Relapsing into Paganism, 1908, p. 9). While in 1913, Canon Garland issued the challenge that the secular school was not a religiously neutral school as “a definite form of religious instruction is given in the schools of this land now, the religion of secularism” (Captain Garland, cited in “Politics in the Pulpit”, 1913, p. 6). However, despite these challenges, the secular school remained and religious demise was placed as a responsibility of the churches, not of the state schools:

The Churches, by their apathy, or lack of appreciation of their sacred duty, have not in modern days made a success of their mission in this colony ... Let the Churches recognise their responsibility and the state theirs (New Zealand Parliamentary Debates, 1905, p. 710).

7.2.5 Summary: New Zealand

From 1850 to 1950, schooling in New Zealand became differentiated, whereupon the influential (but distant) variables of the Enlightenment and the scientific revolution, there was a steadily accumulating secular knowledge and ethos base to New Zealand society. Upon this foundation and within a context of pluralism, liberalism, and democracy, the new national primary school system proposed and enacted in 1877 legally was secular. The rising nation state, and later the welfare state, supported this secular school through the political priority placed upon the economic and

vocational purposes of schooling. In the absence of the socially integrative function of religion, the institution of the school was also seen as the best functional alternative. By the early 20th century, pedagogical and psychological thought provided further legitimation for the continuation of the secular school by theoretically confirming that the morality of children would not be compromised by an absence of religious education in schools. Supportive of this argument, the functionalist perspective divided education into its secular and religious components: the state school was responsible for secular education with the church and home responsible for religious education. In sum, differentiated schooling in New Zealand was shaped by a pragmatic pluralism; intellectual developments in the fields of sociology, psychology and pedagogy; the growth of the nation and welfare state; and the rise of secularism. By the 1960s, state schooling in New Zealand was undeniably secular in content, ethos, and purpose.

7.3 Conclusions

The concept and theory of differentiated schooling explains why the relationship between religion and schooling in Norway and New Zealand differentiated in the late 19th century. Within both New Zealand and Norway the rise of secular values, knowledge, political ideology, and authority meant that schooling was increasingly seen in relation to the state and the economic and political needs of society, rather than in terms of the religious structure and requirements of the Christian churches. By the beginning of the 20th century, schooling within each nation was under the secular authority of the nation state and its curriculum determined by secular knowledge and purposes.

However, it is important to note that the case studies also demonstrate significant contextual factors that led to different structures of differentiated schooling. In Norway religion was not required to be privatised to the same degree as it was in New Zealand and thus Norway retained religious education as a subject within the state school curriculum and a Christian purpose within the Education Act. This was due to Norway's relatively homogenous population, the belief in the social function of religion, and the long historical institutional relationship between religion and schooling. New Zealand had competing plural Christian denominations which meant that any role for religion within schooling was seen as being antithetical to social cohesion, respect for New Zealand's Christian pluralism, and an individual's right to determine their religious belief and practice. Thus, religion was an impediment to the establishment of a universal national schooling system in New Zealand. An education system that was to be universal and compulsory meant that it

must also be secular. Thus, while the education system in Norway only had to be inclusive of plural beliefs, New Zealand's education system had to be politically neutral.

While the processes of secularisation and differentiation continued after the 1960s, the concept of religion changed significantly in the latter half of the 20th century giving religion new legitimation, relevance, and authority in state education systems. From the 1970s, new conceptions of religion arose upon political, pedagogical, and global developments once again changing the structure, ethos, and practice of religion in state education systems. This altered significantly the linear movement toward a differentiated and secular schooling system, opening up a dialogue between the sacred and the secular. These developments between religion and schooling are explained by the theory of post-differentiated schooling in the following chapter.

Chapter Eight : The theory of post-differentiated schooling: Re-legitimising, re-institutionalising, and re-conceiving the role of religion in state schooling systems

Since the 1960s, differentiated schooling in New Zealand and Norway has been challenged by global social, cultural, and political changes that have led to “new boundaries around religion” (Beckford, 1999, p. 26). Significantly, there is evidence of a de-privatisation of religion on the “public domain” (Miedema, 2006, p. 969). Religion has been reconceptualised and there has been a “reinstitutionalisation” of religion (Beckford, 1999, p. 26). Consequently, there has arisen a new relationship between religion and schooling, thereby necessitating a new theorisation and conceptualisation of the relationship between religion and schooling. This third and final phase of the relationship between religion and schooling is theorised within this thesis as *post-differentiated schooling*. Post-differentiated schooling was conceptualised in Chapter Three as having four key properties: *shared secular, religious and cultural authority and provision over schooling*; *new conceptualisations of religious knowledge*; *religion is integral to culture*; and *weak ontology*. The purpose of this chapter is to theorise why post-differentiated schooling arose through identifying the social, cultural, political, and pedagogical variables that led to the reconceptualisation of religion within education policy.

Section 8.1 provides a sociological perspective on the reconceptualisation of religion in society. In the late 20th century, sociologists observed that the secularisation thesis “seemed to be in tatters” (Schultz, 2006, p. 170). Religion had new individual, social, cultural, and political meanings and legitimacies, contradicting the theory of religion’s demise. This new role of religion in part rested upon a reconceptualisation of the sacred, where understandings of the sacred moved away from religion’s traditional institutional boundaries. Religion became identified as integral to cultural and individual worldviews; a secular academic subject of study; and as a means to understanding culture and therefore create global stability and communication. This changed the way in which religion was theorised by sociologists, and handled by education systems. Religion within education policy was no longer obsolete; instead it became increasingly positioned in relation to the cultural, political, social, and academic purposes and accountabilities of state education. Section 8.2 outlines the structure of the two-level theory of post-differentiated schooling and identifies the variables that were influential to determining this new relationship between religion and schooling. These variables are *sacralisation*, *multiculturalism*, *globalisation*, *de-differentiation*, *contemporary political ideologies*, and *new religious education pedagogies*.

Section 8.3 explores the variable of *sacralisation*. Sacralisation rests upon the secularisation of society that has created space for new concepts and forms of the sacred to arise and develop. Of particular significance is the rise of *spirituality*. Spirituality, unlike religion, is characterised by an ambiguity that is flexible and sensitive to plural individual and cultural understandings of the sacred. Thus, it was posited that spirituality had the neutrality required by education policy for plural populations. Giving support to this “sacralisation” of schooling is post-modernism that challenges the certainty and objectivity of modernity’s knowledge and institutions, and therefore opens up education systems to alternative forms of knowledge.

Section 8.4 analyses how the ideology of multiculturalism has changed perceptions and policies towards pluralism and, subsequently, the relationship between culture and religion. Multiculturalism is the political and social recognition of culture, where religion is inseparable from culture. Thus, multiculturalism within schooling can require the recognition of a cultures religious and spiritual beliefs, knowledge, and practices.

Section 8.5 examines the variable of globalisation that introduced a new cultural and legal context for the relationship between religion and schooling. Cultural globalisation has resulted in an increasing religious pluralism of nation states that has challenged differentiated structures of religion and schooling due to nation states shifting from assimilative to multicultural policies. Legal globalisation provides support to multicultural policies through providing rights to cultural groups, parents, and children to determine their own religious schooling, thereby challenging state monopoly on schooling and the neutrality of secular schools. In addition, religious education has been vested with new importance as global organisations place new emphasis upon religious education as a means of intercultural understanding and dialogue.

Section 8.6 explores the variable of de-differentiation. De-differentiation proposes a reinstatement of a traditional role for religion within schooling upon a conservative worldview. Tiryakian defines de-differentiation as a “pathological aspect of social evolution, a regressive process that has as its consequence the undoing of rationalization and differentiation” (Tiryakian, 1992, p. 90). Essentially, de-differentiation is a “counterprocess ... [that] involves the restoration of the potentiality of a unit to an earlier phase of development that was characterised by a greater homogeneity of the member units” (Tiryakian, 1992, p. 90). Within society and thus schooling this can manifest in either cultural or religious fundamentalism.

Section 8.7 explores how contemporary *political ideologies* have redefined the boundaries between religion and education through creating new space for religion within their political structures. For example, within neo-liberalism, religious schooling is posited as a *choice* for parents who, as consumers on the *educational marketplace*, should have the right and ability to choose a school that reflects their religious preferences. Furthermore, new interpretations of social democracy have reconceptualised religion as a means of defining and defending a nation's cultural heritage and cultural identity - necessary for the required solidarity that underpins a successful social democracy.

Finally, Section 8.9 explores the influence of new religious education pedagogies that have legitimated the inclusion of religious education within state schools through reconceptualising religion as an objective and pluralistic subject of study. For example, within the phenomenology of religion one learns *about* religion, as opposed to learning *in* religion. This has meant that in a plural population, religious education can be a part of the school curriculum, while not sacrificing the principles of secularity or neutrality. Increasingly, learning *about* religion is posited as being necessary to meet the cultural and social needs of a society that requires a more advanced 'religious literacy' (Wanden & Smith, 2010, p. 470).

8.1 The sociological foundations of post-differentiated schooling

In the late 20th century, sociologists observed that religion was in a process of "de-privatisation" (Casanova, 1994, p. 211) with a subsequent "deseccularisation" of society (Berger, 1999, p. 2). Consequently, the "prevailing theories of inexorable secularization" were challenged (Haynes, 2009, p. 437) and there is a "new trend towards acknowledging religions' growing relevance" (Weisse, 2011, p.112). In light of these developments, Casanova suggests, "theories of modernity, theories of modern politics, and theories of collective action which systematically ignore this public dimension of modern religion are necessarily incomplete theories" (Casanova, 1994, p. 66). Thus, the theory *phases of differentiated schooling* that analyses the relationship between religion and schooling must encompass religion's re-conceptualised form. Religion's reconceptualised modern form within schooling is theorised within this thesis as *post-differentiated schooling*.

This shift in the nature of the relationship between society and religion and, correspondingly, schooling and religion, is characteristic of the nature of change where change "does not move in

one continuous direction until the end of history” (Inglehart, 1997, p. 10). In this manner, the secularisation of society has reached “points of diminishing return” and has now “begun to move in a fundamentally new direction during the past few decades” (Inglehart, 1997, p. 10). This new movement is characterised as a dialogue between the sacred and the secular where both “secularization and sacralisation, are operative in the modern world” (Woodhead & Heelas, 2000, p. 433). Consequently, it must be emphasised that the reconceptualisation of religion does not threaten the continual secularisation of society but instead “takes place within the modern condition and its conception of a ‘secular’ social space” (Koenig, 2007, p. 9).

Jürgen Habermas has described this contemporary situation as the “*post-secular*” (Habermas, 2008, p. 19). The term post-secular takes into consideration the somewhat contrary dilemma where, while there remains ‘something’ to the secularisation thesis, there is also the necessary recognition of the institutionalisation of religion at the state level. Thus, a post-secular society is one that “stresses less a change in the societal role of religion than a different governmental or public perception of it” (de Vries, 2009, p. 3). Hans Joas explains post-secularism as being ““a changed attitude by the secular state or in the public domain with respect to the continued existence of religious communities and the impulses that emerge from them”” (Hans Joas, 2004, cited in de Vries, 2009, p. 3).

From these considerations, post-differentiated schooling conceptualises and theorises new perceptions of religion by governments and the influence of these new perceptions upon education policy. Religion is no longer considered by nation states “to be moribund” (de Vries, 2009, pp. 2-3) and, as such, states must negotiate a new role for religion within schooling. In addition, state education systems are challenged by the post-secular requirement that individuals must have “a change of attitude” to become “epistemically adjusted to the continued existence of religious communities” (Habermas, 2008, p. 15). As Habermas argues, “secular citizens must grasp their conflict with religious opinions as a reasonably expected disagreement” (Habermas, 2008, p. 15).

This post-secular society has particular significance for education, as indicated by the 2011 conference “Education in a Post Secular Society”, hosted by the Canterbury Christ Church University and supported by the Philosophy of Education Society of Great Britain. The conference posited that a post-secular society “raises a number of challenges for all those engaged in understanding the relationship between the sacred and the secular, liberal notions of the secular and the nature of contemporary spirituality in the context of educational practice and theory” (Education in a Post Secular Society conference, 2011, para. 1). Hence, just as social scientists are challenged

to meet “the new dynamic between the ultimate values of secular and sacred frameworks” (Pieper, & Young, 2010, p. 350), so too must educationalists. In short, for both society and education religion has become in the words of Milot (2006) “a social, cultural and political phenomenon” that must be accounted for (p. 13).

Post differentiated schooling is the third and final era of the *phases of differentiated schooling* that, together with the other two phases, provides a complete theory of the relationship between religion and schooling. Post-differentiated schooling identifies the challenges to differentiated schooling that have led to a new concept, understanding, and practice of religion within state education systems. The term *post differentiated schooling* does not mean a rejection of the relevance of secularisation and differentiation; rather it is a term that encompasses new understandings of the role religion within state education systems. To this end, I define post-differentiated schooling as being the changing perception of the role and relationship of religion to state education systems that manifests in an increased role for religion in education policy. Post-differentiated schooling does not claim an end to the influence of the secular upon schooling; rather it takes into consideration the changing role of religion in public and private spheres. This has manifested in a new interest, openness and dialogue between religion and state primary education systems.

8.2 The two-Level theory of post-differentiated schooling

The concept of post-differentiated schooling was identified in Chapter Three as having four basic-level properties. The first property is shared secular, religious, and cultural authority over schooling. Second, is the new emphasis upon religion within the curriculum, where the state increasingly acknowledges religious and spiritual knowledge as a legitimate part of the curriculum. Third, a new understanding, and respect, for the cultural and religious identity of the student replaces the cultureless and religiously neutral individual of the differentiated period. Finally, there is a change in ontology, where differentiated schooling’s “neglect of the ontological dimension” is replaced by a weak ontology that acknowledges the different cultural and religious worldviews that influence a student’s participation within schooling. The two-level theory of post-differentiated schooling explains why these conceptual properties arose.

The first level of the two level theory of post-differentiated schooling posits six variables that bear a causal relationship with the outcome of post-differentiated schooling. These variables are

sacralisation, multiculturalism, globalisation, de-differentiation, contemporary political ideologies, and new religious education pedagogies. These variables can be understood as “social movements that challenge existing patterns of structural differentiation” (Tiryakian, 1992, p. 92). Given the complexity and multiplicity of the variables, as well as their dependence on national context for interpretation and operationalization, it is not necessary for all of the variables to be present. In other words the basic-level variables are all “individually sufficient but not necessary for an outcome” (Goertz, 2006, p. 240). This causal relationship for post-differentiation is known as *equifinality*, meaning that there are “various conditions that are sufficient to produce the same outcome and hence multiple paths to the same end” (Goertz, 2006, p. 240). A new relationship between religion and state primary schooling can therefore be formed through a combination of the variables.

The basic-level variables of post-differentiated schooling are structured by the logical OR meaning that not all the properties are necessary to indicate a new conception of religion within education policy. However, in all probability more than one, if not all variables to varying degrees, maybe detected in the changing relationship between religion and schooling in nation states. Figure 8.1 illustrates the relationship between the basic- and secondary-level variables of the theory of post-differentiated schooling. The rest of this chapter analyses these variables in relation to their secondary-level properties and their significance to the relationship between religion and schooling.

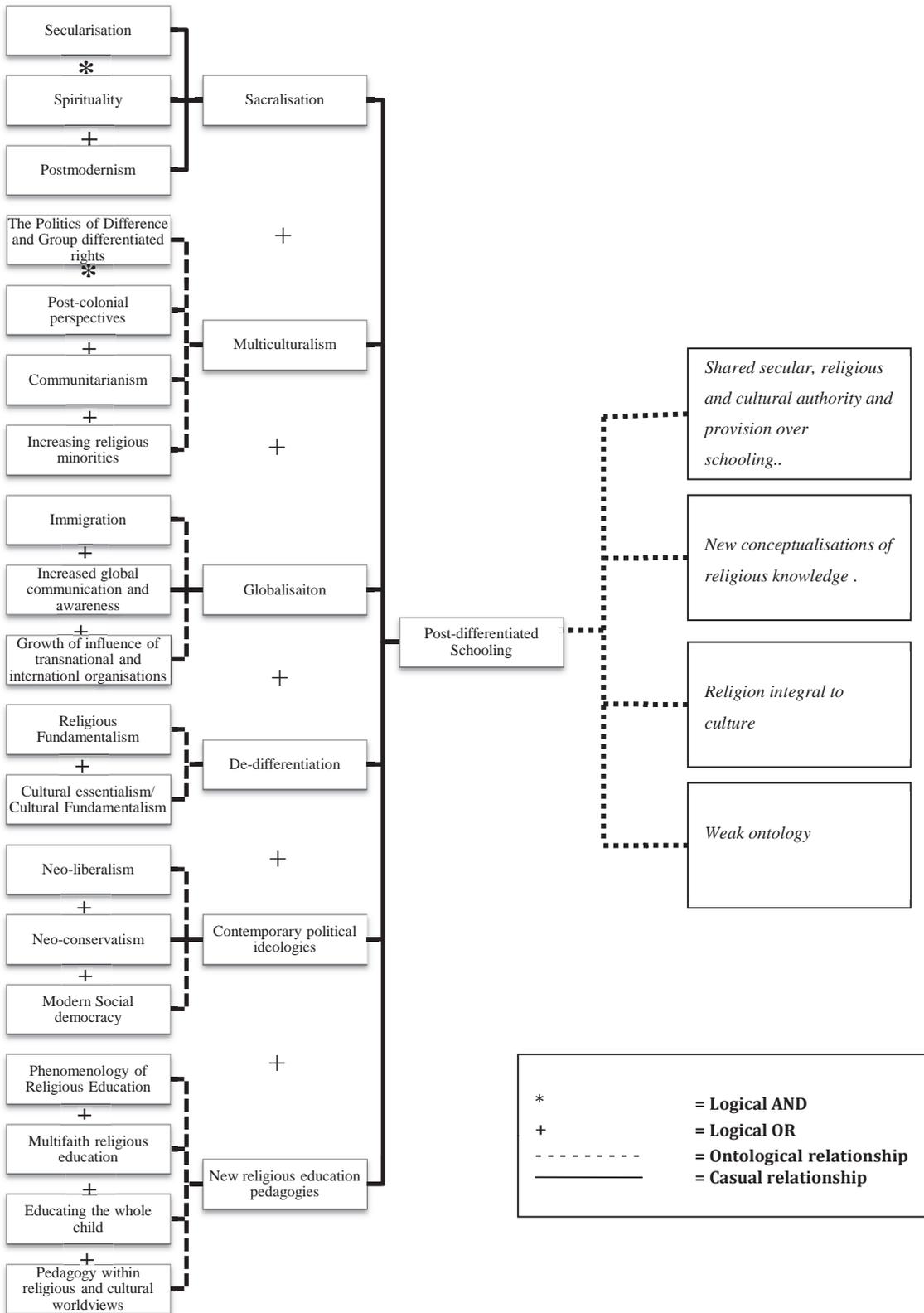


Figure 8-1: The two-level theory of post-differentiated schooling

8.3 Sacralisation: The changing concept and significance of the sacred

Sacralisation is a central variable in post-differentiated schooling where, simply put, sacralisation is the “growth of spirituality” (Droogers, 2007, p. 81). Broadly defined, sacralisation is the “growing concern for the meaning and purpose of life” (Inglehart, 1997, p. 80). At the onset, it must be stated that sacralisation occurs within a context wherein “rationality, science, technology, and authority are here to stay, but [where] their relative priority and their authority among mass publics are declining” (Inglehart, 1997, p. 23). Sacralisation exists not only within this predominant secular context but is also dependent upon it. This is because secularisation requires an absence of traditional religious authority that provides space for new understandings of the sacred. For this reason, *secularisation* forms a necessary secondary-level causal variable that creates the context by which the other two variables of sacralisation, *spirituality* and *postmodernism*, have developed. These variables form a hybrid relationship as demonstrated by Figure 8.2.

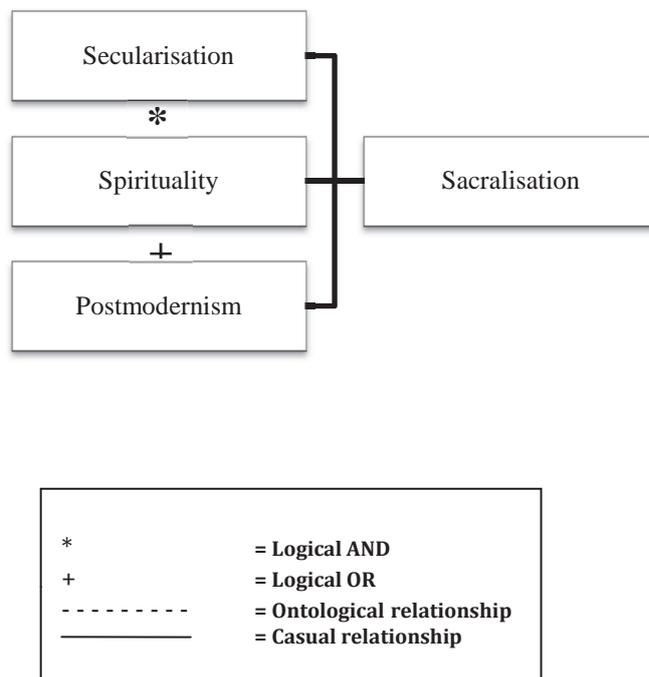


Figure 8-2: The secondary-level variables of *sacralisation*

8.3.1 Secularisation

Secularisation is a necessary causal variable for sacralisation due to the opportunities it created, and continues to create, for the movement of the sacred away from traditional religious hierarchy to become subjective to the individual. Thus secularisation, rather than inhibiting the sacred, creates opportunities for the development of new understandings of the sacred, as Demerath III explains:

secularization often serves as a form of adaption to historical change, and it can prepare the way for a sacralisation that is more attuned to contemporary circumstances once the detritus of tradition is cleared away (Demerath III, 2007, p. 67).

Secularisation therefore has provided a space, independent from traditional religious authority, in which the increasing interest and importance upon “the meaning and purpose of life” has developed into the phenomenon of spirituality (Inglehart, 1997, p. 80).

8.3.2 Spirituality

The development of spirituality in the late 20th century is distinctively different from traditional understandings of the sacred as it is not dependent upon, nor necessarily located within, a religious framework. Instead, spirituality gains its authority from the individual’s subjectivities and interpretations. As Crossman explains while religion is “a public and institutionalised process based on sacred texts, rituals and practices”, spirituality is an “unsystematised, individually interpreted, private experience” (Crossman, 2003, p. 504). This challenges the secularisation thesis because as Hughes states, “rather than simply disappearing, religion is changing in form”, where this change “can be expressed in terms of a movement from religion to spirituality” (Hughes, 2006, p. 353). Spirituality is not a regression to a de-differentiated past, or a conservative nationalistic reaction, but is best understood by the term “sacralisation” (Droogers, 2007, p. 81).

Spirituality’s emphasis upon the primacy of the individual has particular relevance for societies that, due to the plural demographics of their population, emphasises individual autonomy (Crossman, 2003). In particular are the immigrant nations, that’s foundations of historical pluralism have led to the priority of the individual in determining spiritual beliefs and practices, as opposed to a collective conformity to a societal or national group (Pettersson, 2003). Therefore, the subjectivity

and individualism of spirituality becomes a plausible expression of the sacred in the public sphere within plural and individualistic societies.

Spirituality is also congruent with “psychological modernity” that “implies one must think of oneself as an individual and must strive to stake out a personal identity, beyond any inherited identity prescribed by an external source of authority” (Hervieu-Leger, 1998, p. 216). This is part of what Heelas et al. (2005) call the “spiritual revolution” – that is as a shift of paradigm from an objective external authority to an internal subjective awareness (Heelas, Woodhead, Seel, Szerszynski, & Trusting, 2005, p. 4). Underpinning the “spiritual revolution” is the “subjective turn” where:

The goal is not to defer to higher authority, but to have the courage to become one’s own authority. Not to follow established paths, but to forge one’s own inner directed, as subjective, life. Not to become what others want to be, but to “become whom I truly am”. Not to rely on the knowledge and wisdom of others . . . , but to lie out the Delphic “know thyself” and the Shakespearian “To thine own self be true” (Heelas et al., 2005, p. 4)

The new conception of spirituality has influenced schooling where there is “a trend for ‘openness’ towards non-institutional forms of spirituality” (Crossman, 2003, p. 505). There is also increasing pressure to cater for the subjectivities of individuals through movements such as “child centred education” (Heelas et al., 2005, p. 130). As King (1996) explains, spirituality has a particular attraction to state education systems in religiously plural societies due to its complex, flexible, and ambiguous definition and nature:

The use of the term ‘spirituality’ in recent legislation permits a range of possible understandings and approaches that can satisfy or at least not antagonize the majority of teachers, parents and children (King, 1996, pp. 343-344).

However, due to its subjectivity and ambiguity, spirituality raises as many questions as answers. This is problematic particularly when schools, with culturally and religiously plural populations, are required to contribute to forging an individual’s spiritual identity (Skeie, 2001).

8.3.3 Postmodernism

Postmodernism has facilitated the growth of spirituality and legitimated its presence in education through its critique of science and the institutions that upheld the monolithic differentiated and

secularised society. Postmodernism argues that science is subjective and dependent upon human execution and that, given such subjectivities, “it is difficult to distinguish theory from observation” (Crossman, 2003, p. 506). Modernity is critiqued for having concealed the “partiality and rootedness of knowledge claims in the cloak of universality and value neutrality” (Usher & Edwards, 1994, p. 10). Subsequently, the belief in rationality and universalism is argued as having a “logic of domination and oppression” that has eliminated other means and constitutes of knowledge (Barker, 2003, p. 199).

Postmodernism argues that the authority of modernity’s knowledge is upon “relativistic and subjectivist assumptions that, when treated as if they constituted secure universal knowledge, quickly become paternalistic, authoritarian and eventually totalitarian” (Wright, 2004, p. 146). Thus, knowledge under modernism is criticised as being “white, Western knowledge”, reflecting values, beliefs and practices of western society while dismissing “knowledge of other cultures to superstition or folkways” (Coulby & Jones, 1996, p. 33). Postmodernism makes the claim “that knowledge is ephemeral, personal identity illusory and liberal values redundant” (Wright, 2004, pp. 141-142).

Postmodernism has consequences for schooling by raising debates about “the origins of European knowledge” and the “value and validity that is placed upon the specific products and activities of one culture as against those of another” (Coulby & Jones, 1995, p. 102). Thus, postmodernism facilitates a movement towards “complexity, a myriad of meanings, rather than profundity, the one deep meaning, which is the norm” (Usher and Edwards, 1994, p. 10). This challenges the monopoly of a monolithic secular state primary schooling and its curriculum that is supposedly objective and neutral. Postmodernism raises questions of curriculum selection through its principles of “cultural relativism” and “epistemological relativism” (Coulby & Jones, 1995, p. 37). In addition, space is created for the inclusion of spirituality as postmodernism affirms “the value of spiritual experience” and “frees us to construct whatever spiritual reality we like” (Wright, 2004, p. 90). As such, postmodernism has contributed to the “profound changes” happening in the “purposes, contents and methods” of education (Usher & Edwards, 1994, p. 25). While there is “no uniform, unified postmodern discourse of education’, the practices and policies of education are “increasingly questioned, exposing the certainties and ‘warranted’ claims of educational theories and practice to a critical examination, a shaking of the foundations” (Usher & Edwards, 1994, p. 25).

Postmodernism provides support to the ideology of multiculturalism through its premise that “there are no universal philosophical foundations” and that “all truth is culture-bound” (Barker, 2003, p. 203). In this way, postmodernism provides legitimation to alternative cultural conceptions and understandings of religion and schooling raised by multiculturalism. Multiculturalism is a significant variable in post-differentiated schooling and is explored in the following section.

8.4 Multiculturalism: Religion and spirituality through the gate of culture

... if religion is only one form of the sacred, the sacred in turn is one important dimension of something broader still; namely culture. (Demerath III, 2007, p. 70)

The ideology of multiculturalism provides a political means for minority groups to argue for an education consistent to, or at least not contrary, to their cultural and religious identity. As Kolig states,

The objective of multiculturalism in a liberal, democratic society is to accommodate different cultural values, beliefs and behaviours on a basis of shared premises so that diverse communities and groups can be encompassed in a sustainable environment of mutual respect and common citizenship (Kolig, 2010, p. 75).

The close relationship between culture and religion means that as multiculturalism raises questions of culture in society, it also raises questions of religion. Consequently, religion “cannot be ignored in any debate on pluralism or social cohesion (Bijsterveld, 2012, p. 1). In this way, multiculturalism contributes to a changing political context in which religion is reconceptualised within education policy.

Multiculturalism argues that the secular dominated state schools are “Eurocentric” in their cultivation of “capacities for critical and independent thought, individualism, the scientific and secular spirit, and pride in European history and culture” (Parekh, 2000, p. 225). In contrast to the perception that the secular school is culturally neutral and objective, multiculturalism provides ideological support for a new relationship between religion and schooling through its premise that religion and culture are inseparable. Religion and culture are interdependent as “religion shapes a cultures system of beliefs and practices” and “culture influences how a religion is interpreted, its rituals conducted, the place assigned to it in the life of society” (Parekh, 2000, p. 147). As such,

through the politics of culture, multiculturalism has contributed to religion becoming an increasingly “important part of the official policies for a modern pluralistic society” (Børresen, 2001b, p. 105).

Multiculturalism also provides what Heywood calls a new “ideological ‘space’” (Heywood, 2007, p. 313) from which differentiated schooling can be challenged. The political legitimation for this new ideological space comes from the liberal principles of “autonomy and equality” (Song, 2010, § 2.2). Upon these principles, homogenous treatment is critiqued upon the grounds that equality requires recognition of difference rather than a prescription of sameness. The secularist requirement that “citizens should abstract away their religious beliefs” is challenged by the demand for accommodation (“within limits”) of religious difference (Parekh, 2000, p. 325). This is due to the “importance of beliefs, values and ways of life in establishing a sense of self-worth for individuals and groups alike” (Heywood, 2007, p. 310). The separation between religion and schooling, is argued as being contrary and antithetical to indigenous and minority cultural worldviews. Thus, the secular school is challenged as being a cultural artefact that is not neutral or plural.

Multiculturalism is part of a general movement away from the *politics of class* (which characterised the differentiated period) to a *politics of culture* (Skeie, 2001). The politics of class that supported the equality of opportunity argument (underpinning the universal and compulsory school) is being replaced by a movement towards an equality of culture, and by correlation a new recognition of religion. Multiculturalists argue that the individual cannot be abstracted away from their culture, and therefore schooling that does not take into account culture is contrary to the principles of equality and autonomy.

Thus, multiculturalism raises the salient point that there are limitations in the legitimacy of “sameness” as a guiding principle, because although humans share “a common human identity” this occurs in a “culturally mediated manner” (Parekh, 2003, p. 242). Given the close relationship between religion and culture, it can be argued that the separation of the sacred and profane, religion and schooling, is not culturally neutral but reflects “a dominant cultural ethos, enabling those who share that ethos to flourish while hindering those who are at odds with it” (Modood, 1998, p. 393). Thus, multiculturalism critiques secularism, as Modood explains:

This objection seems to have particular bite for secularism; for, even where it is not avowedly atheistical, it seems not to be neutral between religions. For some people, religion is about ‘the inner life’, or personal

conduct or individual salvation; for others, it includes communal obligations, a public philosophy and political action (Modood, 1998, p. 393).

Schooling is important to multiculturalism as it is the means by “which minorities defend their interests and challenge secular majorities” (Woodhead, 2009, p. 10). Multiculturalism can be manifested in two different educational responses to religious pluralism. The first is where differences are perceived as reconcilable. This “inclusive form of multiculturalism” seeks to account for difference through “reform and improvement of common institutions” to “promote respect for the distinctive identities of traditionally marginalized groups in the common curriculum” (Macedo, 2002, p. 4). The second educational response is a “separatist form of multiculturalism” whose adherents argue that culturally and religiously neutral schools are contrary to the primacy of the community and that “public educational institutions should not be reformed but abandoned” (Macedo, 2002, p. 4). From this position pluralism should be reflected in educational “institutional diversity”, taking as its rationale the fact that there are many “irreconcilable, viewpoints that bear on education” and that individuals should be “able to conduct their lives in accordance with their own conscience and convictions” (McConnell, 2002, p. 88). The differences between cultures in the practice and belief of the sacred are deep-seated and are argued to be too great to be reformed within the common school (Macedo, 2002). Consequently, state schools should no longer be the privileged and dominant educational institution (McConnell, 2002). As such, multiculturalism supports the establishment and/or inclusion of religious and cultural schools within the state education system, where schools become segregated based on plural philosophies of life, religion, culture, and pedagogy.

Multiculturalism is constituted by four ontological secondary-level properties that are characterised by a hybrid relationship. The first property - *the politics of difference and group differentiated rights* - is individually necessary as this variable represents a changing consciousness of the relationship between cultures. However, the next three properties - *post-colonial perspectives*, *communitarianism*, and *increasing religious minorities* - represent different structures of multiculturalism (dependent upon the national context) and therefore are not necessary. This relationship is illustrated by Figure 8.3.

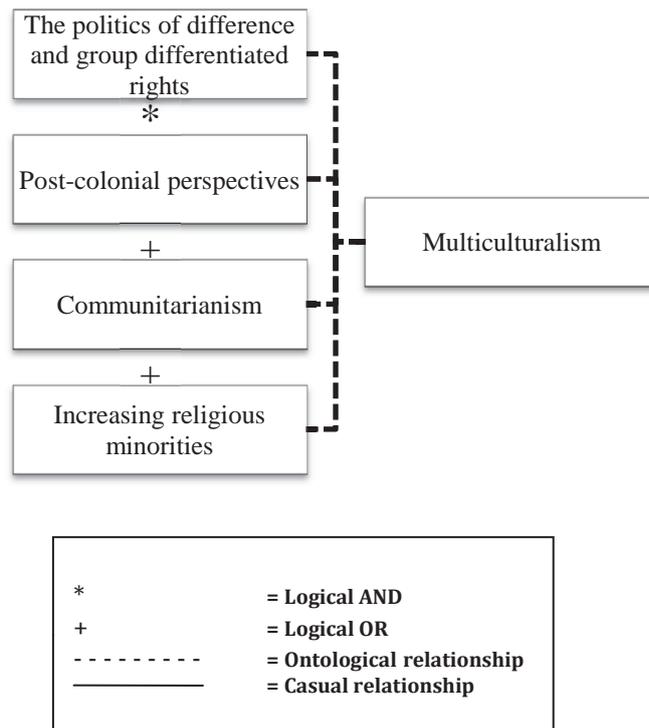


Figure 8-3: The secondary-level variables of *multiculturalism*

The rest of this section discusses and evaluates the four ontological properties that constitute multiculturalism. These properties provide an in-depth understanding of the political and cultural establishment of multiculturalism.

8.4.1 The politics of recognition and group differentiated rights

Underpinning multicultural arguments is a changing understanding of *non-discrimination*. Within *differentiated schooling*, non-discrimination was practiced through “the politics of universal dignity” that required policies to be “‘blind’ to the ways in which citizens differ” (Taylor, 1994, p. 39). However, within the post-differentiated schooling phase, policies and practices of non-discrimination have changed. Charles Taylor argues that the practice of universal dignity and the assumption of a “supposedly neutral set of difference-blind principles of the politics of equal dignity is in fact a reflection of one hegemonic culture” (Taylor, 1994, p. 43). Thus, rather than achieving its goal of non-discrimination, the *politics of universal dignity* in fact forces “the minority

of suppressed cultures ... to take alien form” (Taylor, 1994, p. 43). Charles Taylor concludes that “the supposedly fair and difference-blind society is not only inhuman ... but also, in a subtle and unconscious way, itself highly discriminatory” (Taylor, 1994, p. 43). In order to achieve non-discrimination a new understanding of equality and culture therefore is required.

Charles Taylor shifts non-discrimination from universal treatment to “differential treatment”, recognising the particularities of cultural identity (Taylor, 1994, p. 39). The recognition of cultural identity is essential because “nonrecognition or misrecognition can inflict harm, can be a form of oppression, imprisoning someone in a false, distorted, and reduced mode of being” (Taylor, 1994, p. 25). Thus, acknowledgement must be made for the way in which citizens differ (Taylor, 1994) which, in turn, means that public institutions need to “respond to the demand for recognition by citizens” (Gutmann, 1994, p. 7).

Increasingly, the state education system is challenged to meet the needs of minority groups who have *group differentiated rights*. Group differentiated rights are defined as the “right of a minority group (or a member of such a group) to act or not act in a certain way in accordance with their religious obligations and/or cultural commitments” (Song, 2010, §1). As such, “colour-blind and culturally neutral” policies are no longer seen as being non-discriminatory because “ethnicity and culture cannot be confined to some so-called private sphere but shape political and opportunity structures in all societies” (TM “multiculturalism”, 2009, para. 2). As Kymlicka explains,

genuinely multicultural state recognizes not only that citizens are different in their language and culture, but also that citizens are different in different ways, and so will relate to the state in different ways, with different forms of multicultural membership in the larger state (Kymlicka, 2003, p. 153).

Therefore, state policy must extend beyond toleration to include “positive accommodation of group differences” (Song, 2010, §1).

8.4.2 Post-colonial Perspectives

The theoretical underpinnings of post-colonialism is similar to that of group differentiated rights where the central position is support for rights and institutions that are particular to the needs of indigenous cultures. Post-colonialism challenges the legitimacy of the state’s authority over indigenous peoples and argues for indigenous self-determination and governance as well as “special

rights” and protection for their cultural traditions (Song, 2010, §2.3). Indigenous people are defined as those “who were in a place before its incorporation into globalising structures” (Beyer, 2007, p. 103). Subsequently, indigenous “‘traditional’ cultural expressions can and do thereby claim to be ones that belong to that locality more purely than others” (Beyer, 2007, p. 103).

Central to post-colonialism is an acknowledgement of historical injustices that have denied indigenous people “equal sovereign status” and have led to “the dispossession of their lands, and the destruction of their cultural practices” (Song, 2010, §2.3). As such, post-colonialism “draws attention to the fact that issues of racism have an historical context and that these are related economically, culturally and politically to the impact of Western colonisation over the past 500 years” (Brown, Halsey, Lauder, & Wells, 1997, p. 18). Thus, post-colonialism critically examines practices that “both privilege and exclude particular readings, specific voices, certain aesthetics, forms of authority, specific representations, and forms of sociality” (Giroux, 1992, p. 20). Knowledge, within post-colonialism, is “intimately linked to specific contexts, people and issues” (Abdullah & Stringer, 1999, p. 143). For example, science and religion are seen as being “forces of colonization that have worked to subvert their social and cultural life” (Abdullah & Stringer, 1999, p. 143). Subsequently, post-colonialism deconstructs “colonialist and imperialist ideologies that structure Western knowledge, texts, and social practices” (Giroux, 1992, pp. 20-21).

From this position, differentiated schooling is critiqued as having arisen from, and reflected, a Western Protestant worldview. As such, state schooling is part of the “forms of privilege”, that is embedded within the “language of western educators” (Giroux, 1992, p. 19). Upon this recognition, post-colonialism demands “positive accommodations” by the state (Song, 2010, §2.2). An important aspect of recognising indigenous culture is the acknowledgement of the holistic worldview that characterises many indigenous cultures but is contrary to the differentiated school as Milojević explains, a holistic worldview

Means that ideas and practices are one, that all aspects of one’s self (intellectual, emotional, physical, creative, moral and spiritual) are integrated and that there is no division among “disciplines of knowledge”. What western thinking calls “religion”, “law”, “economics”, “arts” and so forth are united within a unitary worldview (Milojević, 2005, p. 176).

For many indigenous cultures, there is a rejection of “differentiation among various functional modalities, including religion” (Beyer, 2007, p. 103). Consequently, the epistemological assumptions of differentiated schooling are challenged by indigenous culture and epistemologies

that “questions the very foundations of Western ways of knowing and being” (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 2008, p. 152). Indigenous people have worked towards “the goal of controlling the subject content of the curriculum and the language policy in the primary and lower secondary schools” (Todal, 2003, p. 186). Increasingly, state schools have come to recognise indigenous cultures, where this may likely contain a holistic view of the secular and the sacred. In addition, cultural schools that reflect indigenous epistemologies and ontologies have been established within state education systems.

Post-colonialism is underpinned by global legislation where the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, ratified by both Norway and New Zealand, substantiates indigenous cultural autonomy over their distinctive institutions. Article 5 of the Declaration states that:

Indigenous peoples have the right to maintain and strengthen their distinct political, legal, economic, social and cultural institutions, while retaining their right to participate fully, if they so choose, in the political, economic, social and cultural life of the State (United Nations, 2007, Article 5).

Specifically in relation to the institution of education, Article 14 of the Declaration affirms that:

Indigenous peoples have the right to establish and control their educational systems and institutions providing education in their own languages, in a manner appropriate to their cultural methods of teaching and learning (United Nations, 2007, Article 14).

