

**Religion, Solidarity and Identity: A Comparative
Study of Four South African Schools with a
Religious Affiliation**

by

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I dedicate this thesis to my mother, Trish Cawood, who passed in June 2015. I know she would have read this thesis and told me it was excellent.

Abstract

Religion, Solidarity and Identity: A Comparative Study of Four South African Schools with a Religious Affiliation

This thesis explores how schools with a religious affiliation recruit religion in school culture and the formal curriculum (both curriculum content and pedagogic method) and how this relates to the pedagogic identities they project. An overarching concern of the thesis is to understand how the character of the affiliated religion relates to the privileging of particular forms of solidarity and identity. This explorative, multiple case study is located in four independent schools in South Africa, each with an official affiliation to a particular religious community. The sample comprises a co-educational charismatic Protestant school, a liberal Catholic school, a traditional-Orthodox Jewish school and a conservative Muslim school. The study foregrounds Bernstein's (1990, 2000) suggestion that a sociologically important characteristic of religions is the way they constitute the relation between the 'inner' self and the 'outer' social world.

The thesis looks to Bernstein's (1975, 2000) theory that the ideology inherent in pedagogic discourse constitutes particular instantiations of power and control (related to Bernstein's concepts of classification and framing respectively) that structure a school's curriculum and pedagogic methods. The analysis of school culture utilises Bernstein's (1975) theory of ritual and identity is explored in relation to Bernstein's (2000) taxonomy of pedagogic identities. Furthermore, Durkheim's (1915, 1960) concept of mechanical and organic solidarity and his theory of the sacred and the profane provide the primary conceptualizations of social order.

The qualitative analysis of interview data (obtained from students, teachers, principals and religious leaders), policy documentation and direct observation shows significant differences between the schools relating to the recruitment of the affiliated religion in curriculum, pedagogy and ritual. The analysis suggests that the schools affiliated to religions in which the inner and the outer are dislocated (the Protestant and Catholic school), recruit the affiliated religion in a way that predominantly privileges a moral order in which the student is weakly related to a collective and individualised values and relations are emphasised (organic solidarity). Conversely, the schools in the sample affiliated to religions in which the inner is not dislocated from the outer (the Jewish and Muslim school), recruit the affiliated religion in a way that privileges strong identification of the student to a collective (mechanical solidarity). However, the analysis suggests that the form of solidarity related to the recruitment of the affiliated religion at the schools is not always the only form of solidarity privileged. More specifically, the analysis shows that components of the instructional order 'unordered' by the affiliated religion may result in a layering of different forms of solidarity within the same school. The analysis implies that the schools project different pedagogic identity modes enabled by particular instantiations of power and control related to the privileged form/s of social solidarity.

The major finding of the thesis is that the character of the affiliated religion, in terms of its constitution of the inner and the outer, relates to the form of social solidarity privileged by the school's recruitment of religion, which, in turn, enables the projection of particular pedagogic identities. This thesis makes a contribution to a growing body of literature that

challenges the idea that 'religious schools' are homogenous. It provides a theoretical methodology for exploring differences and similarities between 'religious schools' across different religions and suggests a sociologically important source of variance in 'religious schools' in general.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

This thesis was motivated by a personal interest in religious schooling, arising out of my own experience of a religious school as both a student and as a teacher. The school I attended (and later taught at) is a small, non-denominational, charismatic Protestant school that is included as one of the four religiously affiliated schools comprising this thesis's sample.¹ Moreover, during my Master's degree, I was introduced to Basil Bernstein's sociological theory (e.g., 2000), and via Bernstein, to Émile Durkheim's work (e.g., 1960), which afforded me the opportunity to reflect analytically on the pedagogic and social structure of the Protestant school and its affiliated religious community in which I had been raised. This process was destabilising, euphoric and immensely illuminating, as the application of good theory to one's own personal experience ought to be. Therefore, the process of writing this thesis has been both an academic endeavour and a personal journey of self-reflection.

The initial interest that guided the direction of this thesis arose from reflection on aspects of the culture of the Protestant school I attended, brought into relation with a particular section of Bernstein's (2000) theoretical musings on religion. The Protestant school presented a culture that strongly foregrounded the development of inner dispositions, beliefs and values coupled with an emphasis on personal, individualised social relations. The school had a strong focus on nurturing an inner spiritual life, which was construed as a 'personal relationship with Jesus' rather than identification with a religious group. Related to this focus on inner spiritual experience, religious ritual was considered to be meaningless and devoid of spiritual life: true religion was about personal, spontaneous, inner faith. Furthermore, all forms of collective identification were minimised and rather personal, individualised relations were privileged. Hence, the school presented a ritually sparse culture characterised by social informality and the prizing of personal relationships at all levels of interaction. This focus on inner life and individual spirituality also seemed to relate to the way in which the school imagined the meaning of school work: instrumental conceptions of school work as a means to placement in the job market via success in examinations were rejected, and, rather, school

¹ I attended this school from grade two through to grade 12, and later I taught at this school for a total of six years. However, I was not teaching at the school during the course of my Ph.D.

work was imagined as the formation of sacred inner dispositions in which each individual student realised her God-given potential.

These observations were brought into relation with a particular section in Bernstein's (2000) book, *Pedagogy, Symbolic Control and Identity*, which provided the beginnings of an explanation of the ethos of the Protestant school as it related to the basic structuring of Christianity as a religion. What caught my attention was Bernstein's reflections on what he considered an important difference between Christianity and Judaism. Bernstein notes that in Christianity, conversion "required a revolution of inwardness, a turning to a recognition of Christ, the meaning of Christ" (p. 83). He goes on to argue that Christianity "drives a wedge between inner self and outer practice" (p. 83), prioritising the inner such that a point outside of culture and practice becomes the basis of conversion. In contrast, Bernstein suggests that in Judaism there is "no dislocation of outer and inner" (p. 84).² Rather, in Judaism, the holy otherness of God is emphasised and realised "in prayer, ritual and classifications which establish the fundamental nature of the social bond between men, women and community" (p. 84). Bernstein's discussion of the relation between the inner and outer in Christianity spoke strongly to my experience at the Protestant school, which exemplified a form of Protestantism (charismatic) that presents an extreme dislocation of individual 'inner' dispositions from 'outer' social practice.³ This, in turn, piqued my interest in how schools affiliated with different religious communities (in which the inner and the outer are differently related) may privilege different forms of solidarity related to variations in pedagogy, ritualization and the nature of student identity projected by each school.

This general interest crystalized into an interest in comparing the following aspects of religious schools: Firstly, the ways in which religiously affiliated schools recruit the affiliated religion into their formal curriculum; more specifically, comparing the structure of the Religious Education (RE) programmes at different religious schools, as well as the way in which religious schools relate the remainder of the curriculum to the affiliated religion. Secondly, I became interested in the manner and extent to which different religious schools ritualise the affiliated religion in the school's general culture, and how this may differently

² In his earlier book, *Class, Codes and Control: The Structuring of Pedagogic Discourse*, Bernstein (1990) suggests that Islam shares with Judaism the essential integration of the inner and outer. This will be discussed further in Chapter 3.

³ This aspect of Bernstein's theory is discussed in more detail in Chapter 3.

position the school in respect of the affiliated religion and privilege different forms of social solidarity. Thirdly, I was interested in exploring the character of the student identity privileged at each school. Finally, an overarching concern of the thesis is an attempt to understand the relation between the basic structure of the affiliated religion (in terms of the relation it sets up between the inner and the outer) and the forms of social solidarity and identity privileged at each school.

1.2 Locating the Study

The empirical work of this thesis was conducted from 2013 to 2015 in four independent South African schools,⁴ each with an official affiliation to a particular religious community. The sample comprises a co-educational charismatic Protestant school, an all-girls Catholic school, a co-educational traditional-Orthodox Jewish school and an all-boys Muslim school.⁵ The schools in the sample all included junior and senior sections. However, this thesis focuses specifically on the senior components of each school, comprising grade eight through to grade 12.⁶ Below I present a brief overview of the South African independent schooling sector. This overview is followed by short sketches of the history of Christian, Jewish and Muslim schooling in South Africa, particularly focused on the position of religious schools in relation to South Africa's political transition out of the apartheid era.

1.2.1 Independent Schools in South Africa

The schools in the sample form part of an expanding South African independent school sector which has shown notable growth in the post-apartheid era (Du Toit, 2002). This expansion is associated with a global increase in private schooling beginning in the 1980s and is related to the “demand of parents to take basic education into their own hands” (Tayob, Niehaus & Weisse, 2011, p. 8), coupled with the willingness of liberal states to outsource key functions previously regarded as central to national development (Tayob et al., 2011).