This must also be read alongside Article 12 (1) that sanctifies the significance and right of religion and or spirituality to indigenous culture and its relation to education:

Indigenous peoples have the right to manifest, practise, develop and teach their spiritual and religious traditions, customs and ceremonies; the right to maintain, protect, and have access in privacy to their religious and cultural sites; the right to the use and control of their ceremonial objects; and the right to the repatriation of their human remains (United Nations, 2007, Article 12(1))

In addition, a cultural right to self-determination over education acknowledges that to recognise autonomy of indigenous culture there must be “a context of choice” (White, 2007, p. 127). State support for cultural schools is particularly important when cultural groups are “at the risk of being overwhelmed” and if these cultures were to die out “members of their groups would lose the context of choice in which they exercise their autonomy” (White, 2007, p. 128). This is especially important for indigenous cultures as “their minority status is unchosen; they were coercively incorporated into the larger state” (Song, 2010, §2.2). The new recognition of culture can be

realised by the “equal liberty model” of religious education that challenges the separation between the sacred and the profane. Under this model, the state is “free to recognise the existence and importance of religious or spiritual beliefs” and subsequently a “rigid pure model” of separation is not appropriate (Cox, 2009, p. 34).

8.4.3 Communitarianism

Adding political authority to indigenous claims to religion and schooling is communitarianism. Communitarianism is a “philosophical viewpoint” that argues for “the priority of the good over individual rights or utilities and a recognition of the social nature of the self” (Olssen, 1997, p. 404). Central to recognising the “social nature of the self” is the community in which the individual is “‘embedded in’, ‘constituted by’, and ‘dependent upon’” (Olssen, 1997, p. 406). The community is believed to provide the individual with his or her “meaning and purpose”, as such “the good life can only be realised within communities that provide moral principles that have withstood the test of time” (Schmaker, 2008, p. 150). Communitarians criticise “modernity and the liberal tradition of individualism” as having a “‘thin’ understanding of community” (Delanty, 2002, p. 159). This same critique can be employed against the schooling arrangements that arose from these traditions; thus “liberal conceptions of education” are critiqued for militating “against individual and social well-being” (Callan & White, 2003, p. 95), because of the communitarian belief that a “person’s good” is within a community (Freeman, 2002, p. 18). While communitarians argue for community to be a stronger principle in determining the structure and content of education systems, just how that community should be realised in schooling is complex. As Callan and White state, “communitarian arguments are sometimes adduced in support of a diverse array of particular educational policies, including religious exercises in state-sponsored schools, school choice for parents, and cooperative learning in classrooms” (Callan & White, 2003, p. 102).

The key factor in determining how communitarianism manifests in schooling is understanding *where* one locates the community. When the community is located at the national level, communitarianism becomes “concerned with protecting the majority culture” (Delanty, 2002, p. 164), whereas when the community is located within multiple and diverse cultural groups, communitarianism adds justification to multiculturalism (Song, 2010) by supporting the “collective rights of cultural groups” (Burtonwood, 1998, p. 296). Communitarianism posits “that children be able to refer to a culture in which they find the source of dignity and self-esteem” (Wieviorka, 1998,

p. 897). Thus, given that “the self is always culturally specific” and that the cultural identities of individuals are plural, communitarianism can be utilised as “a defence of cultural particularism against liberalism’s moral universalism” (Delanty, 2002, p. 163). Taking up this point, Song argues that communitarianism supports multiculturalism through its reasoning that “the traditional liberal regime of identical liberties and opportunities for all citizens” should be replaced “with a scheme of special rights for minority cultural groups” (Song, 2010, §2.1).

Communitarianism becomes problematic when the priority upon the community is at the expense of rationality, autonomy, and equality (Burtonwood, 1998). Within these cases, religion serves to initiate or justify restricting the liberty of the members of the cultural group using religious principles of the community to educate within a worldview that is contrary to modernity and advances in science (Rata, 2004). For example, some communitarians have argued for the “collective rights of cultural groups in restricting the rights of their individual members” (Burtonwood, 1998, pp. 295-296) and, consequently, “closed communitarian societies” can develop (Rata, 2004, p. 62). These closed societies are antithetical to the liberal emphasis and fostering of rational and autonomous individuals that are necessary to the political structure and way of life of democratic societies (Rata, 2004, p. 62). Upon these critiques, strong arguments are made for limiting the capacity of communities to determine schooling and its relationship to religion. This is justified on the grounds of promoting “reasonable measures to promote the political supremacy of liberal democratic values” and “for educating children towards the virtues needed by liberal citizens” (Kukathas, 2001, p. 326).

Sensitive to the limitations of a strong communitarian ideology and the necessity of human rights, Mark Olssen has developed what he has called “thin communitarianism” (Olssen, 2002, p. 486) that recognises the failure of communitarianism to “articulate rights, freedom, and individual or group agency” (Olssen, 2002, p. 484). Thin communitarianism proposes that the “principle of difference itself must entail a commitment to certain non-negotiable universal values” where these values are deemed necessary for not only the rights of the individual but also the continuation of the principle itself (Olssen, 2002, p. 504). Drawing upon Foucault, Olssen argues that “unity and difference” must be balanced (Olssen, 2002, p. 502). To achieve this balance a “minimal universalism” must prevail where there is “pride of place to difference and pluralism” and a commitment to “those democratic values that are intolerant of styles of life not themselves respectful of the principle” (Olssen, 2002, p. 504). In this manner, thin communitarianism is “defined in a sense that establishes noncoercive means of allowing for the diversity of contemporary Western societies” where the

‘institutions of democracy, which link community to the social’ are located centrally (Olssen, 2002, p. 507). Olssen’s thin communitarianism draws parallels with the “liberal communitarianism” characterised by a “positive recognition of cultural community ... anchored in a basic commitment to the liberal principle of equality” (Delanty, 2002, p. 164).

8.4.4. The increasing presence of religious minorities

In the late 20th century, new patterns of immigration increased the presence and diversity of religious minorities, where of particular significance was the increase in Muslim, Buddhist, and Hindu immigrants in many western nations. The presence of these new religious communities challenged “some deeply held European assumptions”, including the “notion that faith is a private matter” (Davie, 2007, p.46). This situation has led to tensions between “religious identity, secularization, and privatization” (Furseth & Repstad, 2006, p. 154) and reopened “debates about the place of religion” (Davie, 2007, p.46). Thus, immigration in the late 20th century brought about “a keener consciousness of the phenomenon of the public presence of religion” (Habermas, 2008, p. 20).

Of particular challenge to state education systems were the requirements made by Muslim communities to educate their children in their religious faith. The tensions and conflicts that arise from this challenge means, that “politically it is particularly important to address the issues arising from the significant Muslim minorities’ (Skeie, 2006a, p. 28). However, how these issues are addressed is dependent upon the context of the nation state. As Kolig explains when a nation state has a state church, such has been the case in Norway, Islam has to contend with “the established ideological force of a state religion or deeply entrenched Christian traditionalism” (Kolig, 2010, p. 91). This is a challenge that is politically and culturally sensitive and can manifest in a “conflict between a rapidly growing Muslim minority and the Christian majority” (Skeie, 2006a, p. 28). However, a further challenge to Islam is an established secular culture and its institutions, such as the case in New Zealand. Kolig describes this as “the greater problem” owing to the fact that

“a highly secularised society does not provide the religious reference points and stimuli for a committed Muslim as a Muslim majority society would. This make living as a devout Muslim a matter of constant vigilance and purposeful planning” (Kolig, 2010, p. 91).

For example, the chairperson of a proposed Muslim secondary school in New Zealand believes that

“Muslim children attending state secular schools were subjected to an educational environment which pressured them to adopt values which were contradictory to Islamic values, such as evolution theory, sexual relations outside of marriage and drinking.” (Lewis, 2012, para 3).

Islam is described by Kolig as “not religion in the limited sense of the word, but is rather a complete and comprehensive code of life” (Kolig, 2010, p. 146). Shah elaborates upon this point by explaining that “the inter-relationship between God, self and knowledge constitutes a specific philosophy of education which is problematic with regard to sitting agreeably with the instrumental approach to education aiming at employability only” (Shah, 2011, p. 54). This leads to demands for state education systems to support the development of faith schools based in the Islam tradition. As Shah points out this is not a new demand upon nation state education systems but a reflection of the premise that this provision should be “available to other major faith groups” (Shah, 2011, p. 58). However, Muslim schools are facing more problems than schools with a Christian character, as Shah explains:

Islamic schools appear to be facing more opposition and delays in securing state funding ... and are critiqued for many reasons. The objections against Islamic schools range from a principled philosophical opposition to all faith schooling to more focused arguments concerning the nature of Muslim schools (Shah, 2011, p. 60).

Of concern for some is the belief that the presence of separate Muslim schools is harmful to the social cohesion and integration aims of the common state school. Critique arises that multiculturalism “‘went too far’ in the context of predominately Muslim immigrants, and [as such] there has been a reassertion of more assimilationist or exclusionary politics” (Kymlicka, 2007, p. 52).

However, the debate is complex; an interesting argument has recently arisen where some Muslims have announced they do not want schools based upon their cultural and religious identity (Kolig, 2010). Their rejection of faith schools rests upon the belief that they

“rigidly ascribes ethnic and religious groups to certain pre-determined categories and rubrics, which shows a tendency to negate individual freedom of choice; and although the human rights discourse is sensitised to cultural and religious needs, it lacks the liberty of individual mobility” (Kolig, 2010, p. 136).

However, the opposing view is that Muslim schools are increasingly seen as an “an option not only to provide opportunities for updated education in consonance with their perceptions of Muslim

identity, but also to denote an agenda for resistance to challenge racism and existing power relations” (Shah, 2011, p. 51).

8.4.5 Summary: Multiculturalism

The new relationship between religion and schooling that arose from multiculturalism has recently been critiqued upon the grounds that the “ethnically sensitive policies and practices” that have been espoused “as a means towards social justice” have “now been almost entirely displaced by faith based approaches” (Singh & Cowden, 2011, p. 346). This has particular implications for the relationship between religion and schooling where concerns arise regarding “the limitations of diversity and faith based approaches to policy” (Singh & Cowden, 2011, p. 346). This invariably leads to tensions wherein

faith based multiculturalism takes on a profoundly oxymoronic role, where it is both something to be feared, and simultaneously something to be celebrated; as though policy appears to veer between seeing the multicultural polity as the problem at one moment, and the solution in the next (Singh & Cowden, 2011, p. 346)

Just how nation states negotiate these “new fault lines of multiculturalism” (Singh & Cowden, 2011, p. 343), is very much dependent upon national context, as the case studies of Norway and New Zealand in this thesis will demonstrate.

8.5 Globalisation: the international significance and legislation of religion

The changing demographics of society and the increasing recognition of cultural rights have a close connection to globalisation. Globalisation takes different forms and can be divided into social, cultural, economic, and legal globalisation (McGrew, 2005). *Social globalisation* consists of increased immigration with the consequence that religious education is for a classroom and society that is no longer assumed as being homogenous. *Cultural globalisation* manifests in movements towards global homogeneity, countered by reassertions of “nationalism, ethnicity, and difference” (McGrew, 2005, p. 27). *Economic globalisation* most commonly manifests in neo-liberal promotion of the market, individualism and choice. Lastly, *legal globalisation* is the “expansion of transnational and international law from trade to human rights” (McGrew, 2005, p. 27) and seeks to balance nationalist reactions to cultural, social, and economic globalisation. Legal globalisation has

been prominent since the declaration of Human Rights in 1948, such that religion and schooling have become matters of global concern.

Thus, the relationship between religion and schooling is a global dilemma that extends beyond the boundaries and concerns of a single nation state. Over the last ten years, with events such as 9/11, religion has increased in its visibility and significance for global political stability and cultural co-existence (Weisse, 2011). Religion is believed to “play an increasingly important role ... both in dialogue between people of different faiths and in the context of social tension and conflict” (Weisse, 2011, p. 112). Subsequently, from a global perspective religion has a new importance in nation state education systems owing to its role in generating the “peaceful coexistence of people” (Weisse, 2011, p. 113). This role has a direct correlation to pluralism for, as the world becomes smaller, interactions between people of different religious beliefs increases, requiring knowledge, understanding and the ability to form dialogue across religious and cultural differences. As Wiese (2011) concludes “there is a growing public awareness of the importance of seeking dialogue, with all that can aid us in preventing conflict and supporting peaceful coexistence in a multireligious and multicultural society” (p. 112). In addition, globalisation challenges the validity of the secularisation thesis by bringing attention to the persisting global significance of religion, as Berger asserts,

The world today, with some exceptions ... is as furiously religious as it ever was, and in some places more so than ever. This means that a whole body of literature by historians and social scientists loosely labelled “secularization theory” is essentially mistaken (Berger, 1999, p. 2).

Globalisation is a basic-level variable of post-differentiated schooling and is constituted by three secondary-level ontological properties that are characterised by a relationship of equifinality, that is when all the properties are individually sufficient. The first property, *immigration*, accounts for the changing demographics of society, and subsequently the changing social and cultural context of schooling. The second property is *increased global communication and awareness*, this property has led to a new visibility and awareness of religion and culture outside of the boundaries of the nation state. The final property is the *growth of influence of transnational and international organisations* that make recommendations and police the relationship between religion and schooling. These properties are ontological in the sense that they are “the defining features” (Goertz & Mahoney, 2005, p. 503) of *globalisation* and are illustrated by Figure 8.4.

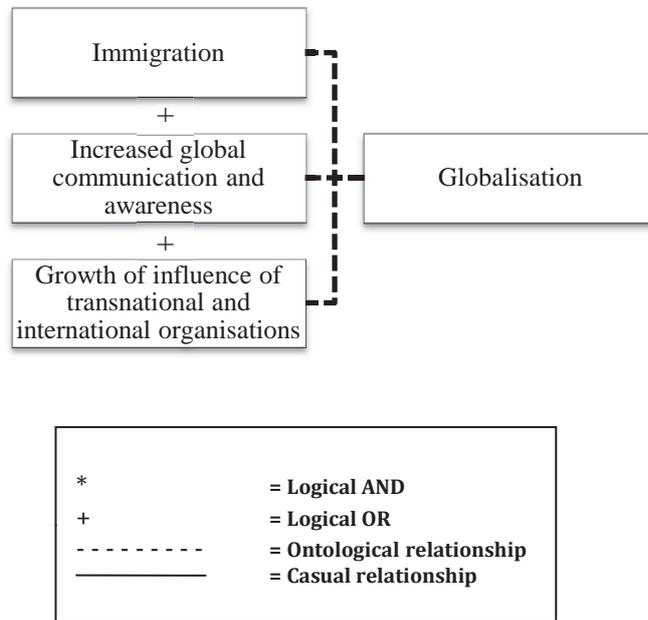


Figure 8-4: The secondary-level variables of *globalisation*

8.5.1 Immigration and increased global communication and awareness

From the late 20th century, immigration to Western nations has challenged the separation of the sacred and secular through the increasing number of cultural groups that have a holistic worldview. This pluralism has new significance as multiculturalism provides rights and opportunities for cultural groups to define an education sensitive to their cultural and religious identity. Consequently, immigration has contributed to the reopening of “debates about the place of religion” (Davie, 2007, p. 46) and has challenged the “secularisation paradigm” and its differentiated structures (Skeie, 2006b, p. 308). Thus, pluralism has changed from being linked with secularisation (characteristic of the differentiated era), to a new paradigm that “links pluralism and religious growth” (characteristic of the post-differentiated era) (Repstad, 1996, p. 1). As Beyer (2007, p.99) states, “what stands out with respect to religion in the globalizing as opposed to modernising world is not secularization but pluralisation, the inclusion of different glocalizations of religion”.

The new paradigm of pluralism influences the way in which religion is perceived in nation state education systems. For example, the Human Rights Commission of New Zealand states there is “a new consciousness of the religious lives of others” and that “religious diversity is increasingly part of our everyday lives in our communities, schools, and workplaces” (Human Rights Commission, 2007, p. 6). This new consciousness questions the role of religion within the political purpose of schooling. In nations such as Britain and Norway, the new “ethnic, cultural, and religious diversity” arising from immigration has “challenged the effectiveness of compulsory religious education taught from a Christian faith perspective” (Buchanan, 2005, p. 30). In comparison, for nations such as New Zealand, it has challenged secular education systems to acknowledge the influence of religion upon a student’s worldview.

In addition, the processes of immigration and globalisation have led to an increased awareness of the necessity and complexity of intercultural and interreligious communication. Subsequently, a pertinent question for schools now is how are they “going to prepare students for the encounter with people who are adherents of other belief systems and who share in other religious practices?” (Miedema, 2006, p. 969). This question is concerned with the social purpose of schooling, defined as the knowledge, “ability and skills” that “equips students to address social problems” (Kubow & Fossum, 2003, p. 63). A compelling argument arises here for state schools to “take the impact of the processes of globalization seriously by preparing students for their encounter with cultural ‘others’” (Miedema, 2006, p. 969). Thus, as Miedema states, religion is put “back in the public domain and extends the public domain to a global scale” (Miedema, 2006, p. 969).

8.5.2 The growth and influence of transnational and international organisations

Concern for the role of religion in intercultural dialogue has become a key concern for global organisations that attempt to recommend and guide a nation state’s legislation taking account of the relationship between religion and schooling. From 1981, the United Nations has increasingly recognised “the international significance of religion for a stable world order” (Gearon, 2009, p. 97). This is in contrast to legislation during the period 1948 to 1981 that had tended to “downplay religious and ideological diversity” (Gearon, 2008, p. 97). The increased global interest in the “significance of religion for a stable world order” has meant an increase of interest in religious education and the role of “religion in citizenship and human rights education” (Gearon, 2008, p.

97). However, the new global interest in religion is not evidence of a “counter secularisation” but of continual secularisation as religious education takes on a secular purpose (Gearon, 2012, p.2). Thus, it is a reconceptualisation of religious education.

The contemporary global interest in religious education rests upon the belief that religious literacy is necessary for intercultural and interreligious communication and peace. For example, the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR) emphasises in the 2007 *Toledo Guiding Principles on Teaching about Religions and Beliefs in Public Schools* that:

It is important for young people to acquire a better understanding of the role that religions play in today’s pluralistic world. The need for such education will continue to grow as different cultures and identities interact with each other through travel, commerce, media or migration. Although a deeper understanding of religions will not automatically lead to greater tolerance and respect, ignorance increases the likelihood of misunderstanding, stereotyping, and conflict (ODIHR Advisory Council of Experts on Freedom of Religion or Belief, 2007, p. 9).

The Toledo Guidelines clearly view religious education as having the ability to facilitate “freedom of religion or belief, foster democratic citizenship, promote understanding of societal diversity and, at the same time, enhance social cohesion” (ODIHR, 2007, p. 13). Furthermore, religious education is believed to have “valuable potential of reducing conflicts that are based on lack of understanding for others” beliefs and of encouraging respect for their rights” (ODIHR, 2007, p. 14). In the practice and policy of religious education, the ODIHR places restrictions on compulsory religious education, arguing that if religious education is to be compulsory then it must also be objective and neutral (ODIHR, 2007, p. 14).

In addition, the relationship between religion and state schooling is influenced by global legislation on “international human rights” (Brown, 2005, p. 692). The development of human rights, Brown argues, has limited the authority of the nation state because “the very idea of human rights implies limits to the range of variation in domestic political regimes that is acceptable internationally” (Brown, 2005, p. 699). As Koenig explains, “a charismatic status of ‘universal personhood’ has been established to which rights, at least in principle, are attached independently from formal state membership or nationality” (Koenig, 2007, p. 14). Global legislation places obligations on nation states to ensure cultural and individual rights, where nation states are obliged to “adopt a pro-active approach to promote the identity of ethnic or national, linguistic and religious minorities on their territory” (Koenig, 2007, p. 14). In sum, this has resulted in what Koenig calls a “de-

charismatization of the nation-state, with charisma being shifted to universalistic human rights” (Koenig, 2007, p. 14).

However, while globalisation manifests in the development of international legislation upon human and cultural rights, nation states are recognised as being culturally distinct because “different societies have to solve different problems, they need different educational systems” (Keskitalo, 1987, p. 13). Thus as Dale has concluded, “while globalization does represent a new set of rules, there is no reason to expect all countries to interpret those rules in identical ways, or expect them all to play to the rules in identical ways” (Dale, 1999, p. 2).

8.6 De-differentiation: Re-establishing traditional relationships between religion and schooling

De-differentiation emphasises traditional understandings for the role and practice of religion in social and educational life. De-differentiation is conservative and idealistic in nature, and attempts to restore “a unit to an earlier phase of development” (Tiryakin, 1992, p. 90). Tiryakin defines de-differentiation as “a regressive process that has as its consequence the undoing of rationalization and differentiation” (Tiryakin, 1992, p. 90). De-differentiation is further supported by postmodern theories that legitimate alternative forms of knowledge outside of modernism and the scientific paradigm, leading Lash to argue that “if modernization is a process of cultural differentiation [...] then “postmodernization” is a process of de-differentiation” (Lash, 1990, p. 5). Postmodernism attempts to create an “equality of all ‘truths’” (Tremewan, 2009, p. 31) therefore creating space for de-differentiated practices of religion and schooling.

De-differentiation as a basic-level variable of post-differentiated schooling is constituted by two ontological secondary-level properties - *religious fundamentalism* and *cultural fundamentalism*. Fundamentalism is defined as the “strict adherence to a set of principles or beliefs” (Giddens, 2009, p. 709). Cultural and religious fundamentalists recognise the power of the school as a means of “cultural reproduction” and subsequently seek “private educational spaces” (Stump, 2008, p. 226). Accordingly, fundamentalists establish and support private schools as a means “of reproducing their culture systems, including religion, in an alien or pluralistic environment” (Stump, 2008, p. 226). Figure 8.5 illustrates the secondary level properties of de-differentiation.

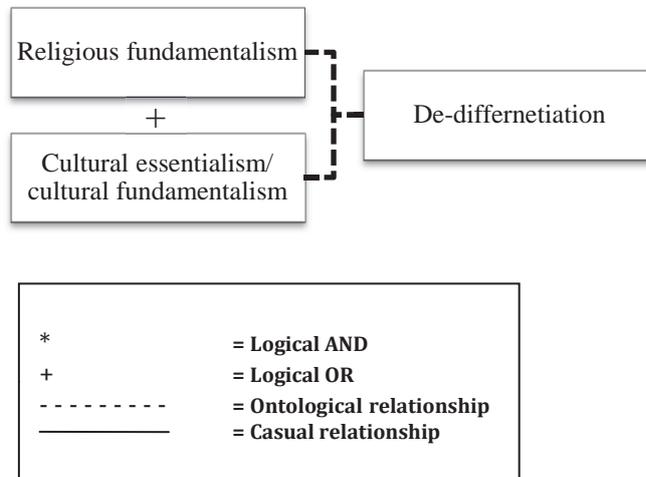


Figure 8-5: The secondary-level variables of de-differentiation

8.6.1 Religious Fundamentalism

Religious fundamentalism arose in the last decades of the 20th century and advocated “the literal interpretation of basic scriptures or texts” and the application of doctrine to “all aspects of social, economic and political life” (Giddens, 2009, pp. 709-710). While “seemingly antimodern”, Christian fundamentalism is “essentially modern” because it is part of the creation of “particularistic cultural identities in the face of the relativizing effects of globalization” (Dawson, 2006, p. 117). Christian fundamentalism, in part, rests upon a “moral panic” where due to the consequences of modernisation there is a fear that “Christian civilization is at risk” (Lineham, 2006, p. 7). Underpinning these ideas is the belief that the immorality of society is brought about by the absence of religion in the political and public spheres. Religious fundamentalism therefore seeks to “restore ‘rightful’ order and re-establish the link between the human world and the divine” (Heywood, 2007, p. 283) by advocating traditional understandings of religion in its social and educational implications.

Religious fundamentalists believe that liberalism is the prime reason why religion has been removed from public life. Liberalism is seen as an authoritative structure dictating the ways in which religious and cultural groups should relate to the liberal state and society. The prevalence of the liberal state, according to Wright, has meant that “religious communities struggle to retain a sense of identity in the face of the threat of assimilation into mainstream liberal culture” (Wright, 2003, p. 148). Secular state schools that reflect liberal and plural concerns are viewed with suspicion, prompting an increase in alternative schooling arrangements - primarily “separate Christian schools and homeschooling” (Lineham, 2006, p. 8). Consequently, religious schools and home schooling have become part of the “strategies designed to recover the fundamentals of communal identity, highlight communal distinctiveness and reinforce traditional lines of demarcation” (Wright, 2003, p. 148).

8.6.2 Cultural Fundamentalism

Cultural fundamentalism is similar to religious fundamentalism in that both are “antimodern, neotraditionalist *religious* phenomena and movements interpreted as a reaction to socioeconomic and cultural modernization” (Stolcke, 1995, p. 4). Within cultural fundamentalism, knowledge is relative to culture, and subsequently the politics of cultural fundamentalism legitimates alternative cultural means of knowing and knowledge. In this way, cultural fundamentalism validates alternative knowledge that is contrary to prevailing scientific knowledge, this alternative knowledge includes “indigenous science, deep ecological wisdom, spiritual connectedness, cosmological narratives, and, not least narratives constructed through ‘blood memory’” (Marie & Haig, 2009, p. 127). Thus, knowledge is “subjectively and culturally determined”, replacing “the commitment to objective, rational knowledge” (Rata, 2004, pp. 73-74). In addition, individual autonomy maybe sacrificed for cultural membership upon the neo-traditionalist perception that there is “a biological basis to culture”, whereby membership is determined “on the basis of biological descent” (Rata & Openshaw, 2006, p. 110). From this perspective culture, not the individual, influences worldview, and thus the schooling required (Rata, 2004).

Cultural fundamentalism can also be found within ideas of “nationality and citizenship in a shared cultural heritage” (Stolcke, 1995, p. 12). Emphasis is placed on the sources and expressions of national culture that often draw upon the historical and traditional characteristics of religion to define the nation as being culturally distinct in an age of globalisation and immigration.

Subsequently, immigrants are viewed as being “a political threat to national identity and integrity” (Stolcke, 1995, p. 8). Contingent on this perception is a belief in the incompatibility between cultures, that “legitimizes the exclusion of foreigners, strangers” (Stolcke, 1995, p. 5). Thus in summary, cultural fundamentalism replaces the Enlightenment’s emphasis on this universality and commonality of being human to the primacy of cultural membership.

8.7 New political structures and ideologies for religion and schooling

Within the post-differentiated phase, political structures and ideologies have altered to acknowledge a role for religion as cultural and religious groups, global legislation, and postmodern movements make claims for religious rights and expressions. These political ideologies have developed to reflect “increasing evidence [that] shows a persistent and renewed importance for religion in political public life” (Gearon, 2008, p. 97). Consequently, political ideologies are changing to encompass the belief that the differentiation of religion to the private sphere is not universal, monolithic, or absolute and that there are increasing groups of people that demand a more public role for religion. As Skeie states “religion seems to be coming back” creating a new “politics of religion” (Skeie, 2001, p. 240). This has direct implications for the relationship between religion and schooling as “religious education is situated in the centre of the new ‘politics of religion’ ... since it is the result of a ‘negotiation’ between the nation-state and religious groups” (Skeie, 2001, p. 240).

The basic-level variable of *contemporary political ideologies* is constituted by three ontological secondary-level properties - *neo-liberalism*, *neo-conservatism*, and *modern social democracy* - each of which reflects and attempts to accommodate religion’s increased role in society. Neo-liberalism, posits religion as a commodity of choice on the educational marketplace; neo-conservatism draws upon traditional Christian values, practices and beliefs; and modern social democracy has become reconceptualised to place a stronger value on religion in defining national identity, cohesion and heritage.

However, tempering these movements is the increasing pressure for greater differentiation between religion and politics. The secularist position is strong and maintains that religion is “a matter of faith which cannot be coerced” while “politics involves coercion” (Parekh, 2000, p. 321). Thus, secularists hold that a strong distinction must remain between the private and public spheres

because “religion is a personal matter, politics a public and communal activity” (Parekh, 2000, p. 321). The political ideologies of the contemporary era, while giving religion a new role through a political reconceptualisation, do this while remaining true (for the most part) to the secularist position.

The properties of *contemporary political ideologies* form a structure of equifinality, with each ideology representing a new political rationale for the restructuring and/or reconceptualising of the relationship between religion and schooling. These properties, however, are not mutually exclusive as state policy and practice can reflect pressures from one or a combination of these influences. Figure 8.6 illustrates the secondary level variables of contemporary political ideology.

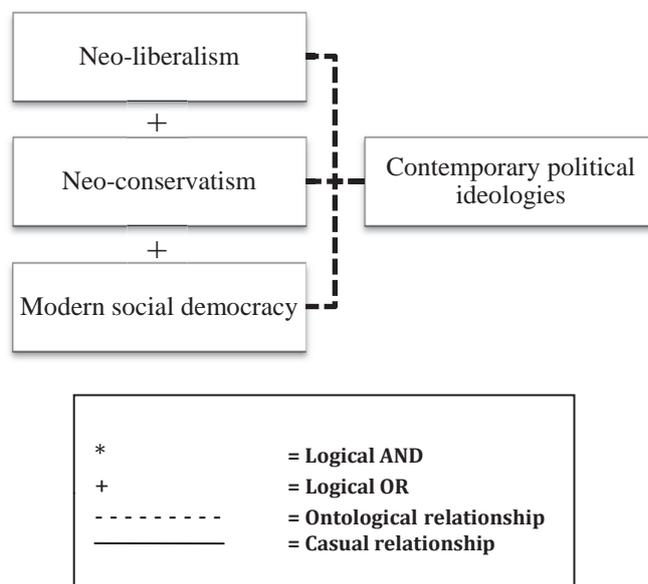


Figure 8-6: The secondary-level variables of *contemporary political ideologies*

8.7.1 Neo-liberalism

Neo-liberalism is structured upon economic principles that provide indirect support for a new role for religion in education through the mechanism of the market. Neo-liberalism answers demands for cultural and religious autonomy through the decentralisation of state institutions based upon the principles of the “free market” and “individual choice” (Apple, 2006, p. 9). Proponents of neo-liberalism claim that an educational marketplace will provide “consumers” the opportunity to purchase educational services that reflect their cultural and religious beliefs (Coleman, 2003). Thus,

neo-liberalism privileges the market as the key means to satisfy the multicultural demands that “political life should find ways of recognizing, respecting and within limits accommodating them” (Parekh, 2000, pp. 324-325).

Neo-liberalism provides a political framework in which religious schools are reconceptualised into a commodity of choice within the educational market place. Under this framework, schools would establish a link between religion and education to meet the demands of parents, and thus compete for students. Such a system moves education away from a universal state school towards a state supported yet segregated education system. Theoretically, this represents a shift from schooling as a public good to a private good, whereas religion has moved to the private sphere so too follows schooling.

Thus, neo-liberalism has altered the context in which religious schools operate. Initially participation within religious schools was an accommodation and reflection of the religious worldview of students and their parents. However, within the neo-liberal context of choice and competition this rationale has changed with religious schools reconceptualised by some as embodying academic advantage and prestige, leading to an increase in demand for religious schools. Perhaps not surprisingly the observation is made that “children attending religious schools often do so for academic or social – not religious – reasons” (Dronkers, 2004, p. 288). This situation, however, is problematic because as Dronkers observes, it

contradicts the *raison d'être* of state-funded religious schools, because the right of parents to determine the moral and religious education of their children always has always been more or less explicitly the basis of state recognition and funding of religious schools (Dronkers, 2004, pp. 306-307).

Thus, neo-liberalism challenges the commitments to egalitarianism and equality of opportunity that underpin the common state school. To this end, the state must continually pursue “a system of education which can accommodate the necessity for schools to have well balanced social class intakes, with aspirations for genuine choice and diversity” (Lauder, 1997, p. 390).

The neo-liberal claim of creating cultural sensitivity through *choice* has meant that neo-liberalism has been perceived by some as a means by which indigenous people can be liberated from the colonial discourse (Smith, 1997). Thus, a strong appeal of neo-liberalism is its supposed self-determination (Smith, 1997). However, the extent to which real autonomy and self-determination is realised is limited as the state retains ultimate authority, and the autonomy of the cultural or

religious groups success is determined by market structures (Smith, 1997). In effect, neo-liberalism judges cultural expressions upon their economic worth as opposed to their inherent cultural value. Subsequently, the equality and rights of cultures becomes dependent upon their ability to act within the market and successfully reflect economic values.

8.7.1.1 Charter schools

One means by which school choice is ostensibly realised within neo-liberalism is through *charter schools*. Theoretically, charter schools are defined as “a new breed of public schools” that supposedly will be characterised by “universal access and public funding”, combined with those “elements usually associated with private schools” (Miron & Nelson, 2002, p. 2). From a neo-liberal perspective, charter schools provide a means by which “choice and competition”, along with “autonomy and flexibility”, can be incorporated into the state education system (Miron & Nelson, 2002, p. 2). Proponents of charter schools believe that by “subjecting the delivery of public services to market forces” education will not only become “more efficient and responsive” but also promote both “academic excellence” and be responsive to the “preferences of parents” (Miron & Nelson, 2002, p. 2).

In comparison with public schools, charter schools have “enhanced autonomy over curriculum, instruction and operations” while being “held more accountable for results than other public schools” (Miron & Nelson, 2002, p. 3). With regard to the relationship between religion and schooling, this structure holds particular appeal to conservative Christians who see the Charter school as “a way of breaking what they see as the dominance of secular culture and values in traditional public schools” (Miron & Nelson, 2002, p. 8). Thus, charter schools provide the opportunity for religious groups to “create a set of civic institutions that better comport with their own moral values” (Miron & Nelson, 2002, p. 8). Charter schools however are in effect a step towards the privatisation of education that would be harmful to local schools and increase inequalities (New Zealand Education Institute, 2012). Charter schools have yet to be initiated in New Zealand or Norway, however in 2011 the National led government of New Zealand entered into a political coalition that included a provision for the introduction and establishment of charter schools. Section 9.2.6.2 discusses the implications of charter schools beyond their neo-liberal rhetoric and raises critique for their practice within the New Zealand context.

8.7.2 Modern developments of conservatism

Similar to developments in liberalism, contemporary conservatives argued that while “a well structured society must foster the dynamic qualities of the market” this should not be allowed “to upset the more stable relations that conservatives value in the politics, culture, and families” (Schmaker, 2008, p. 167). In order to create and maintain a stable social and moral community, modern conservatives believe that political and public consideration should be given to the traditional teachings and values of religion (Schmaker, 2008). Modern conservatives acknowledge, however, that in a modern plural context the role of religion is limited because “bringing strong and specific religious convictions to political life is destabilising” (Schmaker, 2008, p. 123). Notwithstanding this limitation, modern conservatives posit that

beliefs in God and adherence to the moralities of various religions as helpful in encouraging individuals to abide by the sorts of moral restraints that pluralist governments are reluctant to impose. Religion is useful for helping people believe that they are united as one people under God, however differently people in pluralist societies conceive of God and His teachings (Schmaker, 2008, p. 123).

Neo-conservatives criticise secular schools as promoting a moral relativism that subsequently leads to a breakdown of society. Thus, within neo-conservative educational policies there is a movement against “moral relativism” evident as a “revivification of the ‘Western tradition’”, “conservative variants of character education”, and within “attempts to reorient curricula and textbooks toward a particular construction of the Western tradition” (Apple, 2005a, p. 279). Underlying these conservative policies Michael Apple has identified “a clear sense of loss—a loss of faith, of imagined communities, of a nearly pastoral vision of like-minded people who shared norms and values and in which the ‘Western tradition’ reigned supreme” (Apple, 2005a, p. 279).

Within conservative arguments, a “traditional” communitarianism can be detected, where contrary to liberal arguments of “choice”, modern conservatives claim that “societies cannot be held together unless they share a deep commitment to common cultural values” (Schmaker, 2008, p. 168). The extreme right of conservatism believes that these common cultural values should also extend to religion (Schmaker, 2008). Thus, there is common ground between “traditional communitarians” and the “religious right”, both of whom hold a conservative perception of “the value of established associations like churches and civic groups that emphasize traditional values” (Schmaker, 2008, p. 150).

8.7.3 New developments of social democracy

The developments of social democracy from the end of the 20th century share some of the concerns of modern conservatism. Social democracy has moved from its traditional programme of “social transformation”, towards a “conservative character” recasting social democracy to become a “defence of community” (Heywood, 2004, p. 309). This change of direction was evident in the 1990’s when social democratic parties in Europe and North America “reinvented themselves: they lowered their ambitions of governing the economy, and heightened their ambitions within identity politics” (Eriksen, 2010, p. 170). Social democracy “developed into a defence of duty and responsibility” with an interest in upholding “established institutions and ways of life” (Heywood, 2004, p. 309).

Within this new conception of social democracy, religion is believed to hold the key to the successful functioning of the social democratic welfare state. Religion is supposed to underpin a nation’s values and practices of community, morality and equality - values and practices that are integral to the social democratic state. Thus, religion is posited as being necessary to uphold the economic and political institutions required by social democracy. This connection between religion and social democracy provides a new rationale for a state endorsed relationship between religion and education.

The new plurality of society has been a key variable in recasting the role of religion in social democratic policies. The contemporary religious and cultural pluralism that has arisen from postmodernism and immigration is seen as a challenge to the political stability and continuity of social democratic policies that rely upon a degree of solidarity to support its redistributive policies. Recently, some researchers have argued that because “ethnic/racial diversity makes it more difficult to sustain redistributive policies” there is a “trade-off between recognition and redistribution” as policies that “recognise or accommodate ethnic groups tend to further undermine national solidarity and trust” – the foundation for the social democratic society (Banting & Kymlicka, 2006, p. 3). From this perspective, schooling is an important means by which common values, attitudes, beliefs and practices are reproduced and shared between members of a nation state. When religion is believed to be a key contributor to a nation’s solidarity, social democracy places new importance upon religious education as a means to common values, beliefs and attitudes, and thus economic equality.

8.8 New religious education pedagogies: Reconceptualising religion within a secular academic framework

“Today, competence covering a wide range of views and beliefs is probably more important than ever, not only because Western countries are becoming increasingly multi-religious, but also because religion in recent decades has aroused increased public interest” (Engen & Lied, 2011, p. 64).

Religion’s new role in society has meant an “increasing recognition of the importance of religion in citizenship and human rights education” (Gearon, 2008, p. 97). In essence, this is a secularisation and pluralisation of religious education (Arweck, & Jackson, 2012). While within the differentiated period the “political had been underplayed in religious education”, the contemporary era has witnessed an increased political, cultural and global significance of religious education (Gearon, 2008, p. 97). This has engendered an “exponential, previously unknown growth of interest in religious education in political matters it has historically sidestepped” (Gearon, 2008, pp. 97-98).

Evident within Europe is an “increasing recognition of the importance of religion in citizenship and human rights education” (Gearon, 2008, p. 97) and there is a “significant rise in religious teaching in educational systems worldwide” (Gearon, 2008, p. 95). However, rather than representing a sacralisation of education, Gearon observes that the growth of religious education within Europe has been incorporated into “secular, political goals and ends” (Gearon, 2012, p. 2). The increased significance of religious education within education policy and practice does not represent a “counter secularisation” but rather a “confirmation” of secularisation (Gearon, 2012, p. 2).

Gearon (2012) argues that if the rising significance of religious education is evidence that “God is back”, then this has occurred in political terms “and not religious discourse” (Gearon, 2012, p. 3). Gearon bases his argument upon the observation that religious education has gained contemporary significance due to its political purposes and functions, as opposed to its sacred characteristics. Thus, religion is reconceptualised into schooling upon secular as opposed to sacred terms. Religion has become “enmeshed with influential political agencies across a wide spectrum of geopolitical contexts” which has inevitably changed religious education to the interests of “those political forces” (Gearon, 2012, p.5). Gearon emphasises that the new importance of religious education “is in no sense a reversal of religious power in the face of the political” (Gearon, 2012, p.10). Instead,

“political ends” are now “the predominant pedagogical goal” of religious education subsequently changing the content, purpose and rationale of religious education (Gearon, 2012, p. 11).

Global organisations, such as the *Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights* (ODIHR), have increasingly promoted religious education on the grounds of its political purposes and ends. The ODIHR states that “knowledge of religions and beliefs is an important part of a quality education and that it can foster democratic citizenship, mutual respect, enhance support for religious freedom, and promote an understanding of social diversity” (ODIHR, 2007, p. 18). Religious education is seen by Parekh as having particular importance for intercultural communication, where religion is now “one of the several respectable languages of political life” (Parekh, 2000, pp. 331-332). This is because religion holds social, cultural and global significance as Parekh explains:

Religion represents a profound exploration of the human condition, and to deny pupils access to it is both to impoverish them morally and emotionally and to cut them off from the ways of thoughts and life of a large part of humankind. A societies major religions also generally shape its history, social structure, values and ideals, and to remain ignorant of them is to lack a coherent understanding of the latter. Since many parts of the world are torn by religious conflicts religious literacy is essential to make sense of the contemporary world (Parekh, 2000, p. 331).

Thus, there are both “‘intrinsic’ and ‘instrumental’ reasons for studying religion(s) in publicly funded schools” (Arweck & Jackson, 2012, p.254). Intrinsic reasons require religious education to “cover all distinctive areas of human experience or ‘realms of meaning’”, while instrumental reason require religious education “to promote social cohesion and to enhance a range of aspects relevant to young people’s development” (Arweck & Jackson, 2012, p.254).