Moreover, post-apartheid educational policy is generally supportive of independent schooling

⁴ In order to protect the anonymity of certain schools in the sample, the physical location of the schools is not specified further than their characterisation as South African.

⁵ The Muslim school included a separate girls' campus on the same property, but interaction between the two institutions was limited.

⁶ A full analysis was also conducted on the junior schools. The findings of this analysis are periodically referred to in the thesis.

and the government currently offers a robust subsidy system (for lower fees schools), recognising the argument that independent schooling offers citizens freedom to practice the education of their choice, thus allowing for the diversity desired in the new South Africa (Hofmeyr & Lee, 2004). The South African government subsidises independent schools with varying levels of subsidisation depending on the fees charged by the schools. In 2014, around 60% of independent South African schools received government subsidies (Hofmeyr, 2014). The remaining 40% represent the schools charging fees higher than the limit set for government subsidy or institutions that are unregistered for various reasons. In these favourable post-apartheid conditions, Hofmeyr and Lee (2004) report that the independent school sector in South Africa tripled in size from 1990-2002. Moreover, the number of learners attending independent schools in South Africa doubled to half a million between 2000 and 2012 (Hofmeyr, 2014). In 2014, the growing independent school sector was estimated to represent 6.3% of the total number of schools (4% of total learners) in South Africa (Hofmeyr, 2014): a small but significant portion. Around ten percent of these independent schools are for-profit institutions, with the remaining 90% (including the four schools in the sample) comprising the non-profit sector (Hofmeyr, 2014).

The racial profile of post-apartheid independent schools has changed dramatically. Prior to 1990, the independent sector was predominantly elitist and primarily subscribed to by 'White'⁷ families in schools that could be described as high-fee, traditional, religious, private schools (Hofmeyr & Lee, 2004, p. 143).⁸ However, Hofmeyr and Lee (2004) report that "the majority of learners at independent schools are now Black, while the majority of schools are new (established since 1990), charge average to low fees and are religious or community-based" (p. 143). This finding was more recently confirmed by Hofmeyr (2014), who reported that in 2014, 73% of independent school learners were Black students. However, in the elite high-fee independent schools, White learners are still the majority (Hofmeyr, 2014; Motala & Dieltiens, 2008). Thus, the growth in the post-apartheid independent school sector is predominantly in the mid- to low-school fee sector subscribed to by a high percentage of Black students. Therefore, the independent school sector, like the public-school sector, remains highly stratified along lines of race and class (Motala & Dieltiens, 2008, p. 128).

⁷ The use of racial categories such as 'White', 'Black', 'Coloured' and 'non-White' are recognised as problematic, but are still used in the thesis as these categories are difficult to avoid in descriptions of South Africa's apartheid history.

⁸ The mission schools were an exception to this, but (as will be discussed below) many of these closed down post-1953, due to the Bantu Education Act.

Religious schools form a substantial portion of South African independent schools. According to the Human Sciences Research Council, in 2003 over 46% of all independent schools could be classified as religious (Hofmeyr & Lee, 2004, p. 154).⁹ Moreover, over 80% of independent schools that were started between 1990 and 2001 had a religious affiliation (Motala & Dieltiens, 2008, p. 130). Religious schools in South Africa represent a wide range of religions and faith expressions, but are predominantly Christian in affiliation. According to Dieltiens (2003), in 2001 71% of religious schools were Christian, 5% were Muslim, 3% were Jewish and “other religions” made up the remaining 21%.

1.2.2 Historical Sketches of Religious Schooling in South Africa

In what follows I provide brief sketches of the history of Christian, Jewish and Muslim independent schooling in South Africa. I attempt to show how the shape of the current independent religious schooling sector relates to the broader history of South African schooling from the pre-apartheid era through to today. The sketches end with a characterisation of each sector gleaned from the minimal empirical research associated with religious schools in South Africa.

1.2.2.1 Christian Schooling in South Africa (Protestant and Catholic)

The first religious schools in South Africa were established in the 1800s by various Christian denominations (predominantly Catholic, Anglican and Dutch Reformed), for the education of the children of White European settlers. In the mid to late 1800s, some of South Africa’s most famous, Anglican, private schools were established, such as Bishops (1849), Hilton (1872), St Anne’s Diocesan College (1877) and Michael House (1896). The first Catholic school in South Africa was set up in the Eastern Cape in 1849 by the Sisters of the Assumption (Potterton & Johnstone, 2007). Many more were established before the turn of

⁹ According to Simon Lee, an information and technology manager from the Independent Schools Association of Southern Africa (ISASA), the 2017 ISASA data confirmed the dominant place taken by religious schools in the independent schooling sector. Of the 717 schools registered with ISASA in 2017, only 131 were non-religious. The breakdown was as follows: Catholic: 71, Christian (other than Catholic): 473, Secular: 131, Jewish: 22, Muslim: 2, Hindu: 2, Other: 16. While a substantial number of non-religious schools are not fully registered with ISASA (such as the Advtech group schools), these statistics show that religious schooling is a substantial portion of the sector (S. Lee, personal communication, June 26, 2017).

the century, including the Catholic school in the sample. Moreover, particularly in the Transvaal (now called Gauteng), a fair number of Dutch Reformed private schools were also started during this same period. These were known as the Christian National Education and these schools catered predominantly to Afrikaner students. These schools taught conservative Calvinist theology and utilised Dutch as the language of instruction (Squelch, 1997).

In the first half of the 20th century a growing increase in the control and power of Afrikaner nationalism resulted in tension between English private schools and the state. “As state control increased and Afrikaner nationalism took hold, it was inevitable that the number of Afrikaans private schools was to decline and English private schools increase” (Squelch, 1997, p. 37). In 1929, the Headmasters Conference (HMC) was established to protect the interests of private schools for Europeans in South Africa in which particularly the state’s promotion of Afrikaans in education was viewed as an infringement on the autonomy of private education (Squelch, 1997). This set the stage for ongoing friction between government and elite White traditional religious schools in the apartheid era that followed.

Concurrently with the establishment of White religious schools, schools for Black and Coloured learners were also started by various Christian denominations, primarily as part of missionary endeavours (Christie, 1990). These mission schools were of variable quality and the majority received state subsidisation. Thus, although early Christian schooling was racially segregated (in keeping with the times), it played a significant role in offering Black students an education in a time when educational opportunities for non-Whites were very limited. By 1953 there were over 5000 state-aided mission schools, of which 688 were Catholic (Christie, 1990).

However, the Afrikaner nationalist government viewed the predominantly English language mission schools with particular suspicion, regarding them as a potential threat “to Afrikaner culture and economic domination of the country” (Brain & Denis, 1999, p. 190). The nationalist state responded to this perceived threat with the introduction of the 1953 Bantu Education Act aimed at “ending missionary participation in education” (Christie, 1990, p. 15). The act “set up extensive controls which centralised African education under the state” (p. 15). The act required mission schools to be handed over to the state or to continue without state subsidies within the Bantu education structure. Most churches decided to close the schools rather than operate under the state-stipulated conditions. Therefore, the number of

mission schools dropped from 5000 in 1953 to 509 in 1965 (Christie, 1990). The Catholic church decided to keep its mission schools open, however, by registering them under the department, while maintaining some independence via forfeiting state funding (Higgs & Evans, 2008, p. 503). As a result of these new circumstances, the quality and number of Catholic mission schools declined, further widening the gap between the quality of education offered by the Catholic church to White students in comparison to that of other races. By 1973 there were 367 Catholic mission schools in South Africa, which, at that stage, constituted the vast majority of mission schools in the country (Kelly & Higgs, 2012). However, there was growing concern within the Catholic church regarding the segregation and inequality within its own educational institutions.

During the apartheid era, interest in private (predominantly Christian) religious schooling grew among the English White elite and many church-affiliated private schools were established. The relationship between these schools and the state remained strained over the related issues of race, nationalism, religion and language (Muller, 1990). The sector grew from an estimated 38667 pupils in 1951 to 45927 in 1972 (Muller, 1990). The White, independent, traditional, Christian school sector remained robust such that by the end of apartheid in 1994 it comprised the majority of the independent schooling sector (Hofmeyr & Lee, 2004).