The variable *new religious education pedagogies* is constituted by four secondary level ontological properties that form a structure of equifinality. These properties are the *phenomenology of religious education*, *multifaith education*, *educating the whole child*, and *pedagogy within religious and cultural worldviews*. Figure 8.7 illustrates this relationship:

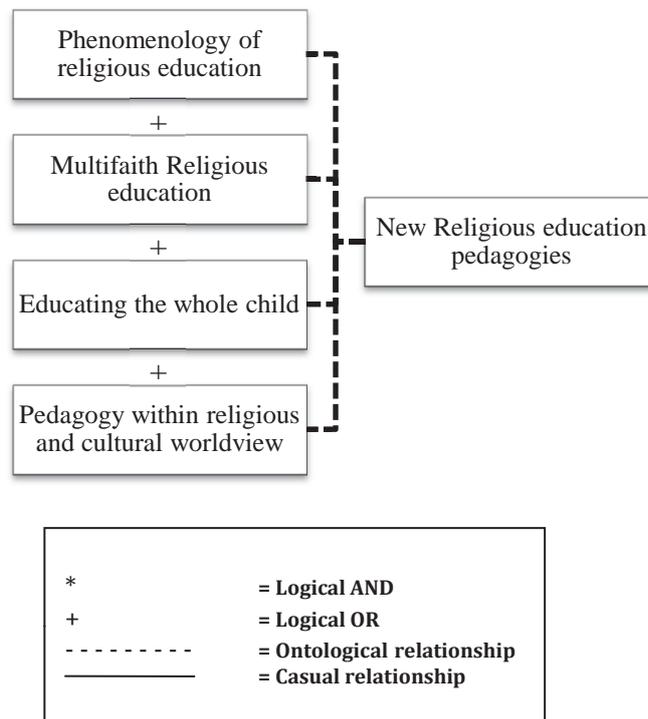


Figure 8-7: The secondary-level variables of *new religious education pedagogies*

8.8.1 Phenomenology of religious education

The development of Ninian Smart’s phenomenology of religion in the late 1960s provided new opportunities for religious education by changing the nature and purpose of religious education. Smart’s phenomenology of religion posited a pedagogy that was objective, neutral, and plural and could therefore reach a religiously and culturally diverse population. Within this pedagogy, the student learns *about* religion, as opposed to learning *in* religion. Accordingly, phenomenological religious education represented a new “liberal paradigm of religious education” (Barnes, 2007, p. 19). Within this paradigm, Barnes argued that the objective of religious education changed to “focus on the social and political aim of developing religious tolerance among adherents of different religions or none” (Barnes, 2007, p. 19).

The phenomenological approach is argued by Lovat (2001) as being appropriate for secular and plural schooling as it provides “sufficient distance and psychological space from the dogmatics of prescriptive and indoctrinational approaches” (p. 7). It also provides an individual with knowledge

of religions without requiring adherence to any particular faith (Buchanan, 2005). According to Estivalèzes, religion from the phenomenological perspective is thus a “social matter, a human reality, within a historical and geographical context” as well as “a subject of knowledge” from which one can understand society (Estivalèzes, 2006, p. 476). The key points of a phenomenological approach to religious education are “to teach in order to promote knowledge and understanding, not to promote a particular religious or non-religious view” and to “avoid imposing one’s own views and attitudes upon another’s religion or way of life” (Jackson, 2006, p. 49).

8.8.2 Multifaith education

In recent years, phenomenological pedagogy has been reappraised on the grounds that it is “a purely descriptive account of the externals of religion, and fails to convey the emotional depth of religious commitment” (Jackson, 2006, p. 50). It is criticised for reducing religion “to what can be observed, such as rites, architecture, social gatherings without taking symbolic and spiritual dimensions into account” (Estivalèzes, 2006, p. 476). Arguments from this perspective emphasise that religion is more than mere ‘fact’ and that solely ‘learning *about* religion’ does not give students a true appreciation for the complexity of religious belief. In response to these critiques multifaith religious education has emerged to address some of the alleged shortcomings of phenomenological religious education (Barnes, 2007).

While multifaith pedagogy has the same “theological commitments” as phenomenological religious education in that it also seeks to maintain “the link between liberal religion and tolerance”, the meaning of tolerance for multifaith educators was “subtly reinterpreted to refer to the value of seeing religious truth in the beliefs and values of others” (Barnes, 2007, p. 24). Thus, a defining characteristic of multifaith religious education is the emphasis upon learning *from* religion to supplement learning *about* religion. Learning *from* religion attempts to go beyond the phenomenological limitations of teaching about religion to give “pupils the opportunity to consider different answers to major religious and moral issues to help them developing their own views in a reflective way” (Schreiner, 2005, p. 3). Key to learning from religion is that “experience and identity of the pupils is at the centre of teaching and learning” (Schreiner, 2005, p. 3). Thus, learning from religion encourages “student’s engagement with diverse perspectives on religious and moral issues with the aim of helping pupils develop their own points of view on religion and values” (Grelle, 2010, p. 176). The task of multifaith religious education is to learn about *and* from

religion, for both social *and* individual purposes. According to Wright (2001), a multifaith pedagogical approach enables students to:

Gain access to an appropriate range of religious and secular worldviews; learn to become intelligent about the pathological dimension of religion; locate themselves within the spectrum of the theological affirmation and secular rejection of religion; develop the levels of religious literacy required of citizens in a healthy democratic society (Wright, 2001, p. 215).

8.8.3 Educating the whole child

A new relationship between religion and schooling has also manifested in the contemporary movement towards *educating the whole child*. This movement is distinctively different from the developments outlined above, as the key ‘sacred’ concept within educating the whole child is *spirituality* as opposed to *religion*. Advocates of holistic education argue that when education is confined “to the intellect”, and ignores “insight and mysticism”, it narrows “learning potential and individual development” (Crossman, 2003, p. 506). Given this critique, education should be holistic and “focus upon a wide range of aspects of the child, and not merely (say) intellectual development or academic formation” (McLaughlin, 1996, pp. 10-11). This creates a new relationship between religion and schooling where a key dimension of educating the whole child is the spiritual education of the child. The inclusion of spirituality in the state curriculum is justified by the “postmodernist approach”, where “the pupils should set the agenda rather than any predetermined content” (Cush, 2007, p. 219). This has the advantage of placing the definition of spiritual education, and the content of holistic education, upon the individual student, thereby maintaining the religious neutrality in the state school.

However, despite the rationale that spirituality decentralises religious authority to the individual, a holistic education and thus a spiritual education, raises several challenges. As McLaughlin has noted a holistic approach by its nature “specifies in some detail the sort of person it seeks to produce” - whether this is from a Jewish, Catholic or Indigenous worldview (McLaughlin, 1996, p. 14). What is problematic is that between these worldviews lie fundamental “differences of belief and values ... [that] are tenacious and fundamental” and as such are “often incompatible” (McLaughlin, 1996, p. 14). Thus, given the “deeply and perhaps permanently controversial” nature of religious belief, there are formidable obstacles that limit the degree to which a school in practice can offer spiritual development for a plural population (McLaughlin, 1996, p. 14).

McLaughlin further argues that as the state school is based upon the values of “basic social morality and democratic ‘civic’ virtue”, it should not “shape either the beliefs or personal qualities of such theories” (McLaughlin, 1996, p. 15). A holistic education that seeks to shape spiritual development, or “‘thick’ theories of the good”, is incompatible with the basic premises of the state school (McLaughlin, 1996, p. 15). As such, McLaughlin recommends that no substantial “holistic view of life should be transmitted to pupils, nor should they be shaped ‘as whole persons’ in the light of any such theory” (McLaughlin, 1996, p. 16). However, as McLaughlin has concluded a final assessment is difficult because “obscurity of what is meant by ‘spiritual development’ ... makes it difficult to assess” (McLaughlin, 1996, p. 16).

8.8.4 Pedagogy within religious and cultural worldviews

While it is controversial for public schools to attempt to define a ‘thick’ holistic education, it is not so for the religious and cultural schools within the state education system. As state education systems have widened to include religious and cultural schools, the state has also acknowledged the right and practice of alternative pedagogies of education within religious and cultural schools. The cultural/religious school sector brings its own pedagogy that incorporates religion and spirituality, as defined within each particular tradition. These pedagogies can penetrate the entire curriculum, reflecting a cultural or religious holistic worldview where students learn *in* religion. While these religious education pedagogies themselves are not ‘new’, their inclusion in the state education system is.

8.9 Conclusions

Post-differentiated schooling constitutes the final phase of relationship between religion and schooling in the theory *phases of differentiated schooling*. It differs significantly from differentiated schooling as the diminishing relationship between religion and schooling is replaced with a new consciousness and role for religion. Religion within state education policy is reconceptualised and restructured, building upon new social, cultural, epistemological, pedagogical, and global movements. Upon these movements, religion has a new significance with respect to culture, the individual, pedagogy, political ideology, and the secular world. The interactions of these

movements with each other and education are complex, manifesting in a dialogue between both secular and sacred pressures. Thus, religion's reconceptualised role within state education systems has both a secular and religious rationalisation and manifestation. Given this dual influence, post-differentiated schooling can be characterised by the "coexistence approach" reflecting the reality that both "secularization and sacralisation, are operative in the modern world" (Woodhead & Heelas, 2000, p. 431).

Since the 1960s, state education policy in both Norway and New Zealand has established a new role for religion that can be explained by the variables and properties of post-differentiated schooling. While each nation has maintained a predominately secular ethos of state schooling, the concept of religion within education policy has changed. The differentiated relationship between religion and schooling no longer holds true because new understandings, explained by the theory of post-differentiated schooling, have increased the role of religion within education policy. As the complexity and variety of variables and properties of post-differentiated schooling suggests, the form and structure that post-differentiated schooling takes in each nation is reflective of its cultural, political, and religious context. These re-conceptualisations of religion and schooling in New Zealand and Norway will be explored in Chapter Nine.

Chapter Nine : Post-differentiated Schooling: A restructured, renewed, and revitalised role for religion in the state education systems of Norway and New Zealand

From the 1960s, both Norway and New Zealand have witnessed a revitalised, restructured, and re-institutionalised role for religion in education policy. In Norway, religion has renewed significance as it is reconceptualised as a means to assert national identity and heritage, and uphold the social democratic state. As such, Norwegian religious education has been posited as a way towards social cohesion, identity, and intercultural understanding in an era of globalisation, immigration and individualism. In New Zealand, education legislation has increasingly recognised that individuals belong to religious and cultural groups that possess spiritual dimensions that cannot, and should not, be abstracted away upon entering school grounds. Subsequently, state education legislation in New Zealand has altered to recognise the educational autonomy of religious and cultural groups. These examples demonstrate that while post-differentiated schooling has had general global impact, this has occurred in a culturally mediated manner. National culture and context determines the response of nation states to the variables of post-differentiated schooling. This chapter is divided into two sections; the first examines post-differentiated schooling in Norway, while the second looks at New Zealand.

The Norwegian section opens by identifying the proximate and distant variables and properties of post-differentiated schooling that have influenced and shaped the reconceptualisation of religion in Norwegian education policy. Section 9.1.1 examines the initial legislative restructuring of religion and schooling in the 1960s and 1970s that led to greater individual choice regarding religious education. During this period, the Norwegian state extended its education system to include private religious schools, in addition, students whom had a parent not belonging to the state church had the option of opting out of religious education into a new life philosophy subject (*Lifview orientation*) that approached religious questions from a secular and plural perspective. However, the Labour government in the 1990s reversed this initial movement towards a more individually determined religious education as increasing individualism and relativism were perceived as threats to the continuity of Norwegian culture.

Section 9.1.2 explores Norway's defensive reaction to postmodernism, neo-liberalism, immigration, and globalisation that prompted the formation of a new compulsory cultural religious education in

1997. Within education policy, religion was re-institutionalised as a public and political good to militate the impact of these late modern movements that emphasised subjectivity, pluralism, and individualism. Christianity was reconceptualised as a definer of Norwegian culture and identity, and adopting this rationale religious education was re-institutionalised as compulsory, universal, and multifaith but Christian dominated.

Section 9.1.3 illustrates the influence of legal globalisation where in 2007, the European Court of Human Rights compelled Norway to change the nature and structure of its compulsory Christian dominated religious education, in order to become objective, pluralistic, and neutral. This was in effect a global judgement of the nationalist and conservative movements inherent within the Norwegian post-differentiated relationship between religion and schooling. Section 9.1.4 analyses the influence of neo-liberalism that briefly changed the nature, structure, and purpose of private schools in Norway from 2003 to 2005. Neo-liberalism changed the rationale for private schools from a means of religious liberty to become part of an economic marketplace ideology.

The final two Norwegian sections analyse how recognition of indigenous and minority cultures have reconceptualised religion within education policy. Section 9.1.5 explores the growing presence of indigenous Sámi culture and religion where from the 1970's Sámi culture was given a limited autonomy and authority over education that extended to acknowledgement of Sámi spirituality, religious heritage, and beliefs. Section 9.1.6 explores the challenges the increasing Muslim population has made to Norway's cultural religious landscape, and subsequently the relationship between religion and schooling. The growing presence of minority cultures has manifested in two challenges for Norwegian state education. The first is the challenge to religious education within state schooling, where as the Norwegian population increases in religious and cultural plurality, the politics of religious education becomes more complex. Within Norway, new religious pluralism arising from immigration acted as an antecedent to the legislation of the compulsory religious education subject in 1997 that was to generate social cohesion, dialogue and assert the Norwegian national identity and heritage. The second challenge to state education is the demand for private schools that reflect the cultural and religious characteristic of the minority culture. This has been problematic in Norway given the concern for social cohesion that has predominated the post-differentiated relationship between religion and schooling.

In contrast to Norway, religion in New Zealand has historically been a private affair as opposed to a public good and while this belief has remained, the state since the 1960s has modified its position.

Instead of turning a ‘blind eye’ to religious belief, the New Zealand state supports the existence of different religious beliefs under the umbrella of its state education system. The state has provided greater flexibility in its structure and legislation while remaining arguably neutral and secular. The New Zealand section opens by applying the theory of post-differentiated schooling to New Zealand and then identifies variables of proximate and distant influence that have shaped the new role for religion in New Zealand’s education system.

In the 1960s and 1970s, the state education system broadened to recognise both Protestant and Catholic influences on schooling. This represents an initial change to post-differentiated schooling. Section 9.2.1 examines the 1962 *Religious Instruction in School Act* that legalised voluntary religious classes and the 1975 *Private Schools Conditional Integration Act* that extended state support to schools with a ‘special character’. In practice, this special character was related to the Catholic pedagogy and worldview. The state’s interest in a new concept and role for religion within schooling also manifested in a series of conferences in the 1970s whose objective was to re-evaluate the secular clause. These conferences are examined in Section 9.2.2 where a key theme that emerged was the role of religion within the social and political task of the state school. Of especial interest was the report from the Committee on Health and Social Education of 1978 that raised for the first time the concept of *spirituality*.

Section 9.2.3 explores how and why *spirituality* was incorporated into the New Zealand state education system in the 1990s. Spirituality is in essence a reconceptualisation of the sacred. It is non-institutional, ambiguous, and plural, and therefore particularly applicable to societies in which the rigid boundaries and conflicts of the tightly defined term “religion” are unacceptable to a culturally and religiously diverse population. The inclusion of spirituality within the New Zealand education curriculum rested upon the consolidations of postmodernism, the movement towards holistic education, and the Māori worldview.

Within New Zealand, indigenous culture has had a prominent role in reconceptualising religion within the post-differentiated era. Section 9.2.4 explores the Māori worldview and its influence upon state education. From the 1980s, Māori gained some political and educational autonomy that led to a new role for Māori culture and spirituality within the state education system. The holistic Māori worldview challenged the dichotomy between the secular and the sacred, legitimating a new relationship between religion and schooling.

A holistic worldview that interconnects the sacred and profane within education is not unique to Māori culture but also characterises other cultural groups. Within New Zealand, the increasing presence of minority cultures has challenged education policy to recognise their cultural rights to determining an education that reflects their cultural/religious worldview. Section 9.2.5 explores how minority cultures, in particular the Muslim population, has raised questions about the relationship between religion and schooling within the New Zealand state education system.

The final section examines how developments within the post-differentiated period have been harnessed by neo-liberalism and restructured into a new understanding of the relationship between culture, religion, and schooling. Within New Zealand, the neo-liberal agenda was promoted on the concepts and values of individual competence, choice, cultural sensitivity, and community empowerment.

9.1 The concept and theory of post-differentiated schooling in Norway

From the 1960s, the relationship between religion and schooling in Norway has been reconceptualised, restructured, and expanded. Upon the secular foundations created in 1969 by the termination of relationship between church and the Norwegian state school, space was available for a new conceptualisation of religion within education. Religious education changed to have new secular significance to the social, political, and cultural purposes of the school. Of particular importance was the reconceptualised significance of Christianity to Norwegian culture that indicated religion was indeed “back in the public square” (Modéer & Petersen, 2009, p. 12).

Figure 9.1 demonstrates the applied concept and theory of post-differentiated schooling in Norway. The key variables that led to post-differentiated schooling in Norway are - globalisation (in particular the impact of immigration and global legislation) - the contemporary political ideology of modern social democracy, and the new religious education pedagogies that have allowed the study of religion within a plural liberal and democratic education system. These variables shaped the concept of post-differentiated schooling in Norway where particularly significant are the properties, *religion justified as having significance to national culture* and, *religion as an integral part of multicultural education*.

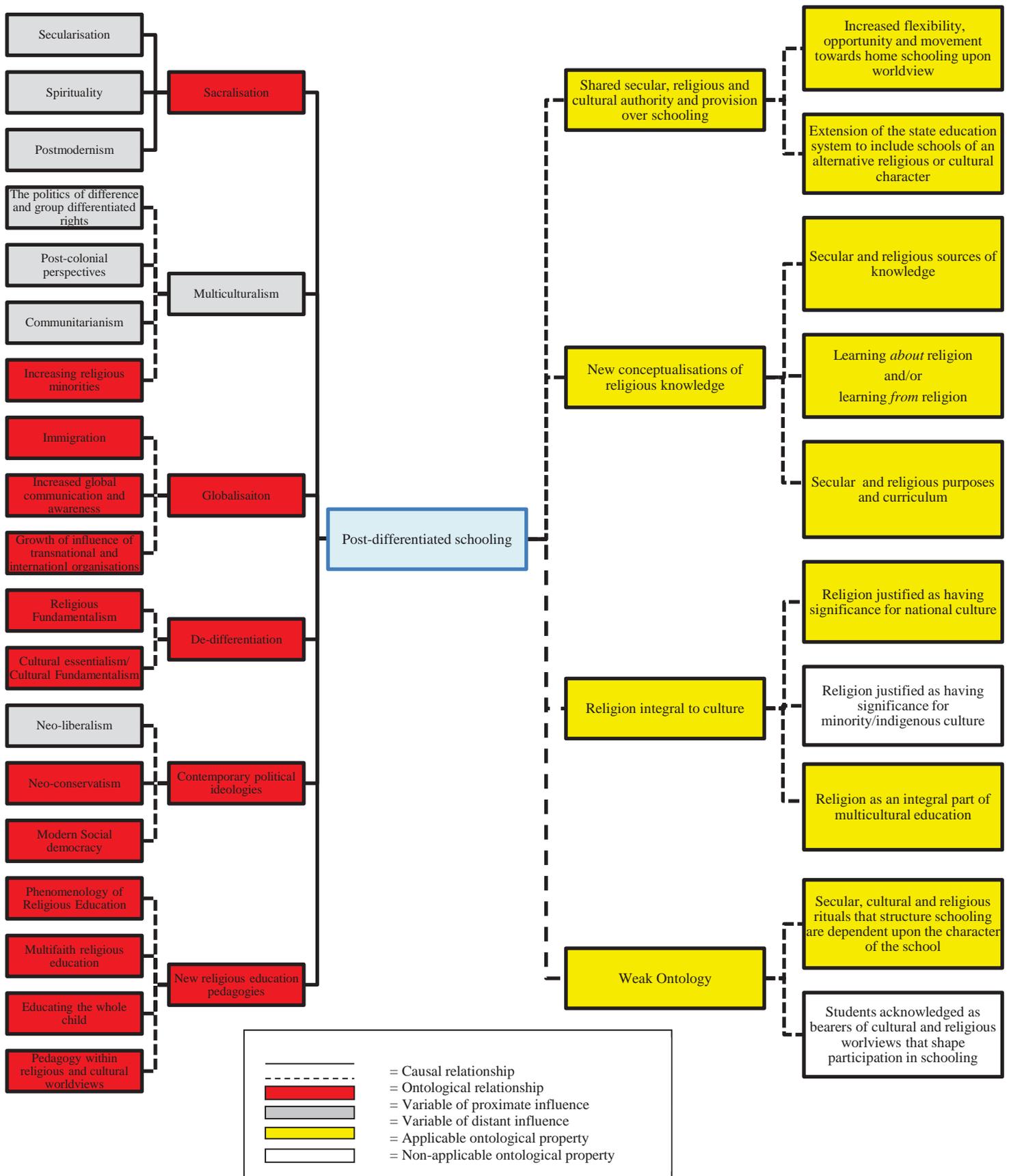


Figure 9-1: The concept and theory of post-differentiated schooling in Norway

9.1.1 Restructuring religion in the state education system: The inclusion of religious schools and a secular alternative to religious education

9.1.1.1 The 1970 Private School Law

In the 1970s, the Norwegian education system was restructured to include religious schools outside of the religious commitments of the state. This restructuring was a consequence of the 1969 Education Act that legislatively terminated the relationship between church and school angering conservative Christian parents. Conservative Christians and members of the strong revival movement responded by demanding that the state recognise religious schools that did not differentiate the sacred and the profane, as the newly legislated state schools did. Consequently, in 1970 the Private School Law was passed providing legislative structure and the financial support for the establishment and inclusion of religious schools within the Norwegian state education system. (Mogstad, 1989)

The private schools that ensued were predominately Christian, characterised by “a conservative-evangelical profile” (Skeie, 2007, p. 224). These schools received “a capitation grant equivalent to 85 per cent of the estimated per pupil expenditure in public schools” (Lauglo, 2010, p. 15) provided that the schools could demonstrate either a “case for subsidy on its special orientation as to ‘view of life’ (in effect religion), or ‘an alternative pedagogy’” (Lauglo, 2010, p. 14). The 1970 Private School Law effectively meant a re-conceptualised relationship between religion and schooling, outside of the secular, plural, and liberal considerations of the state (Cleven, 1989).

9.1.1.2 A secular life philosophy subject parallel to religious education

In 1974, the principle of individual autonomy became more influential in determining the relationship between religion and Norwegian schooling as indicated by the release of a new plan for primary education that contained an alternative parallel secular subject to religious education (Skeie, 2009). Students exempted from the “confessional religious education” could opt into a new secular subject, *Lifview Orientation* with the 1974 Guidelines serving as the syllabus (Haakedal, 2001, p. 92). Influential in the subject’s formation was the Norwegian Humanist Association that exerted (and exerts) a strong influence upon Norwegian culture and state schooling (Skeie, 2009).

The foundations for this secular *lifeview orientation* subject lay in the philosophical traditions of “religious knowledge, history of science and learning, philosophy and social anthropology” (Avenstrup, 1982, p. 64, own translation). Lifeview was defined as possessing three attributes. The first attribute is religion, where one takes a “position on religious issues and religious claims, practices, beliefs” (Avenstrup, 1982, p. 19, own translation). The second is political ideology, which includes “global issues”, “local community” and, “society’s structure and management” (Avenstrup, 1982, p. 19, own translation). The final attribute is ethics, which involves ethical issues in relation to the individual, nation and global contexts (Avenstrup, 1982, p. 19, own translation).

In 1987, although the new guidelines continued the parallel subject, the subject name was changed to *Life Knowledge* and significant changes were made to its content. Of importance was the shift in emphasis away from individual autonomy towards social cohesion. While the 1974 guidelines had emphasised the individual, with the place of Christianity “not very strongly marked”, the 1987 guidelines increased the emphasis upon religion for social cohesion purposes while downplaying the importance of individual autonomy (Skeie, 2009, p. 73, own translation). Evident in the guidelines was a “strong wish for value anchoring in the school” and a role for Christianity in socialisation (Kirke- utdannings- og forskningsdepartemente, 1995, p. 15, own translation). Significant for future developments, the 1987 Guidelines placed “greater emphasis on the representation of Christianity” because the Norwegian cultural context “made it natural to give Christianity a relatively large space” (Kirke- utdannings- og forskningsdepartemente, 1995, p. 15, own translation). Also significant was the portrayal of a complementary relationship between humanism and Christianity, where humanist values were viewed as complementing Christian values rather than contradicting them (Skeie, 2009). Thus, what emerged was an increasing perception that religion had important secular and cultural purpose within the school.

9.1.2 The 1997 reforms: Religion and schooling reconceptualised as the means of defining and maintaining Norwegian culture

In 1997, religious education was restructured within the Norwegian education system upon a reconceptualisation of religion. Religion, in particular Christianity, was reconceptualised to have greater secular significance to the political and social purpose of the modern plural school. Because religion made an important contribution to Norwegian identity, heritage and intercultural dialogue, it was argued that religious education should be universal, compulsory, and plural. The new

significance of religious education rested upon a reconceptualisation of religion rather than a return to God or religious authority. As Gearon (2012, pp. 10-11) suggests, the increased significance of religious education should not be viewed as “counter secularisation” but as a continuation of secularisation that reflects the redefinition and reconceptualisation of religious education towards secular political goals and ends. The following sections explore the political, social, and cultural foundations of the restructuring of religious education in 1997, as well as its educational and legal characteristics.

9.1.2.1 The political reconceptualisation of religion and social democracy

Christianity’s significance to social democracy developed in the 1970s when the welfare state was “threatened by signs of disintegration, especially with regard to common values” (Haakedal, 2001, p. 92). In response to this dilemma, Christianity was seen as having a key role to play in articulating and supporting the common culture necessary for the success of social democracy. It was argued that there were “basic similarities between democratic socialism and Christian morality” and that the Christian values could have a political purpose in supporting social democracy (Midttun, 1995, p. 9, own translation). This political role for Christianity was secular, defined by the political and social functions of Christianity that were distinct and separate from its faith and doctrines (Mogstad, 1989).

In 1975, the role of religion changed within the Labour Party’s (*Norsk arbeiderparti*) ideology, where for the first time the party “embraced the basic Christian values seeing their socially integrating function” (Haakedal, 2001, p. 92). The Labour Party claimed that Christianity contributed to “the labour movements founding ideas”, where particularly important was Christianity’s contribution to the idea of a common national culture – “a people’s cultural unity or common culture in the direction of the state” (Mogstad, 1989, p. 135). Christianity would contribute to this common culture through provided a unifying morality and community (Mogstad, 1989). Christianity changed within the labour party’s ideology from something that should only be “tolerated” to “a positive and constructive force” (Midttun, 1995, p. 87, own translation). This change also, in part, stemmed from challenges of globalisation where the Labour Party had “less room for economic governance” in its ideology so subsequently turned their attention “to finding means to inculcate a set of values seen as national, to ensure social cohesion” (Eriksen, 2010, p.

179). To this end, the “Labour Party presented a tolerant, enlightenment-tinged amalgam of humanism and liberal Christianity as the Norwegian heritage” (Eriksen, 2010, p. 179).

The Norwegian social democratic endorsement of a relationship between religion, politics and culture is typical of the contemporary developments of social democracy. As Heywood (2004) explains, modern social democracy has been recast into a “defence of community” and has assumed “an essentially conservative character” (Heywood, 2004, p. 309). In this way, social democracy has “developed into a defence of duty and responsibility, and so serves to uphold established institutions and ways of life” (Heywood, 2004, pp. 308-309). Consistent with these developments, Christianity in Norway was redefined by the social democratic Labour party as necessary “social ‘glue’ and as a precondition for national integration” (Pihl, 2009, p. 115). In addition, the upholding of social democracy became linked to the preservation of the Norwegian cultural identity, based upon the belief that “our group is the vanguard of a social-democratic enlightenment project” (Eriksen, 2010, p. 292).

The new relationship between social democracy and Christianity had consequences for the relationship between religion and schooling. The Labour Party’s traditional disapproval of religion changed to recognise “Christianity’s importance for cultural heritage and stressed that Christian education should have a place in schools” (Midttun, 1995, p. 9, own translation). This position would later help to define religion’s role in education policy, and thus as Eriksen argues “the history of religious education” in Norway becomes connected to the “development of social democracy in Norway” (Eriksen, 2010, p. 157).

9.1.2.2 Pluralism, individualism and postmodernism challenging social and political tradition

Underpinning the perceived threat to Norwegian social democracy and national identity were the variables of postmodernism, immigration, and globalisation. These variables emphasised individualism, subjectivity, and markets, and challenged the social democratic ideals of “community, solidarity, cohesion and equality” (Telhaug, 2002, p. 13, own translation). Particularly challenging, was the new pluralism of Norwegian society arising from increasing immigration with the presence of Muslims, Hindus and Buddhists altering the traditional (internal) Norwegian pluralism and the assumption of an underlying Christian culture in society (Skeie, 2007). Reflective of these changes, students participating in the alternative life view subject increased from 275 in

1982 to approximately 20000 in the early 1990s (Kirke- utdannings- og forskningsdepartemente, 1995). In addition, a new “modern pluralism” was arising from the individualism that underpinned social and philosophical changes in society where religious affiliation was becoming a matter of choice as opposed to heritage (Skeie, 1995). These social changes, along with the increasing marketization of society and the threat of neo-liberalism, led a Norwegian State committee to recommend that the school “must contribute to a counter culture mobilization of identity-creating values against the market society measurement of all values in dollars and cents” (Kirke- utdannings- og forskningsdepartemente, 1995, p. 36, own translation).

From a social democratic perspective, the pluralism and individualism arising from immigration, post modernism, and neo-liberalism were perceived as threats that needed to be downplayed or, as problems that needed resolution (Skeie, 2003). As such, the Norwegian state strenuously rejected a postmodern and individualistic approach to religion and schooling and instead posited religion as a means to counter “relativism, indifferentism, disintegration and other aspects of a late modern society” (Skeie, 2006a, p. 24). The state provided “a privileged ‘cultural’ role for (Lutheran) Christianity, and improved teaching methods to vitalise the presentation of the Christian tradition” (Skeie, 2006a, p. 24).

In 1995 a committee established by the Ministry of Education to assess and make recommendations upon religious education advised in its white paper that the school should not relativize and individualise “basic values or deep existential questions” as this can cause “insecurity and anxiety or value relativism and value nihilism” (Kirke- utdannings- og forskningsdepartemente, 1995, p. 34, own translation). The white paper argued that “children need to be integrated into and understand life in an overarching framework” (Kirke- utdannings- og forskningsdepartemente, 1995, p. 34, own translation) and that the origins of the problems of contemporary society, such as “violence, suicide, alcoholism”, were probably a result of the absence of a “religious anchoring of value and meaning” (Kirke- utdannings- og forskningsdepartemente, 1995, p. 36, own translation). Consequently, the committee concluded that religion should be the “stable and durable force in a national cultural heritage that can function to anchor the young people and establish a stable identity” (Eriksen, 2010, p. 178). Once identity is established and stable, students would then “have the strength to enter into dialogue with people with other identities” (Eriksen, 2010, p. 178).

Religion within the Norwegian education system was subsequently reconceptualised with increased importance due to the widely held belief that religious education could counter what was perceived

as the disintegration of Norwegian culture and identity. The previous secular alternative to religious education and rights of exemption was viewed as being divisive and paradoxical to the social task of the school. Christianity came to have a central role in articulating and establishing Norwegian identity. This was believed to be particularly important because “to ‘become Norwegian’ was the only way to function within the Norwegian society” (Børresen, 2001a, p. 99).

9.1.2.3 Religious education: Compulsory, plural and dominated by Christianity

In 1997, the Labour Party restructured and reconceptualised religion within education policy. A new universal, compulsory and Christian dominated subject was established, replacing the previous parallel system of religious education (Haakedal, 2001, p.95). This new subject was an “attempt at cultural and moral restoration on behalf of the nation-state” and sought to overcome “the negative effects of pluralism and individualism” (Haakedal, 2001, p. 95). As Skeie explained, the “worries about disintegration caused by post-modernity and the challenge of a multicultural society are in the background of the religious education reform of 1997” (Skeie, 2006a, p. 22). The subject was also a “reaction against globalization”, in particular the global economic ideology of neo-liberalism (Priestley, 2002, p. 133). Consequently, the new religious education subject had a “‘cultural’ and ecumenical version of Christianity, used as a kind of ‘civil religion’, putting emphasis on national heritage and moral values” (Skeie, 2006a, p. 22).

The new subject was called “Kristendomsundervisning med Religions- og Livssynsorientering” (KRL), translated as “Knowledge about Christianity with orientation about Religions and Life-views” (Eriksen, 2010, p. 181). KRL was founded upon the connection between Christianity and Norwegian culture where individuals were expected to have knowledge of “the traditions and values that have shaped this country and European culture” in order “to understand Norwegian society” (Skeie, 2007, p. 232). The concern of the social democratic state to manage “identity” in a plural society was a key motivation for KRL (Eriksen, 2010, p. 172). The underlying rationale was that “when pluralism becomes more predominant, it is necessary to express values earlier taken for granted” (Leganger-Krogstad, 1997, p. 173).

Due to its perceived important social and cultural functions, KRL was legally mandated with only limited exemption to those parts of the subject considered to amount “to the practising of another religion or adherence to another philosophy of life” (Cited in the European Court of Human Rights,

2007b, para. 8). The legitimacy of the compulsory clause rested upon its claim to be “neutral, pluralistic and objective”, conditions specified by the Human Rights Convention for a compulsory religious education subject (Hagesæther & Sandsmark, 2006, p. 278). However, while the subject was legislatively required to be qualitatively equal, this was not so for its quantitative structure. Subsequently, fifty five per cent of curricula time was allocated to the Christian religion, twenty five per cent was allocated to “Judaism, Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism and other religious views”, while twenty per cent was allocated “to philosophy and ethics” (Skeie, 2007, p. 232).

9.1.3 Global influences on restraining nationalist conceptions of religion and schooling

Globalisation prompted not only Norway’s defensive reaction to immigration and cultural relativism but also placed global legal restraints upon the relationship between religion and schooling. From 2005, international interest in Norwegian religious education resulted in legal restrictions on the Norwegian nation state and changes to its religious education. This culminated in 2007 when the European Court of Human Rights stipulated that the structure and nature of KRL be changed to reflect the European Convention of Human Rights.

9.1.3.1 The Critique of KRL

In the contemporary world we are taking more seriously the idea that states can be held morally and politically liable at the international level for how they treat their own citizens on their own territory (Donnelly, 1999, p. 93).

The critique of KRL stemmed from its compulsory clause and the contended quantitative and qualitative predominance to Christianity. It was argued that the degree to which KRL could be classified as “neutral, objective, and plural” was doubtful within an Education Act that contained a Christian purpose and gave qualitative weighting to Christianity (Education Act, Norway, 1988/2000, §1-2). The Norwegian Education Act (see Appendix A) asserted that Christianity had special significance in relation to the objective of the school and religious education. The Act stated that the purpose of the school was “in agreement and cooperation with the home, to help to give to pupils a Christian and moral upbringing...” (Education Act, Norway, 1988/2000, §1-2). This objective posed serious problems as religious education could “subsequently be seen as a modified version of the constitutional statement” (Skeie, 2006a, p. 22).

In addition, Section 2.4 of the Education Act explicitly defined the character of religious education in relation to the Christian and moral purpose of the Act. Section 2.4 regulated religious education's "aims, content and even teaching methods", reflecting the fact that religious education was a key political concern of the nation state (Skeie, 2006a, p. 22). Additionally, qualitative inequalities between religions were visible in the wording of the Act that required "thorough knowledge of Christianity", in comparison with the lesser requirement of "knowledge about" other religions and world views (Skeie, 2006a, p. 23). In addition, the name of the subject itself, *Knowledge about Christianity with orientation about Religions and Life-views* suggested a "hierarchical distinction between 'knowledge' and 'orientation'" (Eriksen, 2010, p. 181). Reinforcing these qualitative differences were the quantitative differences of the subject, where given "the strength of Christianity in Norway", Christianity was allocated 55 per cent of curriculum time (Skeie, 2006a, p. 23).

The 1997 Core Curriculum (see Appendix B) that provided the purpose and structure of religious education reinforced Christianity's qualitative dominance. Within the core curriculum, religious education is located within "the spiritual human being", and is presented as integral to the goal of educating the holistic human being. The curriculum gave the "Christian faith and tradition" prime importance due to its historical role in developing the "norms, world view, concepts and art of the people" (Royal Ministry of Education and Church Affairs, 1997, p. 7). Christianity and humanism are described within the curriculum as being central to Norway's common cultural understandings that were regarded as being indispensable to social cohesion. The Curriculum posited that these "common references" are essential "to escape differences in competence which otherwise can surface in social inequality and be abused by undemocratic forces" (Royal Ministry of Education and Church Affairs 1997, p. 26). Moreover, common references within "the spiritual human being" were justified on the grounds that

Newcomers to a country who are not immersed in its frames of reference often remain outsiders because others cannot take for granted what they know and can do' where 'one can become alienated in one's own country (Royal Ministry of Education and Church Affairs, 1997, p. 26).

Thus, Christianity had an established secular social, political, and cultural purpose within the curriculum, which in turn sought to bring greater social integration and cohesion to a common culture. With the evident qualitative and quantitative weighting toward Christianity, there was

considerable substance to the argument that Norwegian schooling is “firmly based in the majority culture and religion” (Skeie, 2007, p. 232).

Underpinning the philosophy of KRL is the Norwegian concept of equality – *likhet* - the philosophy of “alikehood” or “sameness” (Gullestad, 1992, p. 185). *Likhet*, when pursued in education policies and practices, sacrifices difference for the pursuit of “national standardisation” and “national harmonisation” (Kortizinsky, 2001, p. 222). While equality in New Zealand, like the USA, is associated with concepts such as *equality of opportunity* and *equality of difference*, “*likhet* in Norway emphasises similarity in the processes of social life as well as similar results” (Gullestad, 1992, p. 158). Because difference in Norway is “easily perceived as unwanted hierarchy and as injustice” (Gullestad, 1992, p. 158) the objective of religious education becomes the creation of a common “religious literacy” necessary “for all Norwegian people, notwithstanding ethnic, religious and cultural backgrounds” (Gundem, 1996, p. 63). Citizenship in the Norwegian context can be perceived as being based on “national integration rather than on recognition of difference” (Skeie, 2003, p. 56). Echoing this philosophy, the core curriculum places the spiritual dimension of the “integrated human being” as central “in the social integration process” (Skeie, 2003, p. 59). Because the purpose of religious education can be conceptualised as a “‘culturalisation’ of religion, turning it into national heritage” (Skeie, 2003, p. 61), the reassertion of Norwegian culture and religion is in part a defence of *likhet* against the intellectual and political movements of postmodernism, multiculturalism, and neo-liberalism.

In summary, the emphasis upon Christianity in Norwegian religious education invokes two contradictory arguments. The first is that the dominance of Christianity in religious education is justified “because it represents the overwhelming majority of the population and because it is the interest of the minorities to know this tradition in order to manage successfully in a majority society” (Skeie, 2007, p. 233). The second position is critical of KRL for the reason that it does not reflect “the multicultural and multireligious nature of today’s Norwegian society” (Skeie, 2007, p. 233). Consequently, the syllabus is critiqued for being “marked by internal tensions, combining majority domination in aims and content with declaration of multicultural ambitions” (Skeie, 2007, p. 233). It is from the second position that international critique has been directed and legal proceedings initiated.

9.1.3.2 The legal proceedings against KRL

The first legal proceedings against KRL were initiated by the Norwegian Humanist Association in 1998 (European Court of Human Rights, 2007a, §30) on behalf of parents who protested that they were denied full exemption from KRL. The Oslo City Court in 2000, and later the Borgarting High Court in 2001, rejected their case on the basis that, among other things, the Christian objective legislated in the Education Act allowed education to occur in “cooperation and agreement with the home” (European Court of Human Rights, 2007a, §35). The Court further declared that a nation state had the right to give “a particular religion or philosophy, in view of the Contracting State’s history, culture and traditions, a more prominent place than others”, provided that the education was “objective, critical and pluralistic” (European Court of Human Rights, 2007a, §37). To this end, the court pointed to the fact that KRL was legislated in the 1998 Education Act as an “ordinary school subject” that was “knowledge based”, and “neutral and not preaching” (European Court of Human Rights, 2007a, §37).

In 2002 the case against KRL was sent to the “United Nations Human Rights Committee under the Protocol of the 1996 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights” (European Court of Human Rights, 2007a, §43) and the committee was asked to assess whether KRL,

with only limited possibility of exemption, violates the authors right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion ... and more specifically the right of parents to secure the religious and moral education of their children in conformity with their own convictions (European Court of Human Rights, 2007a, §45).

The Committee ruled in favour of the complainants and decreed that KRL “constitutes a violation of article 18, paragraph 4, of the Covenant” by the United Nations on civil and political rights (European Court of Human Rights, 2007a, §45). Because that Article clearly states that “the States Parties to the present Covenant undertake to have respect for the liberty of parents and, when applicable, legal guardians to ensure the religious and moral education of their children in conformity with their own convictions” (United Nations, 1966, Article 18). In response to this ruling, the Norwegian Government made minor amendments to education legislation that were implemented from the 17th of June 2005.