In 1976, in response to a growing concern in the South African Catholic church regarding segregation and inequality within Catholic educational institutions, a Cabra Dominican Convent school in Cape Town (that had previously only admitted White female students) opened its doors to students of all races and a handful of Coloured students were admitted that year (Christie, 1990). This was the first action of the 'open school' movement driven by some influential sisters in the Cabra Dominican order. This was a unique movement in religious schooling in South Africa that openly defied apartheid policy. By the beginning of 1977, 227 Black students were illegally admitted to White Catholic schools, ninety of them to Cabra Dominican schools (Kelly & Higgs, 2012). In December 1977, the Catholic Church was given permission by government to admit in certain circumstances non-White students to White Catholic schools, but special permission had to be granted in each case (Christie, 1990). However, this requirement for permission was often ignored by Catholic schools and the number of non-White students in the Catholic 'open schools' continued to grow. In 1986, under considerable pressure, the government announced that it would resume subsidisation of

‘mixed’ private religious schools with subsidisation levels not contingent on race ratios of admission (Christie, 1990).

In post-apartheid South Africa, the number of Catholic schools has remained largely stable, with the Catholic Institute of Education (CIE) stating on their website that in 2015 there were 346 Catholic schools in South Africa. Two hundred and fifty of these are registered as public schools (full state subsidisation), but are located on private (mostly church-owned) property (Catholic Institute of Education [CIE], n.d., para. 1).¹⁰ Under agreements signed between the State and the Catholic church, these schools have the right to preserve and promote their own special religious character (Naidoo, 2015, p. 170). The remaining 96 schools (including the school in this present sample) are independent and owned by the Catholic church.

Currently, Catholic schools in South Africa present a great diversity in character and mission, reflecting the historical divide between elite White Catholic schools and Catholic mission schools. The schools include junior and senior grades of both single gender and co-educational types, as well as special needs schools (such as schools for the deaf) and night schools for adult education (CIE, n.d.). Moreover, Catholic schools include both high fee institutions subscribed to by predominantly middle- to upper-middle-class families (such as the one in the present sample), as well as low fee institutions subscribed to by economically disadvantaged working-class families. The total number of learners in Catholic primary and secondary schools in South Africa in 2015 was 160780 of which 90% were Black students (Naidoo, 2015). Recent research suggests that many Catholic schools in South Africa include a majority non-Catholic student base (Kusi-Mensah, 2005; Naidoo, 2015). Thus, many South African schools are not primarily serving the local Catholic community, but the more general local community.

Finally, since the early 1980s, and on into the post-apartheid era, there has been a substantial growth in two types of Christian independent schools. Firstly, a conservative Afrikaans Calvinist group of religious schools called Christelik Volkseie Skole (CVO) has been

¹⁰ The vast majority of Catholic schools in South Africa (including the one in the sample) are affiliated with the Catholic Institute of Education (CIE). This institution represents the education arm of the Southern African Catholic Bishops’ Conference (SACBC). The CIE offers guidance on curriculum issues, particularly in respect of RE, and includes funding for poor rural schools, as well as ongoing monitoring and support of Catholic schools in relation to their Catholic character or ethos (CIE).

established. There are currently thirty-seven CVO schools listed on the organisation's website. Secondly, since the 80s there has been a proliferation of non-denominational evangelical and/or charismatic Protestant schools. The increase of these schools, was partially the result of conservative Christian parents seeking refuge from what they regarded as the troubling moral and ideological trends in pre-apartheid and post-apartheid educational policy. Associations such as 'Accelerated Christian Education' (ACE) and 'The Association of Christian Schools in South Africa' (ACSSA) are well subscribed to and represent the establishment of this type of religious school in South Africa. It was Christian organisations such as these which challenged some aspects of post-apartheid educational policy related to religion and education (Chidester, 2006). The Protestant school in the sample can be grouped within this particular Christian school movement in South Africa, as it was started in the mid-1980s and initially followed the ACE curriculum.

1.2.2.2 Jewish Schooling in South Africa

Jewish education in South Africa dates back to the 1840s, where classes were established for Jewish children in Cape Town focused solely on offering Jewish religious education as an add on to regular schooling (Kaplan, 1998). These were known as Talmud Torah schools and the learning of Hebrew and the study of sacred Jewish texts comprised the curriculum. The first Jewish day school (offering both religious and non-religious subjects), was the Cape Town Hebrew Congregation school established in 1895. Around the same time, further Jewish day schools opened in other major cities, but these were not well subscribed to by the Jewish community. The vast majority of South African Jews, for the first four decades of the 20th century, preferred to send their children to public schools and then to "Talmud Torah" schools in the afternoons (Kaplan, 1998).

In 1928, the South African Board of Jewish Education (SABJE) was established in Johannesburg as an initiative of the Zionist Federation and the Jewish Board of Deputies (Herman, 2005). The board's objectives were "...to advise committees and bodies of control of Jewish schools (mostly Talmud Torah schools), to secure the adequate inspection of schools, to further the training of teachers in Hebrew and religion, and to encourage the preparation of suitable textbooks" (Herman, 2005, p. 111). By 1933 most Jewish schools in South Africa, apart from those in Cape Town, were affiliated to the board. In 1919, Cape

Town established its own board, called the United Hebrew Board, which served a similar function to its northern counterpart.

In the 1940s two historically influential Jewish day schools were established: one in Cape Town and one in Johannesburg. In Cape Town, the Herzlia day school was established in 1940, and in 1948, the SABJE opened the King David Linksfield junior school in Johannesburg. Both of these schools embraced a traditional-national character. These were the beginnings of South Africa's most prominent two networks of Jewish day schools. The establishment of these two schools marked a turning point in Jewish education in South Africa from a preference for public school education combined with afternoon Talmud Torah classes to independent Jewish day schooling.

This shift in South African Jewish sentiments regarding day schooling (in the aftermath of World War II) can be understood in relation to two events occurring in 1948: the establishment of the state of Israel and the beginning of the apartheid regime in South Africa. Jewish Nationalism and identification were enhanced by the creation of the Jewish state (Herman, 2004). Moreover, the destruction of European Jewry and culture led to a sense, among surviving communities, of duty to pass on their tradition and heritage and avoid assimilation (Katz, 1980). In conjunction with these factors, a distaste for the increasingly strong Afrikaner 'Christian' nationalist control and character of public schools into the apartheid era contributed to the inclination among Jewish parents to take their children out of the public schooling system.¹¹ By 1967, there were 14 day schools affiliated to the SBJE catering for roughly 30% of Jewish students in South Africa (Herman, 2004).¹²

In the late 1970s and 1980s, Jewish day schools continued to increase in size and number despite the emigration of a substantial portion of the South African Jewish community at the same time. By 1980, the percentage of Jewish children attending day schools increased to 60% (Herman, 2004). In the late 70s and early 80s, a few stricter Jewish religious schools were established, such as the Yeshiva College and the ultra-Orthodox, Charedi school called Shar'arei Torah. These schools cater for the more religious sector of the Jewish community

¹¹ Israel's vote in the UN in 1961 against South African racism distanced the Jewish community from the Nationalist government and further stoked Zionist inclinations among South African Jews (Herman, 2005, p. 112).

¹² For a detailed account of the reasons for the shift away from "Talmud Torah" education in conjunction with public schooling toward Independent Jewish day schooling, see Herman (2004, pp. 112-113).

and offer a far more robust religious educational component in their curriculums in comparison to the dominant traditional-national Jewish day schools. However, these schools remain a very small portion of the Jewish schooling sector in South Africa. Another recent option for Jewish parents is the network of private schools called Crawford College schools. Some of the schools in this private for-profit group cater specifically for Jewish students: offering Hebrew and Jewish studies, as well as kosher food (Herman, 2004). However, the vast majority of Jewish day school education in South Africa is still offered via the King David Schools network (associated with the SABJE) in Johannesburg and the Herzlia United schools in Cape Town. Currently over 85% of Jewish students attend a Jewish day school within these two networks of schools.

The limited literature on Jewish schools in South Africa suggests that Jewish day schools are a product of, and reflect the tensions within, the unique Jewish community in South Africa (Kaplan, 1998). The majority of South African Jews can be described as national traditional Orthodox. This alignment involves a commitment to Jewish Orthodoxy in which actual religious observance is weakly practiced. Herman (2007) traces this to the coming together of the two groups of Jewish migrants in South Africa: those from England and those from Eastern Europe:

The religiosity of the vast majority of the community was based on both the Lithuanian Mitnagdim Orthodox tradition (that is, opposition to the Chasidim) already weakened by secularisation in the Old Country, and on the lax religious expression of the Anglo Jewry who had arrived in South Africa ahead of the Lithuanians. This resulted in a normative mode of religiosity that has been described by the oxymoron 'non-observant Orthodoxy.' (p. 29)

Herman (2007) argues that in Johannesburg there has been a post-apartheid swing toward more religious Orthodox adherence. However, despite this recent trend, the majority of South African Jews, particularly those in Cape Town, remain traditional Orthodox in leaning. Moreover, reformed Judaism has never flourished in South Africa and remains a minority movement that has had a tension-filled relationship with the dominant Orthodox community. Coupled with this nominal commitment to Orthodoxy, the majority of the South African Jewish community have Zionist political leanings. Kaplan (1998) explains how this translates into the educational context:

The traditional-national orientation is an approach to Jewish education that stresses that Jews are a distinct national group, bound together by a connection to traditional Judaism.

Nevertheless, there is the recognition that different students will take this tradition more or less seriously as something they will actually practice and totally believe in. Despite these differences, the consensus among South African Jews is that traditional Judaism is the cornerstone of their National identity. In practice the schools have taught this tradition not so much to emphasize the religion, but as a means of instilling Jewish identity based on the national conception of Jews as a distinct group. This would help maintain the continuity of the Jewish people as an entity which has been of paramount importance to South African Jews. (p. 79)

Thus, the Jewish community reflects a complex set of tensions between religion, culture, Jewish identity and the concern for Jewish continuity. Herman (2005) suggests that Jewish day schools in South Africa (with a range among the student base regarding religious observance) have to balance the following dichotomies in the establishment of the Jewish ethos of the school:

- the secular and the Jewish curriculum
- the national/secular/Zionist and the traditional/religious aspects within the Jewish curriculum
- Hebrew as a modern communicative language for the national/Zionist/secular purpose and Hebrew as a sacred language for religious/traditional and ritual purposes
- Jewish Studies for ethnic identification (history and customs) and Jewish Studies for religious experience (Jewish practices and laws.) (pp. 116-117)

Many of these tensions are apparent in the Jewish school in the sample and will be explored further in the analysis chapters.

1.2.2.3 Muslim Schooling in South Africa

The beginnings of Muslim schooling in South Africa also dates to the late 1800s in which religious education classes (which included the learning of Arabic, Islamic law and the memorisation of the Qur'an) were offered by Madaris (Muslim schools) often attached to local mosques. The first such school was established in Dorp street in Cape Town in 1793 (Pawliková-Vilhanová, 2010). Mohamed (2002) reports that by "1832 there were about 12 mosque-based schools in Cape Town" (p. 30). The first Muslim school to combine religious and secular subjects was the Rahmaniya Institute, established in Cape Town in 1913 (Davids, 2014). By 1931, a further nine Muslim schools had been started in various parts of Cape Town (Haron, 2015). These became known as Muslim mission schools and, like the Christian mission schools, these schools were also subsidised by the state and segregated

along lines of race: serving only non-White students. These schools provided an alternative for Muslim parents concerned with the dominant Christian influence of Christian mission schools and public schools. A further five Muslim mission schools were established in the greater Durban area between 1947 and 1957, serving the Indian Muslim community (Haron, 2015).

During the apartheid era, however, most of these schools closed. Some of these closures were due to the end of state subsidisation (initiated by the 1953 Bantu Education Act). Others were forcefully closed (as in many of the Cape Town mission schools) because they were located in areas that were re-zoned along race lines (this included the loss of the Rahmaniyyah Institute). Moreover, some were absorbed into the apartheid schooling system, therefore becoming public schools (Niehaus, 2008). Thus, in the 1960s and 1970s most Muslim learners attended public schools and attained a religious education at Madaris classes in the afternoons.

The 1980s marked a resurgence of Muslim schools in South Africa. Niehaus (2008) describes the circumstances leading this new interest in Muslim independent schooling:

After two decades, the demand for Islamic schools resurfaced in the 1980s. The revival of Islamic education emerged at a time when the general education system was experiencing a deep crisis. The national school boycotts of the 1980s had led to a situation where hardly any formal education was taking place at public schools as the majority of pupils and teachers had become politicized and engaged in resistance movements against the apartheid system. (p. 20)

Furthermore, the weakening of segregation laws resulted in an influx of Black students into former Coloured and Indian public schools. Many Muslim parents and educators regarded this as a threat to the quality of the education offered by these schools and were worried about moral and ideological pollution (Fataar, 2005). There was a fear that public schools would now offer contradictory moral and ideological values, leading to a tension between what students learned at school and what they learnt at Madaris classes after school (Niehaus, 2008).

In 1984, Islamia College in Cape Town (originally called the Habibia Islamic College) officially opened. A year later, the Lockhat Islamia College was established in Durban. These schools opened the way for a proliferation of new independent Muslim schools in South Africa. In 1989, the Association of Muslim Schools (AMS) was founded to protect and

promote the interests of Muslim schools in South Africa (Haron, 2015). There are currently 68 Muslim schools officially affiliated to the AMS, including the school in the sample. A growing portion of these independent schools are funded by foreign religious organisations from Egypt and Turkey. The network of Al-Azhar Muslim schools, for example, is funded by and linked to Al-Azhar University in Egypt (Mohamed, 2002).¹³ Moreover, Turkish educational institutions include the Fethullah Gulen missionary schools and the growing network of Nizamiye Muslim schools, funded by the Turkish Fountain Educational Trust.

The vast majority of students at independent Muslim schools are Coloured or Indian and most schools separate male and female students, at least by the middle to high school level (Davids, 2014). Some research, such as Davids' (2014), suggests that female learners at Muslim schools are restricted by discriminatory policies that place unwarranted restriction on female students. The research also indicates that Muslim schools are community orientated and concerned with civic responsibility (Davids, 2014; Fataar, 2005; Haron, 2015). The schools generally offer religious education alongside the National Curriculum subjects. There has been a concerted attempt to integrate Islam into the 'secular' National Curriculum, which has been a focal point of research in Muslim schools. However, the research suggests that the majority of Muslim schools do not implement integrative practices and the attempts to integrate remain superficial (Niehaus, 2008). Most Muslim schools in South Africa thus offer Religious Education (RE) as an add on to a mostly 'untouched' National Curriculum, often with more traditional pedagogic methods being utilised to teach the religious component (Niehaus, 2008). The research also indicates that Muslim independent schools vary considerably in their religious ethos and student intake, ranging from conservative to liberal and from low fee working-class institutions to relatively high fee, predominantly middle-class institutions (such as the school in the sample) (Fataar, 2005).

1.2.3 Summary

The independent schooling sector, which is dominated by schools with a religious affiliation, has played an influential part in South African education. Independent religious schools have historically offered an important alternative to state education, particularly for non-White students. Religious schools present interesting dynamics as they attempt to negotiate political,

¹³ Aby Al-Azhar has established five schools in South Africa since 2000.

pedagogical and religious aspects. In the post-apartheid era, the independent religious schooling sector has grown and presents an important but under-researched (as will be argued in Chapter 2) phenomenon of the contemporary South African educational landscape.

1.3 General Statement of the Research Problem

Four religiously-affiliated schools, including a Jewish, Muslim, Catholic and Protestant school, were selected to explore possible similarities and differences between the schools' religious characteristics. The schools were specifically selected to present four different religious orientations from three major religions. However, the thesis does not claim that these schools can be regarded as general exemplars of religious schools associated with these religions. Rather, it is recognised that substantial variation exists between schools associated with the same faith. This has been confirmed in the literature on South African religious schools (see Fataar, 2005; Herman, 2007; Kusi-Mensah, 2005) and more generally in the international Catholic school research (see Grace, 2002; Morris, 1996). Thus, the findings of this thesis are not presented as generally applicable to all schools affiliated with the same generic religion.¹⁴

The research question guiding this thesis is expressed as follows:

How does the relation between the inner and the outer, characteristic of the schools' affiliated religions, pertain to the structure of the formal curriculum and school culture, and how does this relate to the privileged forms of social solidarity and modes of pedagogic identity at the schools?

1.4 Sub-questions of the Study

The primary research question is explored via seven sub-questions. These can be grouped into three categories: questions relating to the structure of the formal curriculum, questions

¹⁴ This variation is, in part, due to the substantial variation within religions between the faith, belief and practices of communities associated with the same religion. The inclusion of two Christian schools in the sample is indicative of the recognition that within the broad category of the Christian religion distinctive differences exist between Protestant and Catholic expressions of Christianity.

related to the structure of school ritual and a question related to projected student identity.

The sub-questions related to the structure of the curriculum are as follows:

- How is the Religious Education (RE) curriculum at each school structured?
- How is the standard subject curriculum (SSC)¹⁵ at each school structured in relation to the affiliated religion?
- What forms of solidarity are privileged in the schools' RE and SSC components and how do these relate to the character of the schools' affiliated religions?

The sub-questions related to the structure of school ritual are as follows:

- To what extent is the affiliated religion ritualised in the schools?
- How does the ritualization at each school position the school in relation to the affiliated religion?
- What forms of social solidarity are privileged by the schools' ritual orders?