As part of these changes, Section 2.4 of the Education Act (see Appendix C) replaced the word “faith” with “understanding of Christianity”, and “thorough knowledge of Evangelical Christianity” was “extended to knowledge of other Christian communities” (European Court of Human Rights,

2007a, §46). Other changes were made where the reference in religious education to the objective that education should provide a “Christian and moral upbringing” was dropped and partial exemption was allowed to cover those activities “that the parents, from the point of view of their own religion or philosophy of life, perceived as being offensive or insulting” (European Court of Human Rights, 2007a, §46). In addition, the 2005/2006 curriculum became more general with the “detailed lists of learning material” replaced with competence goals, allowing each school to create and order content to meet the goals for each subject and each level (Gunleiksrud & Andersen, 2008, p. 15, own translation).

International legal proceedings continued following the appeals made to the European Court of Human Rights in 2007. At the onset it must be noted that the legal proceedings were against KRL as it was implemented in 1997 and not the modified KRL as described above (Eriksen, 2010). Complainants claimed that KRL violated the parental rights specified in the European Convention of Human Rights to “an education in conformity with their religious and philosophical convictions” (European Court of Human Rights, 2007b, para. 12). In addition, it was argued that parents not affiliated with the Christian belief “faced a greater burden than Christian parents” who comprised the clear majority (European Court of Human Rights, 2007b, para. 12). Subsequently, KRL was argued to be in violation of the European Convention of Human Rights, specifically regarding the protection of “freedom of conscience and religion”, the “right to education”, the “right to respect for private life”, and the “prohibition of discrimination” (European Court of Human Rights, 2007b, para. 12).

In considering the case, the European Court emphasised that it is “necessary that states have a margin of appreciation to define a curriculum in conformity with the place Christianity and Islam hold in the history and traditions of the respective respondent states” (Relaño, 2010, p. 21). However, the state was responsible for ensuring that the “information or knowledge that formed part of the curriculum for the KRL subject ... was imparted in an objective, critical and pluralist manner” (Relaño, 2010, p. 21). Given this responsibility, the European Court of Human Rights ruled against the state of Norway on the grounds that,

Norway could not be said to have taken sufficient care that information and knowledge included in the curriculum be conveyed in an objective, critical and pluralistic manner for the purposes of Article 2 of Protocol No. 1 (European Court of Human Rights, 2007b, para. 25).

The Court concluded that the Christian and moral objective of schools, and the aims of the subject specified in section 2.4 of the Education Act, “suggest that there are not only quantitative but also qualitative differences applied to the teaching of Christianity” (Lied, 2009, p. 268). To illustrate this qualitative inequality the Court pointed to the fact that while the Education Act specified the transmission of “*thorough* knowledge of the Bible and Christianity in the form of cultural heritage and the Evangelical Lutheran Faith”, there was “no requirement of thoroughness applied to the knowledge to be transmitted about other religions and philosophies” (European Court of Human Rights, 2007a, §92). The word “faith” in this aim was also debatable with the Court “unclear whether the word ... implied qualitative differences compared to non-Lutheran faiths and other philosophies” (European Court of Human Rights, 2007a, §93). The Court also questioned whether the aim of the Education Act to “*promote* understanding and respect for Christian and humanist values [emphasis added]’ ... [indicated] something more and other than the mere transmission of knowledge” (European Court of Human Rights, 2007a, §93). Furthermore the Court pointed to the qualitative inequality that was evident in the curriculum that stated that KRL was “to give pupils a *thorough insight* into Christianity and what the Christian view of life implies, as well as *sound* knowledge of other world religions and philosophies” (European Court of Human Rights, 2007a, §92). For the Court these qualitative differences meant that it was unclear how the subject’s objective of “understanding, respect and dialogue” could be achieved (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2008, para. 5, own translation). Thus despite KRL’s goal of providing “a meeting point for different religious and philosophical convictions” (Relaño, 2010, p. 21) KRL was declared by the court to be in violation of the “parents right to freedom” (Relaño, 2010, p. 24). Consequently, Norway was compelled to change its religious education subject to be consistent with international legal practice.

9.1.3.3 From KRL to RLE

In 2008/2009 changes were made to the Norwegian curriculum in order to meet the requirements specified by the European Court of Human Rights (Kunnskapsdepartementet, 2008). The name of the subject changed from *Kristendomskunnskap med Religions- og Livssynsorientering*, KRL (Knowledge of Christianity, Religions and Worldviews), to *Religion, Livssyn og etikk*, RLE (Religion, Philosophies of Life and Ethics) to reflect the qualitative equality that had to be evident in the subject and to ensure that “religions and beliefs were treated in a qualitatively equal way” (Gunleiksrud, 2008, para. 11, own translation). The Education Act (see Appendix D) was amended to explicitly state that religious education would now be in “compliance with human rights and does

not contribute to qualitative differences” (Gunleiksrud, 2008, para. 11, own translation). In addition, the percentage specification of time to be spent on each religion was removed from the curriculum, instead it was the responsibility of the “local level to manage teaching from the content of the competency goals” (See Appendix E) (Utdanningsdirektoratet, 2008, para. 11, own translation).

However, in all probability, the quantitative dominance of Christianity will remain the same as the competence goals that structure the subject have not changed and therefore remain weighted towards Christianity “in view of the importance of Christianity in Norway, historical and cultural heritage” (Utdanningsdirektoratet, 2008, para. 12, own translation). In justification of this, the Utdanningsdirektoratet points out that the verdict from the European Court of Human rights did not rule against a quantitatively larger place for Christianity but only specified that religions and beliefs must be qualitatively equal in the curriculum (Utdanningsdirektoratet, 2008).

The European Court’s verdict also led to the Norwegian Education Act to be amended to change the purpose of schooling from giving a “Christian and moral upbringing” to one that is:

... based on fundamental values in Christian and humanist heritage and traditions, such as respect for human dignity and nature, on intellectual freedom, charity, forgiveness, equality and solidarity, values that also appear in different religions and beliefs and are rooted in human rights (Education Act, Norway, 1998/2010, Section 1.1).

While the Education Act continues to include a section pursuant to religious education, maintaining the political nature and surveillance of the subject, changes were made to this section (§2.4) to ensure that “there is no doubt that the subject is in conformity with human rights” (Utdanningsdirektoratet, 2008, para. 9, own translation). Subsequently, Section 2.4 entitled *Teaching in the subject Religion, Philosophies of Life and Ethics*, was amended to read as follows:

Religion, Philosophies of Life and Ethics is an ordinary schools subject that shall normally be attended by all pupils. Teaching in the subject shall not involve preaching.

The teaching in Religion, Philosophies of Life and Ethics shall provide knowledge of Christianity, other world religions and philosophies of life, knowledge of the significance of Christianity as a cultural heritage and of ethical and philosophical topics.

The teaching in Religion, Philosophies of life and Ethics shall promote understanding, respect and the ability to carry out a dialogue between people with differing views concerning beliefs and philosophies of life.

The teaching in Religion, Philosophies of Life and ethics shall present different world religions and philosophies of life in an objective, critical and pluralistic manner. The teaching of in the different topics shall be founded on the same educational principles (Education Act, Norway, 1998/2010, Section 2.4).

Although RLE was now in line with determination of the European Court of Human Rights, the practice of the religious education subject is still questioned. The changes implemented by the Norwegian state are seen by some to be “largely symbolic, legal and technical” (Eriksen, 2010, p. 188). For example, one newspaper headline reassured its readers that there was “barely a difference between KRL and new RLE” because the “textbooks do not change and competency objectives are the same” (Ueland, 2008, para. 1). Furthermore, while the implementation of RLE has modified the purpose of the subject, the name, the specification of percentage of teaching hours, the competence goals, the key areas, the assessment system, basic skills, and the exemption rules have remained unchanged (See Appendices E and F) (Ueland, 2008). Echoing these sentiments the Minister of Education announced that the “children will not notice much difference between KRL and RLE” (Ueland, 2008, para. 5). Thus, as Ueland concludes, “it is still explicit and clear that Christianity will have the greatest place” (Ueland, 2008, para. 6). Such conclusions of RLE alongside the continuance of the 1997 curriculum reinforces the reality that Christianity remains in a qualitatively and quantitatively dominate position. Pihl (2009) criticises the Norwegian state school as continuing to define

Norwegian culture and identity in education in essentialist and exclusive terms in relation to cultural and religious diversity. The state implements an ethno-cultural and ethno-national conception of nationhood in education. Christianity is defined as the national ideology for integration in a multicultural and multi-religious society (Pihl, 2009, p. 118).

In a critique of the modified religious education subject, Pihl argues that “Norwegian education is founded on ethno-nationalism, where ethnicity and blood relations are important foundations for cultural construction and nationhood” (Pihl, 2009, p. 126). This leads to a situation where only “those who share ‘our Christian history, culture and heritage’ are fully included as members of a collective of ‘Norwegians’” (Slagstad, 1998 cited in Pihl, 2009, p. 118). Thus, religion’s role in education in Norway can be viewed as essentially assimilative to Christianity where within the curriculum “the concepts ‘our history’ and ‘our Christian and humanistic traditions’ are applied as if all citizens share a common history” (Pihl, 2009, p. 114). Accordingly, those who do “share this presupposed common history are excluded from the national narrative in the Core Curriculum” (Pihl, 2009, pp. 114-115).

9.1.4 Neo-liberalism in Norwegian politics and schooling

The changes made to religious education in 2005 and 2008 need to be understood within the new global educational context of neo-liberalism. Particular influential is the “international quantitative comparisons of educational achievements”, such as PISA, that have led to “increased emphasis on reaching testable targets and acquiring testable skills” (Eriksen, 2010, p. 191). Thus, contrary to “the emphases on process, socialisation and the radical pedagogy of the 1970s, 1980s and even the 1990s” the emphasis has shifted from “learning to knowledge” (Eriksen, 2010, p. 191). This important contextual consideration must be acknowledge when analysing the changes in religious education in 2008 that led to a greater emphasis upon knowledge as opposed to identity formation (Eriksen, 2010). These movements reflect the underpinnings of neo-liberal politics.

Neo-liberal politics also influenced the relationship between religion and private schools in Norway as witnessed with the election of the Conservative government (2001 until 2005) that briefly tipped Norwegian politics “in a neo-liberal direction” (Welle-Strand & Tjeldvoll, 2002, p. 681). Similar to reforms in New Zealand the neo-liberal rhetoric penetrated educational theory where, “quality, flexibility and freedom of choice” became “key words” for the “necessary modernization of Norwegian education” (Welle-Strand & Tjeldvoll, 2002, p. 682). This change to neo-liberalism briefly altered the role of religious schools within the Norwegian education system.

Part of the neo-liberal agenda involved a change to the private schools law in 2003 that shifted the rationale of private schools from an expression of religious liberty to an economic marketplace structure. Prior to 2003 private schools were eligible for state funding only if they could demonstrate a special character, however in 2003 this was changed to “make it easy to start private schools in general” with the intention “to create competition for pupils” (Welle-Strand & Tjeldvoll, 2002, p. 682). This change was directed toward the “economic relevance of education and the privatisation of educational institutions” as it was posited that education should be “open to market forces and free from its strong ties to public welfare policies” (Kortizinsky, 2001, p. 206-207). Although this law was abandoned in 2005 with a change of government, neo-liberalism nevertheless provided a continual contextual and ideological challenge to social democracy and altered the way in which private schools are perceived. As Skeie (2007) explains, private schools operating in a market-based ideology threaten the public school owing to “widespread worries ... that private schools may become a profitable market” (p. 224).

The rationale for attendance at private schools further illustrates these concerns, because according to Skeie, private schools are increasingly being chosen for their academic advantage as opposed to their special character:

[T]here is already a tendency that some of the private schools appeal to well-off parents who think that they will get high quality schooling for their children in a private religious school, even if they have no particular interest in the school's religious ethos (Skeie, 2007, p. 224).

From this perspective, the motivation for choosing a religious school has shifted from being based on a parent's theological commitments towards acknowledging their economic and vocation value to students.

9.1.5 The indigenous culture and religion of the Sámi within KRL

In 1997, a Sámi school curriculum was established that sat parallel to the 1997 Core Curriculum that implemented KRL. The Sámi Curriculum was an attempt to acknowledge the indigenous rights and autonomy of the Sámi people. However, the extent to which Sámi realised autonomy and authority was constrained by the nation state's goals of social cohesion that was based upon a common Norwegian national heritage and identity. Thus, while the establishment of the Sámi curriculum signified a new understanding of the relationship between indigenous and majority culture, in effect Sámi schooling has had to conform to the state's conception of religion and schooling in its pursuit of *likhet* - an equality of sameness.

9.1.5.1 The development of Sámi culture in the post-differentiated period

The beginning of a new era of cultural politics for the Sámi people in the Norwegian nation state began with the establishment of the Nordic Sámi Council in 1956 that emphasised "the national community and historic destiny of the Sámi" (Bjørklund, 2000, p. 20). In 1975, the rights and autonomy of the Sámi were further recognised with the founding of the World Council of Indigenous Peoples that vested Sámi with new status and rights due to their status as "an indigenous people in Norway" (Bjørklund, 2000, p. 26). As the Sámi were an indigenous people, the Norwegian state had "obligations under international law" (Bjørklund, 2000, p. 407). This movement reflects the political and cultural consequences of globalisation where Sámi culture "evolved from being a purely local concern to one with international relevance" (Bjørklund, 2000,

p. 46). In 1988 the constitution was amended by the statement that, “it is the responsibility of the authorities of the State to create conditions enabling the Sámi people to preserve and develop its language, culture, and way of life” (Bjørklund, 2000, p. 41). These developments provided the legislative foundation for the development of the Sámi Parliament in 1989 that’s objective is to “administer Sámi interests in Norway in accordance with the Sámi policy of the Norwegian government” (Bjørklund, 2000, p. 45).

Sámi educational developments have reflected the changing political status and autonomy of the Sámi people. In 1976, the Sámi Education Board was established and until 1999 operated under the Ministry of Education (Hirvonen, 2004). The Sámi Education Board influenced the M87 education guidelines, where greater emphasis was placed on Sámi Education (Hirvonen, 2004). In 1999 Sámi educational issues were transferred to the “Sámi Parliament”, and the Sámi Education Board became “the Sámi Parliament’s Department of Education” (Hirvonen, 2004, p. 36). However, although the Sámi Parliament accepted “partial responsibility for the school system of the Sámi”, their responsibilities were “limited primarily to the right to decide the content of some important school subjects” (Todal, 2003, p. 185). Notwithstanding these limitations, this was a significant development as indigenous control represented “a clear break with traditional (assimilationist) Norwegian educational policy towards Sámi” (Todal, 2003, p. 185).

9.1.5.2 The Sámi and the 1997 Reforms

Within the 1997 reforms that introduced KRL, Sámi culture was given new significance within the Norwegian Education System. Sámi culture came to be defined as part of the common heritage specified in the Education Act (Utdanningsdirektoratet, 2007). Consequently, within state schools, “learning about Sámi language, social life and culture” became “obligatory” (Arbeids- og inkluderingsdepartementet, 2008, part 6). In addition, a separate Sámi curriculum (L97S) parallel to the 97 Core Curriculum was introduced. As a result there are “two different curricula: *Curricula for the 10-year compulsory school (1997)* and *Sámi Curriculum for the 10-year Compulsory School in Norway*” (Afdal, 2004, p. 27).

The rationale for the Sámi curriculum was that the state had the “responsibility to preserve, protect and develop the Sámi language and culture” (Haug, 2004, p. 42, own translation). The Sámi curriculum prescribed “an education for a distinctive Sámi cultural context” (Afdal, 2004, p. 27) in

order to enable students to be educated “in their own language and within their own Sámi culture” (Haug, 2004, p. 43, own translation). The political affirmation of the Sámi curriculum means that the “formerly marginalised” Sámi Culture now becomes “the starting point for education” (Haug, 2004, p. 43, own translation).

Notwithstanding this rhetoric, the Norwegian emphasis on the school as the means for creating a common Norwegian identity in practice limited the autonomy of the Sámi School and the degree to which it was able to reflect Sámi culture and interests. The Sámi School and curriculum is shaped by Norwegian cultural understandings of schooling as illustrated by the *Arbeids-og inkluderings departementet* (Labour and Social Inclusion Department) that states, “Sámi society is part of the Norwegian society” and therefore “it is important that training for Sámi students occurs within the Norwegian comprehensive school” (Arbeids- og inkluderings departementet, 1996-97, §9, own translation). Thus, the extent to which the Sámi curriculum is symbolic of a new relation between majority and minority cultures is debatable as the “Sámi were not allowed to influence the general section of Reform OS97” (Hirvonen, 2004, p. 39). As such, the Sámi curriculum is regarded as being almost “identical to the O97 document, reflecting Norwegian culture and the way the State understands the formal educational system and its content” (Hirvonen, 2004, p. 39).

The Sámi religious education curriculum follows the same general outline as KRL where KRL in both its Sámi and Norwegian versions, reflects the same philosophy and approach to religious education. This approach can be seen as a centralised Norwegian approach with Sámi culture as an additive characteristic to the Sámi curriculum. For example, within the objective of the Norwegian KRL, Christianity’s predominance is justified on the grounds that the “Christian faith and tradition has for centuries dominated the European and Norwegian culture” (Utdanningsdirektoratet, [2005a], para. 1, own translation). This differs only slightly in the Sámi curriculum, which states that, the “Christian faith and tradition has for centuries characterised Sámi, Norwegian and European culture” (Utdanningsdirektoratet, [2005b], para. 1, own translation). Both curriculums are guided by the Education Act and Section 2.4 that emphasises the role of Christianity in shaping Norwegian identity (Utdanningsdirektoratet, [2005a]).

The additive approach becomes clearer still when analysing the main subject areas in religious education. In the Sámi curriculum, religious education has the same three areas as the Norwegian curriculum; *Christianity; Judaism, Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism; other religious diversity and views on life*; and *Philosophy and Ethics* - with the additional main subject areas called *Sirkumpolare*

urfolks religioner (Circumpolar Indigenous Religions). The additional subject area, *Circumpolar Indigenous Religions*, “deals with Sámi and other circumpolar indigenous nature-religions and religious and ethical traditions” (Utdanningsdirektoratet, [2005c], para. 3, own translation). Thus, in pursuit of a common Norwegian identity, Sámi culture and religion have been integrated into the hegemonic heritage of Norwegian Christian culture that has not only shaped the religious education of the indigenous Sámi, but also challenges religious education demands made by other religious minorities as the next section will explain.

9.1.6 An increase in religious minorities, the new demographics of culture challenging the relationship between religion and schooling

All developed societies, and especially those that lay some claim to Christian roots, grapple with the paradoxes of preserving a distinct national identity while at the same time incorporating the diversities imported by new streams of immigration. The stronger and more distinctive and more unfamiliar the cultural and religious (including the vestimentary) habits of such immigrants, the more strained the tensions between the imperatives of coherence and those of pluralism. (Judge, 2004, p. 20)

From the 1970s Norway experienced an increase in immigration that challenged and changed the cultural demographics and politics of Norwegian society, particularly influential was the increasing Muslim population that came predominately from Pakistan (Børresen, 2001a). This challenged the assumption of an underpinning Christian character in Norwegian society that was socialised and maintained through institutions such as the family and community. As a result, a similarity in cultural capital of Norwegian society could no longer be assumed and Norwegian concepts of tolerance and diversity were tested. The presence of minority groups challenged the relationship between religion and Norwegian schooling in two ways: first, was the reconsideration of the purpose and content of religious education within the state school and second, were the demands for religious Muslim schools within the state education system.

The new plurality of society was an antecedent to the establishment of KRL and its compulsory clause in 1997. Prior to KRL four per cent of the school population opted out of the state schools religious education into the alternative subject “knowledge of world views” and one per cent participated in neither subject (Leganger-Krogstad, 2007, p. 142). There was unease that Muslim students “dominated” the group with “no religious training” and that the “divided model for RE was

seen as contrary to the common school system” (Leganger-Krogstad, 2007, p. 142). As such, the rationale behind compulsory religious education was that it would “contribute to the integration of socio-cultural diversity through establishing a common pool of knowledge above the Norwegian cultural heritage, mainly as it is shaped by Christianity” (Skeie, 2003, p. 60). Religious education therefore was viewed as being “a tool for integration on the part of minorities” (Skeie, 2003, p. 60).

Given that the new religious education subject was compulsory and dominated by Christianity it was contested not only by Humanists but also by Muslims who complained that the subject “violated the parents’ right to determine the religious nurture of their children” (Eriksen, 2010, p. 186). In addition, while all religions were supposed to be presented as equal this was questionable due to the qualitative and quantitative dominance of Christianity, Christianity was allocated 55 per cent of curricula time, while Islam “was left with about 5%”, subsequently raising questions on whether Islam is “treated with the same kind of respect as Christianity” (Lied, 2009, p. 272). This inequality led to not only the judicial proceedings against KRL but also contributed to Muslim demands for their own schooling institutions, due to the “worries they have about religious education in the public schools being biased” (Skeie, 2007, p. 224). As Beck observed, private schools were seen as one way for Muslims, and other minority groups, “to protect their freedom by running their own schools” (Beck, 2001, p. 359).

The demand for religious schools is problematic in Norway due to the belief that schools should help “unify the national culture” (Beck, 2001, p. 356). Thus, the proposals and establishment of religious schools have led to considerable political debate concerning their perceived harm to social integration. The debate thus far in Norway has focused on the establishment of Muslim schools. Although Norway has a Private School Act to provide state support for alternative worldview and religious schools, in practice this has extended predominately to Christian schools leading to the critique that Muslims “do not enjoy equal rights with Christian minorities” (Børresen, 2001b, p. 105). The crux of the debate is the apparent differences in cultural capital where while Christian schools have a cultural capital that is seen as congruent to the “cultural heritage” and “identity” of the nation state, Muslim schools do not and subsequently face difficulties in establishing their own schools.

The first application for a Muslim school, in 1995, was denied by the Ministry because “such a school would not be beneficial when measured against the over-riding ambition to integrate ethnic minorities into public schools” (Børresen, 2001b, p. 105). However, in 2002 a Muslim school was

established in Oslo but by 2004 it had closed, “mainly because of internal problems, but also [because] the background history shows how demanding it was to get started in the first place” (Skeie, 2007, p. 224). Six years later the Ministry of Education approved the establishment of another Muslim school. In approving this Muslim school, the Ministry of Education stated that to refuse the proposal would be “contrary to human rights and discriminatory” (En prinsippsak, 2010, para. 1, own translation). Nevertheless, due to the school being “one of the most important arenas for integration”, a private Muslim primary school remains “controversial” (En prinsippsak, 2010, para. 2, own translation). The conservative Progress Party is concerned that a Muslim school could be destructive to social and political integration owing to perceived questionable values and attitudes of a Muslim school (Schjønberg, 2011).

The approved Muslim school, *Fredsskolen* (“the peace school”) is conscious of these criticisms and states on its homepage “one of *Fredsskolen's* main purposes is to facilitate the integration of Muslim children in the Norwegian society” (Fredsskolen, 2012a, para. 2, own translation). In addition, within the school’s vision emphasis is placed on the role of the school as an alternative for those parents who ordinarily would have chosen to send their children abroad. The school’s vision states that the “Peace Academy will form the basis for that Muslim children are better integrated in Norwegian society, by being an alternative to religious schools abroad” (Fredsskolen, 2012b, para. 1, own translation).

9.1.7 Summary: Norway

During the post-differentiated period in Norway, religion has become reconceptualised in light of new pedagogical opportunities provided by multifaith education, the political developments of social democracy, and the space created by secularisation. Religion has new significance to Norwegian culture, identity, and thus state education. Throughout the 1990s, the role of Christianity in schooling increased in importance as it came to be perceived as a socially integrative, political stable, and cohesive influence. In marked contrast to the diminishing role and significance of religion during the differentiated period, religion is now seen as having an important role to play in a changing society. By 1997, a new religious education subject dominated by Christianity had been introduced and was made both compulsory and universal. Because KRL was compulsory, international law specified that the subject must also be neutral, objective, and plural. However, KRL gave both qualitative and quantitative dominance to Christianity. This was problematic to

International law because while the state has some autonomy to reflect the national context a qualitative equality is necessary between religions in a multifaith compulsory religious education. International proceedings consequently stipulated changes to Norway's religious education. Moreover, the relationship between religion and schooling has also been challenged by indigenous and minority cultures demands for schooling that is congruent to their culture and beliefs raising the significance of religion within the Norwegian state's education policy.

9.2 The concept and theory of post-differentiated schooling in New Zealand

The role and concept of religion within New Zealand education has subtly changed direction since the 1960s and, it is argued in this thesis, can be explained by the concept and theory of post-differentiated schooling. Post-differentiated schooling has emerged within the boundaries of New Zealand's traditional practice of religion in schooling. Thus, while religion has been reconceptualised in New Zealand education policy it remains guided by the principles of individual autonomy and cultural diversity.

Figure 9.2 applies the concept of post-differentiated schooling to New Zealand identifying both the variables of proximate and distance influence that have contributed to the reconceptualisation of religion within education policy. Consistent to New Zealand's emphasis on individual autonomy and cultural diversity are the proximate variables of spirituality, pedagogical developments towards educating the whole child, post-colonial discourse, an emphasis upon group-differentiated rights, multiculturalism, and movements of de-differentiation. In comparison the distant variables of modern social democracy, the pedagogical developments of phenomenology of religious education, and multifaith religious education have had negligible influence in New Zealand.

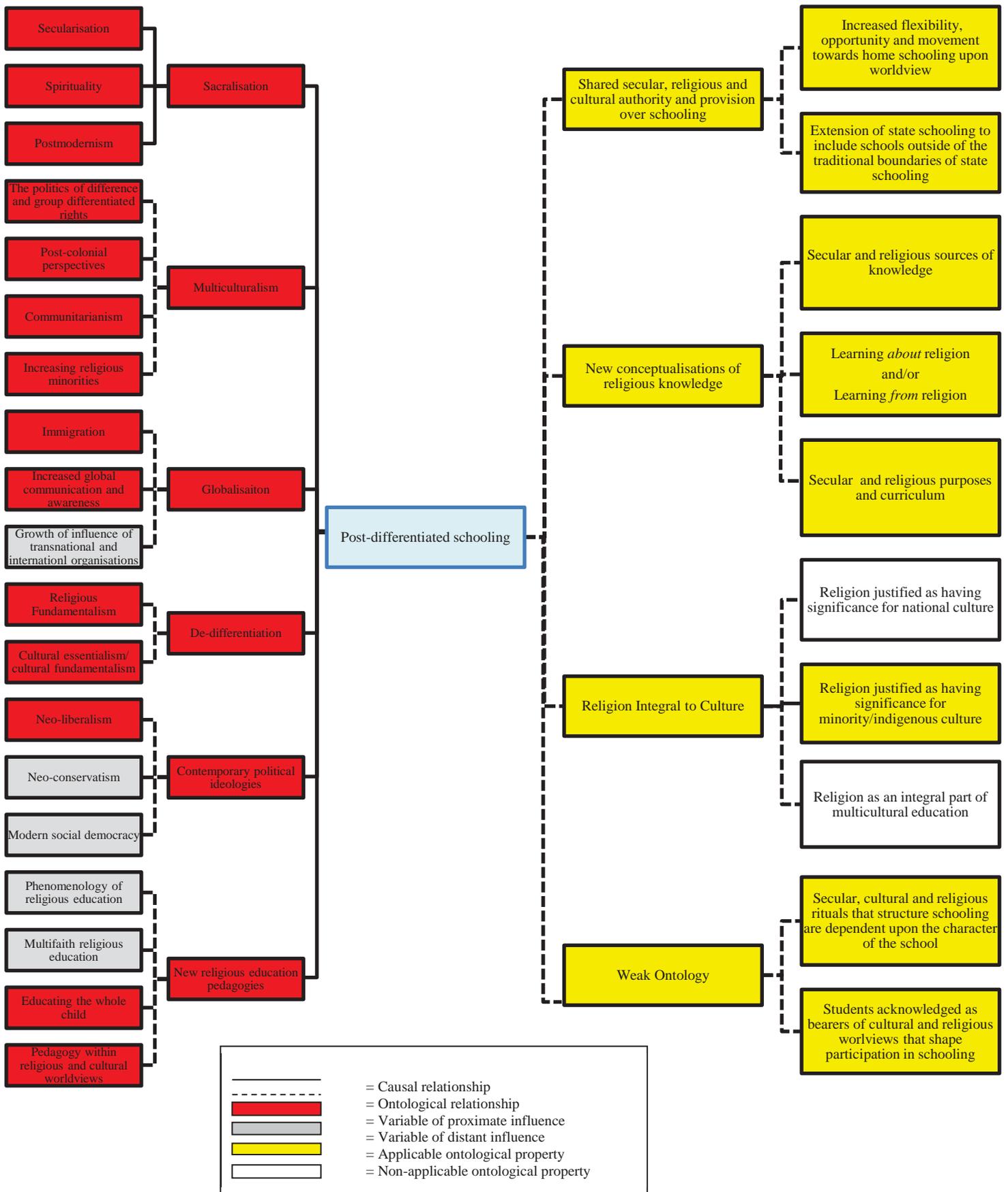


Figure 9-2: The concept and theory of post-differentiated schooling in New Zealand

9.2.1 The secular clause becomes negotiable: New legislation and structure for Protestants and Catholics within the state education system

From 1962 the relationship between religion and schooling in New Zealand was re-institutionalised and the boundaries between the secular New Zealand schooling system and religion became blurred. This new relationship was a result of both secular and sacred developments as religion was reconceptualised within the secular domain of state education systems. This section explores developments that led to the legislation of voluntary religious education in state primary schools as well as the integration of religious schools into the state education system.

9.2.1.1 The legislation and centralisation of voluntary religious education in state schools

By the 1960s New Zealand society was becoming increasingly secular with the result that the informal and essentially illegal practice of voluntary religious education, known as the Nelson system, was becoming problematic. Given the increasing secular climate some school committees began to draw “the line at obvious breaches of the Education Act” (McGeorge & Snook, 1981, p. 16). At the same time, however, the previous animosity between the Christian denominations over the role of religion in schooling had diminished as Protestant denominations united to provide a voluntary religious education programme (Collins, 2005). This programme was accepted by a broad stratum in society including the New Zealand Educational Institute, the National Schools Defence League (NSDL), and was approved by the Catholic authorities (Collins, 2005). This unification contributed to an increased provision of voluntary religious education from ten per cent in 1930 to approximately 80 per cent by 1960 (McGeorge & Snook, 1981, p. 15).

These developments prompted the demand for the relationship between religion and schooling to be defined more explicitly with clear legal boundaries drawn. Subsequently in 1962 the Religious Instruction and Observances in Public Schools Bill was passed (*New Zealand Parliamentary Debates*, 1962) to allow for the practice of voluntary religious education classes in state schools for up to 30 minutes (Education Act, 1964). While the Education Act maintained that when the school was open “teaching shall be of a secular character” (Education Act, 1964, §77), it was stipulated that with approval of the school committee and head teacher

“any class or classes at the school, or the school as a whole, may be closed at any time or times of the school day for a period not exceeding 30 minutes for any class in any week for the purposes of religious instruction

given by voluntary instructors approved by the School Committee and of religious observances conducted in a manner approved by the School Committee or for either of those purposes; and the school buildings may be used for those purposes of for either of them” (Education Act, 1962/1964, §78).

Such a measure was, the Minister of Education W.B. Tennent announced at the time “statutory provision for what already in fact exists, and what is known as the Nelson system” (*New Zealand Parliamentary Debates*, 1962, p. 2569). Thus, religious instruction for the first time became a legitimate part of New Zealand’s education system. The voluntary religious education was outside of ordinary school hours and gave student the opportunity to “opt out” (McGeorge & Snook, 1981, p. 18).

The Churches Education Commission

The relationship between religion and schooling was further institutionalised by the establishment of the Churches Education Commission (CEC) in 1973 that systemised religious education to a universal, uniform, and national standard. The CEC became the national body responsible for the organisation of the voluntary Christian education classes in New Zealand state schools and covertly challenged the secular clause of New Zealand state schooling system by its objective to “be the window between churches and the secular education system” (Petersen, 1992, p. 46). The existence of the CEC also meant increased educational influence of the churches as “there was much more freedom to negotiate with the Department of Education because CEC was seen as the educational voice of the churches” (Petersen, 1992, p. 14).

Petersen claims that the CEC was responsible for a change to the 1964 Education Act where the amount of time allocated to religious education changed from 30 to 60 minutes a week (Petersen, 1992, pp. 17-18). In addition, the CEC’s influence grew during the 1980s when it introduced Chaplaincy into state schools. Chaplains are volunteers whom “represent a wide range denominationally” and “work wherever the school directs, usually alongside the pastoral networks in the school” (McGhie & Baskerville, 2005, p. 45). The duties of the Chaplain can include “to lead assemblies, take memorial services, and prayers” (McGhie & Baskerville, 2005, p. 45). The presence of Chaplains in state schools has grown from 10 qualified Chaplains in 1989 to 200 in 2005 (McGhie & Baskerville, 2005).

The presence of the Christian religion within state schooling is justified by the CEC on the basis of a conservative political ideology where Christianity gains legitimacy from its historical and cultural

influence upon New Zealand. The CEC argues for voluntary Christian Education Classes in state schools because,

It is appropriate in New Zealand to give particular emphasis to the Christian faith, the Bible, and life and teachings of Jesus because of their pervasive influence through our cultural heritage and history, and their continuing power and relevance (Petersen, 1992, p. 14, Churches Education Commission, 2010a).

In essence, this demonstrates a conservative and nationalist approach to religious education where terms such as “cultural heritage” and “history” justify an emphasis upon Christianity over that of other religious worldviews.

The CEC challenges the line between the official state secular curriculum and the unofficial voluntary religious education through overtly outlining how each religious lesson contributes to meeting the values specified in the New Zealand curriculum. In the 2010 CEC curriculum outline, each lesson is specified not only in relation to its own competency, but also to the values from the New Zealand 2007 curriculum. For example, within the “Quest Green Primary Curriculum”, Lesson 6:1 “Jesus – light of the world”, has the “key competency of “Managing self” and claims contribution to the values “excellence and integrity” from the New Zealand curriculum (Churches Education Commission, 2010b, p. 1). In the act of placing the CEC’s religious education within the state’s curriculum guidelines, the separation between the voluntary religious education curriculum and the official state curriculum is blurred.

The pedagogy inherent within the voluntary religious education in New Zealand is characterised as religious instruction involving both *learning in religion* and *learning from religion*. For example, learning *from religion* is evident in the *Outline for Quest Green Primary Curriculum* published by the Churches Education Commission in 2010. Within each lesson, there is a specified “W.A.L.T” objective: “We Are Learning To / That” (Churches Education Commission, 2010b, p. 1). For example, in one lesson entitled *God, the loving shepherd* learning from religion is evident in the objective that “We Are Learning To ... show other people that they are valued” (Unit 7: lesson 3, Quest Green Primary Curriculum Cited in Churches Education Commission, 2010b, p. 1). *Learning in religion* is evident through the teacher’s objective of “guided discovery” (Council for Christian Education in Schools (Vic), [2006], p. 40). *Guided discovery* is when the teacher guides the students into answering biblical orientated questions correctly to the Christian belief. For example, in one lesson the teacher is asked to explain to their students “Christians today also believe that they should love one another as Jesus did” (Council for Christian Education in Schools (Vic), [2006], p.

40). Students are then asked to consider the question “how do people live out Jesus’s command today?” (Council for Christian Education in Schools (Vic), [2006], p. 40). The teacher is then guided to prompt the students into responding with the correct answer that “*They ask God to help them care for one another, to be honest with one another and to stand up for what is good—even when it not easy to do so*” (Council for Christian Education in Schools (Vic), [2006], p. 40). The extent of *learning in religion*, however, is somewhat constrained by the use of the phrase “Christians believe” as opposed to a more inclusive term such as *we believe* (Council for Christian Education in Schools (Vic). [2006], p. 42).

Despite these constraints, criticism arises that voluntary religious education has uncomfortable connotations of indoctrination, where doctrine is defined as “a body of ‘truths’ or dogmas which are claimed by the institutions which espouse them, as absolute truths” (Marshall & Hoff, 1984, p. 128). Recent controversy in Australia has highlighted the growing unease with a voluntary Christian education. The Australian religious instruction curriculum provided by Access Ministries, that is used by the CEC in New Zealand, has been recently critiqued as “primitively anti-educational ... a crude form of missionary indoctrination that went out of style in the 1950s” (Cited in Bachelard, 2011, para. 9).

Adding to the mounting critique is the perception that the Churches Education Commission has ‘overstepped’ the private-public distinction. The content and purpose of religious education has been recently questioned due to the following statement of commission director David Mulholland in a CEC newsletter:

‘Churches by and large have not woken up to the fact that this is a mission field on our doorstep. The children are right there and we don't have to supply buildings, seating, lighting or heating’ (Cited in Christians target schools in ‘mission’, 2012, para. 3).

Within this same letter encouragement was given to volunteers to join school boards “so they could have “more influence” on holding religious study in class” (Christians target schools in ‘mission’, 2012, para. 4). These comments led to heated debates concerning the structure and role of religious instruction within state schools with the use of the word “mission” drawing attention to whether the classes were intended to “educate” or “evangelise” (Christians target schools in ‘mission’, 2012, para. 13). The CEC defended itself stating that the programme was intended to help “people be aware of Christianity, what the Bible says, what Christians believe about the Bible. It's not our responsibility to convert” (cited in Christian target schools in ‘mission’, 2012, para. 16)

Questions have also arisen on the relevance of a voluntary Christian education in New Zealand schools when census results indicate that nearly a third of New Zealanders have no religious affiliation (half of New Zealanders identified as Christian) (Hill, 2012). It is argued that a Christian Education, though voluntary and outside of official school hours, is “too exclusive and does not reflect New Zealand's multi-cultural profile” (Penmann, 2012, para. 17). In addition, for those children who do choose to “opt out” concern has been directed towards the psychological well-being of these children with some parents reporting that their children felt isolated, punished and ostracised (Penman, 2012).

However, despite arguments for the withdrawal of the voluntary religious education programme, spokespeople for both the New Zealand government and the NZEI have stated that there are currently “no plans” to amend or review the religious instruction programme (Hill, 2012, para. 17). In part, this position may be due to the issues that might arise if religious education is withdrawn. For example, the absence of a voluntary religious education programme may require the state to provide some form of multifaith religious education. A multifaith religious education as part of the official school curriculum would be problematic to New Zealand’s strong commitment to individual religious autonomy, thus raising more problems than it solves. In addition, despite the secularism of society because religion has retained a link with morality, withdrawing religious education would raise the question of a moral education dimension in the curriculum. Finally, there are the points made by the chairman of the Australian national curriculum authority who suggested that disbanding the voluntary religious education programme would reflect and favour a secular worldview (Bachelard, 2011) and may also mean that “religious parents might opt out of the public school system, and that would not be a good thing” (Bachelard, 2011, para. 3).

9.2.1.2 The integration of religious schools into the state education system

The new relationship between religion and schooling legislated in the 1962 Act meant that the legitimacy of the secular clause in state schools became open to critique. As Sweetman has observed, “the schools were secular in name, yet allowed religious instruction in practice”, this anomaly strengthened Catholic’s claim for state aid (Sweetman, 2004, p. 134). In presenting their case Catholic authorities also drew attention to the United Nation’s Declaration of Human Rights that “explicitly provided for the education rights of cultural and religious minorities, by virtue of

parent's natural right to choose the education of their children" (Akenson, 1990, p. 184). The Catholic Education Council also argued that "respect for cultural diversity, not a "managed culture" on the part of the State, is fundamental to democracy" (Catholic Education Council for New Zealand, 1961, p. 19). The Catholic Education Council argued that choice of schooling was essential to liberty because "to burden one alternative in the field of choice is to restrict liberty. To burden the religious alternative in the field of school choice is to restrict religious liberty" (Catholic Education Council for New Zealand, 1961, p. 24).

Adding to the pressure on the state to recognise Catholic schools was the pending financial crisis of the Catholic schools. The feasibility and future of the Catholic schools was threatened as they struggled to cater for an increasing student population brought on by the raise of the school leaving age, the "post-war baby boom", and the decreasing supply of teachers from the Catholic religious order (Sweetman, 2002, p. 41). Given these financial pressures it was feared that the Catholic schools may collapse and were this to happen the state that would have to assume this "financial burden" (Sweetman, 2002, p. 45). This was particularly problematic as pragmatically and financially the state system was "unable to absorb or accommodate the large school-age population" (Lee, 1993, pp. 43-44). Consequently, in response to these pressures the Catholic schools became integrated into the state school system under the terms of the 1975 *Private Schools Conditional Integration Act*.