The sub-question related to projected student identity is as follows:

- What modes of pedagogic identity are projected by the schools?

1.5 Theoretical Approach

In this thesis, I take theoretical direction from the work of Émile Durkheim, but in the interpretation of his theory developed by Basil Bernstein and Mary Douglas, rather than the more widely known positivist interpretation of Durkheim popularised by Talcott Parsons (Moore, 2013). As will be discussed further in the Theoretical Chapter (Chapter 3), the thesis draws on Durkheim's work on forms of social solidarity (Durkheim, 1960). The concepts of mechanical and organic forms of solidarity, while developed by Durkheim in the characterisation of whole societies, is adapted as a means of describing the moral order operating at the level of the school. The thesis considers the notion of mechanical and organic solidarity in relation to the different ways a moral order may regulate a social context. A

¹⁵ The standard subject curriculum (SSC) refers to the formal curriculum excluding the Religious Education section.

moral order may strongly relate the individual to a collective, emphasising an external communal order (mechanical solidarity). Alternatively, moral order may be presented as located within the individual in which the individual is weakly related to a collective (organic solidarity). Moreover, the thesis relates these Durkheimian (1960) notions of solidarity to Bernstein's (2000) idea that religions set up different relations between the inner (abstract dispositions located within the individual) and the outer (concrete social practices regulating a community). Following Bernstein (1975), I privilege the idea that different instantiations of power and control structure pedagogy, curriculum and school culture. These different instantiations of power and control are understood to enable the projection of different student identities. Bernstein's theory of classification and framing provides the theoretical tools for recognising the different structural features of power and control operating at the schools. These and other theoretical tools and general theoretical orientations are discussed further in the Theoretical and Methodology Chapters of the thesis.

1.6 Overview of the Thesis

The thesis consists of nine chapters. Chapter 2 presents the empirical antecedents of the study, arguing that there is a noticeable lack of empirical qualitative research on religious schools both locally and internationally. Moreover, it will argue that this thesis, which provides a comparative structural analysis of the instructional and expressive orders of religious schools across different faiths, addresses a gap in the literature.

Chapters 3 and 4 provide an exposition of the methodological framework of the study. Chapter 3 provides an overview of the theoretical background of the study, as well as the specific theoretical concepts that are utilised in addressing the research questions. The chapter includes a discussion of selected concepts from both Durkheim and Bernstein's work and shows how they have been specifically 'recontextualised' for the purposes of this thesis. Chapter 4 outlines the research design and analytical framework of the study. The sample schools are introduced and the way in which the data was produced and analysed is made explicit.

Chapters 5 to 8 present the analysis of the school data. Chapters 5 and 6 present the analysis of the formal curriculum of the schools. Four modalities of RE pedagogy are constructed in Chapter 5. Chapter 6 presents four different levels of integration of the affiliated religion in

respect of the non-RE subjects. The discussions at the end of these chapters begin to relate the structural differences that emerge between the schools to the schools' affiliated religions. Chapter 7 presents the analysis of school culture specifically focused on the degree to which the affiliated religion is ritualized (constituted in ritual) at each school. Chapter 8 provides sketches of the projected ideal student identity at each school, ending with a discussion that relates the findings of the analysis to Bernstein's (2000) taxonomy of pedagogic identities.

The final chapter (Chapter 9) offers a discussion that brings the findings of the four analysis chapters together. Moreover, this final chapter considers the implications and limitations of the study.

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Chapter 2: A Review of the Religious Schooling Literature

2.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter I set out the aims of this thesis and the primary question it seeks to address, namely comparing how the affiliated religion (of the four schools in the sample) is differently recruited into the formal curriculum and school ritual and how this relates to the privileged forms of solidarity associated with the way the ideal student is imagined. This chapter frames this research interest in relation to the literature in the field of religious schooling. The first section of this review provides a general overview of the international literature on religious schools. The second section offers a more detailed account of some of the qualitative, in-school studies focused on the religious ethos and distinctiveness of religious schools. The third section provides an overview of the South African research on religious schooling. Finally, the chapter ends with a review of some of the work of two Neo-Durkheimian scholars in the religious schooling field. This final section focuses research by Gerald Grace (2002) and Geoffrey Walford (2002). These studies are given particular attention as they both apply Bernstein's (1975, 2000) theory to the study of religious schools.

2.2 A General Overview of the International Literature on Religious Schooling

Research in religious schools, particularly of a sociological character, is very limited. Grace (2002) states that "...the generally low-profile representation of all faith-based schooling, including Catholic schooling, in educational enquiry can be seen to be an outcome of what Gallagher (1997, p. 23) has referred to as secular marginalisation" (p. xii). Grace defines secular marginalisation as an orientation in which religion is ignored as unimportant in academic investigation. Coupled with this Grace argues that sociological studies of Catholic schools are particularly limited as result of a sociology being regarded by religious institutions with great suspicion.¹⁶ Grace suggests that this is because, "The outcomes of [sociological] enquiry are unpredictable and may have potentially disturbing consequences for the faithful" (p. 24). As a result, Grace describes the sociological study of Catholic schools a neglected field. However, while he bemoans the neglect of studies focused on

¹⁶ While Grace limits these observations to Catholic schools, I suggest that they apply to religious schools in general.

Catholic schooling, the Catholic schooling research is the most extensive body of research in the religious schooling sector and research into Jewish, Muslim and other types of Christian schools is even less developed. The presentation of the research on religious schooling that follows reflects this neglect.

The review below of the international research on religious schooling is divided into three sections. The first section, dealing with foundational research, presents studies that focus on the effects of religious schooling on the religious development and attitudes of students. This sector of research is given its title as it relates to the basic rationale for the existence of religious schools (Grace, 2002). The second section, on school effectiveness research, looks at the academic achievement of religious schools and the extent to which they produce better academic outputs related to internal features of religious schools.¹⁷ The third section, on social cohesion research, presents research on religious schools related to the effects of religious schools on social cohesion and the production of what liberal western societies consider to be good citizens.

2.2.1 Foundational Research

The research in this sector is predominantly initiated by researchers associated with religious schools and religious educational organisations. These studies focus on the effects of religious schooling in terms of “faith understanding, faith commitment and religious practice” (Grace, 2002, p. 81). Therefore, these studies question whether religious schools actually make a difference in terms of shaping the religious dispositions of their students.

Pioneering work in this sector in relation to Catholic schooling in the United States was done by Greeley and Rossi (1966). Their findings were met with controversy as their study suggests that Catholic schooling only had a religious impact on students who already came from religious home environments. In rather dramatic terms, Greeley and Rossi (1966) state: “Catholic education is virtually wasted on the three-fourths of those in Catholic schools because of the absence of a sufficiently religious family milieu” (p. 112). However, a decade later, Greeley, McCready and McCourt (1976) came to quite different conclusions by using

¹⁷ The first two categories are taken from Convey’s (1992) comprehensive review of Catholic schooling research from 1965-1990: foundational research and school effectiveness research.

updated forms of statistical analysis that responded to some of the criticism of the earlier study. Greeley et al. (1976) found that Catholic schooling was a stronger predictor of adult religious behaviour than parental religiosity and this effect, while stronger for students from strong Catholic homes, was more broadly applicable.

Similarly, in Britain, Francis's studies made a considerable contribution to understanding the effect of different types of Christian schools on the religious attitudes of students. In the 1970s and 1980s Francis predominantly focused on Catholic schools. For example, Francis (1979, 1986a, 1987) examined the influence of Catholic primary schools on students' attitudes toward Christianity. After controlling for social class, intelligence and parental religiosity, the analysis identified a contribution made by Catholic primary schools to the development of a positive attitude towards Christianity. Francis' research into Catholic schools also focused on the religious attitudes of students attending Catholic schools from different home backgrounds (Francis, 1986a, 1990). The research suggests that:

...pupils with the most positive attitudes toward attending the Catholic school and toward religious education in the Catholic school are the practicing Catholics from homes where both parents are practicing Catholics, and that the pupils with the least positive attitudes are the non-practicing Catholics from homes where both parents are non-practicing Catholics, while non-Catholic pupils from non-Catholic homes occupy a mid-way position between these two extreme groups. (Francis, 1990, p. 597)

Francis and Egan conclude that in order to maintain a 'Faith community' Catholic schools should not change their enrolment criteria,¹⁸ but should rather "...modify the theory underpinning the Catholic school system to take into account the presence of non-Catholic pupils" (Francis, 1990, p. 600). This call for a change in approach to Catholic schooling in light of the new social conditions was echoed by O'Keeffe (1992a), who argues that:

The demographic changes which have taken place in British society are manifested in all aspects of British life including the pupil population of Catholic schools. Catholic schools face the need for development of good practice in multicultural education, the adoption of anti-racist stances and the demands of a multi-faith intake. (pp. 42-43)

Moreover, Francis also contributed to a limited body of literature on the foundational effect of Anglican schools in England. The few studies that have been conducted suggest that

¹⁸ To ensure Catholic schools are predominantly subscribed to by students of practicing Catholic families.

Anglican schools tend to have very little or even a negative effect on the religious attitudes of students (see Francis, 1986b, 1987; Francis & Jewell, 1992).

According to Francis (2005), foundational type research in Britain and Wales into independent Christian schools is even more limited than the research done in Catholic and Anglican schools. This assessment would seem to be applicable globally with very few studies available that relate to foundational research themes in independent Christian schools outside of the Catholic and Anglican context. However, O’Keeffe (1992b) presents one example of such research. O’Keeffe administered the same religious attitude scale used in earlier studies among pupils in Anglican and Roman Catholic schools by Francis (1987), to 439 students attending six independent Christian schools. The study concluded that the schools exercised a positive influence on pupil’s attitudes toward Christianity. In another more recent study Francis (2005) used a sample of 13-15-year-old boys from both non-denominational state-maintained schools and independent Christian schools in the UK. The students were interviewed about their attitudes regarding religion and certain moral issues. The research indicated a substantially more positive attitude toward religion in boys from religious schools as well as a substantially more conservative moral outlook. The research concluded that parents who send their children to independent Christian schools in order to surround their children with a peer group that is positive toward religion and conservative in moral outlook, do so on good grounds.

More recently, Francis, ap Siôn and Village (2014) offers a comparative analysis of student attitudes across different types of Christian schools. The study suggests that students from Anglican schools in the UK have very similar attitudes and values to students attending non-religious schools. They conclude that, “...no effect can be attributed to Anglican schools on their students’ values in terms of rejection of drug use, endorsing illegal behaviours, racism, attitude toward school, conservative Christian belief, or sexual morality” (p. 79). In contrast Francis et al. point to Francis, Lankshear, Robbins, Village and ap Siôn (2014; in press at the time of writing), which showed that the attitudes of students in Catholic schools and students in independent Christian schools displayed certain levels of value distinctiveness. After controlling for personal, psychological and contextual factors the studies showed that:

Students in independent Christian schools have better self-esteem, maintain greater rejection of drug use, show less support of illegal behaviours, display less racist attitudes, hold higher levels of conservative Christian belief, and hold more conservative views on Christian

morality (abortion, contraception, divorce, homosexuality, and sex outside marriage). (Francis, ap Siôn and Village, 2014, p. 50)

With similar controls in place Catholic students were shown to, “hold significantly more conservative views on contraception and abortion” (Francis et al., 2014, p. 49). These findings confirm the findings of earlier studies on religious attitudes effect of Catholic, independent Christian and Anglican schools.

The research into the effects of Jewish schooling on Jewish identification and religiosity followed a very similar pattern to the Catholic research in the United States. Early studies in the 1960s such as Sanua (1964), Rosen (1965) and Goldlust (1970) found little correlation between religious schooling and the uptake of religious attitudes and practices. However, studies that followed in the 1970s that utilised more sophisticated statistical methods suggested that Jewish schooling did actually make a difference. For example, Cohen (1974) found that students who attended Jewish day schools consistently scored higher in terms of Jewish identification than those who did not, independent of parental religiousness. Moreover, Cohen (1974) found that while attending a full-time Jewish school had positive effects in terms of religiosity and Jewish identification for all students, it was most pronounced for students who came from religious homes. This positive effect of Jewish education on students was confirmed in other studies in the 1970s and 1980s (see Bock, 1977; Cohen 1988; Dashefsky & Shapiro, 1974; Himmelfarb, 1975, 1977; Sigal, August & Beltempo, 1981). Dashefsky (1992) summarised the findings on Jewish foundational research prior to 1992 stating, “Most agree today that, under certain conditions, Jewish education can be a positive and independent influence on Jewish identification” (p. 111).

The 1990 National Jewish Population Survey (NJPS) showed a rapid increase in Jewish assimilation among American Jewry (Dashefsky & Lebson, 2002). Part of the response to this was a flurry of studies on the effects of Jewish education on Jewish identity (see Cohen, 1995; Fishman & Goldstein, 1993; Lipset, 1994; Rimor & Katz, 1993; Schiff & Schneider, 1994). These, post-1990 NJPS studies confirmed that Jewish schooling was related to Jewish identification and religiosity and was directly correlated to the amount of time a student was exposed to Jewish education. The more time exposure to Jewish education the greater the effect.

The foundational research in religious schools indicates that religious schools generally do have a positive effect on the religious attitudes and behaviour of students attending such schools. This effect is most enhanced for students with parents who are actively religious. Himmelfarb (1977) summarised this well suggesting, “the effects of parents' and spouse's religiosity and exposure to Jewish schooling [but also religious schooling more generally] are partially independent. Where one is low and the other is high the effects of the one will only diminish the effects of the other, but not eliminate them” (p. 475). However, the research also indicates that in certain contexts, especially where there is a high percentage of students from non-practicing home backgrounds (such as is the case in many Anglican schools), religious schools may have no effect (or even negative effect) on the religious attitudes of students. Finally, it is noticeable that there is a gap in the foundational research in respect of Muslim schools.

2.2.2 School Effectiveness Research

There is a rich and somewhat controversial body of research (mostly quantitative) related to the academic achievement of students at religious schools in comparison to students in public schools. Much of this work was catalysed by the controversial findings of Coleman Hoffer and Kilgore (1982a, 1982b, 1982c) in the early 1980s which reported significant positive effects on the achievement of students in Catholic schools in mathematics and reading. The research was based on data from the “High School and Beyond” base year survey of 1980 which included 58000 high school students from 1015 high schools across America (84 of these were Catholic schools). The research also suggested that this positive effect (referred to in the literature as the ‘Catholic school effect’) was most significant for students from lower socio-economic status (SES) backgrounds: meaning that the relationship between social background and academic achievement was weaker in Catholic than in public schools. This became known as the ‘common school effect’ (see also Cibulka, 1982; Coleman & Hoffer, 1987; Grace, 1998; Greeley, 1982).

Coleman et al.’s findings were made in the context of a political tug of war in America over the issue of federal funding of private schools via tax credits and educational vouchers. Coleman et al. (1982a) argued that their findings provided good reason for increased federal support of private religious schools as this would provide parents with increased educational choice. Therefore, in the context of this highly politicised debate a flurry of research emerged either lending weight to Coleman et al.’s (1982a) findings (Greeley, 1982; Hoffer, Greeley &

Coleman, 1985; Kilgore, 1983)¹⁹ or debunking them (Alexander & Pallas, 1983, 1985; Goldberger & Cain, 1982; Morgan, 1983; Noell, 1982; Willms, 1983, 1985). The critics claimed substantial issues with the quantitative regression models utilised and that the ‘Catholic school effect’ could be accounted for by proper consideration of student intake factors in the data. Moreover, some of the literature argued that the Coleman results had little relevance to the debate over school choice even if they proved valid (Alexander & Pallas, 1985; Murnane, 1984; Witte, 1992).

Quantitative research relating to academic achievement in Catholic schools, however, continued into the 1990s and 2000s in which a contested consensus emerged that Catholic schools present an educational advantage over public schools (not explainable purely in terms of intake). This education advantage includes better test scores (Grogger, Neal, Hanushek & Schwab, 2000; Morgan, 2001; Sander, 1996) as well as higher rates of tertiary college placement (Altonji, Elder & Taber, 2005; Evans & Schwab, 1995; Grogger et al., 2000; Neal, 1997; Sander & Krautmann, 1995). Research on Catholic schools in the UK and Australia confirm these findings (see Morris, 1996, 2005; Nuttall, Thomas & Goldstein, 1992; Vella, 1999; see also Dronkers & Robert (2004) confirming the Catholic school effect in Hungary). While the majority of the literature supports the ‘Catholic school effect’ thesis, there are examples of recent research that contests its validity (Benton, 2004; Schagen & Schagen, 2005).

Furthermore, within the literature confirming the ‘Catholic school effect’ there is substantial variation in the evaluation of the extent of the advantage offered by Catholic schools and the type of student receiving maximum benefit, with some researchers arguing that the ‘common school effect’ no longer applied to updated data (Hoffer, 1997). Moreover, while the evidence seems to vouch for the ‘Catholic school effect’ apart from intake factors, researchers acknowledge “The possibility that the observed differences between Catholic schools and public schools are more a function of the type of students who enrol in each, rather than anything to do with the school...” (Convey, 1992, p. 6). Thus, while the ‘Catholic school effect’ is currently widely recognised as valid, this area of research remains controversial.