The New Zealand *Private Schools Conditional Integration Act* allowed schools with a "special character" to become part of New Zealand's state education system (Private Schools Conditional Integration Act, 1975, §4.1). Financially, "the government paid the full cost of teacher's salaries and all operating expenses, while ownership of the schools was still vested in religious orders who were able to give sectarian instruction by law" (Lee, 1993, p. 46). Integrated schools retained the right "to reflect through its teaching and conduct the education with a special character provided by it" (Private Schools Conditional Integration Act, 1975, §3.1). A "special character" was defined in the act as being "education within the framework of a particular or general religious or philosophical belief, and associated with observances or traditions appropriate to that belief" (Private Schools Conditional Integration Act, 1975, §2.1). While integrated schools had the right to teach religion they were also obliged to "instruct its pupils in accordance with the curricula and syllabuses prescribed by the Education Act 1964 and by regulations made under that Act" (Private Schools Conditional Integration Act, 1975, §31). In other words, the ordinary state school curriculum was delivered,

The 1975 Integration Act is a symbolic piece of legislation “ending a century of secularism in New Zealand education” and reshaping “the educational landscape” ushering “in what one historian has termed ‘a quiet revolution’” (Sweetman, 2004, p. 131). This quiet revolution has increased importance once one takes into consideration Section 78a –“Consequential Amendments” - of the Integration Act that provided the opportunity for increased religious education in *state* schools beyond the limitations of the previous 1962 Religious Instruction clause. Section 78a stated:

... where the Minister is satisfied that the majority of the parents of pupils attending a school wish their children to receive religious instruction additional to that specified in the said section 78 and he is satisfied that such additional religious instruction will not be to the detriment of the normal curriculum of the school, he shall generally or in any special case, after consultation with the School Committee, authorise the additional religious instruction up to such an amount and subject to such conditions as he sees fit (Private Schools Conditional Integration Act, 1975, §83)

Cox (2009) views 78A as a manifestation of Conservative Christian groups in New Zealand who wished to give Christianity a privileged position while retaining the separation between the private and public spheres through the authority of the school committees to decide the relationship. As such, the legal space created between the secular and the sacred has been critiqued as allowing, “political conservatism dressed up as Judeo-Christian ethic” into the state school system (Stirling, 1981, p. 27). Concern has also been expressed regarding the “possible ‘tyranny of the majority’ which could follow from 78A” whereby a local majority demand for religious education might override the rights of minorities in the community (Snook, 1981, p. 53).

9.2.2 The state questions the secular clause

The underlying conservatism of the changes to religion and schooling in the 1970s was echoed in a series of state commissioned conferences that analysed the secular clause of the New Zealand Education Act. Social and cultural changes from the 1950s had led to public and political concern with the morality of youth, especially with regard to religion’s traditional relationship to morality. Due to the diminishing dissension between Christian denominations there were perceived to be new opportunities for religion to reassert morality within schooling, subsequently the state initiated committees and conferences that tentatively questioned the extent to which religion should and could manifest within New Zealand’s state schooling system. The Mazengarb Report in 1954, the Educational Development Conferences in the 1970s, and the Johnson Report in 1978, all

demonstrate increasing interest by the state in reassessing the relationship between religion and schooling.

The 1954 Mazengarb Report was underpinned by a “moral panic” during the early 1950s where there was mounting public concern for the alleged unlawfulness and immorality of youth (Shuker & Openshaw with Soler, 1990). Secularisation was argued as being the root cause of this immorality, for example, one Reverend in Auckland “saw a decline in spiritual values and advocated Christianity as ‘...the only philosophy able to counteract the present day corruptive influences’” (Shuker & Openshaw with Soler, 1990, p. 22). The problems of youth in society were claimed as stemming from “immoral delinquents’, who had strayed from the faith and used the Bible as ‘a dust catcher’” (Shuker & Openshaw with Soler, 1990, pp. 22-23). Echoing these sentiments, the Mazengarb Report noted that:

The consensus of opinion before the Committee is that there is a lack of spiritual values in the community ... It may be a matter of argument that morality is dependent on religion, but the structure of Western society and our codes of behaviour have, in fact, been based upon the Christian faith. If this faith is not generally accepted, the standard of conduct associated with it must deteriorate (Special Committee on Moral Delinquency in Children and Adolescents, 1954, p. 39).

The Educational Development Conference in 1973/74 continued this theme by exploring the relationship between religion and state schooling in a society that increasingly saw the task of the school as more than merely the provision of academic instruction. The Educational Development Conference saw an opportunity for the inclusion for religion through the school’s social purpose. This opportunity arose from what the commission observed as being a new “spirit of tolerance, emphasising unity rather than sectarian differences”, such that

we should no longer hold on to the “secular clause” doctrine that morality should be based solely on a regard for the well-being of mankind without any discussion of the religious or philosophical bases from which people draw their inspiration. Education has a moral purpose. The educational process we have specified depends on pursuing worthwhile activities in which moral values are implicit (Educational Development Conference, 1974, p. 15).

This concern for morality and its link with religion is in essence a combination of the authority and morality of religion derived from the undifferentiated period and the secular accomplishments of the differentiated period. Highlighting the contribution of secularisation the Advisory Council on Education in 1974 asserted that it was due to rationalism and tolerance in an atmosphere of

openness wherein “there should be no topic which cannot, or should not be discussed rationally and tolerantly in our classrooms” (Educational Development Conference, 1974, p. 15).

The following year the Department of Education convened the Conference on Moral and Religious Education in order to “continue and widen the debate on moral and religious education in New Zealand schools” (Conference on Moral and Religious Education, 1975, p. 3). This conference articulated a number of concerns that proved pertinent to the changing relationship between religion and schooling. Of interest was the new concern for holistic education, phrased in terms of the “full development of the individual – and the place of moral and religious education in this” (Conference on Moral and Religious Education, 1975, p. 5). Correspondingly, a key question raised at the conference was whether state schooling “should play an increasing part in assisting the moral development of the child and of enabling him to find his answers to questions of personal identity and ultimate purpose in life” (Conference on Moral and Religious Education, 1975, p. 7). The consensus of opinion from the members of the conference was that the education system needed to play a broader role than it did currently. The conference rejected a phenomenological approach to religious education in the belief that it should be more than an objective presentation of data. Instead the conference recommended a religious education programme that dealt with questions such as “Who am I?; Where am I?; Where have I come from?; What am I doing here?; Where am I going?” (Conference on Moral and Religious Education, 1975, p. 17). This education should not be directed towards “gaining adherents for a particular point of view”, but instead be characterised by “(i) critical rationality; (ii) respect for self (iii) humane concern for others and the natural world, and (iv) a readiness for appropriate action (i.e., consistent with (i) to (iii) above) are of fundamental importance (Conference on Moral and Religious Education, 1975, p. 16-17). The Conference emphasised the importance of local input and support in the application and development of religious education (Conference on Moral and Religious Education, 1975).

The Committee on Health and Social Education (The Johnson Report) in 1978 continued the discussion of religion in state schools by identifying “the conditions under which healthy growth and development may be fostered in schools” (Committee on Health and Social Education, 1978, p. 4). A number of submissions to the Committee emphasised a broadening of the role of schools to “share with the home in moral, spiritual and values education” because of the “dangerous lack of basic values within our society” (Committee on Health and Social Education, 1978, p. 33). The Committee endorsed this perspective and recommended that “the school should share with the

home in moral, spiritual and values education” because “the home – frequently through no fault of its own – neglects basic values” (Committee on Health and Social Education, 1978, p. 33).

Significant in the Johnson Report was the change of language from the traditional terminology of “religious education” to the new “spiritual dimension of education” concept (Committee on Health and Social Education, 1978, p. 35). The purpose of the “spiritual dimension”, the Johnson Report declared, was to “foster a pride in heritage, in the growth of self-identity, and in seeking purpose and meaning in life” (Committee on Health and Social Education, 1978, p. 35). The Committee was explicit about the rationale behind the phrase “spiritual dimension” and believed that while the questions that informed their conception of spiritual education were religious in nature, the term spiritual

More accurately describing the type of school involvement we envisage. In the words of Albert Einstein, “the most beautiful and profound emotion we can experience is the sensation of the mystical. It is the power of all true science... to know what is impenetrable to us really exists ... this knowledge, this feeling is at the centre of true religiousness (Committee on Health and Social Education, 1978, p. 35).

Perhaps because of the ambiguity inherent in this definition of the “spiritual dimension” the Johnson Report was subsequently “interpreted by many as support for religious instruction in state schools and outraged the defenders of secular education” (Dakin, 2007, p. 123). The Report’s recommendations aggravated not only the Committee for the Defence of Secular Education but also Conservative Christians who rejected the suggestion that primary schools students should be allowed to “discuss the tenets of various religions on a comparative basis” (McGeorge, 1981, p. 32). Subsequently the recommendations of the Johnson report did not eventuate, religious education remained confined to the voluntary religious education in state schools made possible by the legislation changes in 1962 (McGeorge, 1981).

In summary, the reports discussed above are significant for three reasons. The first is that it demonstrates the renewed interest by the state in re-evaluating the relationship between religion and schooling. Second, is the growing emphasis placed on educating the whole child and thus the social and spiritual purpose of the school. Thirdly, and significant to the next section, is the introduction of the concept of the spirituality - a concept that would have increased significance in the discussions of religion and education in the 1990’s.

9.2.3 Spirituality: New dimensions and possibilities for the sacred within state schools

In the 1990's the concept of spirituality became influential in defining a new relationship between religion and state schooling. Spirituality satisfies demands for a holistic education, and denotes an understanding of the sacred that is removed from religion's institutional authority and hierarchy. Spirituality differs from religion to the extent that religion's emphasis on "traditional authority" is replaced by "individual choice and experience" (Vincett & Woodhead, 2009, p. 330). Thus, spirituality is a concept that is particularly applicable to the New Zealand context with its strong traditions of individual autonomy and cultural diversity.

Spirituality first appeared in the New Zealand Curriculum in the 1990s, quietly and subtly, and without the discussion that had occurred during the 1970s. It was carefully integrated into the curriculum with an aura of authority due to its legitimation from Māori culture, its ambiguity in practice and content, and its location in the least controversial subject - physical education. Reference to spirituality in New Zealand state education first appeared in the 1993 *Physical Well Being* curriculum that adopted a holistic perspective to health that encompassed "the physical, social, emotional, intellectual, and spiritual dimensions of a person's growth" (Ministry of Education, 1993, p. 16). This brief reference to the spiritual dimension was expanded upon in the 1999 *Health and Physical Education Curriculum* wherein the concept of spirituality was seen as being integral to a holistic approach to education and reflective of biculturalism.

Drawing upon a Māori framework of health, the 1999 *Health and Physical Education Curriculum* defined and framed the concept of spirituality within *hauora* (well-being) where *hauora* is "a Māori philosophy of health unique to New Zealand" (Ministry of Education, 1999, p. 50). The concept of *hauora* is defined by the New Zealand curriculum as encompassing "the physical, mental and emotional, social and spiritual dimensions of health" that are "recognised by the World Health Organisation" (Ministry of Education, 1999, p. 31). In describing *hauora*, the Ministry drew upon Mason Durie's model of *whare tapawhā*, a holistic framework of health that reinforced the movement toward *educating the whole child*. The ministry described *whare tapawhā* as comparing:

hauora to the four walls of a whare, each wall representing a different dimension: taha wairua (the spiritual side); taha hinengaro (thoughts and feelings); taha tinana (the physical side); and taha whānau (family). All four dimensions are necessary for strength and symmetry (Ministry of Education, 1999, p. 31).

Relevant to examining the changing concept of religion is the spiritual dimension of hauora - *taha wairua*. Taha wairua (“spiritual well-being”) is defined as:

the values and beliefs that determine the way people live, the search for meaning and purpose in life, and personal identity and self-awareness (For some individuals and communities, spiritual well-being is linked to a particular religion; for others, it is not.) (Ministry of Education, 1999, p. 31).

As the definition of spirituality illustrates, Māori culture provided significant cultural and political substantiation for the implementation of spirituality. The curriculum stated that:

Schools and teachers need to: - ensure that the concept of hauora is reflective in students’ learning experiences in health education and physical education at all levels of schooling; -recognise that te reo Māori and ngā tikanga Māori are taonga and have an important place within the health and physical education curriculum... (Ministry of Education, 1999, p. 50)

In addition to Māori culture, the inclusion of spirituality in the 1999 curriculum drew upon postmodern pedagogy for its theoretical legitimacy. Postmodernism emphasises “individual autonomy in the pursuit of individual subjective well-being” (Inglehart, 1997, p. 75). Tasker, one of the writers of the draft curriculum, explains the postmodern approach to the physical education curricula as one that “recognises the complexity of interrelationships and the interdependency between individuals and their environments; social, political, economic and physical” (Tasker, 1996/1997, p. 192). This influence of “postmodern analysis”, according to Egan, has meant that spirituality “has come of age” (Egan, 2003, p. 215). Egan explains that this is “not because anyone’s barrow has finally been pushed to the top of the agenda, but because previous answers – religious, existential, scientific or rational – have been undermined by the postmodern analysis (read dilemma)” (Egan, 2003, p. 215).

The spirituality that appears in the curriculum can be characterised as a “secular spirituality” – that is, “the way that people, outside of a religious tradition, create meaning and purpose in their lives” (Egan, 2000, p. 16). From this perspective there is evidence of an expansion of the authority of the secular sphere to encompass and define what was previously in the domain of the religious:

In the past, spirituality was the domain of religion, and the opposite of the secular world. But the divisions have blurred. The “secular” world has been shown to have religious views and spirituality has been seen to encompass secular concerns (Egan, 2000, p. 30).

Thus, the extension of the secular into the sacred is consistent with the dialogue in the post-differentiated era between secular and sacred influences.

It is difficult to assess how much teaching has changed with the inclusion of spirituality within New Zealand's curriculum. Spirituality's somewhat ambiguous appearance, and its emphasis on the individual to determine its content, has led to its practice being subjective to, and dependent upon teachers and schools. Fraser and Grootenboer (2004), who researched how spirituality was practiced in New Zealand state primary schools, concluded that the practice of spirituality manifested in the "climate of classrooms". The climate of the classroom was,

where a community of spiritual discourse was encouraged and where deeply meaningful activities and events occurred. The findings suggest that while teachers cannot plan and predict precisely what will foster spirituality in classrooms, teachers can cultivate a climate that enhances children's spirituality (Fraser & Grootenboer, 2004, p. 307).

Such practices highlight the ambiguous and subjective nature of spirituality. This is illustrated by the research from Fraser and Grootenboer that found "Christian teachers were more likely to highlight the relationship with God and the Maori participants to note the significance of links to their ancestors" (Fraser & Grootenboer, 2004 p. 316). This raises questions about the relationship between spirituality and state schooling, where spirituality has the potential to "act as a Trojan horse for more specific religious influence seen as objectionable on various grounds ... as well as for influence, seen as equally objectionable, of a more general metaphysical, kind" (McLaughlin, 2003, p. 189). Additionally, New Zealand secular voices criticised spirituality as "being appropriated for various dubious reasons, including 'classificatory imperialism', which presumes a particular world view" (Egan, 2000, p. 41).

The introduction of spirituality in the New Zealand curriculum also attracted criticism from the "religious voice" with spirituality critiqued as being so "watered down as to become meaningless or so broad as to become relativised and therefore undermine any one faith/belief system" (Egan, 2000, p. 41). This reflects a fear that spiritual education can become characterised by relativism in its purpose and foster an "unclear ethical education" (Sødal, 2009, p. 12, own translation).

The draft curriculum raised considerable criticism due to not recognising a religious dimension of spirituality. The Education Forum criticised the draft on the basis that its definition of spirituality amounted to a "foreclosing of any possible discussion about whether, and in which what ways,

human beings are related to God” (Education Forum, 1998, p. 70). Changes from the draft to the final curriculum reflected an attempt to acknowledge this critique where the definition of spirituality was extended by a “major addition” that stated spirituality maybe “linked to a particular religion” (Ministry of Education, 1999, p. 31). This was significant as it included overt connotations of a religious element or source of spirituality within New Zealand state schools. Spiritual well-being, *taha wairua*, was subsequently defined as embodying:

the values and beliefs that determine the way people live, the search for meaning and purpose in life, and personal identity and self-awareness (For some individuals and communities, spiritual well-being is linked to a particular religion; for others, it is not.) (Ministry of Education, 1999, p. 31)

Egan believes that this expanded definition of spirituality was included in response to the Education Forum’s criticisms that “a definition of spirituality which takes so little account of the major religions is severely lacking in credibility” (Education Forum cited in Egan, 2000, p. 62) .

Overall, the inclusion of spirituality in the curriculum seemed to be as Egan suggested in 2000, little more than “a token gesture ... it may be largely ignored or shown to be justified by the policy equivalent of creative accounting” (Egan, 2000, p. 123). In this respect spirituality shows some similarity to the inclusion of a moral curriculum in the early 20th century where its inclusion in the school had little influence on its practice. Since 1999, the spiritual dimension diminished with the 2007 curriculum referring to spirituality only in reference to Hauora – well-being - (Ministry of Education, 2007) that unlike the 1999 curriculum had no English translation or explanation of how it is to be defined.

9.2.4 Religion inherent to culture, necessary to bicultural education: The growing recognition of the spiritual aspect of culture in state schools

The role of Māori culture in framing the spiritual dimension of the *Health and Physical Education curriculum* reflects the growing influence of Māori culture in restructuring the relationship between religion and schooling in post-differentiated New Zealand society. From the 1980s, biculturalism has increasingly influenced New Zealand’s education system, drawing its legitimisation from the Treaty of Waitangi, the status of Māori as the indigenous people of New Zealand, and global legislation that provides for cultural rights over religion and schooling.

Particularly important is the Treaty of Waitangi that is “primarily concerned about the partnership between two sovereign peoples, the Pākehā and Māori”, where it is this principle of *partnership* that underpins the commitment to biculturalism (Wright, 2006, p. 528). Relevant to the relationship between religion and schooling is Article Two of the treaty that guarantees Māori the “possession and enjoyment of *taonga*” (Webster, 2007, p. 149). *Taonga* includes “cultural attitudes and beliefs, with cultural and spiritual meanings” that are a “vital dimension of cultural identity” (Webster, 2007, p. 147). Although the Treaty was signed in 1840, it did not gain real legislative significance until the 1980s (Wright, 2006). However, from the 1980s, the Treaty of Waitangi and biculturalism have become influential, providing Māori with some religious and spiritual autonomy over schooling.

The theory and movement of de-colonisation supports Māori autonomy to determine their own schooling and its relationship to religion. Decolonisation posits that “acculturation processes and adaption strategies” forced upon the colonised by the colonisers have resulted in the experience of “acculturative stress or marginalisation” and the subsequent alienation of the colonised “from their ethnic group of origin” (Marie & Haig, 2009, p. 118). Through the process and experience of colonisation, Māori have been assimilated to “foreign values involving Western ways of thinking, doing and acting” (Marie & Haig, 2009, p. 119). According to Marie & Haig this “fraternising with a different value system is thought to result in individuals possessing a thwarted or corrupted cultural identity, which is in need of decolonising” (Marie & Haig, 2009, p. 118) subsequently the strategy of the “decolonisation of mind” is designed to provide “a secure Māori cultural identity” (Marie & Haig, 2009, p. 119).

9.2.4.1 Kura Kaupapa Schools

Key to the pursuit, survival and continuation of Māori culture and identity is *Kura Kaupapa*. *Kura Kaupapa* is an alternative education system to state primary schooling deriving from Māori culture and legitimated by the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi - “partnership, participation, protection and empowerment” (Wright, 2006, p. 541). *Kura Kaupapa* schools initially began outside the state education system “as resistant initiatives to the “taken for granted” conventional schooling options offered by the state” (Smith, 1997, p. 262). State schooling was critiqued for offering “an overwhelmingly monocultural, Pākehā defined experience for Māori” (Smith, 1997, p. 99),

subsequently Kaupapa Māori schooling was developed to provide an education consistent to Māori culture “based on Māori philosophy and principles of education” (Smith, 1997, p. 262).

In 1989 Kura Kaupapa Māori schools were officially integrated into the state schooling system by Section 155 of the 1989 Education Act (Education Act, New Zealand, 1989/2011, §155). Kura Kaupapa schools were defined in the Act as being characterised by Māori as “the principal language of instruction” and by “the philosophy, principles and practices of Te Aho Matua” (Ministry of Education, 2010a, para. 2). Legislatively, the same secular clause that guides the state schools also applies to Kura Kaupapa - while Kura Kaupapa is characterised by “a special character” the teaching in Kura Kaupapa “must be secular during the hours the school is open” (Human Rights Commission, 2009, p. 5). However, an integral part of Māori culture is the holistic integration of the sacred and secular that, contrary to the dualism of secular schooling, perceives “no demarcation between the supernatural and the natural; both are part of the unified whole” (McKinley, 1995, p. 69). Thus, as the New Zealand Human Rights Commission explains, to acknowledge Māori culture within schools and curriculum is to include a spiritual dimension:

The recognition and protection of tikanga Māori (culture), in accordance with international human rights standards and with the Treaty of Waitangi, therefore cannot be separated from Māori spiritual beliefs (Human Rights Commission, 2009, p. 8).

Thus, the policy and practice of the secular clause is ambiguous due to conflict between the secular clause and Te Aho Matua. While the New Zealand Education Act states that “teaching shall be entirely of a secular character” (Education Act, New Zealand, 1989/2011, Section 77), Te Aho Matua is regarded by the Education Review Office as focusing upon “the innate physical and spiritual aptitude of children and the importance of nurturing both in their education” (Education Review Office, 2007, p. 4). The Education Review Office guidelines for “Good Practice in Te Aho Matua Kura Kaupapa Māori” emphasises religion and spirituality within the daily practice of *Kura Kaupapa* (Education Review Office, 2007, p. 7). Within *Kura Kaupapa* schools, daily practice should not only seek to develop spiritual aptitude but should also explore “various historical, political and religious viewpoints alongside traditional and Māori perspectives” and “reflect an emphasis on the importance of genealogy, ancestral links, and historical, cultural, political, social, religious and economic studies” (Education Review Office, 2007, p. 7).

The development and trajectory of Kura Kaupapa reflects a changing understanding of the concept of equality. As early as 1984, Harker had argued that there “has been a shift in the meaning of equality away from being able to compete on an equal footing in the institutions of another culture, towards the idea of equality of cultural status” (Harker, 1984, p. 258). This “equality of cultural status” has provided the opportunity for students to participate in educational institutions with a distinctive Māori culture, as well as the equality of opportunity to participate within European educational institutions.

9.2.4.2 Māori spirituality within state schooling

This tension between state school secularity and Māori cultural spirituality is not limited to Kura Kaupapa but extends to the role of Māori culture and spirituality within state schools. The New Zealand Human Rights Commission asserts that state schools within their day-to-day practice are obliged to “develop policies and practices that reflect New Zealand’s cultural diversity and the unique position of Māori culture” (Human Rights Commission, 2009, p. 9). The holistic interweaving of spirituality and Maori culture means that Māori cultural practices are often, by their very nature, spiritual and thus contrary to the secular clause of the Education Act. The Human Rights Commission outlines this contradictory situation when it observes that the “line between tikanga Māori and religious observance is not always clear” – “observing tikanga Māori may also include the expression of explicitly religious messages if *karakia* are said” (Human Rights Commission, 2009, p. 9). In recognising this need for negotiation, the Human Rights Commission encouraged schools to be aware of the context and advised that:

The prudent approach is for schools to treat the teaching of tikanga as a special case. Caregivers and whānau should be informed about any religious aspects of tikanga Māori being practised at the school, and given the option of joining in or not (Human Rights Commission, 2009, p. 9).

The Treaty of Waitangi, human rights, and biculturalism, have meant that state schooling, while adapting a neutral stance regarding all other religions, “actively supports Māori ‘Spirituality’” in schooling (Kolig, 2009, p. 66) and allows “schools with a *Kura Kaupapa* syllabus to include traditional ‘religious’ elements in their curriculum” (Kolig, 2009, p. 67).

9.2.4.3 Cultural fundamentalism

Within some Māori perspectives on society, knowledge, and education a cultural fundamentalism can be detected that prescribes a de-differentiated relationship between religion and schooling. According to Tiryakin, differentiation involves the “undoing of rationalization and differentiation” (Tiryakin, 1992, p. 90). Within New Zealand, de-differentiation is evident when the rationalisation and differentiation underpinning schooling have been challenged by “Kaupapa Māori ‘closed’ beliefs or mythologies” (Rata, 2004, p. 62). Rata believes that this becomes problematic when these ‘closed’ beliefs “places *kaupapa Māori* in direct conflict with the modernist value of individual autonomy and the freedom to engage in critical reasoning that underpin New Zealand’s democratic society” (Rata, 2004, p. 72).

Rata argues that within contemporary New Zealand, there is evidence that Māori cultural “‘closed beliefs’, or mythologies”, have “replaced modern scientific beliefs” that are classified as rational because they are “subject to critical scrutiny and change” (Rata, 2004, p.62). According to the tenets of biculturalism Māori cultural knowledge, while not subject to the same rational critique as modern science, claims “epistemic parity with standard accounts of scientific methodology on the grounds that it represents a separate, but equal, worldview” (Marie & Haig, 2009, p. 128). Underpinning this position is a “post-colonial view of science” that “replaces, or exists alongside, orthodox science” (Marie & Haig, 2009, p. 127). Within some Māori schools “*matauranga*”, defined as a “world knowledge enriched with spiritual causality and agency”, is a “legitimate alternative to the scientific world understanding” (Kolig, 2009, p. 67). This produces what Rata (2003) calls the “New Middle-Age”, where knowledge and curriculum become “subjectively and culturally determined” (Rata, 2004, p. 73). Spirituality is one aspect of the “traditional forms of knowledge” (Rata, 2004, p.72) that challenges the “pedagogical principles” that underpin “education systems in democratic societies” and the importance of the “autonomous individual and critical reasoning” (Rata, 2004, p. 73).

Rata’s critique of Kura Kaupapa schools is that they have the potential to promote a “closed communitarian society” (Rata, 2004, p. 62) that sacrifices individual autonomy to traditional economic and political power structures in support of an “ideology of neotribal capitalism” (Rata, 2003, p. 45). Underpinning this movement are power structures guided by an “ideological traditionalism” that is “fixed and ascribed, provides a medium for engagement in a large collectivity, and provides a set of standards, values and rules for living” (Rata, 2004, p. 60-61).

These developments pose a direct challenge to the “pedagogical principals” that support the “autonomous individual and critical reasoning” and underpin “education systems in democratic societies” (Rata, 2004, p. 73).

The situation as Halstead has argued is complex because the “desire for special status is the belief that a minority’s right to cultural survival should sometimes take priority over some of the rights that a liberal democratic state usually guarantees to all its citizens” (p. 260). For some, cultural rights take priority over autonomy and rationality in an individual’s right to schooling. Williams (1998) disputes this argument on the grounds that human rights extend not only to rights against nation states, but also to “rights against religious or cultural groups to which they belong” (p. 36). Cultural rights therefore are not absolute, as Ayton-Shenker has observed, “the right to culture is limited at the point at which it infringes on another human right. No right can be used at the expense or destruction of another, in accordance with international law” (1995, para. 27).

9.2.4.4 Is there an equality of spiritual recognition for all cultures?

Critique is also directed towards the fact that while Maori spirituality is given significance in schooling, there is a lack of acknowledgement of other cultural and religious beliefs. As the New Zealand Human Rights Commission noted in 2009, “while Māori spirituality is recognised in a variety of legislation, there is some criticism of the fact that other spiritual values are not accorded similar recognition” (Human Rights Commission, 2009, para. 15). Kolig raises the paradoxical dilemma where within “public schools *karakia* may be performed, but no Christian prayers spoken” (Kolig, 2009, p. 67). Kolig further argues that “while Maoriness is defined by specific codified criteria and entails certain rights, privileges and exemptions, this complex codification that is designed to allow a maximum of cultural freedom, is absent in the case of other ethnicities” (Kolig, 2009, p. 73). In particular, Kolig highlights the contrast in the spiritual and cultural rights given to Māori in comparison to Muslims:

While Māori cultural and spiritual sensitivities tend to be cocooned by law and social ‘goodwill’ ... Muslim sensitivities are buffeted by the harsher winds of rejection of – or scepticism towards – cultural Otherness. For instance, Māori spirituality is well-recognised, though not so much by protective laws than by “political correctness”; much more effectively in fact than Islam’s sensitivities regarding blasphemy (Kolig, 2009, p. 75).

This situation raises questions concerning an appropriate balance between the spiritual recognition and the rights of all religious groups within state education systems.

9.2.5 An increase in religious minorities challenging the secular clause and the *de facto* Christian population

The relationship between religion and schooling in New Zealand has been challenged in recent years by the “new” plurality of New Zealand. Within New Zealand there has been a “notable growth in the Hindu, Buddhist and Muslim communities” (Carpenter, 2009, para. 22). This has meant that “religion in New Zealand schools needs to be considered in light of this new and changing context” (Carpenter, 2009, para. 22).

The new plurality challenges the New Zealand education system on three fronts. The first is the demand that the state education system include faith schools outside of the *de facto* Christian tradition. This demand is upon the reasoning that state support for minority religious and cultural schools will “promote justice and fairness for children, parents and religious communities” (Jackson, 2003, p. 90). The second challenge is for state schools to accommodate religious and cultural beliefs and practices. This can extend to requirements for prayer facilities for Muslim students and the possibility that voluntary religious education classes should include different religious faiths. As Hannan states, there is “no reason why, if numbers and circumstances permit, there could not be parallel sessions in religious instruction for, say, Muslim or Sikh students” to exist alongside the current Christian voluntary religious education (Hannan, 2006, p. 106). Thirdly, the presence of plural religious communities raises the demand for state education systems to educate students *about* the different religious beliefs that constitute the local, national, and global community (Wanden & Smith, 2010).

Faith schools, from a religious worldview outside of Christianity have proven to be problematic in New Zealand. In New Zealand there are two Muslim schools (one primary and one secondary) integrated into the state education system. Al-Madinah School, based in Auckland, is a Year 1-15 state integrated composite school that “is characterised by Islamic values and aims to promote students' holistic development” (Education Review Office, 2010, p. 3). The students are “provided with individualised support to help them develop spiritually, intellectually and physically within an Islamic environment” (Education Review Office, 2010, p. 3).

Al-Madinah school initially struggled to reconcile its “special character” with Ministry of Education curriculum requirements, as Kolig explains:

The school's curriculum had prioritised religious teaching at the expense of other material. So much time was lost on prayer that eventually the school agreed to extend teaching hours in order to make up for lost time. Problems were compounded by gender issues. Grating against New Zealand norms, the school's strict discipline was combined with gender segregation among staff and students (Kolig, 2010, pp. 121-122).

Following concerns raised by ERO in 2004 and 2005, the Ministry responded by appointing a commissioner "to assume all governance responsibilities" (Education Review Office, 2008, p. 3). However by 2008 ERO had identified improvements that were sustained and in 2010 ERO agreed to "re-establish a board of trustees in 2010 (Education Review Office, 2010, p. 3). The following year the Ministry of Education had successfully established a new board of trustees (Al-Madinah School, 2012).

In addition to challenging the relationship between religion and state education systems, the new plurality of society also challenged the role of religion within state schools. One issue that arises is the accommodations that state schools must make for student's religious convictions and practices. For example, a much criticised "prayer facility" was built in Christchurch's Hagley Community College leading to the Minister of Education denounce "the use of NZ120,000 of "taxpayer money" ... for a religious purpose" contrary to the secular character of New Zealand's secular schooling (Kolig, 2010, p. 122). However, the Minister of Education later was forced to apologise as the inclusion of a prayer facility was "in accordance with the Bill of Rights Act, the Human Rights Act and the Education Act in providing for the religious needs of it students" (Kolig, 2010, p. 122). For many onlookers the fact that Catholic schooling was also in receipt of public funding meant that "denying funds to support Islam ... would have looked like discrimination" (Kolig, 2010, p. 122)

One final issue that has recently emerged in state schools is the wearing of religious items by school students. This has been of particular concern to Muslims in nations such as France which prohibited overt religious symbols within schools in 2004. In 2010, a board of trustees in New Zealand requested to prohibit "any religious items being worn by any student at school, including traditional dress worn by Muslim women, crucifixes, or any form of religious symbol" (Ministry of Education, 2010b, para. 1). The Ministry of Education, however, ruled against this action on the grounds that the Human Rights Act would deem such a ban as "unlawful discrimination" (Ministry of Education, 2010b, para. 1). In summary, the presence of religious minorities within New Zealand has challenged assumptions about the secular character of state schooling, as well as the assumption of a *de facto* Christian nation, thus reconceptualising the character and concept of religion within New Zealand state education.

9.2.6 The New Right, a new political role for religion

From the 1980s, New Right ideologies have had a global impact on education policy and practice. The two key ideologies of the New Right - neo-conservatism and neo-liberalism - have been especially influential in shaping a new relationship between religion and schooling. New Zealand has not escaped the economic, educational, political and social impact of neo-liberalism.

9.2.6.1 *Neo-liberalism: The individual, choice and decentralisation*

Neo-liberalism has become an all-pervading phenomenon in the contemporary New Zealand education landscape, and this is no less true for the relationship between religion and schooling. From the late 1980s, Neo-liberalism has captured and redefined religion and schooling in terms of a market based ideology that shifted authority and responsibility for schooling to the individual ‘consumer’ through the mechanism of the market. Applied to the relationship between religion and schooling, individuals employ the concept of *choice* to access the type of schooling that best suits their religious commitments, and academic and career goals. Underpinning the emphasis upon choice and the individual is the belief in an educational market place where education is a private good directed by economic forces.

The influence of neo-liberalism in New Zealand education began in the 1980s when an economic crisis led the newly elected Labour government to apply neo-liberal ideology to education. In its *Brief to the Incoming Government* in 1987 the New Zealand Treasury, which advises the government on economic issues, recommended that because education shared “the main characteristics of other commodities traded in the market place” then it should be treated as such (Treasury, 1987, p. 33).

In 1988, the Picot Report recommended a radical restructuring of educational administration that while imbued with market rhetoric, tapped into the New Zealand psyche by recommending education policy reforms using the alluring concepts of “community”, “choice”, “cultural sensitivity”, and “individual competence” (Department of Education, 1988). These promises, Quickea argues, held “populist appeal”, the impact of which should “not be underestimated” (Quickea, 1988, p. 12). This appeal of neo-liberalism emanated from public dissatisfaction with

services that were “delivered in the patronising manner of Fabian social engineering, on the basis of assumptions about local needs made by administrators and experts at some distance from the grass roots” (Quicke, 1988, p. 12). These bureaucratic systems were seen as profoundly “undemocratic and patronizing in their attitude to consumers” (Quicke, 1988, p. 12), a point captured by the Picot taskforce that had detected:

A common theme of powerlessness – and consumer dissatisfaction and disaffection ... People clearly felt unable to influence the system ... The comments made centred on feelings of frustration in the face of a system that too often appeared inflexible and unresponsive to consumer demand (Department of Education, 1988, p. 35).

The Picot taskforce’s solution was to recommend the introduction of a system of administration that would

... allow individual institutions to respond to the specific needs of their community and which has clear lines of control and responsibility. All learning institutions should be provided with the funds and information to meet the national objectives of the education system, while having control over how they use these resources (Department of Education, 1988, p. 5).

Particularly important in light of Māori dissatisfaction with the education system was the Picot Report’s support for *cultural sensitivity*.

“Cultural sensitivity”

Specifically the Picot Report responded to long standing frustration regarding state education for Māori that, in turn, had led to the development of Māori initiated schooling alternatives (Kura Kaupapa) outside of the state system (Openshaw, 2009). The Picot report acknowledged that “cultural sensitivity must play a greater part in the education system” and that “Maori people have a special status under the obligations of the Treaty of Waitangi” (Department of Education, 1988, p. 4). It was posited that, “groups whose needs are not being met adequately within the existing institutional framework will have the right to opt out of the existing school system and to create their own institutions” (Department of Education, 1988, pp. 66-67). The cultural sensitivity promised by the Picot report was however, defined by the economic concepts of choice and individual competence, which formed the foundational principles and rationale for the proposal by the taskforce.

The state's provision for separate Māori education institutions through neo-liberal ideology was not new and signalled the continuation of cultural and economic movements already in place. As Openshaw (2009, p.69) has concluded, "by the mid-1980s, much of the bicultural policy rhetoric" that underpinned the "Picot Report and *Tomorrow's Schools* was already in place". In effect, Māori critics of the existing state system readily identified with the neo-liberal argument "that education and schooling were flawed and needed fundamental structural change" (Smith, 1997, p. 106). This provided a "platform for the 'new' right agenda" (Smith, 1997, p. 169).

Initially *Tomorrow's Schools* (1988) policies that emphasised choice and cultural sensitivity were viewed by some as "tantamount to increased 'tino rangatiratanga' (self-determination)" (Smith, 1997, p. 106). However, as Smith points out, this was simply a transfer of responsibility for educational outcomes onto "Māori communities", while "'real' power which is derived from the control over funding has remained with the state" (Smith, 1997, p. 106). Furthermore, the underlying utilitarian philosophy of neo-liberalism challenges the validity of Māori culture and knowledge because neo-liberalism regards knowledge as needing to "demonstrate an economic 'worth' and vocational relevance" (Smith, 1997, p. 275). This should be treated with great caution as it has the possible consequence of resurrecting "traditional dominant ideologies related to the inferiority of Māori language, culture and knowledge, and thereby questions the value of such cultural items within a modern, economic, technocratic: Pākehā world" (Smith, 1997, p. 275).

"Feelings of powerlessness"

The Picot Report also recommended the partial devolution of authority of educational leadership to the community level. As such, within *Tomorrows Schools* local schools were given a degree of autonomy and authority through the establishment of Board of Trustees. The Board of Trustees "are Crown entities ... responsible for the governance of schools" and are made up from individuals that represent the school's local community (Ministry of Education, 2013, para. 1). The Board of Trustees, responsible for the core documents of the school, became the legislative local authority responsible for deciding whether there will be voluntary religious education within the school:

The role of religious observance or instruction in a school will be guided by the school's charter and the school culture defined in its other core documents, such as vision and mission statements, or school values (Human Rights Commission, 2009, p. 16)

For the Churches Education Commission (see pages 287-290) these structural and ideological changes represented an opportunity to further cement a role and relationship between religion and state schooling. Prior to the implementation of Tomorrow's Schools, the CEC sent information to every school about the changes to the structure and policy of state schools under the reforms and how this related to the Churches Education Commission's religious education programme. The CEC petitioned schools for a "spiritual dimension" to be "acknowledged and included in the school charter" (Churches Education Commission, 1988/1992, p. 66). The CEC argued that a Christian Education would aid values such as "the importance of the individual, the value of life, self-esteem, honesty, justice and peace are embedded in the Christian ethic" (Churches Education Commission, 1988/1992, p. 63). This was supported by an almost neo-conservative argument regarding "heritage and culture" with the CEC claiming that "New Zealand heritage and culture has roots in the Christian traditions", and that "Christian values form an important part of society", and for these reasons religious education should be included within education (Churches Education Commission, 1988/1992, p. 63). Furthermore, the CEC engaged with contemporary movements and debates by arguing that the "development of the whole person is not possible without development of the spiritual dimension", and that Māori culture "cannot be understood without reference to Taha Wairua" (Churches Education Commission, 1988/1992, p. 63).

"Choice"

Important to neo-liberal ideology, and thus a key principle of Tomorrow's schools, is the concept of *choice*. Theoretically, neo-liberalism provided an increase in authority to parents to choose their child's education based upon their "wealth and wishes" (Brown, 1997, p. 383). It is within the "wishes" of the parents that a new role for religion within education can be found. Neo-conservatism, an ally of neo-liberalism in what is commonly known as the *New Right*, also emphasises the concept of choice within education. However, while neo-liberals value choice for its function it performs for the market, the neo-conservatives favoured choice is for its ability to access an education that is congruent with an individual's religious beliefs, bypassing a secular education system that many neo-conservatives believe as being "tantamount to indoctrination in atheism" (Norsworthy, 2004, para. 9).

9.2.6.2 *The influence of neo-liberalism upon cultural and religious schools*

While neo-liberalism has provided new opportunities for cultural and religious schools, this has come with a cost through demands placed upon schools to become “economically cost-effective” (Kortizinsky, 2001, p. 207). In effect, religious and cultural schools become “accountable in terms of outcomes related to economic productivity” (Smith, 1997, p. 275) such that the educational marketplace will determine which groups are successful, albeit on economic terms. By structuring an education system upon market philosophy the principle of tolerance is weakened, as only those cultures and religions that are seen as economically productive will be tolerated. This constitutes a serious challenge to concepts of cultural and religious equality, as Smith has observed when evaluating the impact of neo-liberalism on Māori culture. Judged in terms of its economic saliency rather than its inherent value, Smith concluded that

Māori language and culture have now been placed under even greater pressure to demonstrate an economic “worth” and vocational relevance, the counter logic of this notion resurrects traditional dominant ideologies related to the inferiority of Māori language, culture and knowledge, and thereby questions the value of such cultural items within a modern, economic, technocratic: Pākehā world (Smith, 1997, p. 275).

The neo-liberal emphasis on the marketization of schooling also changed the rationale for parental choice of religious schools. As stated previously parents now choose religious schools for social and academic reasons rather than on religious grounds. This has resulted in an increase of student enrolments in religious schools, despite increased secularism of belief (Dronkers, 2004). Religious schools are increasingly seen as being “the equivalent of cut-price private schools” (Wayne, 2011, p. 42). Between 1996 and 2010, students enrolled in Catholic schools in New Zealand increased by one quarter, and the enrolments of all integrated schools increased by one-third (Grunwell, 2011). This increased demand for religious schools has occurred “despite long waiting lists and bills for ‘donations’” (Grunwell, 2011, para. 6). This situation has led one school principal to state that, “the Catholic brand is very hot and very high” - note the choice of word *brand* as opposed to *religion* (Grunwell, 2011, para. 9). The reasons for the increased popularity of religious schools, Grunwell argues, can be attributed to the “academic records of integrated schools” and the demand for a “values-based education” (Grunwell, 2011, para. 11-14). These reasons intersect with the neo-liberal principles of choice and competition, with increases in enrolment also reflecting the “increase in birth rates” and the “arrival of more migrants with religious roots” (Grunwell, 2011,

para. 11-14). As a result, the demand for integrated schools has increased with lengthy waiting lists and “demand outstripping supply” (Wayne, 2011, p. 43).