¹⁹ In Australia, Flynn (1985) also reported a “Catholic school effect” in a report titled, *The effectiveness of Catholic schools*.

While the majority of research on academic effectiveness has been on Catholic schooling, a consideration of the more general category of religious schooling and its effects on academic performance gained some momentum in the 1990s. The American based research indicated that students from religious schools outperform students from non-religious schools for reasons that cannot be fully explained in relation to racial and socio-economic factors alone (Chubb & Moe, 1988; Cooper & Gargan, 1996; Jeynes, 1999, 2002, 2003). Similar results have been established in the European literature, in which it is argued that both Catholic and Protestant religious schools out-perform public schools (Dronkers & Hemsing, 2005; Dronkers & Robert, 2004, 2008; Godfrey & Morris, 2008). Furthermore, Valins, Kosmin and Goldberg (2001) argued that Jewish schools in the UK outperform public schools. However, this 'religious school effect' has also been contested by a number of recent studies. For example, Schagen and Schagen (2005) showed that religious schools in the UK did not contribute to academic effectiveness once factors associated with intake had been controlled for (see also Oldfield, Hartneet & Bailey, 2013).

As much of the research on religious schools and academic achievement remains in the realm of quantitative analysis of school inputs and outputs, the question of what actually goes on inside religious schools is left unanswered. However, in the wake of the 'religious school effect' debate, some research emerged that focused on trying to isolate characteristics of religious schools that contribute to higher academic achievement (predominantly Catholic schools) and characteristics that contribute to the minimisation of the achievement gap between students of varying social class backgrounds. Early in the Catholic school effectiveness literature, researches began hypothesising regarding what it might be about Catholic schools that contributed toward the 'Catholic school effect'. Hoffer et al. (1985) suggested that:

Catholic schools place in an academic track many students whose sophomore achievement would relegate them to a general or vocational track in public schools. Catholic schools demand more homework and advanced course-work, especially from those who are disadvantaged in one way or another and especially from those who are not in the academic track. (p. 97)

This hypothesis was verified by Lee and Bryk (1989), who argued that the narrowness of the academic offering in Catholic schools, in which all students were required to take a common core academic curriculum, contributed to the common effect in Catholic schools. This constrained academic curriculum in Catholic schools was attributed to the small size of the

schools and the corresponding lack of resources required to offer broad curriculum choices to students (see also Keith & Page, 1985).

In a second follow-up study, Coleman and Hoffer (1987) argued that the ‘Catholic school effect’ did have positive academic outcomes, especially for lower class, black and Hispanic students. Coleman and Hoffer (1987) used Bourdieu’s (1986) notion of social capital to explain the cause of the ‘Catholic school effect’. They argued that Catholic schools are able to make greater academic demands on students from less advantaged communities. They attribute this to the control the school can exercise on students resulting from the strong functional community (social capital) available in many Catholic schools. Catholic schools have this advantage over other schools because of the strong ties between the schools and local Catholic parishes and entities.

Along similar lines, in their seminal research, *Catholic Schools and the Common Good*, Bryk, Lee and Holland (1993) argued that a distinctive school ethos, directly related to Catholic ideology, contributes to higher academic achievement in Catholic schools. This distinctive ethos includes: A common academic, spiritual and moral curriculum based on a Catholic understanding of a humanity and its search for truth, resulting in views of education and knowledge as ends in themselves. A communal structure based around communal Catholic activities and rituals which anchor the school in the larger Catholic tradition and extend the influence of the teachers beyond the role of relaying academic knowledge. A social ideology or ethic based on the person of Christ which underpins a shared sense of values and moral commitments (Bryk et al., 1993).

Although Bryk et al. (1993) emphasised the catholicity of Catholic schools in relation to their academic superiority, Chubb and Moe (1988) came to very different conclusions regarding the reasons for the effectiveness of Catholic schools. Chubb and Moe (1988) argued that the autonomy of Catholic schools allowed for the effective play of market forces resulting in better performing schools. However, their research was strongly criticised for being ideologically biased toward a preference for “market control,” resulting in an overlooking of institutional factors directly related to Catholic ideology and hierarchy (Bryk & Lee, 1992; Goldstein, 1993; Tweedie, Riley, Chubb & Moe, 1990).

In the broader category of religious schools and the possible characteristics contributing to their academic effectiveness, the work of Jeynes (2003) on religious schools in America is

the most substantial. Jeynes (2003) suggested that religious schools create better learning habits in students. His research emphasised two factors that contributed to the academic effect: that students at religious schools take harder courses and that they maintain a higher level of diligence. However, Jeynes (2003) did not elaborate on why these “habits” are indicative of religious schools and thus offers little insight into the relation between religious schools’ specific religious ethos and the phenomenon of academic effectiveness.

The school effectiveness type research discussed in the previous paragraphs, particularly Bryk et al. (1993), suggests that the specific structuring and functioning of religious schools relates to the ideology of the affiliated religion associated with the schools and is part of the reason for their comparative academic successfulness. However, these studies are limited in number and mostly fail to offer close analysis of the internal workings of religious schools, generating fairly broad categories that do not allow for understanding the link between the religious ideology of a school and its structure or for comparisons between religious schools across different faiths and religious traditions. Moreover, the research predominantly focuses on the essential similarities between all Catholic schools (or religious schools), rather than seeking to understand potential differences between religious schools. For example, Bryk et al., (1993), specifically left out certain Catholic schools from their sample because of their “elite” admissions policy which was not considered indicative of the majority of Catholic schools in America.

2.2.3 Social Cohesion Research

While the focus of attention in the American literature on religious schooling has been predominantly on the issue of academic achievement, in Europe and particularly in the UK, recent research into religious schooling has been dominated by the question of faith schools and their place in multicultural secular societies. The primary question addressed in various ways in the research is whether religious schools contribute toward producing well integrated responsible members of society or whether they mitigate against social cohesiveness in pluralistic societies. This question is, in turn, linked to the broader political question around government funding of religious schools. The literature suggests that this question is indicative of a fundamental tension presented by religious schools in multicultural liberal societies. This tension is between the concern for producing well integrated and civic-minded citizens and the concern to reproduce particular religious or cultural identities. Much of the

research can be framed as grappling with whether these concerns are mutually exclusive or potentially symbiotic.

In the UK, these issues were brought into the centre of public debate in 1997 by the newly elected British labour government's decision to extend state funding to Muslim, Sikh and other private minority faith schools (Burtonwood, 2003). Burtonwood (2003) argued that, "This underlined the government's intention to support a major expansion of faith-based schooling as part of its programme of favouring diversity and choice in education" (p. 415). The labour government argued that religious schools could offer, "academic and social benefit from their distinctive mission and ethos; something that set them apart from 'ordinary' schools" (Burtonwood, 2003, p. 415). Thus, the research into the positive academic effect of religious schools was recruited in the promotion of neo-liberal educational policy.

However, these policies were sharply contested, particularly in the wake of the 9/11 terror attack in New York in 2001 (Johnson & Castelli, 2002) and the inter-ethnic disturbances in some Northern UK towns in the same year (Burtonwood, 2003). Furthermore, a government-funded report into factors leading to the urban unrest (in Northern UK) suggested that faith-schools were indeed contributing racial division (Ouseley, 2001). Moreover, Cattle (2001) also reported that many religious schools seemed to be fostering potentially negative separation of students from people of other religious or non-religious perspectives. The British government responded by imposing funding conditions based on student intake in order to ensure that religious schools included students with different beliefs (Scott & McNeish, 2012). The government also put in place requirements for publically funded religious schools to teach inter-faith education and civic responsibility (Allen & West 2009). In response to these circumstances a large number of papers were published on the topic of religious schools and their relation to social cohesion. This research focus spilled over into research in both Europe and other parts of the world, including South Africa (see Waghid, 2009). Not surprisingly, Muslim schools featured strongly in this debate.

A fair amount of the literature on the issue remained at the philosophical level, framed within the notion of rights. In these philosophical pieces, arguments against faith-based schooling centred on the notion that religious schools impinged on individual autonomy and the rights of students to freely decide the nature of their beliefs. An example of this is the British

Humanist Association's (2001) article entitled *Religious Schools: The Case Against* (see also Hand, 2003, 2004). Philosophical pieces in favour of religious schools argued that religious schools, within certain parameters, represent a collective right in multicultural societies in which parents should have the freedom to educate their children in accordance with their religious convictions (Burtonwood, 2003; Dagovitz, 2004; De Jong & Snik, 2002; Sallis, 1988; Walzer, 2003). Many of these more philosophical pieces call for the state funding of certain types of religious schools: ones that demonstrate a commitment to fostering civic identity, knowledge of other religions, open debate and the promotion of tolerance (Jackson, 2003).