The majority of places at integrated schools are gained by “preference of enrolment” – that is through demonstrating affiliation with the religious faith of the school (Wayne, 2011, p. 48). Considerations include baptism, religious faith of parents/guardians, and even participation in church (Wayne, 2011). Within Catholic schools this occurs by means of a signed document by a parish priest that certifies the faith of the applicant (Wayne, 2011, p. 48). Such requirements ensures that a kind of religious capital ensues, as Wayne explains

parents who have never darkened the doorstep of a church are calling around Catholic friends to see if they can pull some strings or share their pews, while the long-lapsed are dusting off their baptism gown to find favour with the local parish priest (Wayne, 2011, p. 42).

While “preferential applicants must be accommodated first” integrated schools also offer places to non-preferential applicants in line with their “integration agreement”, with a typical maximum quota of between five and ten per cent (Wayne, 2011). In summary, the increased popularity of religious schools reflects a changing concept of religion within education in New Zealand.

9.2.6.3 Charter schools

In 2011, in order to have sufficient numbers to form a government the National Party of New Zealand entered into a coalition with the Act Party, leading to a right-wing shift in education policy. The *Confidence and Supply Agreement* that legislated this agreement specified the conditions of this coalition where of particular interest to educators was the introduction of *charter schools*. As Section 8.7 has explained charter schools represent a move towards the privatisation of education, where schools effectively compete within an educational marketplace. John Key, the Prime Minister of New Zealand, echoed neo-liberal rhetoric when he declared that, “it’s a step towards more choice” (Cited in Harper, 2012, para.21).

The Confidence and Supply Agreement stated that charter schools would provide opportunity for groups such as “non-profit, community organisations including iwi and Pacific Island groups, school trustees, faith-based educational organisations, and not-for-profit and for-profit management groups” to establish schools within the state system (Confidence and Supply Agreement with ACT New Zealand, 2011, p.7). These groups would “compete to operate a local school or start up a new

one” (Confidence and Supply Agreement with ACT New Zealand, 2011, p.3). The agreement specified that the charter schools could be characterised by one or more of the following “missions”: “a rigorous academic focus; a traditional curriculum; faith based; to serve a target population of students; based on specific governance principles e.g. Te Aho Matua; or to focus on a particular language, vocational training or other area of specialisation.” (Confidence and Supply Agreement with ACT New Zealand, 2011, p.7)

The New Zealand Educational Institute declared its wholehearted opposition to the introduction of charter schools arguing that these schools would lead to an increase in the privatisation of the education system that would be detrimental to local schools and exacerbate existing inequalities (New Zealand Educational Institute, 2012, p.2). Further critique in the media has been directed towards the role of charter schools in opening up a new relationship between religion and schooling. In particular, the *Destiny Church* has been singled out as a likely candidate for integration of its private school into the New Zealand education system (Lyons, 2012). The Destiny Church is a New Zealand founded protestant church that has attracted much media attention over the years for its conservative and market orientated presence in New Zealand’s religious landscape. Some media have criticised the Destiny Church for being little more than a “money making cult” (Cited in Destiny church called a ‘money-making cult’, 2010, para.12) that will be in receipt of government and taxpayers money (Lyons, 2012). For its part, the Green Party has raised concerns that “the charter school system will allow public money to be used to promote religious interests in schools and that employment and curriculum standards will be lowered” (Young, 2012, para. 4). However, Lyons (2012) questions the fairness of these critiques by pointing out that government funding “would be the same ... that applies to other integrated religious schools, including Catholic schools, in New Zealand” (Lyons, 2012, para.3).

Charter schools open up new opportunities for a relationship between religion and state education with charter schools hypothesised as providing Christian schools with a way around “current restrictions on their enrolments” (Christian schools support plan for charter schools, 8 December 2011, para. 4). Several religious groups, including the Destiny Church, the Maharishi Foundation of New Zealand, Manukau Christian Charitable Trust, New Zealand Christian Proprietors Trust and, St Stephen's, and Queen Victoria Schools Trust Board have expressed interest in charter schools (Young, 2012). Just how charter schools will affect the relationship between religion and schooling will not be known until after 2014 when the first charter schools will be established (Young, 2012, para. 12).

9.2.6.4 Neo-Conservatism: Private Schools and Home Schooling

Neo-conservatism, the key partner of neo-liberalism within the new right discourse, is characterised by a desire to realign religion and schooling in response to the increased secularism and pluralism that has weakened the *de facto* Christian society (Cox, 2009). Within New Zealand the historical development of neo-conservatism can be traced to the 1980s where there was increasing concern and evidence that “no longer was New Zealand a Christian nation” (Evans, 1992, pp. 80-81). It was argued that New Zealand’s secular schools were undermining “Christian morality and parental authority” and that “‘secular humanism’ was destroying the role and place of Christianity within the schools and the nation” (Evans, 1992, p. 82).

Neo-conservatism has been manifested in two ways in New Zealand schools; the first is the argument that religion is “part of New Zealand society” and, as such, should be acknowledged within state schools; the second is that “religion is essentially a private matter” that necessitates *choice* of a religious education (Cox, 2009, p. 38). Choice of religious education has manifested in three ways for neo-conservatives: first, are the integrated schools; second, are the private schools outside of the state system and thus outside of requirements of the New Zealand curriculum; and, third are the Christian homeschoolers (Evans, 1992). Each of these educational movements has “sought to promote their own “bible based” educational alternative” (Evans, 1992, p. 82).

Private religious schools are characterised by an overt spiritual dimension and differ from integrated schools primarily because they do not have to follow the New Zealand Curriculum; however, they “must follow a learning programme of at least the same quality” (Ministry of Education, 2011, para. 7). Arising out of neo-conservative concerns, private Christian schools are “in part a reaction to the moral and spiritual basis of public (state) schools” (Giles, 1993, p. 4). These private Christian schools typically reject state provided education due to its “overtly secular humanist” ideology that perpetuates “a set of values and beliefs” contrary to their Christian worldview (Giles, 1993, p. 26). Accordingly private schools demand that the state privatises the education system by adopting a “user pays” system that would “increase the viability of private providers” (Giles, 1993, p. 24).

Similar in ideological perception to the private Christian schools, Christian homeschoolers have rejected the secular New Zealand state schooling. To cater for these parents the Education Act of

1989 provided the structure and funding for home schooling, on the provision that parents meet certain requirements. Parents had to provide “a curriculum plan ... assessment systems and other salient information” (Lynch, 2000, p. 101). Lynch argues that home schooling has provided a new dimension to the relationship between religion and education, as “it is often parents with strong religious views who are at the forefront of home schooling”, and these parents invariably share “conservative world views” (Lynch, 2000, p. 101). Home schooling has grown exponentially from 5,274 homeschoolers in 1998, to 6568 in 2012 - an increase of 25.2 per cent (Education Counts, 2012).

9.2.7 Summary: New Zealand

Post-differentiated schooling in New Zealand has arisen from several variables that together have reconceptualised religion within the state education system. The variables of *educating the whole child*, biculturalism, and postmodernism have initiated and supported the introduction of spirituality into the secular state school curriculum as an individual and cultural phenomenon. The changing relationship between equality, culture and the state, has led to the inclusion of religious and cultural schools within the state education system. The increasing secularism of society and the accompanying co-operation between the Churches has prompted the legislative recognition of voluntary religious education within the Education Act. Finally, neo-liberalism has led to an increasingly individualised and market-based approach to religion and schooling that has prompted political support for cultural and religious schools.

What is absent within New Zealand’s concept of post-differentiated schooling is a liberal secular approach to religious education where knowledge of religions and worldviews is provided to allow and encourage intercultural dialogue and enhanced religious literacy. Although a number of scholars have argued that teaching *about* religion is not prohibited in the Education Act, research conducted into the opinions and feelings of principals, teachers and schools indicates that the “secular system proscribes teaching about religion” (Bradstock, 2012, p. 6). This opinion is founded on the concerns that divisions might arise if an education about religion is pursued and that this would prevent the principles of cultural diversity and individual autonomy being realised through a secular education system. These principles, however, are already questioned with concern directed towards the privileged position of Māori culture; Bradstock argues that while the Māori cultural worldview “is given as a right to all New Zealand children ... access to the religious cultures of the

world is currently denied to children in state schools” (Bradstock, 2012, p. 9). Upon these considerations, the future of religion and schooling in New Zealand will surely be contested.

9.3 Conclusions

Since the 1960’s, religion has been reconceptualised to have new significance within the state education systems of Norway and New Zealand. Contrary to the differentiated schooling period when religion was declining and differentiating, the post-differentiated phase is characterised by new developments in religion and its relationship to schooling. Within Norway religion has become a secular source of national identity and heritage used to minimise global processes that challenge traditional Norwegian social, political and cultural understandings. In essence, religion has been reconceptualised in light of its significance to social and political cohesion. By way of comparison, religion in New Zealand remains a matter of individual choice and an expression of unique cultural identities. However, new political, pedagogical, and philosophical structures, stemming from variables such as multiculturalism, postmodernism and neoliberalism, have provided flexibility and opportunity for a reconceptualisation of the role and place of religion within New Zealand schooling.

The comparison of Norway and New Zealand demonstrates that while post-differentiated schooling is shaped by global variables and properties, it is not a homogenising force. Thus, while Norway and New Zealand both face “a common set of issues and forces” that “redefine the role and nature of the state” in education, how they respond to these pressures is very much dependent upon their national context (Priestley, 2002, p. 122). This is an example of *glocalisation* defined as the interaction of the local and global where “local traditions and influences merge with global trends through a process of ‘glocalisation’”, creating both homogeneity and heterogeneity between nations (Priestley, 2002, p. 122). The key to understanding the impact of the local is the different perceptions each nation has of religion. Religion in New Zealand is perceived as being a private good or a cultural good, whereas religion in Norway is a public and national good, and subsequently a political good. Thus while religion is *administered* in New Zealand, in Norway it is *managed*.

Despite these differences there are similarities - in both nations religion has changed in concept and has increased importance within educational policy. In both Norway and New Zealand, this new role for religion is not easy as tensions arise between global, national, cultural, and political groups

that all vie for influence in determining the relationship between religion and schooling. This contest requires continuous dialogue and negotiation between the different interest groups concerning the extent to which religion should be a part of nation state primary education systems.

Chapter Ten : Conclusion

This thesis has developed the concepts and theories of *phases of differentiated schooling* to identify and analyse the trajectory of the relationship between religion and schooling. *Phases of differentiated schooling* draws upon the sociology of religion, the history of education, and the case studies of Norway and New Zealand in order to build a conceptual and theoretical framework that explains religious change in schooling. Three general phases of relationship have been identified: *undifferentiated schooling*, *differentiated schooling*, and *post-differentiated schooling*. Within each phase the role, purpose, and content of religion within state education policy is conceptualised, and the causal variables underpinning each phase identified. The legitimacy of these theories and concepts is embedded in global political, philosophical, religious, and educational developments that claim general impact and relevance to the nations and schooling systems of Norway and New Zealand respectively.

This thesis demonstrates that while a common trajectory of religious change in schooling can be identified, how each phase is manifested within each nation is dependent upon the nation's social, cultural, political, and economic context. For this reason, it is necessary to balance the insight provided by the general concepts and theories of *phases of differentiated schooling* with the political, cultural, and social characteristics of each nation. This indicates that the relationship between religion and schooling invariably is a dialogue between the local and global. Thus, while global political, cultural, and pedagogical ideas have led to a changing conceptualisation of religion within nation state primary education, how these global phenomena are manifested in education policy is dependent upon a nation state's context with respect to its historically embedded attitudes to religion and schooling. The dialogue between the local and global is significant as it reveals not only global influence but also a nation's beliefs, attitudes and values that elucidate important cultural, religious, political and social contextual features that shape the relationship between religion and schooling.

Section 10.1 summarises the properties and variables of un-differentiated, differentiated, and post-differentiated schooling in relation to the religious, educational, cultural, and political contexts of New Zealand and Norway. It is contended that while phases of differentiated schooling explains the trajectory of relationship between religion and schooling in each nation, the manifestation of each phase has been mediated through each nation's particular context. Subsequently, within each phase

of relationship between religion and schooling are national differences that can be explained by each nation's perception of religion in relation to the principles of *social cohesion*, *individual autonomy*, and *cultural diversity*. Section 10.2 extends this argument to identify the specific national characteristics that have shaped perceptions of religion and its role within schooling. Influential to determining a nation's attitudes and beliefs towards religion is whether a nation state perceives religion in relation to the individual or society, as a cohesive or divisive influence, or as a means towards cultural, political, and social stability or an opportunity for change.

The second half of this chapter appraises *phases of differentiated schooling* and outlines its potential contribution to policy development. Section 10.3 evaluates *phases of differentiated schooling* as a theory and questions whether the theory is compatible to observation, comprehensive, generalizable, and testable. Section 10.4 examines specifically how *phases of differentiated schooling* can contribute to the policy making process. It is argued that the central contribution of the theory to policy making is the provision of a theoretical and conceptual map from which policy makers can identify and analyse the pressures, tensions, and demands placed upon the relationship between religion and schooling. It provides both contemporary and historical perspectives that interplay and shape the variables that a nation state must address within its educational policy – by negation, resistance, acceptance or modification. Sections 10.5 and 10.6 develop this argument further by analysing the contribution that the historical and comparative perspective (embedded within this thesis) can make to policy analysis and development. The historical and comparative perspective elucidates unique and enduring national characteristics that shape a nation's perception of the “right” relationship between religion and schooling. This is significant for policy makers who are primarily concerned with whether the policy will work. An understanding of national context provided by the historical and comparative perspective addresses this concern. This chapter concludes with a summary of observations and suggestions for future research.

10.1 National similarities and differences within the phases of differentiated schooling

Phases of differentiated schooling is a broad theoretical and conceptual framework that identifies general variables that have shaped and changed the relationship between religion and schooling. For example, variables such as the rise of Christianity, Protestantism, the Enlightenment, the scientific revolution, and liberalism have had a global impact in shaping the relationship between religion and schooling across geographical divides. However, moderating the influence of these variables are

persistent national characteristics that determine how these variables are applied to education policy. Thus, while phases of differentiated schooling provides a general explanation of religion's changing relationship to education policy, a nation's perception of the principles of social cohesion, individual autonomy, and cultural diversity in relation to religion helps to explain national differences within the broad theoretical and conceptual framework.

10.1.1 Undifferentiated schooling

The first phase of the relationship between religion and schooling is conceptualised as *undifferentiated schooling*. Within this phase, there were minimal distinctions between the systems of religion and schooling. Schooling was under the canopy of religion with its purpose, content, and ethos determined by, and dependent upon, religion. Undifferentiated schooling had its origins within the Middle Ages where Christianity arose to form a 'sacred canopy' over society as religious authority grew to claim licence over all spheres of society, including education. In the 16th century the Reformation increased the educational significance of Christianity through its theological mandate of a personal relationship with God. The Reformation posited that salvation was the responsibility of the individual necessitating a degree of literacy to read the Bible and catechism, thereby increasing the institutionalisation of religious schooling. In addition, the relationship between religion and schooling had new political significance due to the religious pluralism and political instability that resulted from the Reformation. This increased the importance of schooling and as a necessary means for political socialisation and social cohesion. Thus, the relationship between religion and schooling was strengthened by the Reformation because schooling became institutionalised under the authority and provision of the church with state support.

Undifferentiated schooling explains the initial structure and organisation of schooling in New Zealand and Norway where common to both Norway and New Zealand was an initial Church authority and provision over schooling arising from the global influence of Christianity's social, political, and pedagogical influences. Thus, schooling in both nations was characterised initially by religious authority over schooling, a strong Christian ontology, the predominance of religious knowledge, and a close relationship between religion and culture that ensured religious education was in fact a cultural education. However, within the concept and theory of undifferentiated schooling in New Zealand and Norway are distinct differences in its structure, shape, and content.

These differences stem from nationally distinctive historical cultural, social and political characteristics.

Within New Zealand, the combination of a religiously plural population and the establishment of schooling in an era conscious of the importance of religious rights and individual freedom meant that the schooling system was established and evolved to take account of the rights of individuals to be free from religious compulsion. There was no official state-sanctioned church and religion's influence in schooling became neither universal nor compulsory. Thus while schooling in New Zealand was initially under the umbrella of the Churches this was through multiple and diverse denominational providers of schools. A strong relationship between the state and any one denomination was pragmatically unfeasible due to the plurality of Christianity in New Zealand. In contrast, Norway constitutionally had only one denomination of Christianity and a schooling system that had developed almost 100 years before New Zealand's in an era of theocracy. Thus, undifferentiated schooling arose in Norway with one centrally defined and provided compulsory church school that had a common national catechism that created a monolithic ontology. Consequently, in Norway the relationship between religion and schooling was perceived as providing an important means of social cohesion, schooling was a means "to secure religious uniformity" (Österlin, 1995, p. 111). This, however, meant limited acknowledgement of individual autonomy and cultural diversity in determining the relationship between religion and schooling.

These differences within undifferentiated schooling can be summarised by the overarching principles of social cohesion, individual autonomy, and cultural diversity. Table 10.1 illustrates how these principles become manifested in differences within the concept of undifferentiated schooling in Norway and New Zealand.

Table 10.1 *National differences within the concept of undifferentiated schooling.*

	Norway	New Zealand
Social cohesion	Through a common, compulsory and universal religious education.	Christianity's function for social cohesion recognised but limited to mostly tacit support for plural Christian denomination schools.
Individual autonomy	Limited	Choice of whether to attend school, and if so which Christian denominational school. Early recognition of individual autonomy of religious belief.
Cultural diversity	Limited	Limited to recognition of a Christian plurality.

10.1.2 Differentiated Schooling

The second phase of relationship between religion and schooling is conceptualised as *differentiated schooling*. Differentiated schooling is the educational outcome of the secularisation and differentiation of society and is characterised by secular authority and provision over schooling and the predominance of secular aims and content. Significant to the differentiation of schooling from religion in both Norway and New Zealand was the development of liberalism that emphasised the autonomy of the individual to determine one's religious beliefs, thus restricting the role religion could have in a universal and compulsory school system. The nation state became the "primary unit to organise and govern social, political and economic life" (Bray & Kai, 2007, p. 127) and therefore the provider and authority over education. The common nation state school in both Norway and New Zealand was widely believed to be the primary means of social cohesion. In addition, scientific advancements positioned rationality and reason as being the keys to knowledge, diminishing the role of faith and religion in its utility to society. As such, because secular knowledge became increasingly important in the newly industrialised and democratic societies that demanded an educated citizenry, the value and role of secular knowledge within schooling became all the more important.

However, despite the general similarities elucidated by the concept of differentiated schooling differences in each nation's perception of religion in relation to the principles of social cohesion, individual autonomy, and culturally diversity led to differences in the structure and ethos of differentiated schooling. Given Norway's historical experience of religion as a successful means for

achieving social cohesion, and its relatively homogenous population, it was not surprising that religious education continued to remain an arena in which the state school could legitimately educate. However, individual autonomy and cultural diversity were increasingly recognised through exemption laws and a carefully worded Christian purpose within the Education Act. Because the exemption laws were based on the assumption of a generally homogenous population, united in the values of Christianity that underpinned society this did not constitute a threat to the continuation of Norwegian culture as defined through the Christian religion. Therefore, these concessions signified only limited recognition by the Norwegian government for the diversity of religious belief.

In contrast, New Zealand's concerns for individual autonomy and cultural diversity meant that for pragmatic reasons schooling had to be secular. Religion in New Zealand policy and practice came to be a private affair as political authorities recognised that there could be no universally accepted relationship between religion and society, and religion and state schooling. The secular school was believed to be religiously neutral and thus supportive of the principles of individual autonomy and cultural diversity. Table 10.2 summarises the contextual variations of differentiated schooling in Norway and New Zealand.

Table 10.2 *National differences within the concept of differentiated schooling.*

	Norway	New Zealand
Social cohesion	Through the common nation state school.	Through the common nation state school.
Individual autonomy	Exemption clauses to religious education. The Christian purpose of the Act limited and defined by the phrase "in cooperation with the home".	Secular schooling believed to be religiously neutral, thereby respecting individual autonomy.
Cultural diversity	Exemption clauses to religious education. The Christian purpose of the Act limited and defined by the phrase "in cooperation with the home".	Secular schooling believed to be religiously neutral, thereby respecting cultural diversity.

10.1.3 Post-differentiated Schooling

Post-differentiated schooling is the final phase of the relationship between religion and schooling and is characterised as a reconceptualisation of religion that has led to an increased role for religion within state education systems. Within this phase, religion has been reasserted and revived within state education policy, thereby creating a new complexity of relationship between religion and schooling, one not witnessed in the differentiated era. Post-differentiated schooling is characterised by the pedagogical reconceptualisation of religious education, the renewed significance of religion to culture, the introduction of the concept of spirituality, and the expansion of state education systems to recognise religious and cultural schools. As with the concepts of un-differentiated and differentiated schooling, while post-differentiated schooling offers a general conceptual relationship between religion and schooling, distinctive national differences exist that determine how it will be manifested.

A key property of post-differentiated schooling is the revitalised link between religion and culture brought about by the variables of multiculturalism and globalisation. Religion has become acknowledged as a means of cultural heritage and identity, thereby increasing religion's significance to schooling. However, how this relationship between religion and culture is configured within education systems is dependent upon the nation state's perception of the contribution of religion to social cohesion, individual autonomy, and cultural diversity. Christianity in Norway has been assertively linked to Norwegian national identity and heritage, functioning as a means of both social cohesion and political socialisation, while within New Zealand religion has been reinstated in relation to the cultural rights of the indigenous Maori and as an individual human right. The significance of religion to minority cultures has also been strengthened through the concept of spirituality and the postmodern movement that gave authority and autonomy to the individual and cultural groups to define what spirituality means for them. Because spirituality and postmodernism places authority with the individual and cultural group at the expense of a collectively defined spirituality, these movements have had a greater impact in New Zealand than in Norway. Additionally, common to both Norway and New Zealand, there is an acknowledgement of cultural and religious rights through the integration of indigenous cultural schools and religious schools into the state education system.

Global organisations have recognised the new cultural status of religion and have highlighted the importance of religious education for enhancing intercultural dialogue and understanding. However,

the recommendations for religious education made by global organisations have had to acknowledge that national context determines how, and if, a recommended religious education will be manifested in state schools. For example, within Norway the introduction of a multifaith religious education subject in 1997 was shaped by Norway's agenda of social cohesion that manifested in a predominately Christian education subject with limited exemption rights. Interestingly, the authority of global organisations was asserted when the European Union compelled Norway to change the structure and ethos of its religious education subject so that there was no qualitative preferential treatment of a particular religion. In contrast, New Zealand's ever present concern for individual autonomy and cultural diversity means that any prescribed religious education in state schools is treated with caution, the predominant belief remains that respect for cultural diversity is best recognised through a secular school. Religious education in New Zealand is recognised through voluntary religious education classes, ambiguous support for a spiritual education within state schools, and the option for alternative schooling arrangements in the form of integrated schools, private schools, or homeschooling.

In summary, post-differentiated schooling is underpinned by a changing concept of religion within the state education systems of New Zealand and Norway that is filtered through each nation's perception of religion in relation to the principles of social cohesion, individual autonomy and cultural diversity. Table 10.3 illustrates the national differences within the concept of post-differentiated schooling.

Table 10.3 *National differences within the concept of post-differentiated schooling.*

	Norway	New Zealand
Social cohesion	Compulsory religious education subject dominated by Christianity.	Limited.
Individual autonomy	Limited by the compulsory religious education subject with only partial exemption that was, in part, in reaction to the new individualism of society. However, there is state support for alternative character schools, predominately of a Christian nature.	Recognised through - optional voluntary religious education classes - State support for special character schools. - Spirituality that is included within the curriculum is defined by the individual.
Cultural diversity	Limited by the compulsory religious education subject with only partial exemption that was, in part, in reaction to cultural diversity. Difficulty for other cultural/religious schools to establish schools under the same law. Limited autonomy of Sámi schools.	State support for Kura Kaupapa Maori schools, and Muslim schools (though these have faced some difficulty). Recognition of Maori spirituality within the curriculum and the tacit practice of state schooling.

In summary, despite the very different positions of religion in New Zealand and Norwegian society that this section has outlined, the overarching theory of the three phases of differentiated schooling holds true for both nations. Thus, the theory and concepts of phases of differentiated schooling have explanatory power to the case studies of Norway and New Zealand, while not overlooking case study complexity.

10.2 The national contextual features of New Zealand and Norway

The differences exhibited by New Zealand and Norway within each phase of differentiated schooling can be understood by what the Annales school of French researchers call the *mentalities of an era*. The *mentalities of an era* provide a useful means to understand national differences because it brings attention to the contextual features of each nation that influences attitudes towards education and religion. ‘Mentalities of an era’ acknowledges “assumptions about life”, the organisation of thinking, and the “overall pattern of conscious and unconscious cognition; beliefs and values that prevailed in an era” (Neuman, 2006, p. 427). When applied to religion and schooling, the differences in *mentalities* between Norway and New Zealand can be elucidated through drawing upon and adapting Morris and Cogan’s (2001, p. 113) identification of ‘critical tensions’ within civic education to the relationship between religion and schooling. The following questions and discussion further explains each nation’s “mentalities” towards religion and schooling:

1. Is religion perceived as cohesive or divisive?
2. Is religion positioned in relation to the individual or society?
3. Does religion have a role in social stability or as a means of change?
4. Is religion a “body of received knowledge” or “provisional and constructed”?

Is religion perceived as cohesive or divisive?

Whether a nation perceives religion as being a cohesive or divisive force is significant in determining whether religion is perceived as a public or a private good, and whether religion has any legitimate social and political role within schooling. Norway, traditionally and contemporarily, regards religion as being cohesive and therefore a public good. Consequently, religion has a legitimate role within Norwegian state schooling. In contrast, New Zealand has traditionally perceived religion as divisive and thus has relegated religion to the private arena, subsequently state schooling is secular. Norway’s historical and contemporary perception of religion is socially cohesive whereas New Zealand regards religion as socially divisive.

In Norway religion has historically been useful in uniting a geographically, and thus culturally and linguistically, diverse array of people into one culture through the ontological, moral, and social constructs defined by religion and reproduced by education. The early implementation of

Christianity in the 11th century, and the successful and relatively smooth process of religious change from Catholicism to Lutheranism in the 16th century meant that Christianity has assisted with promoting social cohesion and national identity. Developments in the post-differentiated era have been guided by this ‘functionalist’ understanding of religion within schooling that emphasises the “social function of religion”, rather than focussing on religion’s content of belief, doctrine, rituals (Appelrouth & Edles, 2008, p. 126). Thus, religious education in the post-differentiated era is conceptualised, and legitimated, for what it does, as opposed to its content. Durkheim’s writings on social cohesion are relevant here for he argues that the “social function” of religion should be “to encode the system of relations of the group” to bring together and reaffirm “the collective sentiments and ideas that hold the group together” (Appelrouth & Edles, 2008, p. 127).

Christianity within the Norwegian school curriculum is widely believed to have made a significant contribution to the social purpose of schooling through its historical and continual contribution to “Norwegian” values, attitudes, and practices. The “spiritual dimension of the human”, namely in its Christian interpretations, is seen by the Norwegian state as occupying a “central part in the social integration process” (Skeie, 2003, p. 59). Consequently, in the 1997 core curriculum religious education was a central subject dominated quantitatively and qualitatively by Christianity with religious education legally compulsory for all students regardless of one’s cultural or religious identity. This compulsion was justified by religious education’s contribution to the “integration of socio-cultural diversity through establishing a common pool of knowledge about the Norwegian cultural heritage, namely as it is shaped by Christianity” (Skeie, 2003, p. 60). Thus through the curriculum it was posited that knowledge of Christianity is necessary to understand “the language, the customs and history of Norway” (Andreassen, 2010, p. 7). From this perspective, the curriculum presents “Christianity ... as the social glue and a precondition for national integration” (Andreassen, 2010, p. 7).

In contrast, religion in New Zealand has historically been perceived as divisive and as a threat to political and social stability. There is a persistent belief that an individual’s freedom of religion is best protected through a secular public sphere and schooling system. Accordingly, priority is given to the principles of individual autonomy and cultural diversity in determining the relationship between religion and schooling. Social cohesion is achieved not through religion but through secular institutions and values. This secular position perceives religion as “too personal and sensitive to dealt with in schools” (Cush, 2007, p. 220). Concern arises about not only the ability of teachers “to avoid their own opinions influencing their presentation” but also the interaction of

plural religions in one unified subject that might emphasise differences between students “in a way that could cause trouble” (Cush, 2007, p. 220). As such, the secular tradition reflected in New Zealand’s education system assumes that it “is better to stress the sort of human moral values which can be shared by all traditions and none rather than values which divide us” (Cush, 2007, p. 220).

Is religion perceived in relation to the individual or society?

The second question emerges from the perception of religion as being cohesive or divisive, and the significance of religion to the individual and society. When religion is perceived to be divisive, as it has been in New Zealand, it becomes by necessity a private affair with a line drawn between the sacred and the profane where the sacred is a private individual matter outside of the secular neutrality of state and society. Thus schooling becomes secular based on the principle of neutrality, and religion is perceived in relation to the individual. However, this is not the case for nations such as Norway where religion is valued for its cohesive qualities. Norway’s historically predominant homogenous society has meant that religion was, and is, perceived as a public good and therefore has a legitimate role in common schooling.

This difference in perceptions of religion is illustrated by the introduction of the term *spiritual* in both the New Zealand and Norwegian curricula in the 1990s. In New Zealand, spirituality was presented from the theoretical perspective of postmodernism and subsequently became defined in terms of individual, cultural, and subjective understandings. King (1996) argues that spirituality’s characteristic of ambiguity, subjectivity, and plurality can be seen as particularly appropriate to nations such as New Zealand, whereby “greater clarification would bring greater difficulties” (King, 1996, p. 344). King explains that spirituality “permits a range of possible understandings and approaches that can satisfy or at least not antagonize the majority of teachers, parents and children” in a way, that religion cannot (King, 1996, p. 344). In marked contrast, is the spirituality that appeared within the Norwegian 1997 curriculum’s “spiritual human being” that was predominately “based on fundamental Christian and humanistic values” (Royal Ministry of Education, Research and Church Affairs, 1997, p. 7). Thus, spirituality came to be defined in relation to the individual in New Zealand and in relation to society in Norway.

The question of whether religion relates to the individual or society needs careful analysis to take account of the changing social task of the school. Hervieu-Léger makes the pertinent observation that the social task of the school has changed – no longer is the school expected to make individuals

“‘fit’ into the social system” but the objective is now to “‘forge relationships’ between individuals and groups from disparate cultural and social backgrounds” (Hervieu-Léger, 1998, p. 214). This changes significantly the role of religious education within schools where correspondingly the role of religious education is no longer to fit students into society but to ‘forge relationships’ between plural religious and cultural identities. Thus, if religious education is positioned in relation to society as opposed to the individual, care must be taken to ensure that the collective goals of religion do not sacrifice liberal rights, as Charles Taylor concludes:

A society with strong collective goals can be liberal ... provided it is also capable of respecting diversity, especially when dealing with those who do not share its common goals; and provided it can offer adequate safeguards for fundamental rights (Taylor, 1994, p. 59).

Does religion have a role in social stability or as a means of change?

The third tension questions whether religion is perceived as a means of ‘social stability’ or as a means to social change and reconstruction. In other words, is religion perceived as a dynamic means of change or as a conservative phenomenon contributing to the maintenance of social stability? Within contemporary New Zealand and Norway there are two markedly different positions on this question. In Norway there has been a largely conservative perception of religion as providing a means to social stability, with religious education regarded as an important means for conserving and reproducing Norwegian identity and heritage. This conservative utilisation of religion “privileges order and can justify extant social arrangements” (Beckford & Richardson, 2007, p. 420). Religion is perceived as a means to hold “cultural chaos and social disintegration ... at bay through sense-making systems that are anchored in a uniquely transcendent reality” (Beckford & Richardson, 2007, p. 420). This perception leads to the belief that “tampering with social order (or for that matter, with received religious traditions) can lead to social instability” (Beckford & Richardson, 2007, p. 420).

In contrast, religion and schooling have been perceived by Maori in New Zealand as a means for social change and reconstruction. The role of spirituality in Maori culture, and thus education, has challenged the dichotomy between the secular and the sacred that arguably has arisen from the predominant protestant European culture. Through Kura Kaupapa schools, and the increasing presence of Māori spirituality in the public schools, religion and schooling is now being utilised to bring about cultural change in New Zealand schools and society. Perhaps not surprisingly this

creates tensions between culture, religion, and the secular state schools; tensions that are distinctively different from the traditional tensions between Christianity and secular schools because they are legitimated by agencies and political ideologies external to the nation state. Maori spirituality is protected by the ideologies of biculturalism, multiculturalism, global and national legislation, and the general ambiguity that characterises the term spirituality.

An interesting point concerning the role of Māori spirituality as a means of social change is the linguistic questioning of the difference in connotations of the term *religion*, in contrast to the term *spirituality*. The differences between these two terms, discussed in Chapter One and Eight, raise the hypothesis that if the words ‘Maori religion’ replaced ‘Maori spirituality’, then the current practice of the sacred within New Zealand state schools may be open to the same critique as for other religions in New Zealand state schools. Adding to the linguistic puzzle is the language through which spirituality enters the school – for example, the Lord’s Prayer in Maori is viewed as less controversial than the Lord’s Prayer in English. This language distinction reflects a cultural distinction between religion and spirituality, thus the Lord’s Prayer in English is regarded as religion whereas the Lord’s Prayer in Maori is spirituality. This distinction between religion and spirituality in the public space becomes “simplified into ‘good’ individual spirituality and ‘bad’ organized religion” (Zinnbauer et al., 1997, p. 563). From this perspective, religion is dogmatic and institutionalised, and thus antithetical to the secular school, a plural population, and the liberal individual. However, because spirituality is personal and subjective, its presence is difficult to critique when its definition supposedly rests with the individual or cultural group. What these definitions do not account for is that spirituality within a given culture can be just as institutionalised, dogmatic, and historically grounded as religion. Consequently, spirituality, culture, and language may create opportunities for some religious expressions and cultural change but not for others.

Is religion a body of “received knowledge” or “provisional and constructed”? (Morris & Cogan, 2001, p. 113)

The fourth question asks whether the nature of religion is received and objective, or constructed and subjective. This questioning reflects the debates between *spirituality* and *religion*, for as spirituality is individualised, ambiguous, and subjective it can be understood as provisional and constructed whereas religion’s more objective and institutionalised form means it appears most often as a body of ‘received knowledge’. Comparing Norway and New Zealand it can be argued that a conception

of religion as ‘received knowledge’ has characterised contemporary developments of Norway whereas a conception of spirituality as ‘provisional and constructed’ has characterised the contemporary developments in New Zealand. The appearance of spirituality in the New Zealand curriculum in 1999 is presented as a construction between the teachers and students, with no overt curriculum, while KRL and RLE in the Norwegian curriculum is, generally speaking, a ‘body of received knowledge’ that is outlined in learning objectives, curricula, and textbooks.

10.3 The evaluation of the theory phases of differentiated schooling

As a theory, phases of differentiated schooling needs to be evaluated against criteria which test whether it is a “good theory”. Walt argues that there are five such criteria (Walt, 2005, p.26). The first criterion of good theory questions whether the theory is compatible with case studies and observation. The second criterion looks at whether the theory is “complete”; that is, does it identify all the key variables and properties that influence and map the phenomena being analysed? Thirdly, the “explanatory power” of the theory is evaluated; this refers to whether the theory adequately explains the perplexing and complex phenomena being analysed (Walt, 2005, p. 27). The fourth criterion of good theory evaluates whether the theory can be generalised and whether it provides constructs that allow for the “testing” of its claims. The final criterion evaluates the subject of the theory, that is, an appraisal of the “magnitude” and “interest” of the subject that the theory explains (Walt, 2005, p. 27).

The first criterion simply pronounces that good theory “must be compatible with the observations made relative to it and with already existing knowledge” (Wiersom & Jurs, 2009, p. 21). To this end, due to the synthesis of deductive and inductive reasoning, *phases of differentiated schooling* is compatible both to the observations of the relationship between religion and schooling in Norway and New Zealand, and to the sociological theory of secularisation and its recent developments. Thus, *phases of differentiated schooling* is compatible to comparative observations and prevailing knowledge.

The second and significant criterion used to evaluate theory involves analysing whether or not the theory is complete. As Walt has argued a “good theory ... does not leave us wondering about the causal relationships at work” (Walt, 2005, p. 27), therefore a complete theory is one that “has no ‘debilitating gaps’,” such as an omitted variable that either makes its predictions unacceptably

imprecise or leads to biased inferences about other factors” (Walt, 2005, p. 27). The two-levels of the theories of phases of differentiated schooling are particularly successful in this regard because they identify both the key basic-level causal variables as well as the geographically and historically distant secondary-level variables. This multi-level causal analysis provides a complex and complete explanation of the variables that change the relationship between religion and schooling. Furthermore, the connected three-level concepts explain how these variables relate to the policy of religion within schooling in each phase. Given both the multidisciplinary sources of the causal variables of differentiated schooling and the multiple levels of analysis, the theory of phases of differentiated schooling provides a complex explanation of why the relationship between religion and schooling has arisen and changed, and moreover how this can be observed within educational policy.

The theory of *phases of differentiated schooling* therefore has *explanatory power*. “Explanatory power” is defined by Walt as being the “ability to account for phenomena that would otherwise seem mystifying” (Walt, 2005, p. 27). Elaborating upon this argument Walt states that “theories are especially valuable when they illuminate a diverse array of behaviour that previously seemed unrelated and perplexing, and they are most useful when they make apparently odd or surprising events seem comprehensible” (Walt, 2005, p. 27). A key strength of the theory *phases of differentiated schooling* is that it synthesises developments in epistemology, politics, culture, religion, spirituality, globalisation, and pedagogy, to explain religion’s changing concept, definition, and perception within schooling.

The fourth criterion for evaluating theory is whether it has capacity for generalisation and whether it can be “tested”. While phases of differentiated schooling does not claim a general global relevance, given the fact that the variables that underpin the theory are global in origin and influence, the theory may elucidate educational change in more case studies than Norway and New Zealand. Furthermore, phases of differentiated schooling may have ‘greater’ generalisability given the choice of case studies it utilises for its development and illustration. New Zealand and Norway were not picked for their religious similarities, rather they are characterised by some striking differences exhibited within the practice and perception of religion in society and schooling. These differences increase the potential generalisability and power of the theory.

The next criterion describes “good theory” as when “the generalisations can be tested” (Wiersom & Jurs, 2009, p. 21). Deconstructing the theoretical structure of phases of differentiated schooling

reveals that the testability of each phase lies in matching its theoretical variables and conceptual properties to the case study under question. The multi-level structure of the three-level concept and the two-level theory provides a direct link between theory and observation. The indicator-level of the three-level concept allows the researcher to categorise and identify practices and observations in education policy in relation to the abstract properties of the concept and the complex variables that underpin it. Thus, the indicator-level properties of the concept of each era allow the researcher to ‘test’ whether education policy on religion is consistent with a particular phase.

Finally, theory can also be evaluated by analysing *what* the theory is about. As Walt states,

A theory that deals with a problem of some magnitude is likely to garner greater attention and/or respect than a theory that successfully addresses a puzzle of little intrinsic interest. Thus, a compelling yet flawed explanation for great power war or genocide is likely to command a larger place in the field than an impeccable theory that explains the musical characteristics of national anthems (Walt, 2005, p. 27).

The relationship between religion and schooling, in this respect, is a ‘problem of some magnitude’ that has global and national relevance. As a contested source of cohesion or division, it occupies an integral and important space in the contemporary global agenda that seeks to promote greater communication, understanding, and peace. The significance of this issue is evident through the attention that religion within schooling gains from local cultural organisations, religious groups, local school authorities, nation state policy makers, academics, and global organisations. The tensions between these groups highlight the fact that the relationship between religion and schooling requires robust theory to analyse and negotiate the contested role that religion occupies within state education systems.

10.4 The contribution of theory to policy development

Phases of differentiated schooling, by addressing issues of pertinence to nation states, has the potential to make a valuable contribution to education policy development because it provides a theoretical framework of the global variables that shapes the very context in which education policy is developed and thus offers a conceptual map. The phases of differentiated schooling offer what Kubow and Fossum define as an “awareness and understanding of the theoretical and philosophical assumptions underlying educational issues” (Kubow & Fossum, 2003, p. 4). In this way *phases of*

differentiated schooling links theory with policy, thereby confirming Walt's belief that "theory and policy are inextricably linked" (Walt, 2005, p. 28).

Theory assists policy makers by identifying "recurring relations between two or more phenomena and explains why that relationship obtains" (Walt, 2005, p. 26). From this perspective *phases of differentiated schooling* identifies the recurring relations between religion and schooling, and explains by way of a concise conceptual and theoretical map of the central variables and properties why this relationship has arisen. Moreover, it provides policy makers with "a picture of the central forces that determine real-world behaviour", simplifying reality "in order to render it comprehensible" (Walt, 2005, p. 26). Thus, a central attribute of the theory is its ability to isolate and simplify the causal variables and manifestations of a phenomenon, thereby allowing policy makers to understand "what sort of phenomenon they are facing" (Walt, 2005, p. 29).

Phases of differentiated schooling divides the history of the relationship between religion and schooling into three distinct eras. Within each era the 'central causal forces' that shaped the relationship between religion and schooling are defined, thus providing policy makers with a sophisticated framework of the spiritual, cultural, global, political, and pedagogical forces by which religion has been reconceptualised and the consequences this has had, and continues to have, for education policy. This is particularly useful for policy development, as Walt explains:

By identifying the central causal forces at work in a particular era, theories offer a picture of the world and thus can provide policy makers with a better understanding of the broad context in which they are operating. Such knowledge may enable policy makers to prepare more intelligently and in some cases allow them to prevent unwanted developments (Walt, 2005, p. 31).

In addition, the general theory of differentiated schooling exposes national idiosyncrasies. This is consistent with the nature of good theories, where along with elucidating general patterns, "help us anticipate how different regions or states are likely to evolve over time" (Walt, 2005, p. 31). Thus, the theory phases of differentiated schooling has helped to expose national characteristics of Norway and New Zealand that provides policy makers with an idea of how each nation states might respond to policy change. Consistent across the theoretical and historical analysis of religion and schooling in New Zealand has been an underlying concern for the principles of individual autonomy and cultural diversity, whereas in Norway emphasis has been placed on social cohesion.

These principles can offer policy makers a useful guide to how new developments of religion and schooling will be perceived and received within each nation.

10.5 The contribution of the historical perspective to policy development

Policy development revolves around two fundamental questions: “what is right” and “what will work?” (Graham, 1980, p. 21). The historical perspective takes account of both “perspective and prevention” when answering these questions and assists in realising the fundamental link between what is appropriate (or “right”) for a given era and what is feasible in a given context (Graham, 1980, p. 21). As phases of differentiated schooling provides a historical theoretical analysis, it also makes an integral historical contribution to policy development for as Walt explains, theory “guides our understanding of the past” and “historical interpretations often influence what policy makers do later” (Walt, 2005, p. 30). The historical perspective embedded within the phases of differentiated schooling allows national characteristics that have developed and persisted throughout time to be identified; thereby helping us to understand *what will work* within a particular national context. Furthermore the historical perspective provides a means to identify *what is right* within each era through identifying variables that shape political, social, cultural, epistemological, and pedagogical understandings of what is appropriate and just in each particular period.

The three ‘phases’ of differentiated schooling allows policy makers to identify why historical practices and conceptions are ‘right’ in one era but not in another. Phases of differentiated schooling demonstrates that the concept of religion in today’s education policy is not the same as religion in the differentiated or undifferentiated education policy phase. This provides a means for analysing what is conservative, redundant, or no longer appropriate. For example, ‘old’ understandings of a strict differentiation between religion and schooling, based upon a secular school system that is culturally and religiously neutral to the ‘de-ontological’ individual, does little for contemporary understandings of the importance of cultural and individual spiritual expressions and affiliation within schooling.

The theory phases of differentiated schooling, also provide insight into “what will work” (Graham, 1980, p. 21) by drawing attention to a nation state’s attitudes, beliefs, and practices towards religion. For example, the relationship between religion and schooling within New Zealand has historically been defined to respect cultural diversity and individual autonomy. This is a deeply held

tradition in New Zealand and future considerations of the role of religion within education policy must acknowledge this reality to ensure its success. In contrast, religious education policy in Norway has historically been defined in relation to social cohesion. However, “what will work” needs to continuously be juxtaposed against “what is right” (Graham, 1980, p. 21) as the contemporary case study of Norway illustrates. Working within the Norwegian context, the 1997 school curriculum made a Christian dominated religious education compulsory for all students. However, when juxtaposed with global developments and perceptions of ‘what is right’ in the practice of religion within state schooling, the European Court of Human Rights compelled Norway to change their religious education subject to what was globally accepted as *right* within this era. Thus what ‘works’ needs to also be consistent with what is ‘right’, where both are necessary for the success and viability of a policy.

10.6 The contribution of the comparative perspective to policy development

While this thesis is not a comparative education thesis, the utilisation of the Norwegian and New Zealand case studies raises questions concerning the contribution that comparative case studies can make to policy development. Kubow and Fossum (2003, p. 6) believe that comparative education brings “greater clarity and insight to educational policies and practices”. As such, knowledge of religion and schooling in Norway brings about a deeper understanding of the issue of religion and schooling in New Zealand. Accordingly, comparative research helps one to “identify and understand the educational ideas, practices, and processes of other countries in an effort to better understand the educational issue in one’s own country” (Kubow & Fossum, 2003, p. 13). Comparative education also raises questions such as “what kinds of educational policy, planning, and teaching are appropriate for what kind of society?” (Kubow & Fossum, 2003, p. 6). Comparative education acknowledges the different roles of religion in the public sphere in New Zealand and Norway and allows a contextual understanding of what Kubow & Fossum (2003, p. 6) call “appropriate and inappropriate policy”.

10.7 Limitations and further research

The concepts and theories of *phases of differentiated schooling* draw upon and are limited to educational policy, as opposed to the practice of education. Education policy is a part of public

policy that is defined as “a statement by government ... of what it intends to do about a public problem” (Birkland, 2011, p. 9). Thus, education policy can be conceptualised as a governmental response to public problems directed “toward a goal or desired state” (Birkland, 2011, p. 8). It is the “laws, regulations, requirements, and operating procedures that govern the general manner in which educational services are provided” (Orland, 2009, p. 114). This is in contrast to education practice that is defined as the “specific behaviours of teachers and others who directly interact with students” (Orland, 2009, p. 114). As such, I examine the relationship between schooling and religion as a public problem that manifests in educational laws. The relationship between religion and schooling as educational practice is outside the boundaries of this thesis. However, the practice of religion and schooling is an important area requiring further research that can supplement and interact with the conclusions of this thesis.

A further limitation of this thesis is the level of analysis of religious change. Within sociology, religious change can refer to the individual level of belief and piety, or to a wider macro level concerning the relationship between religion, society, and state (Stark, 1999). This thesis is primarily concerned with the relationship between religion and educational policy and as such, analysis is limited to the macro level of society, religion and state. *Phases of differentiated schooling* does not explain changes of religious belief on an individual level.

The applicability of *phases of differentiated schooling* is limited by the boundaries of the case studies that the theories and concepts draw upon and develop from. Further research is required from other nation states that share a Western Judeo-Christian foundation to test the applicability of *phases of differentiated schooling* beyond the boundaries of Norway and New Zealand. This raises a key critique of case studies where it is claimed that case studies are often limited by “case selection bias” where “case study researchers ... choose cases that share a particular outcome” (George & Bennett, 2005, p. 25). This critique, however, has limited applicability in this thesis by way of the chronological research timeline. The case studies of Norway and New Zealand were picked prior to theory choice and development with the relevance of the sociological theory of differentiation emerging after in-depth case study analysis. An additional limitation also arises due to the methodological nature of qualitative case studies, where while case studies are particularly strong “at assessing *whether* and *how* a variable mattered”, assessing “*how much it mattered*” is difficult to measure (George & Bennett, 2005, p. 25).

Finally, the relationship between religion and schooling touches on and periodically raises the notion of identity. However, while identity is intimately connected to religion and schooling, this thesis is not about identity. The relationship between religion and identity, and schooling and identity, requires analysis and research that is beyond the purpose and scope of this thesis. Further research is required to explore this relationship and its role in educational policy and practice. This thesis offers a number of beginning points from which this can be explored and contributes valuable insight to this field of research.

10.8 Observations and suggestions for future research

Phases of differentiated schooling offers opportunities for future research by providing a conceptual and theoretical framework for identifying global influences upon the trajectory of religion and schooling. Research into the applicability of phases of differentiated schooling to nations other than New Zealand and Norway will test the global compatibility of this theoretical framework. However, the selection of case studies must necessarily be limited to other nations that share the same religious and philosophical foundation as New Zealand and Norway – that is, a foundation of the Western Judeo-Christian tradition, philosophy, economics, politics and scientific enterprise. In pursuing research in other societies that have a similar historical religious and cultural foundation, a distinction should be made between two types of society. The first are those nations populated by people of Western origins prior to the processes of the Reformation and Enlightenment. The second group are those introduced and assimilated to Western understandings and constructions through the processes of colonisation and immigration in the era following the Enlightenment. New Zealand and Norway can be seen as what Neuman (2006, p.438) describes as “surrogates” for two different “types of societies”. Thus, New Zealand is a ‘surrogate’ to other traditional immigrant societies such as Australia and Canada that are founded on plural populations and a short history of Western ideas within the nation. In contrast, Norway is a ‘surrogate’ to nations that have had a longer history of Western influence in religion, philosophy and knowledge. This is what Gall et al. (2007) refers to as the explanatory use of case studies to systematically relate patterns of the phenomenon (i.e. the relationship between religion and state schooling) to other cases.

A further limitation of this thesis is that it is written from a Western religious and philosophical perspective that draws upon the sociological theory of secularisation to analyse the relationship between Christianity and western society in its economic, political and ontological changes. Accordingly, this thesis presents only one cultural perspective concerning the relationship between

religion and state schooling. Further research from an alternative cultural or religious perspective that explores their changing relationship with state education would provide a more complete and multidimensional picture.

Future research into the relationship between religion and schooling will continue to have political and educational relevance because the relationship between religion and schooling will be, as it has been in the past, a dialogue between the sacred and profane. Post-differentiated schooling is not the end but rather another phase in the relationship between religion and schooling. What this thesis has demonstrated is that the future relationship between religion and schooling will be multifaceted, with its structure dependent upon an ever-changing global and local context. Thus, on-going research will be required to analyse the political, cultural and economic variables and properties of the relationship between religion and schooling. In addition, the relationship between religion and schooling is dependent upon who possesses the authority over schooling, what the economic costs and benefits of this relationship and authority are, and how this might contribute to the well-being of society. The relationship between religion and schooling will continue to be an intellectual puzzle that requiring on-going analysis to better understand the intersection between the rights of the individual, the community/cultural/religious group, and the state.

A final point worth noting in this thesis is the recent dismantling of the Norwegian State Church in June 2012. This signified the official severing of political relations between the Norwegian state and the Lutheran church; Norway no longer has a state church or a state religion. However, reflective of the post-differentiated concept of religion, a role for Christianity within the constitution remains embedded in its cultural (as opposed to its political) status and contribution. Section two of the reworded constitution states that:

“The basic values remain our Christian and humanist inheritance. The Constitution must guarantee democracy, rule of law and human rights” (Kongeriget Norges Grundlov, 2012/1814, §. 2, own translation).

Section 16, however, asserts that:

“All inhabitants of the Realm have free exercise of their religion. The Norwegian Church, an Evangelical Lutheran Church, remains Norway's folk [peoples] Church and as such is supported by the State” (Kongeriget Norges Grundlov, 2012/1814, §. 16, own translation).

In effect, religion has become secularised, separated from Church and doctrine, to isolate its secular cultural and social contribution to society and state. This mirrors the changes during the 1970s in

social democratic politics in Norway where Christianity's value was recognised in terms of its secular contribution to social democratic values. In addition, it is consistent with Gearon's argument that the renaissance of religion in contemporary society is in fact "religion's incorporation into secular, political goals and ends" (Gearon, 2012, p.2). Upon this argument, the removal of the state church may establish "a model of religion in education where political ends are the predominant pedagogical goal" (Gearon, 2012, p.11). While the consequences of the removal of the state church for Norwegian education is yet unknown, it may provide the state with greater freedom to justify the inclusion (or even predominance) of Christianity in education for political and social purposes.

10.9 Conclusion

The role of religion within education changes as political, social, cultural, and philosophical ideas change. Thus, how religion is negotiated within education depends on how religion is conceptualised in society. Of importance is how religion is conceptualised in relation to culture, knowledge, social morals and norms, and political ideology. These conceptions of religion are not always congruous with each other, the national context they are applied to, or with the historical practices and ideas that they seek to replace. Therefore, the relationship between religion and schooling is deeply contested and 'formidable obstacles' exist between the institutions of religion and schooling (Scott, 2005, p. 65, cited in Looney, 2006, p. 953). This thesis seeks to make sense of this dilemma and to understand its origins and boundaries by providing a sophisticated theoretical and conceptual framework to explain the relationship between religion and schooling.

The theory and concepts of phases of differentiated schooling have identified global political, philosophical, social, and pedagogical variables that have shaped and changed the role of religion within educational policy. Drawing upon the sociology of religion and the case studies of Norway and New Zealand, this thesis has identified three phases of relationship between religion and schooling. The first phase - undifferentiated schooling - governed schooling up until the middle of the 19th century. Within this phase, Christianity had political and social authority and because Christianity defined knowledge, beliefs, and values, the Churches held an almost natural authority and provision over schooling. Religion was widely perceived as society's glue and by the 19th church schools were recognised in New Zealand and Norway as being a legitimate means for enhanced social cohesion and political socialisation. The second phase - differentiated schooling - arose within a context of religious dissension, where the liberal principle of 'freedom of religion'

diminished the role that religion could occupy within state education systems. The content of schooling became increasingly secular following the consolidations of the Enlightenment and the Scientific Revolution. The ‘book of nature’ replaced God’s book and, by the 20th century, schooling had become in the words of one Norwegian educationalist “the state’s heart”. The third phase - post-differentiated schooling - refers to the contemporary context where the relationship between religion and schooling has become revitalised and re-institutionalised as a result of the changing concept of religion in culture, politics, and pedagogy.

The theory *phases of differentiated schooling* explains developments in religion and schooling in both Norway and New Zealand by accounting for the global influence of variables such as Christianity, mass schooling, liberalism, democracy, social democracy, multiculturalism, and postmodernism, to name but a few. However, while the global source of ideas concerning religion and schooling is important in understanding religious change in schooling, of equal importance is the national context, for within each nation are persistent national characteristics that have led to distinct national expressions in each phase. Of particular relevance to the relationship between religion and schooling is that while New Zealand’s perception of religion and schooling is in relation to the principles of individual autonomy and cultural diversity, in Norway religion and schooling is in relation to social cohesion. Thus, the role of religion within a nation state’s education policy represents a complex synthesis of global developments and persistent national attitudes, beliefs, and practices. It is a dialogue between the local and global, and the sacred and secular. Viewed in this way, the role of religion is invariably controversial and contested making it a subject eminently worthy of research to enable a deeper understanding of the dynamics involved.

Appendices

*Appendix A: Act relating to Primary and Secondary Education (Education Act) (Norway
Education Act Amendment's 2000: Sections 1-1, 1-2, 2-4)*

Act relating to Primary and Secondary Education (Education Act)

Last amended 30 June 2000

Chapter 1. The purpose and scope of the Act

Section 1-1. *The scope of the Act*

The Act concerns primary, lower secondary and upper secondary education in publicly maintained schools and training establishments unless otherwise specifically laid down.

The Act concerns private primary and lower secondary schools that do not receive state support pursuant to the Private Education Act and private tuition at home at the primary and lower secondary levels.

For education designed specifically for adults, for which the municipality or county authority is responsible, chapter 4A shall apply.

Section 1-2. *The object of education*

The object of primary and lower secondary education shall be, in agreement and cooperation with the home, to help to give pupils a Christian and moral upbringing, to develop their mental and physical abilities, and to give them good general knowledge so that they may become useful and independent human beings at home and in society.

Upper secondary education shall aim to develop the skills, understanding and responsibility that prepare pupils for life at work and in society, and assist the pupils, apprentices and trainees in their personal development. Upper secondary education shall contribute to increased awareness and understanding of fundamental Christian and humanist values, our national cultural heritage, democratic ideals and scientific thought and method.

The primary, lower secondary and upper secondary schools shall further the equal status and equal rights of all human beings, intellectual freedom and tolerance, ecological understanding and international co-responsibility.

Teaching shall provide a foundation for further education and for lifelong learning and provide support for a common foundation of knowledge, culture and basic values, and a high general level of education in the population.

Teaching shall be adapted to the abilities and aptitudes of individual pupils, apprentices and trainees.

Emphasis shall be placed on creating satisfactory forms of cooperation between teachers and pupils, between apprentices, trainees and training establishments, between the school and the home, and between the school and the workplace. All persons associated with the school or with training establishments shall make efforts to ensure that pupils, apprentices and trainees are not injured or exposed to offensive words or actions.

Section 2-4. *Teaching in the subject Christian Knowledge and Religious and Ethical Education. Exemption from religious activities, etc.*

Teaching in Christian Knowledge and Religious and Ethical Education shall provide a thorough knowledge of the Bible and Christianity both as cultural heritage and Evangelical-Lutheran faith, provide knowledge of other Christian denominations, provide knowledge of other world religions and philosophies of life, ethical and philosophical topics, promote understanding and respect for Christian and humanist values and promote understanding, respect and the ability to carry out a dialogue between people with differing views concerning beliefs and philosophies of life.

Christian Knowledge and Religious and Ethical Education is an ordinary school subject that shall normally be attended by all pupils. Teaching in the subject shall not involve preaching.

Teachers of Christian Knowledge and Religious and Ethical Education shall take as their point of departure the objects clause of the primary and lower secondary school laid down in section 1-2, and present Christianity, other religions and philosophies of life on the basis of their distinctive characteristics. Teaching of the different topics shall be founded on the same educational principles.

On the basis of written notification from parents, pupils shall be exempted from attending those parts of the teaching at the individual school that they, on the basis of their own religion or philosophy of life, perceive as being the practice of another religion or adherence to another philosophy of life. This may involve religious activities either in or outside the classroom. In cases where exemption is notified, the school shall, as far as possible and especially in the lower primary school, seek solutions involving differentiated teaching within the curriculum.

Pupils who have reached the age of 15 may themselves give written notification pursuant to the fourth paragraph.

pursuant to section 3-1. The county authority may not delegate to a body at the school the responsibility for deciding pursuant to the present paragraph that a pupil shall be excluded from tuition or lose the right to upper secondary education.

Before taking a decision concerning exclusion from tuition or loss of rights, an assessment shall be made as to whether it is possible to use other measures to help or discipline the pupil.

Appendix B: Core curriculum for primary, secondary and adult education in Norway (pp. 1-14)

CORE CURRICULUM

FOR PRIMARY, SECONDARY AND
ADULT EDUCATION IN NORWAY



THE ROYAL MINISTRY OF EDUCATION, RESEARCH
AND CHURCH AFFAIRS

PRIMARY AND LOWER SECONDARY EDUCATION ACT

§ 1 PRINCIPAL AIMS

Primary and lower secondary education shall, with the understanding of and in cooperation with the home, assist in providing pupils with a Christian and ethical upbringing, develop their mental and physical abilities, and give them a broad general education so that they can become useful and independent persons in their private lives and in society.

Schools shall promote intellectual freedom and tolerance, and emphasize the establishment of cooperative climate between teachers and pupils and between school and home.

UPPER SECONDARY EDUCATION ACT

§ 2 PRINCIPAL AIMS

The purpose of upper secondary education is to develop the skills, understanding and responsibility that prepare pupils for life at work and in society, to provide a foundation for further education, and to assist them in their personal development.

Upper secondary education shall contribute to increased awareness and understanding of basic Christian and humanist values, our national cultural heritage, democratic ideals and scientific thought and method.

Upper secondary education shall promote human equality and equal rights, intellectual freedom and tolerance, ecological understanding and international co-responsibility.

VOCATIONAL TRAINING ACT

§ 1 PRINCIPAL AIMS

The Act aims to develop competence, understanding and responsibility in relation to craft, profession and society; to provide a basis for further education and to assist apprentices in their personal development.

Vocational training shall contribute to increased awareness and understanding of basic Christian and humanist values, our national cultural heritage, democratic ideals and scientific thought and method.

Vocational training shall promote human equality and equal rights, intellectual freedom and tolerance, ecological understanding and international co-responsibility.

§ 12.2

The apprentice is under an obligation to participate actively to achieve the objects of the training and contribute to establishing a favourable working climate and a spirit of cooperation.

ADULT EDUCATION ACT

§ 1 PRINCIPAL AIMS

The aim of adult education is to help the individual to lead a more meaningful life. This Act shall contribute to providing adult persons with equal access to the knowledge, insight and skills which enhance the individual's sense of values and personal development and widen the individual's scope for independent action and for cooperation at work and in society.

FOLK HIGH SCHOOLS ACT

§ 2 PRINCIPAL AIMS

Folk high schools shall, in keeping with their traditions, promote general education for different age groups and educational levels. Within this framework, the governing body of the school determines its basic values and aims.

Foreword

During the last two or three generations, great changes have taken place in the living conditions of the young. Both parents spend more of their time outside the home at their place of work, while their children's links to the world of work and the learning that goes on there have waned. The impact of international mass media has grown strongly over the last decade, and schools have become increasingly multicultural.

Schools themselves are subject to extensive reforms, such as the introduction of a national program for after-school activities, lowering the school starting age to six years, three-year upper secondary education for all and a pedagogically more coherent educational system.

Both the changes in society and the structural changes in education make it necessary to re-examine the guidelines governing the purpose and content of education. The aims as stated in the Acts governing education must be carefully re-read and their interpretation reviewed.

When large-scale reforms are being introduced in primary, secondary and higher education simultaneously, as they are now, it seems natural and fitting to provide a common formulation of the Common Core of the curriculum, with a view to emphasizing how the stages of education are linked together, including adult education. It is the result of such work that is presented here.

Prior to the revision, the Ministry of Education appointed a number of working parties: one for

primary and lower secondary education, one for upper secondary education, and one to examine the common core in a broader, social perspective. The Ministry then processed the proposals and drafts from these groups.

The starting point for the overall work has been the aims stated in the Acts governing the Norwegian educational system, reproduced on the facing page. The main themes found in these paragraphs were then extracted. It turns out that they fall into six groups, as illustrated on the next page. It is these main themes that have been analysed and amplified in the main body of this document. The central ideas in former guidelines for primary and secondary education in Norway have also been examined and employed in this exposition. The work moreover builds on principles set out in central policy documents debated and given parliamentary approval during the last few years. A draft of for this document was widely circulated and discussed and the text subsequently revised before being presented in its final form to Parliament (*Storting*). The *Storting* gave its full consent without further alteration to the text. It therefore constitutes a binding foundation for the development of separate curricula and subject syllabuses at the different levels of education - the common core for the Norwegian educational system.

Gudmund Hernes
Minister

STATEMENTS OF AIMS AS FORMULATED IN THE EDUCATION ACTS

Listed below are a number of key formulations from the Acts governing education in Norway, grouped thematically. The common core of the curriculum expands on these themes.

Reference to the Acts is as follows:

- Primary and Lower Secondary Education Act
- Upper Secondary Education Act
- Vocational Training Act
- Adult Education Act
- Folk High Schools Act

THE ESSENCE OF THE STATEMENTS OF AIMS

MORAL OUTLOOK

- Christian and ethical upbringing
- Contribute to increased awareness and understanding of fundamental Christian values
- Responsibility
- Promote a sense of values
- Intellectual freedom and tolerance
- Human equality and equal rights
- Intellectual freedom and tolerance

CREATIVE ABILITIES

- Develop mental and physical abilities
- Assist pupils in their personal development
- Scientific thought and method
- Personal development

WORK

- Prepare for life at work and in society
- Actively exploit learning opportunities at work
- Competence, understanding and responsibility in relation to craft, profession and society
- Equal access to knowledge, insight and skills

GENERAL EDUCATION

- Give a broad basic knowledge so that pupils can become useful and independent in home and society
- National heritage, prepare for life in society
- Provide a basis for further education
- Strengthen basis for independent action ... at work and in society
- Help the individual to lead a more meaningful life
- Promote general education for different age groups and educational levels

COOPERATION

- With the understanding of and in cooperation with the home ... establish good modes of cooperation between teachers and pupils, and between school and home
- Democratic ideals
- International co-responsibility
- Favorable working climate and spirit of cooperation
- Strengthen .. cooperation at work and in society

NATURAL ENVIRONMENT

- Ecological understanding

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THE SPIRITUAL HUMAN BEING 7

- Christian and Humanistic Values
- Cultural Heritage and Identity

THE CREATIVE HUMAN BEING 11

- Creative Abilities
- Three Traditions
- A Critical Sense of Judgement
- Scientific Method and the Active Pupil

THE WORKING HUMAN BEING 16

- Technology and Culture
- Learning and Work Habits
- Teaching and Personal Initiative
- From the Familiar to the Unknown
- Adapted Teaching
- All-round Development
- The Role of the Teacher and Educator
- Teaching Ability and Active Learning
- Learning as Teamwork

THE LIBERALLY-EDUCATED HUMAN BEING 25

- Specific Knowledge and Broad Frames of Reference
- Common References in a Specialized Society
- Internationalization and the Appreciation of Tradition

THE SOCIAL HUMAN BEING 30

- A Diversified Peer Culture
- Duties and Responsibilities
- Social Learning from the School Community
- A Broad Context for Learning: Peer Culture, Parent Participation, and the Local Community

THE ENVIRONMENTALLY AWARE HUMAN BEING 35

- Natural Sciences, Ecology and Ethics
- Humans Beings, The Environment and Conflicts of Interest
- Joy of Nature

THE INTEGRATED HUMAN BEING 39



Aims in this connection are

- a) something to work towards*
- b) something one can know whether one approaches or not.*

Introduction

The aim of education is to furnish children, young people and adults with the tools they need to face the tasks of life and surmount its challenges together with others. Education shall provide learners with the capability to take charge of themselves and their lives, as well as with the vigor and will to stand by others.

Education shall qualify people for productive participation in today's labor force, and supply the basis for later shifts to occupations as yet not envisaged. It should develop the skills needed for specialized tasks, and provide a general level of competence broad enough for re-specialization later in life. Education must ensure both admission to present-day working and community life, and the versatility to meet the vicissitudes of life and the demands of an unknown future. Hence it must impart attitudes and learning to last a lifetime, and build the foundation for the new skills required in a rapidly changing society. It must teach the young to look ahead and train their ability to make sound choices. It must accustom them to taking responsibility - to assess the effects of their actions on others and evaluate them in terms of ethical principles.

The educational system must be designed to offer adults the same opportunities as today's youth. A basic education no longer suffices for a lifetime of work. Re-adjustment with its attendant renewal of skills will be a regular feature of life. The learning adults have gained in school, must therefore be maintained and renewed. The educational system must be open, so that it is possible to return repeatedly for re-education from all occupations and without formal barriers. Society is responsible for ensuring that equality of educational opportunity is a reality and that inequalities are not allowed to develop.

Education must spur students to diligence and to close collaboration in the pursuit of common goals. It must foster means and manners which facilitate the achievement of the results they aim at. It must promote democracy, national identity and international awareness. It shall further solidarity with other peoples and with mankind's common living environment, so that our country

Society is responsible for ensuring that equality of educational opportunity is a reality.

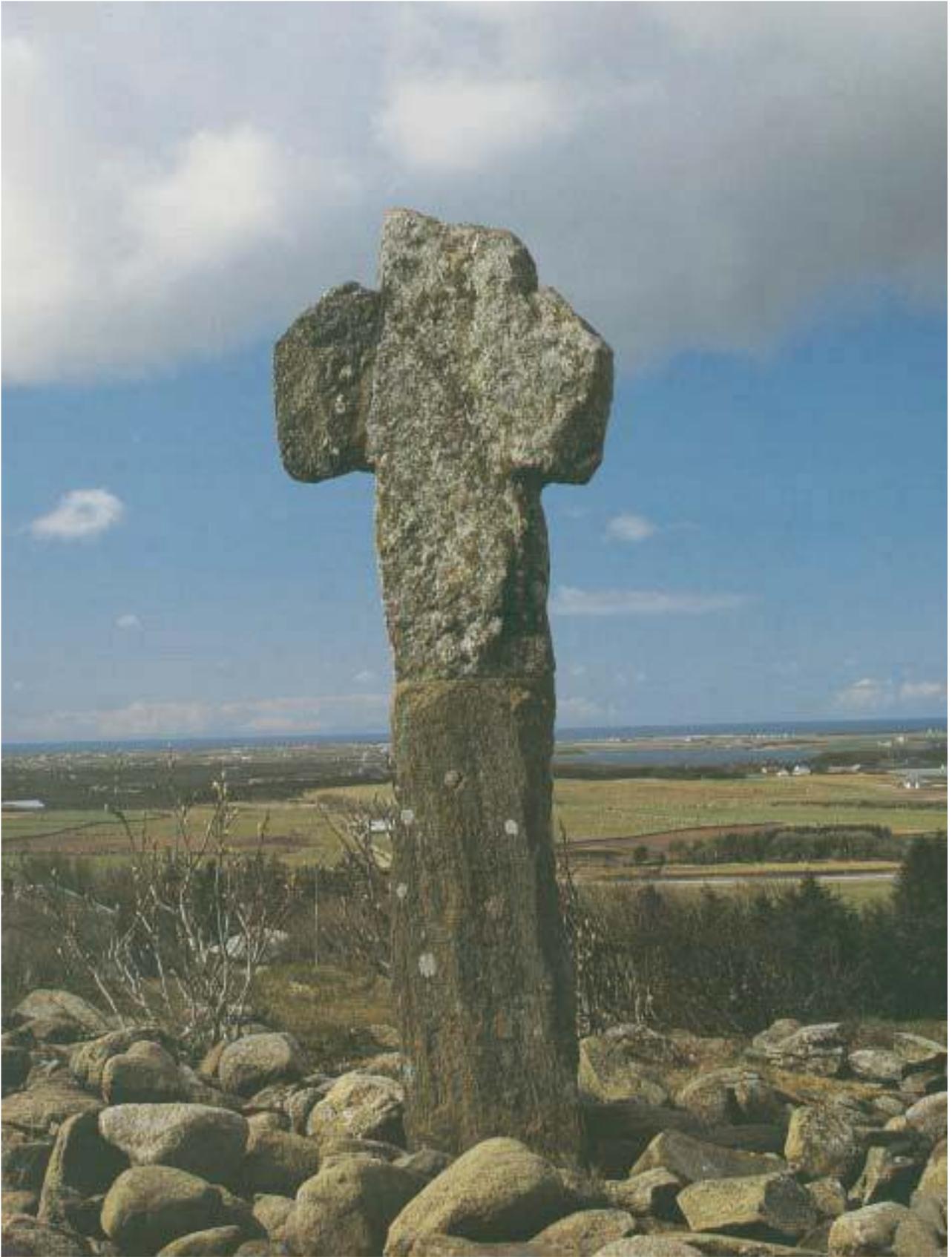
can remain a creative member of the global community.

Education must make room for the learners' creative urge and at the same time awake their pleasure in the accomplishments of others. Through music and words, pictures and patterns, they must be stimulated to develop their imagination and appreciation of art.

The point of departure for schooling is the personal aptitude, social background, and local origin of the pupils themselves. Education must be adapted to the needs of the individual. Greater equality of results can be achieved by differences in the efforts directed towards each individual learner. Breadth of skills is realized by stimulating their unique interests and abilities. Individual distinctiveness generates social diversity - equal ability to participate enriches society.

In short, the aim of education is to expand the individual's capacity to perceive and to participate, to experience, to empathize and to excel. If education is to further these aims, a more careful examination of basic values, view of man and nurturing tasks is necessary.

The aim of education is to expand the individual's capacity to perceive and to participate, to experience, to empathize and to excel.



The spiritual human being

Education shall be based on fundamental Christian and humanistic values. It should uphold and renew our cultural heritage to provide perspective and guidance for the future.

Veneration for human equality and the dignity of man is an inducement to persistently safeguard and expand upon the freedoms of faith, thought, speech and action without discrimination by gender, endowment, race, religion, nationality or position. This fundamental belief is a constant source of change to enhance the human condition

Christian and Humanistic Values

Christian and humanistic values both demand and foster tolerance, providing room for other cultures and customs. They buttress the rule of law and the democratic state as the framework for equal political participation and debate. They emphasize charity, brotherhood and hope, promote progress through criticism, reason and research; and they recognize that humans themselves are a part of nature by their bodies, their needs and their senses. The Christian faith and tradition constitute a deep current in our history - a heritage that unites us as a people across religious persuasions. It has imprinted itself on the norms, world view, concepts and art of the people. It bonds us to other peoples in the rhythm of the week and in common holidays, but is also an abiding presence in our own national traits: in architecture and music, in style and conventions, in ideas, idioms and identity. Our Christian and humanistic tradition places equality, human rights and rationality at the fore. Social progress is sought in reason and enlightenment, and in man's ability to create, appreciate and communicate.

Together, this interwoven tradition provides us with unwithering values both to orient our conduct and to organize our communities. They inspire selfless and creative efforts, and encourage honorable and courteous behavior.

At the same time, the young must learn that dif-

Education must be based on the view that all persons are created equal and that human dignity is inviolable. It should confirm the belief that everyone is unique, that each can nourish his own growth and that individual distinctions enrich and enliven our world.

ferent epochs have had divergent habits and customs and that different societies have dissimilar rules for proper conduct. The young must understand that moral standards can be a source of conflict, but that they also undergo change and that new models for social relations and human interaction can be created through reflection, criticism and dialogue.

Education should be based on the view that all persons are created equal and that human dignity is inviolable. It should confirm the belief that everyone is unique; that each can nourish his own growth and that individual distinctions enrich and enliven our world. Education should foster equality between the sexes and solidarity among groups

Education shall be based on fundamental Christian and humanistic values. It should uphold and renew our cultural heritage to provide perspective and guidance for the future.

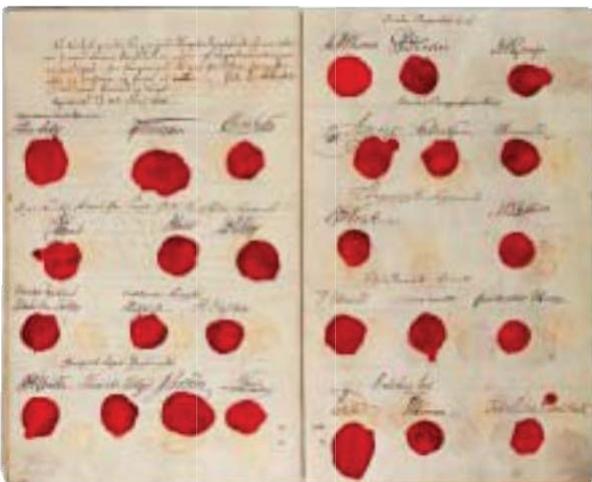




and across borders. It should portray and prove knowledge as a creative and versatile force, vigorous both for personal development and for humane social relations.

Children and adolescents must be made to

understand moral claims and allow them to inform their conduct. The canons that are valid in society - professional ethics, labor norms and business practices - have a determining influence on the quality of life in any given society: whether tasks



Education should foster equality between the sexes and solidarity among groups and across borders. It should portray and prove knowledge as a creative and versatile force, vigorous both for personal development and for humane social

Education should view individuals as moral beings, accountable for their decisions and responsible for their actions; with the ability to seek what is true and to do what is right.

are performed with skill for the good of others, whether work is organized to prevent injury and promote health, whether technology is safe, whether products are up to standard or whether contracts are open and honest. Our welfare society itself is built upon a moral contract: on the one hand by everyone contributing to a system that supports and serves oneself when in need; and on the other by empowering others to develop their skills and strengthen them when they are in need. Education should view individuals as moral beings, accountable for their decisions and responsible for their actions; with the ability to seek what is true and to do what is right. But individuals are also capable of behaving destructively, in defiance of their conscience, contrary to norms, against better judgment, and to the detriment of themselves and others. Education must therefore authenticate society's ideals and values and enliven them so that they become a potent force in people's lives. It must provide them with reliance and probity that can carry them through the defeats, crises and conflicts which are inescapable in the vicissitudes of life. It must also implant generosity in the face of failure, so that the individual who flounders or falls short is also taken seriously, can be exonerated and begin anew.

Hence education must clarify and justify ethical principles and norms. These in turn can be elucidated by Biblical similes, but also by illustrations from other religions, from history, fiction, biography, and from legends, parables, myths and fables. Pupils must be confronted with choices that are tested against the norms on which the school and society as a whole are built. And educators as role models should lead the way by their example.

Education must convey knowledge about other cultures and take advantage of the potential for enrichment that minority groups and Norwegians with another cultural heritage represent.

Education should elaborate and deepen the learners' familiarity with national and local traditions - the domestic history and distinctive features that are our contribution to cultural diversity in the world.

There should be a close interaction between upbringing at home and the education provided by the school and within the society of which pupils are part.

Cultural Heritage and Identity

The development of individual identity occurs through becoming familiar with inherited forms of conduct, norms of behavior and modes of expression. Hence education should elaborate and deepen the learners' familiarity with national and local traditions - the domestic history and distinctive features that are our contribution to cultural diversity in the world. The Sámi language and culture are a part of this common heritage which Norway and the Nordic countries have a special responsibility to safeguard. This legacy must be nourished so that it can grow in schools with Sámi pupils, in order to strengthen Sámi identity as well as our common knowledge of Sámi culture.

Cultural history also reminds us that contact between different ways of life opens the door to unexpected combinations as well as conflicts between beliefs. A meeting between diverse cultures and traditions can generate new impulses as well as stimulate critical reflections.



Education should counteract prejudice and discrimination, and foster mutual respect and tolerance between groups with differing modes of life.

The school system embraces many pupils from groups which in our country constitute minority cultures and languages. Education must therefore convey knowledge about other cultures and take advantage of the potential for enrichment that minority groups and Norwegians with another cultural heritage represent. Knowledge of other peoples gives us the chance to test our own values and the values of others. Education should counteract prejudice and discrimination, and foster mutual respect and tolerance between groups with differing modes of life.

Education should develop resolve to assert one's rights and those of others, and to stand up against their violation.

Education should provide training in cooperation between persons of different capacities and groups with diverse cultures. But it must also expose the conflicts that can arise in encounters between different cultures. Intellectual freedom implies not only allowance for other points of view, but also courage to take a stand, confidence to stand alone, and the strength of character to think and act according to one's own convictions. Tolerance is not the same as detachment and indifference. Education should develop resolve to assert one's rights and those of others, and to stand up against their violation.

Many people are handicapped in relation to their surroundings. Education must convey knowledge about, and foster equal worth and solidarity for those whose skills differ from those of the majority. And, not least, it should promote the appreciation that any one of us can be struck by illness or injury, by destitution, tribulations, or anguish, all of which can make us dependent on the compassion of others.

Education must convey knowledge about, and foster equal worth and solidarity for those whose skills differ from those of the majority.



*Appendix C: Act relating to Primary and Secondary Education (Education Act)
(Norway Education Act Amendment's 2005: Sections 1-1, 1-2, 2-4)*

Act relating to Primary and Secondary Education (Education Act)

Last amended 17 June 2005

Chapter 1. The purpose and scope of the Act

Section 1-1. The scope of the Act

The Act concerns primary, lower secondary and upper secondary education in publicly maintained schools and training establishments unless otherwise specifically laid down.

The Act concerns private primary and lower secondary schools that do not receive state support pursuant to the Independent Schools Act and private instruction at home at the primary and lower secondary levels.

For education designed specifically for adults, for which the municipality or county authority is responsible, chapter 4A shall apply.

Section 1-2. *The object of education*

The object of primary and lower secondary education shall be, in agreement and cooperation with the home, to help to give pupils a Christian and moral upbringing, to develop their mental and physical abilities, and to give them good general knowledge so that they may become useful and independent human beings at home and in society.

Upper secondary education shall aim to develop the skills, understanding and responsibility that prepare pupils for life at work and in society, and assist the pupils, apprentices and trainees in their personal development. Upper secondary education shall contribute to increased awareness and understanding of fundamental Christian and humanist values, our national cultural heritage, democratic ideals and scientific thought and method.

The primary, lower secondary and upper secondary schools shall further the equal status and equal rights of all human beings, intellectual freedom and tolerance, ecological understanding and international co-responsibility.

Teaching shall provide a foundation for further education and for lifelong learning and provide support for a common foundation of knowledge, culture and basic values, and a high general level of education in the population.

Teaching shall be adapted to the abilities and aptitudes of individual pupils, apprentices and trainees.

Emphasis shall be placed on creating satisfactory forms of cooperation between teachers and pupils, between apprentices, trainees and training establishments, between the school and the home, and between the school and the workplace. All persons associated with the school or with training establishments shall make efforts to ensure that pupils, apprentices and trainees are not injured or exposed to offensive words or actions.

Section 2-4. *Teaching in the subject Religion and Ethics*

Teaching in Religion and Ethics shall

- provide a thorough knowledge of the Bible and Christianity as cultural heritage and,
- provide a thorough knowledge of the Evangelical-Lutheran faith and of different Christian denominations,
- provide knowledge of other world religions and philosophies of life
- provide knowledge of ethical and philosophical topics,
- promote understanding and respect for Christian and humanist values
- promote understanding, respect and the ability to carry out a dialogue between people with differing views concerning beliefs and philosophies of life.

Religion and Ethics is an ordinary school subject that shall normally be attended by all pupils. Teaching in the subject shall not involve preaching.

Teachers of Religion and Ethics shall present Christianity, the different world religions and philosophies of life on the basis of their distinctive characteristics. Teaching of the different topics shall be founded on the same educational principles.

*Appendix D: Act relating to Primary and Secondary Education (Education Act)
(Norway Education Act Amendment's 2010: Sections 1-1, 2-4)*

Act of 17 July 1998 no. 61
relating to
Primary and Secondary Education and Training (the Education
Act)

with amendments as of 25 June 2010. In force as of 1 August 2010

Chapter 1. Objectives, scope and adapted education, etc.

Heading amended by Act of 20 June 2008 no. 48 (in force 1 Aug 2008, pursuant to the Decree of 20 June 2008 no. 621).

Section 1-1. The objectives of education and training

Education and training in schools and training establishments shall, in collaboration and agreement with the home, open doors to the world and give the pupils and apprentices historical and cultural insight and anchorage.

Education and training shall be based on fundamental values in Christian and humanist heritage and traditions, such as respect for human dignity and nature, on intellectual freedom, charity, forgiveness, equality and solidarity, values that also appear in different religions and beliefs and are rooted in human rights.

Education and training shall help increase the knowledge and understanding of the national cultural heritage and our common international cultural traditions.

Education and training shall provide insight into cultural diversity and show respect for the individual's convictions. They are to promote democracy, equality and scientific thinking.

The pupils and apprentices shall develop knowledge, skills and attitudes so that they can master their lives and can take part in working life and society. They shall have the opportunity to be creative, committed and inquisitive.

The pupils and apprentices shall learn to think critically and act ethically and with environmental awareness. They shall have joint responsibility and the right to participate.

Schools and training establishments shall meet the pupils and apprentices with trust, respect and demands, and give them challenges that promote formation and the desire to learn. All forms of discrimination shall be combated.

Amended by Acts of 17 Sep 1999 no. 74 (in force 17 Sep 1999, pursuant to the Decree of 17 Sep 1999 no. 1011), 30 June 2000 no. 63 (in force 1 Aug 2000, pursuant to the Decree of 30 June 2000 no. 645), 4 July 2003 no. 84 (in force 1 Oct 2003), 19 Dec 2008 no. 118 (in force 1 Jan 2009, of 19 des 2008 no. 1424).

Section 2-4. *Teaching in the subject Religion, Philosophies of life and Ethics*

Religion, Philosophies of life and Ethics is an ordinary school subject that shall normally be attended by all pupils. Teaching in the subject shall not involve preaching.

The teaching in Religion, Philosophies of life and Ethics shall provide knowledge of Christianity, other world religions and philosophies of life, knowledge of the significance of Christianity as a cultural heritage and of ethical and philosophical topics.

The teaching in Religion, Philosophies of life and Ethics shall promote understanding, respect and the ability to carry out a dialogue between people with differing views concerning beliefs and philosophies of life.

The teaching in Religion, Philosophies of life and Ethics shall present different world religions and philosophies of life in an objective, critical and pluralistic manner. The teaching of in the different topics shall be founded on the same educational principles.

Amended by Acts of 12 April 2002 no. 10 (in force 1 Aug 2002, pursuant to the Decree of 12 April 2002 no. 349), 17 June 2005 no. 106 (in force 17 June 2005, pursuant to the Decree of 17 June 2005 no. 661), 27 June 2008 no. 70 (in force 1 Aug 2008, pursuant to the Decree of 27 June 2008 no. 724).

Appendix E: Religion, Livssyn og etikk (RLE) Religion, philosophies of life and ethics curriculum

CURRICULUM FOR RELIGION, Philosophies of Life AND ETHICS

The objectives of the subject

Religions and philosophies of life reflect humanity's deepest questions, and have throughout history contributed to moulding individuals, communities and society. Knowledge of religions and philosophies of life is important for human beings to understand their existence and to gain an understanding of cultures within one's own society and in societies around the world. Children and adolescents of today encounter an overwhelming amount of cultural influence and traditional values. The Christian faith and traditions have characterised European and Norwegian culture for centuries. At the same time, traditional humanistic values have brought to western cultural heritage a wider scope of understanding. Religious and ethical diversity are becoming more and more important in society in general. Familiarising oneself with different religions, philosophies of life, ethics and philosophies is an important precondition for understanding and interpreting our lives, and for gaining ethical awareness and understanding across religious faiths and cultural borders.

Religion, Philosophies of life and Ethics as a generally educative subject shall form the basis for a common platform for greater knowledge and as a frame of reference, and shall help the pupil gain new insight and allow for dialogue that is adapted to the various ages and year levels. Knowledge of religions and philosophies of life, and the function these have as traditions and as actual sources of faith, morals and understanding life are central themes in the subject. The subject shall be a meeting place for pupils from different cultures and backgrounds, where all shall be met with respect. Teaching in the subject shall stimulate general education, making room for wonder and reflection. Furthermore, the subject shall help the pupil learn to talk with other people that have different views of the world where questions of faith and philosophies of life are concerned. This involves respect for religious values, human rights in general and the ethical foundation of all human rights.

The subject shall teach knowledge of Christianity, other world religions and philosophies of life, and ethical and philosophical themes. It shall also teach the significance of Christianity as cultural heritage in our society. For this reason, *Knowledge of Christianity* will be a major portion of the learning content of the subject. This involves allowing for local variations in the scope of subjects between the main subject areas in order to satisfy competence aims for the subject.

Religion, Philosophies of life and Ethics is an ordinary school subject intended to bring all pupils together. The Norwegian Education Act demands that the teaching of this subject be objective, critical

and pluralistic. This implies that the subject be taught impartially and based on facts, and that the different world religions and philosophies of life shall be presented with respect. Classroom teaching shall not include preaching, proselytising or religious practice. The principles of equivalent education shall be the basis for teaching in the subject. This involves treating all religions and philosophies of life in an academic and professional manner based on the distinctive characteristics and diversity of all religions.

Adapted education is a commanding principle for this subject. Teaching in the subject shall use varied and absorbing working methods, which can contribute to understanding in all aspects of the subject. Care must be used when selecting working methods. The careful choice of working methods is especially important when considering parents, guardians and pupils so that they feel their own religion or philosophy of life is respected and that the subject be experienced without seeming to exercise another religion or forming an affiliation to another philosophy of life. Respect for the views of individuals and local communities should be paramount.

If a pupil applies for exemption from part of ordinary education based on the provisions laid down in Section 2-3(a) of the Norwegian Education Act, then another form of adapted education shall take its place. It is expected that ongoing cooperation be maintained between home and school, which includes good information about how education should be planned and carried out.

Main subject areas

The subject is structured in main subject areas for which competence aims have been formulated. The main subject areas complement each other, and must be viewed in relation to one another.

Religion, Philosophies of life and Ethics have competence aims for year levels 4, 7 and 10.

Overview of main subject areas:

Year	Main subject areas		
1 – 7	Christianity	Judaism, Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism and Philosophies of life	Philosophy and Ethics
8 – 10	Christianity	Judaism, Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism, Other Religious Diversity and Philosophies of life	Philosophy and Ethics

Christianity

The main subject area *Christianity* covers Christianity from a historic perspective and how it is understood and practiced in Norway and around the world today. It covers the Bible as a source of cultural understanding and faith, and Christianity's significance for society and culture. This subject area shall deal with the different traditions and religious communities within Christianity.

Judaism, Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism and Philosophies of life

The main subject area *Judaism, Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism and Philosophies of life* covers these religions and selected philosophies of life from a historic perspective, their written traditions as sources of cultural understanding and beliefs, and how these religions and philosophies of life are understood and practiced around the world and in Norway today. At lower secondary level, the main subject area shall also give insight into other religions and philosophies of life that are represented in Norway, including the diversity of other religions and philosophies of life.

Philosophy and ethics

The main subject area *Philosophy and Ethics* covers philosophical ways of thought and ethical reflection. Some central philosophers are included, and basic questions about the meaning of life, moral choices and basic ethical principles are central themes in the subject. The main subject area also covers attitudes and current ethical questions encountered by children and adolescents today in their local communities and in the world in which we live. The main subject area also deals with how ethics, religion and philosophies of life interrelate.

Teaching hours

Teaching hours are given in 60-minute units:

PRIMARY LEVEL

Years 1 to 7: 427 hours

LOWER SECONDARY LEVEL

Years 8 to 10: 157 hours

Basic skills

Basic skills are integrated in the competence aims for this course in areas where they contribute to the development of and are a part of basic subject competence. In *Religion, Philosophies of life and Ethics (RLE)*, basic skills are understood as follows:

Being able to express oneself orally in RLE involves using spoken language to communicate and explain religions and philosophies of life, ethics and philosophy. Oral skills such as conversation, dialogue, storytelling skills and reports and expositions are means to experience wonder, reflect on ideas and learn argumentation. A great deal of emphasis is placed on storytelling as an oral form of expression in the subject.

Being able to express oneself in writing in RLE involves being able to express knowledge and viewpoints about religion and philosophies of life, ethics and philosophy. Writing clarifies thoughts, experiences and

one's own views, and is helpful as a tool in interpreting, argumentation and communicating. Writing in RLE also involves encountering different kinds of written aesthetic forms of expression, and making use of these.

Being able to read in RLE involves experiencing and understanding written texts. Reading is used to gather information, interpret what one reads and reflect on this, and use facts and analytical skills when encountering stories and subject matter from traditional means of communication and in modern multimedia channels.

Numeracy in RLE involves being able to apply different ways of viewing historic time and ways of presenting yearly cycles, finding one's way through religious texts, encountering mathematical expressions and numerical symbolism, and interpreting and using statistics. Being able to recognise and use geometric patterns in aesthetic expression and architecture presupposes simple proficiency in calculating.

Being able to use digital tools in RLE is helpful to explore religion and philosophies of life to find different presentations and perspectives. An important skill is being able to use available digital material such as images, texts, music and film in a manner that unites creativity with a conscious use of source criticism. Digital media brings new possibilities for communication and dialogue about religion and philosophies of life. These media also create the opportunity for wider access to study material about current ethical questions.

Competence aims

Competence aims after year level 4

Christianity

The aims of the education are to enable the pupil to

- relate the content of the most important texts from the Genesis and the Exodus in the Old Testament Pentateuch
- relate the content of the most important texts from evangelical presentations of the life of Jesus and his life's work as described in the New Testament
- listen to and talk about some stories of the apostles and saints
- describe local churches, find traces of historical Christianity in their local community and district, and present these finds in different ways
- talk about Christianity and how religious practice is expressed in maxims, rules of conduct, prayer, baptism, church worship and holidays
- be familiar with Christian hymnal traditions and some chosen songs, also Sámi ones
- recognise Christian art and make use of aesthetic expressions related to Christianity

Judaism, Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism and Philosophies of life

Judaism

The aims of the education are to enable the pupil to

- relate the life and work of Moses, the revelation of the Torah, and the content of central parts of the Torah
- talk about Judaism and how religious practice is expressed in maxims, rules of conduct, prayer, Torah readings, food traditions and holidays
- recognise Judaic art and make use of aesthetic expressions related to Judaism

Islam

The aims of the education are to enable the pupil to

- relate the life of the prophet Mohammed, the revelation of the Koran and the content of central parts of the Koran
- talk about Islam and how religious practice is expressed in maxims, rules of conduct, prayer, Koran readings, food traditions and holidays
- recognise Islamic art and make use of aesthetic expressions related to Islam

Hinduism

The aims of the education are to enable the pupil to

- tell about one of Hinduism's gods or goddesses
- talk about Hinduism and how religious practice is expressed in maxims, rules of conduct, prayer, Puja, food traditions and holidays
- recognise Hindu art and make use of aesthetic expressions related to Hinduism

Buddhism

The aims of the education are to enable the pupil to

- relate Siddhartha Gautama's life and his awakening as the Buddha
- talk about Buddhism and how religious practice is expressed in maxims, rules of conduct, prayer, meditation and holidays
- recognise Buddhist art and make use of aesthetic expressions related to Buddhism

Philosophies of life

The aims of the education are to enable the pupil to

- listen to and talk about texts and stories that express a humanistic worldview
- talk about how the humanistic philosophy of life is expressed through maxims, rules of conduct and ceremonies
- recognise humanistic art and make use of aesthetic expression related to Humanism

Philosophy and ethics

The aims of the education are to enable the pupil to

- tell about the philosopher Socrates
- express thoughts about life, loss, sorrow, good and evil and respond to others' thoughts
- talk about family customs in everyday life and holidays that are common for religions and philosophies of life
- lead a simple dialogue about conscience, ethical rules of conduct and values
- cite the Rule of Reciprocity and be able to put this rule into practice
- talk about respect and tolerance, and counteract bullying in real life

- use the United Nations' Convention on the Rights of Children to understand children's rights and equality, and be able to find examples of this in the media and on Internet

Competence aims after year level 7

Christianity

The aims of the education are to enable the pupil to

- explain the structure of the Bible, find their way through biblical texts and reflect on the relationship between the Bible, language and culture
- give an account of central stories from the Old Testament from the history of the patriarchs to the prophets
- give an account of central stories from the New Testament from Jesus to the prophets
- tell about central events and persons from the history of Christianity, from the earliest congregations to the Reformation
- tell about central events and persons in the history of Christianity in Norway up to the Reformation
- describe the main features of pre-Christian Sámi beliefs, and the subsequent transition to Christianity
- talk about Christianity and the Christian way of viewing life and ethics with an emphasis on their idea of god, their view of humanity, current ethical challenges and selected Christian texts
- talk about the content of the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, the Apostolic Faith and some songs and Psalms
- explain the Christian manner of measuring historic time and the events of the Christian church year, and describe Christian holidays, festivals and central rituals
- give an account of religious communities that are represented in their local community and district
- describe church edifices and other Christian places of worship, reflect on their significance and use, and use digital tools to search for information and make presentations about this
- present different forms of expression from art and music related to Christianity

Judaism, Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism and Philosophies of life

Judaism

The aims of the education are to enable the pupil to

- explain what Tanak, Torah and Talmud are, and talk about important stories from the Jewish faith
- talk about Judaism, the Jewish way of viewing life and ethics with an emphasis on their idea of god, their view of humanity, creed, current ethical challenges and selected Jewish texts
- explain the Jewish calendar and manner of calculating historic time, and describe Jewish holidays, festivals and central rituals
- describe the temple and the synagogue, reflect on their significance and use, and use digital tools to search for information and make presentations about this
- present different forms of expression from art and music related to Judaism

Islam

The aims of the education are to enable the pupil to

- explain what the Koran and Hadith are and talk about central stories from Islamic faith
- talk about Islam, the Islamic way of viewing life and ethics with an emphasis on their idea of god, their view of humanity, the Articles of Faith, the Five Pillars, current ethical challenges and selected Islamic texts

- explain the point of departure for the Islamic manner of calculating historic time, and describe Islamic holidays, festivals and central rituals
- describe the mosque, reflect on its significance and use, and use digital tools to search for information and make presentations about this
- present different forms of expression from art and music related to Islam

Hinduism

The aims of the education are to enable the pupil to

- talk about central stories from Hinduism
- talk about Hinduism, the Hindu manner of viewing life and ethics with an emphasis on some of their gods and goddesses, their manner of viewing existence and divinity, of viewing humanity, current ethical challenges and selected texts
- explain the Hindu calendar of festivals and describe Hindu festivals and central rituals
- describe the temple, reflect on its significance and use, and use digital tools to search for information and make presentations about this
- present different forms of expression from art and music related to Hinduism

Buddhism

The aims of the education are to enable the pupil to

- talk about central stories from Buddhist texts
- talk about Buddhism, the Buddhist manner of viewing life and ethics with an emphasis on Buddha, their view of existence, of viewing humanity, the Teachings, the social order, current ethical challenges and selected texts
- explain the Buddhist calendar of festivals and describe Buddhist festivals and central rituals
- describe the temple and monastery, reflect on their significance and use, and use digital tools to search for information and make presentations about this
- present different forms of expression from art and music related to Buddhism

Philosophies of life

The aims of the education are to enable the pupil to

- talk about what a philosophy of life implies
- explain what a humanistic philosophy of life is, and talk about the humanistic manner of viewing life and ethics with an emphasis on the understanding of reality, their view of humanity, current ethical challenges and selected texts from the humanistic tradition
- talk about the history and distinctive characteristics of the Norwegian Humanist Association and humanistic philosophies of life from around the world
- describe celebrations and central ceremonies from a Norwegian Humanist's point of view
- present different forms of expression from art and music related to Humanism

Philosophy and ethics

The aims of the education are to enable the pupil to

- explain what philosophy and ethics are
- tell about Plato and Aristotle, and discuss some of their ideas
- talk about current philosophical and ethical questions, and discuss challenges related to these themes: poverty and wealth, war and peace, nature and environment and Information & Communication Technologies and society
- talk about ethics related to different family constellations, the relationship between the sexes, gender identity roles and the relationship between the generations
- discuss and elaborate on some questions about values that the indigenous Sámi people are concerned with in modern times

- talk about ethnic, religious and ethical minorities in Norway, and reflect on the challenges of multicultural society
- talk about philosophy, religion and philosophy of life as a basis for ethical thinking, and be able to discuss and elaborate on moral role models from the past and present
- discuss racism and how anti-racist work can prevent racism
- explain important parts of the United Nations' Declaration of Human Rights, and talk about the significance of this

Competence aims after year level 10

Christianity

The aims of the education are to enable the pupil to

- explain the distinctive aspects of Christianity and Christian belief in interpreting life compared with other traditions: similarities and fundamental differences
- identify central biblical texts, and explain the relationship between the Old and New Testaments
- discuss and elaborate on selected biblical texts from the Prophets, the poetic biblical texts in the Bible, the Words of Wisdom, one Gospel and one of the Letters of Paul, and explain the distinctive characteristics and main ideas of these
- discuss and elaborate on the different views of biblical interpretation
- gather digital information about, and present current questions that are of concern to many Christians
- give an account of the most important events in Christian history from the Reformation to modern Norway and for the world in general, and for Christianity's position in the world today
- explain the main features of Roman Catholic, Orthodox and Protestant traditions
- give a presentation of the Norwegian Church, Læstadianism and Sámi church life
- present an overview of other evangelical Free Church societies and Christian movements, including the Pentecostal Movement
- discuss and elaborate on Christianity's significance for culture and society
- explore Christianity's position and distinctive characteristics in a country outside of Europe, and discuss and elaborate on questions related to Christian missions, humanitarian work and ecumenical activity
- describe and reflect on the distinctive characteristics of art, architecture and music related to Christianity

Judaism, Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism, Other Religious Diversity and Philosophies of life

Judaism

The aims of the education are to enable the pupil to

- explain the distinctive aspects of Judaism and Jewish belief in the interpretation of life compared with other traditions: similarities and fundamental differences
- discuss and elaborate on selected texts from Jewish written traditions
- gather digital information about, and present current questions that are of concern to many Jews
- present an overview of the diversity of Judaism, important historic events and Judaism's position in Norway and the world today
- describe and reflect on the distinctive characteristics of art, architecture and music related to Judaism

Islam

The aims of the education are to enable the pupil to

- explain the distinctive aspects of Islam and Islamic belief in the interpretation of life compared with other traditions: similarities and fundamental differences
- discuss and elaborate on selected texts from Islamic written traditions
- gather digital information about, and present current questions that are of concern to many Muslims
- present an overview of the diversity of Islam, important historic events and Islam's position in Norway and the world today
- describe and reflect on the distinctive characteristics of art, architecture and music related to Islam

Hinduism

The aims of the education are to enable the pupil to

- explain the distinctive aspects of Hinduism and Hindu belief in the interpretation of life compared with other traditions: similarities and fundamental differences
- discuss and elaborate on selected texts from Hindu written traditions
- gather digital information about, and present current questions that are of concern to many Hindus
- present an overview of the diversity of Hinduism, historic events and Hinduism's position in Norway and the world today
- describe and reflect on the distinctive characteristics of art, architecture and music related to Hinduism

Buddhism

The aims of the education are to enable the pupil to

- explain the distinctive aspects of Buddhism and Buddhist beliefs in the interpretation of life compared with other traditions: similarities and fundamental differences
- discuss and elaborate on selected texts from Buddhist written traditions
- gather digital information about, and present current questions that are of concern to many Buddhists
- present an overview of the diversity of Buddhism, important historic events and Buddhism's position in Norway and the world today
- describe and reflect on the distinctive characteristics of art, architecture and music related to Buddhism

Religious diversity

The aims of the education are to enable the pupil to

- talk about and explain what religion is, and show how religion is expressed in different ways
- show the ability to carry on a dialogue about religion and the most important questions in life, and show respect for all religions and philosophies of life
- discuss current questions that arise in the meeting between religion, culture and society
- gather information about and point out the distinctive characteristics of some religions around your local community and around the nation, including Sikhism, the Bahá'í religion, Jehovah's Witnesses and the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints
- give an account of new religious movements and talk about the different forms of neo-religious and nature-religious practices, including indigenous nature religions
- explore a religion's position and distinctive characteristics in a country outside of Europe, with and without the use of digital tools

Philosophies of life

The aims of the education are to enable the pupil to

- talk about and explain what a philosophy of life is, and show how such a philosophy of life is expressed in different ways
- explain the distinctive characteristics of Humanism compared with religions and other philosophies of life: similarities and fundamental differences
- discuss and elaborate on the different texts that present a humanistic view of life, and discuss current questions that concern many Humanists
- present an overview of the diversity of humanistic traditions, important historic events and Humanism's position in Norway and the world today
- understand and describe humanistic ideas and values in art, architecture and music
- describe the main features of a philosophy of life that is not based on Humanism
- present examples of different criticisms that different denominational traditions have toward religion

Philosophy and ethics

The aims of the education are to enable the pupil to

- present some significant philosophers and discuss their ideas
- reflect on philosophic themes related to identity and ways of interpreting life, nature and culture, life and death, right and wrong
- give an account of the concepts *ethics* and *morals* and use ethical analysis with a point of departure in basic ethical ways of thought
- hold a dialogue with others about the relationship between ethics, religion and philosophies of life
- discuss and elaborate on ethical questions related to human worth, human rights and equality, in among other ways by basing yourself on real role models
- discuss and elaborate on ethical choices and current themes in local and global society: social and ecological responsibility, technological challenges, peace work and democracy
- reflect on ethical questions related to interpersonal relationships, family and friends, forms of cohabitation, heterosexuality and homosexuality, youth culture and body culture
- reflect on the relationship between religion, philosophies of life and knowledge
- show respect for the faiths and beliefs of human beings, their rituals, holy objects and holy sites

Subject assessment

Provisions for final assessment:

Overall achievement marks

Year level	Provision
Year 10	Pupils shall receive one final assessment mark.

Examination for pupils

Year level	Provision
Year 10	Pupils may be selected for an oral examination. The oral examination will be prepared and marked locally.

Examination for external candidates

Year level	Provision
Year 10	See the provisions in force for primary school education for adults.

The provisions for assessment are stipulated in the regulations of the Norwegian Education Act.

*Appendix F: Kristendoms, religions- og livssynkunnskap” (KRL) Christianity,
religion and ethics education curriculum*

CHRISTIANITY, RELIGION AND ETHICS EDUCATION

The objectives of the subject

Religion and views on life reflect humanity's most fundamental questions about life and have contributed to shaping the individual, the community and society throughout time. Each and every person needs knowledge about religions and other ethical approaches to life to interpret his or her life and to understand cultures in the local and global communities. Today, children and young people encounter a multitude of cultural influences and value traditions. For centuries, Christian faith and traditions have pervaded Norwegian and European culture. Parallel to this, humanist value traditions have given our cultural heritage a wider scope. Today, religious and ethical diversity has increasingly greater impact on society. Knowledge of various religions, views on life, ethics and philosophies is a prerequisite for interpreting life, ethical awareness and understanding across the boundaries of religious faiths and views on life.

As a general studies subject, Christianity, religion and ethics education shall contribute to a common knowledge base and reference framework where the pupil can recognise issues from his or her own background, promote new insight and open for dialogues adapted to the various stages of the pupil's development. The subject shall serve as a common meeting-ground for pupils with different backgrounds where each individual shall be treated with respect. Knowledge on religions and views on life, and their functions both as tradition and a living source of faith, morality and interpretation of life, are key elements in this subject. The subject shall stimulate a versatile education, personal development and awareness of one's own identity.

Pursuant to section 2-4 of the Norwegian Education Act, the subject shall provide thorough knowledge of the Bible and Christianity as cultural heritage, and of the Evangelical-Lutheran understanding of Christianity and various Christian creeds. It shall also inform about other religions, views on life and ethical and philosophical topics. The subject shall promote understanding of, and respect for, Christian and humanist values, and promote dialogue between people with different perceptions of faith and ethical issues. This means respect for religious values and for human rights values.

Christianity, religion and ethics education is a standard school subject which should normally be taken by all the pupils. The teaching shall impart knowledge and understanding, and not give training in a particular religion or view on life. The teaching shall be based on equal educational principles.

Christianity, other world religions and views on life shall be presented from their perspectives. This means that all the studied religions and views on life shall be dealt with according to their special features in a neutral and enlightening manner. In the teaching of this subject, the close examination of the subject material on the particular premises of each view on life and religion shall be combined with an unbiased approach. There shall be no religious preaching or practice of religion.

Adapted teaching is an overriding principle. It is necessary to adapt the teaching to make allowances for the religious backgrounds of the pupils. Varied and engrossing work methods shall be used in presenting all aspects of the subject. Activities such as narratives, arts and crafts, dramatization, song and music, conversations and visits shall contribute to capturing the pupils' attention and giving them insight into various religions and views on life.

Care must be exercised when choosing work methods. This particularly applies to work methods that parents and pupils might perceive as the exercise of another religion or endorsement of it. If a pupil has been exempted from regular teaching pursuant to section 2-3 (a) of the Norwegian Education Act, the pupil must be offered adapted teaching. Continuous cooperation between the home and school is necessary and the home shall be given detailed information about how the school intends to teach the subject.

Main subject areas

The subject has been structured into main subject areas for which competence aims have been formulated. During the first school years special consideration must be given to the pupils' experiential background and local conditions. Thus it is important that when starting the subject, the pupils initially learn about language terms, narratives, art and rituals that reflect the tradition of the religion or faith they belong to or encounter in their local neighbourhood. Based on the principle of local adaptation, some competence aims from the main subject area of Christianity and the main subject area Judaism, Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism and views on life may be moved from years 1-4 to years 5-7. All religions and faiths must nevertheless be dealt with in years 1-4.

The Christianity, religion and ethics education subject has competence aims after the fourth, seventh and tenth years in primary school and lower secondary school.

Overview of the main subject areas:

Year	Main subject areas		
1–7	Christianity	Judaism, Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism and views on life	Philosophy and ethics
8–10	Christianity	Judaism, Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism, other religious diversity and views on life	Philosophy and ethics

Christianity

The main subject area *Christianity* focuses on Christianity in a historical perspective and how Christianity is understood and practised in Norway and the world today, on the Bible as a source of cultural understanding and faith and on the importance of Christianity to society and culture. Different traditions and religious communities within Christianity must be looked into.

Judaism, Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism and views on life

The main subject area *Judaism, Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism and views on life* focuses on these religions and selected views on life in a historical perspective, on their written traditions as a source of cultural understanding and faith, and on how these religions and views on life are understood and practised in Norway and the world today. In lower secondary school this main subject area shall also provide insight into other religions and views on life represented in Norway, and into other religious diversity and views on life.

Philosophy and ethics

The main subject area *philosophy and ethics* focuses on philosophical thinking and ethical reflection. Some of the important philosophers are included and fundamental life issues, moral choices and ethical rationales are key elements. This area also includes attitudes and relevant ethical issues in the lives of children and young people, in the local community and the global world. Links between ethics, religion and views on life shall be dealt with in the main subject area.

Teaching hours

Teaching hours are given in 60-minute units:

Primary school

Years 1 to 7: 427 teaching hours

Lower secondary school:

Years 8 to 10: 157 teaching hours

The content under the stipulated competence aims in the subject shall be divided as follows: approximately 55 per cent of the teaching hours on the main subject area Christianity, approximately 25 per cent of the teaching hours on the main subject area Judaism, Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism and other religious diversity and views on life (lower secondary school level) and approximately 20 per cent of the teaching hours on the main subject area philosophy and ethics.

Basic skills

Basic skills are integrated in the competence aims where they contribute to the development of the competence in the subject, while also being part of this competence. In the religion and ethics subject the basic skills are understood as follows:

Being able to express oneself orally in the subject means using speech to communicate, explain and understand religions and views on life, ethics and philosophy. Oral skills such as conversation, dialogue, narrative and explanation are means to bring about inquiry and participation, reflection and argumentation. The subject places great importance on narrative as an oral expression.

Being able to read in the subject means reading and understanding texts. Reading is used to collect information, reflect upon, interpret, seek meaning in and deal critically and analytically with narratives and subject material in traditional as well as multimedia presentations.

Being able to write in the subject means being able to express knowledge, experiences and ideas on religion and views on life, ethics and philosophy. Writing clarifies thoughts and opinions and helps one to interpret, argue and communicate. Writing in the subject also means encountering aesthetic expressions and using them.

Being able to do mathematics in the subject means using different calendars and ways of presenting annual seasons, being able to navigate in religious writings, encountering mathematical expressions and number symbolism and interpreting and using statistics. Being able to recognise and use geometrical patterns in aesthetic expressions and architecture requires mathematical skills.

Being able to use digital tools in the subject is an aid to exploring religions and views on life to find different presentations and perspectives. One important skill is to be able to use material that is available in digital format, such as pictures, texts, music and film in ways that unite creativity with awareness of source criticism. Digital media present new opportunities for communication and dialogue on religions and views on life. These media also give wide access to materials dealing with relevant ethical issues.

Competence aims in the subject

Competence aims after Year 4

Christianity

The aims for the education are that the pupil shall be able to

- tell others about the content of significant texts from the Book of Genesis and the Book of Exodus in the Old Testament
- tell others about the content in significant parts of the gospels on the life and works of Jesus in the New Testament
- listen to and talk about some accounts of apostles and saints
- explore the local church, find traces of the history of Christianity in the local community and in the district, and present the findings in various ways
- talk about Christianity and how religious practice is expressed through maxims, prayer, baptism, religious service and holidays
- be familiar with Christian hymn traditions and a selection of songs, including Sámi ones
- recognise art and use aesthetic expressions connected to Christianity

Judaism, Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism and views on life

Judaism

The aims for the education are that the pupil shall be able to

- tell others about the life and works of Moses, the revelations in the Torah and the content of central parts of the Torah
- talk about Judaism and how religious practice is expressed through maxims, prayer, readings of the Torah, rules about food and holidays
- recognise art and use aesthetic expressions connected to Judaism

Islam

The aims for the education are that the pupil shall be able to

- tell others about the life of the prophet Mohammed, the revelations of the Koran and the content of central parts of the Koran
- talk about Islam and how religious practice is expressed through maxims, prayer, readings of the Koran, rules about food and holidays
- recognise art and use aesthetic expressions connected to Islam

Hinduism

The aims for the education are that the pupil shall be able to

- tell others about one of the gods and goddesses of Hinduism
- talk about Hinduism and how religious practice is expressed through maxims, *puja* (expressions of Hindu devotion), rules about food and holidays
- recognise art and use aesthetic expressions connected to Hinduism

Buddhism

The aims for the education are that the pupil shall be able to

- tell others about Siddhartha Gautama's life and his awakening as Buddha

- talk about Buddhism and how religious practice is expressed through maxims, prayer, meditation and holidays
- recognise art and use aesthetic expressions connected to Buddhism

Views on life

The aims for the education are that the pupil shall be able to

- listen to and talk about texts and narratives expressing a humanist view on life
- talk about how humanism as a view on life is expressed through maxims and ceremonies
- recognise art and use aesthetic expressions connected to humanism

Philosophy and ethics

The aims for the education are that the pupil shall be able to

- tell others about the philosopher Socrates
- express thoughts about life, loss and sorrow, good and evil and respond to the thoughts of others
- talk about everyday and holiday family customs across religions and views on life
- conduct a simple dialogue on conscience, ethical maxims and values
- repeat the golden rule of mutuality and demonstrate the ability to use it in practice
- talk about respect and tolerance and counteract bullying in practice
- use the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child to understand children's rights and equal rights and find examples in media and on the internet

Competence aims after Year 7

Christianity

The aims for the education are that the pupil shall be able to

- explain the structure of the Bible, find Biblical verses and reflect upon the relationship between the Bible and language and culture
- elaborate on key stories from the Old Testament from the ancestors to the prophets
- elaborate on key stories from the New Testament from Jesus to Paul
- tell others about key events and persons in the history of Christianity from the first Christians to the Reformation talk about Islam, Islamic interpretation of life and ethics with emphasis on images of God, views on humanity, articles of faith, the five pillars, relevant ethical challenges and selected texts
- tell others about key events and persons in the history of Christianity in Norway up to the Reformation
- describe the main features of Sámi pre-Christian religion and the transition to Christianity
- talk about Christianity, Christian understanding of life and ethics with emphasis on the image of God, view on humanity, relevant ethical challenges and selected Christian texts
- talk about the content of the ten commandments, the Lord's Prayer, the Apostle's Creed and some songs and hymns
- explain the Christian calendar and the church year, describe Christian holidays and central rites
- elaborate on religious communities that are represented in the local community and the district
- describe church buildings and other Christian places of worship and reflect upon their significance and use, and use digital tools to search for information and prepare presentations
- present various expressions from art and music connected to Christianity

Judaism, Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism and views on life

Judaism

The aims for the education are that the pupil shall be able to

- explain what the *Tanak, Tora* and *Talmud* are and talk about important Jewish stories
- talk about Judaism, Jewish interpretation of life and ethics with emphasis on images of God, views on humanity, the creed, relevant ethical challenges and selected texts
- explain the Jewish calendar and describe Jewish holidays and key rites
- describe the temple and the synagogue and reflect upon their significance and use, and use digital tools to search for information and prepare presentations
- present various expressions from art and music connected to Judaism

Islam

The aims for the education are that the pupil shall be able to

- explain what the Koran and *hadith* are and talk about central Islamic stories
- talk about Islam, Islamic interpretation of life and ethics with emphasis on images of God, views on humanity, articles of faith, the five pillars, relevant ethical challenges and selected texts
- explain the basis for the Islamic calendar and describe Islamic holidays and central rites
- describe the mosque and reflect upon its significance and use, and use digital tools to search for information and prepare presentations
- present various expressions from art and music connected to Islam

Hinduism

The aims for the education are that the pupil shall be able to

- talk about key stories in Hinduism
- talk about Hinduism, Hindu life interpretation and ethics, with emphasis on some gods and goddesses, views on life and the divine, views on humanity, relevant ethical challenges and selected texts
- explain the Hindu holiday calendar and describe Hindu holidays and central rites
- describe the temple and reflect upon its significance and use, and use digital tools to search for information and prepare presentations
- present various expressions from art and music connected to Hinduism

Buddhism

The aims for the education are that the pupil shall be able to

- talk about key Buddhist stories
- talk about Buddhism, Buddhist life interpretation and ethics with emphasis on Buddha, views on life, views on humanity, the teachings, social order, relevant ethical challenges and selected texts
- explain a Buddhist holiday calendar and describe Buddhist holidays and central rites
- describe the temple and the monastery and reflect upon their significance and use, and use digital tools to search for information and prepare presentations
- present various expressions from art and music connected to Buddhism

Views on life

The aims for the education are that the pupil shall be able to

- talk about what a view on life might mean
- explain what a humanistic view on life is and talk about humanistic life interpretation and ethics, with emphasis on understanding reality, views on humanity, relevant ethical challenges and selected texts from humanistic traditions
- talk about the background and characteristics of the Norwegian Humanist Association and humanistic belief in the world
- describe celebrations and central ceremonies associated with humanistic belief in Norway
- present various expressions from art and music that reflect humanism

Philosophy and ethics

The aims for the education are that the pupil shall be able to

- explain what philosophy and ethics are
- tell others about Plato and Aristotle and discuss some of their ideas
- talk about relevant philosophical and ethical issues and discuss challenges connected to such issues as poor and rich, war and peace, nature and the environment, ICT and society
- talk about ethics in the context of different family structures, the relationship between the genders, gender identity and the relationship between generations
- discuss and elaborate on some value issues the Sámi people are concerned with in our time
- talk about ethnic minorities in Norway and reflect upon attitudes connected to multicultural society
- talk about philosophy, religion and views on life as the basis for ethical thinking and be able to discuss some moral ideals from the past and the present
- discuss racism and how anti-racist activities may prevent racism
- explain important sections of the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights and talk about their significance

Competence aims after Year 10

Christianity

The aims for the education are that the pupil shall be able to

- explain the characteristic features of Christianity and Christian belief as an interpretation of life in relation to other traditions: similarities and fundamental differences
- find important writings in the Bible and explain the relationship between the Old and the New Testament
- discuss and elaborate on selected Bible texts from the prophets, the poetic literature and the wisdom literature, one gospel and one epistle of Paul and explain characteristics and principal thoughts in these
- discuss and elaborate on different views on the Bible
- collect digital information and present relevant issues that concern many Christians
- elaborate on important events in the history of Christianity from the Reformation until today in Norway and the world and the position of Christianity today
- explain main features of Roman-Catholic, Orthodox and Protestant traditions of Christianity
- make a presentation of Læstadianism and Sámi church life
- give an overview of other Free Churches and Christian movements, including the Pentecostal church
- discuss and elaborate on the significance of Christianity for culture and social life
- explore the position and characteristics of Christianity in a country outside Europe and discuss and elaborate on issues relating to Christian missions, humanitarian activities and ecumenical activities
- describe and reflect upon special characteristics of art, architecture and music connected to Christianity

Judaism, Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism, other religious diversity and views on life

Judaism

The aims for the education are that the pupil shall be able to

- explain the characteristic features of Judaism and the Jewish faith as an interpretation of life in comparison to other traditions: similarities and fundamental differences

- discuss and elaborate on selected texts from Jewish written tradition
- collect digital information and present relevant issues that concern many Jews
- give an overview of the diversity of Judaism, important historical events and the position of Judaism in Norway and the world today
- describe and reflect upon special characteristics of art, architecture and music connected to Judaism

Islam

The aims for the education are that the pupil shall be able to

- explain the characteristics of Islam and Islamic faith as an interpretation of life in comparison to other traditions: similarities and fundamental differences
- discuss and elaborate on selected texts from Islamic written tradition
- collect digital information and present relevant issues that concern many Muslims
- give an overview of the diversity of Islam, important historical events and the position of Islam in Norway and the world today
- describe and reflect upon special characteristics of art, architecture and music connected to Islam

Hinduism

The aims for the education are that the pupil shall be able to

- explain the characteristics of Hinduism and Hindu faith as an interpretation of life in comparison to other traditions: similarities and fundamental differences
- discuss and elaborate on selected texts from Hindu written tradition
- collect digital information and present relevant issues that concern many Hindus
- give an overview of the diversity of Hinduism, important historical events and the position of Hinduism in Norway and the world today
- describe and reflect on special characteristics of art, architecture and music connected to Hinduism

Buddhism

The aims for the education are that the pupil shall be able to

- explain the characteristics of Buddhism and Buddhist faith as an interpretation of life in comparison to other traditions: similarities and fundamental differences
- discuss and elaborate on selected texts from Buddhist written tradition
- collect digital information and present relevant issues that concern many Buddhists
- give an overview of the diversity of Buddhism, important historical events and the position of Buddhism in Norway and the world today
- describe and reflect upon special characteristics of art, architecture and music connected to Buddhism

Religious diversity

The aims for the education are that the pupil shall be able to

- talk about and explain what religion is, and show how religion is expressed in various ways
- show the ability to take part in dialogues on religion and ethical issues and show respect for different religions and views on life
- discuss and elaborate on relevant issues arising from the encounter between religion, culture and society
- collect information and find special characteristics of some religions and creeds locally and nationally, including Sikhism, Bahá'í religion, Jehovah's witnesses and the Church of Jesus Christ and Latter-Day Saints
- elaborate on new religious movements and talk about various forms of neo-religious and nature-religious practice, including nature religions of indigenous peoples

- explore the position and characteristics of religions in a country outside Europe with and without digital tools.

Views on life

The aims for the education are that the pupil shall be able to

- explain what a view on life is, and show how this is expressed in various ways
- explain the characteristics of humanism in relation to religions and other views on life: similarities and fundamental differences
- discuss and elaborate on different texts presenting humanism and discuss relevant issues that concern humanists
- give an overview of the diversity of humanism, important historical events and the position of humanism in Norway and the world today
- recognise and describe humanistic ideas and values in art, architecture and music
- describe main features of a view on life outside of humanism
- present examples of criticism of religion by different views on life

Philosophy and ethics

The aims for the education are that the pupil shall be able to

- present some important philosophers and discuss their ideas
- reflect upon philosophical themes connected to identity and interpretation of life, nature and culture, life and death, right and wrong
- elaborate on the concepts of ethics and morality and use ethical analysis based on basic ethical ways of thinking
- conduct dialogues with others on the relationships between ethics, religion and views on life
- discuss and elaborate on ethical issues connected to the value of human life and human rights, equal rights, by starting with familiar ideals
- discuss and elaborate on choice of values and relevant themes locally and globally: social and ecological responsibility, technological challenges, peace activities and democracy
- reflect upon ethical issues connected to interpersonal relations, family and friends, living together, heterophily and homophily, youth culture and body culture
- reflect upon the relation between religion, views of life and science
- show respect for people's perceptions of faith and views on life, rites, holy objects and places

Subject assessment

Provisions for final assessment:

Overall achievement grade

Year	Provision
Year 10	The pupils shall have one overall achievement grade.

Examinations for pupils

Year	Provision
Year 10	The pupils may be selected for an oral examination. The oral examination is prepared and graded locally.

Examinations for external candidates

Year	Provision
Year 10	See the provisions in force for primary school education for adults.

The general provisions on assessment have been laid down in the Regulations relating to the Norwegian Education Act.

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