A common line of argument against religious schools is that they prevent children from interacting with people holding different beliefs, thus resulting in narrowmindedness and segregation (Atkins, 2001; Hewer, 2001; Judge, 2001; Kymlika, 1999). However, the assertion that schools that have a high proportion of students from a single religion necessarily breed social segregation has been strongly challenged. Halstead and McLaughlin (2005) accepted that some religious schools are divisive in the sense of singling out for educational purposes a particular group of children, but they denied that this necessarily has a negative impact on broader society and its cohesion. Furthermore, Short (2003) argued that there is no evidence to suggest that students from faith schools are more prone toward being intolerant of other faiths than students from mixed schools. Breen (2009) looked at a particular intervention in a Church of England school which he terms a responsive approach to faith schooling. He argued that religious schools can promote engagement with other faiths and nurture improved inter-ethnic relations in surrounding communities.

Certain advocates of faith-based schools argue that religious schools actually enhance social cohesion because religious schools provide students from religious minorities with a confidence in their identity that allows for positive interaction with broader society (Modood et al., 1997; Parker, Parker-Jenkins, Hartis & Irving, 2005; Short, 2003; Wright, 2003). The research suggests this is particularly true of Muslim students who often feel marginalised in state schools (Lawson, 2005; Merry, 2010). For example, Shah (2012) argued that the substantial increase in achievement of Muslim learners in Muslim schools in comparison to Muslim learners in public state schools is a result of Britain's failure to include and engage Muslim learners in state schools. The paper goes on to argue that Muslim schools in Britain seem to be doing particularly well "in developing high achieving, more confident and well-

informed students, prepared better for integration through a confidence in personal identity” (p. 60). Shah therefore concluded that allowing for the preservation of minority cultural groups has the potential to enhance social cohesion and inclusion. Merry and Driessen (2016) come to very similar conclusions in their study of Muslim schools in the Netherlands. Similarly, Kay (2009) and Short and Lenga (2002) serve as examples of research into the Jewish school sector in the UK, showing how some Jewish schools are actively promoting inter-religious dialogue and pluralism.

A number of studies have sought to interview students in order to gauge whether they display tolerant open attitudes to people of other religions and worldviews. In this direction, Mueller (2005) conducted a study of the attitudes of pupils toward religious education at a Jewish school in Berlin. The study revealed that pupils at this school were generally very open to engaging with other religions in positive inter-religious dialogue. Furthermore, Vermeer (2009) argues that interdenominational religious schools in the Netherlands can no longer be viewed as institutions that transmit a particular religious perspective, but are better understood as nurturers of identities that are more open ended than is often believed. Similarly, Pike’s (2010) research of two Christian schools, one in England and one in the Netherlands, concludes that despite these schools embrace of a “strong” Christian ethos, students considered themselves to have a high degree of autonomy in the uptake of their religious beliefs and attitudes.

Perhaps it is the general lack of close qualitative research in religious schools that has allowed for extensive overgeneralisation and the treatment of religious schools as an “homogenous group” in the literature. Francis et al. (2014a) end their comparison of the attitudes of students on religion and morality in various Catholic, Anglican and Independent Christian schools in England and Wales by offering a poignant critique of much of the literature in the field of religious schooling:

...future research concerned with identifying the distinctive contribution of schools with a religious character to the educational landscape of England and Wales needs to continue to differentiate between different types of schools with a religious character. Moreover, political generalisations about the beneficial or about the detrimental contribution of ‘faith schools’ or schools with a religious character to the educational environment or social fabric of England and Wales may be grossly misleading. (p. 26)

In a similar line of argument, Pike (2010) suggests that in the context of the faith schools debate, “the polarized views are often the result of overgeneralization about ‘faith schools’ and can perpetuate the misleading impression that they are a more homogenous group than is actually the case” (p. 182). However, while the empirical research into the inner workings and character of faith-based schools is minimal there is some recent research attempting to illuminate the internal workings of religious schooling. As a result, there is a growing recognition in the literature that faith schools are not all the same and that the different faith traditions and social contexts related to the religious schools often results in a striking diversity rather than homogeneity. As the next section of research will highlight, faith-based schools are by no means homogenous. This research begins to explore the differences between faith schools and the reasons for these differences.

2.3 International Qualitative Research on Ethos, Distinctiveness and the Religious Character of Religious Schools

This research area is of particular interest to this thesis in that many of these studies are qualitative and comparative and begin to theorise how religious schools differ in their religious expression and understanding of what it means to be a religious school. In the following sections a limited selection of studies on school ethos and the religious character of faith schools are reviewed.

2.3.1 Qualitative Studies of Christian Schools and Their Religious Character

2.3.1.1 Catholic Schools

The research on Catholic schools up to the mid-1990s predominantly emphasised the unitary nature of Catholic schools. As has been discussed, theorists were particularly interested in the distinguishing common traits that contributed toward the ‘Catholic school effect.’ Works such as Bryk et al. (1993) acknowledged that there were differences between Catholic schools within America, particularly in respect of certain Catholic schools having “academically elite reputations” (p. 63). However, as the research was not primarily interested in difference, but rather in similarity, these schools were not considered in their research sample. Furthermore, until the 90s, Catholic schools predominantly represented a confessional model (educating toward the uptake of a particular faith), with a very high

percentage of students and teachers subscribing to the Catholic faith. Catholic schools are also unique in that there is a large body of official church policy on the aims and nature of Catholic schooling (Johnson, 2002). Much of the literature on the character of Catholic schools refers to this official policy and reflects on the extent to which Catholic schools are embodying these institutionalised ideals (Arthur, 1995; Rymarz, 2010; Schuttloffel, 2012). This set of “normative” ideals has also contributed to the perception that Catholic schools are essentially similar. However, recent studies are beginning to challenge this notion of similarity.

James Arthur’s (1995) book, *The Ebbing Tide*, provided a theoretical framework for identifying differences between Catholic schools. Arthur (1995) identified three models of Catholic schools which he related to different admissions policies: holistic, dualistic and pluralistic. Arthur (1995) understands the holistic approach to be confessional in nature and is premised on a high percentage of Catholic teachers and pupils. The holistic Catholic school seeks to educate Catholic students and reproduce Catholic identities:

The Catholicity of the school depends on there being a body of people whose lives are deeply imbued by the Catholic faith... On this model the Catholic school together with the family and the parish may be seen as one of the principal constitutive elements of the Church’s life.
(Arthur, 1995, p. 231)

Historically this holistic model of Catholic schooling has been the norm. The dualistic model, according to Arthur (1995), is less reliant on Catholic staff as it “... separates the secular and religious aims ... Religious education, school assemblies, school liturgies and religious events are seen as having no relevance to, for example, the teaching of science ...” (p. 227). Therefore, in the dualistic model a secular curriculum is taught and the school’s Catholicity is viewed as an added, unconnected ethos. Finally, the pluralistic model relates to an open admissions policy and ceases to be confessional in character, catering for the “full diversity of religious faith and commitment within a school” (p. 229). In this model, the Catholic faith is presented as one of a number of possible viewpoints which students are encouraged to explore and possibly accept. Arthur (1995) expresses a concern that the dualistic and pluralistic models represent an erosion of the Catholic ethos. However, this view, which takes the holistic model as a normative ideal, considers other ways of characterising Catholic education as deficient rather than just different or innovative. In this sense, Arthur’s models are theoretically limited.

This limitation was well illustrated by Walbank's (2012) study of the perceptions of primary head teachers of Catholic schools in the North West of England around what makes their schools Catholic. The study aimed to place the responses of the head teachers in relation to Arthur's (1995) three models of Catholic education. Walbank's (2012) study suggested that the schools in her sample included elements of all three of Arthur's (1995) models. While some of the aspects of the holistic model were still apparent in the head teachers' responses, the schools had shifted from the idea of Catholic education exclusively for Catholics. However, emphasis was placed on the existence of at least a proportion of Catholic teachers and students to maintain the Catholic ethos (see also Rymarz, 2010).

In relation to Arthur's (1995) dualistic model, Walbank (2012) reported that all the schools in her sample provided a religious education module as a distinct subject in the curriculum, which was allocated as much time as other core subjects. Head teachers considered this an important part of the school's religious character. She noted that the schools often specifically used their Catholic teachers to teach the RE curriculum. The division of the curriculum into distinct religious and secular components is well documented in the literature as many religious schools follow a "secular" government curriculum to which a distinctive a religious component is added (see Hand, 2012).

Walbank (2012) critiqued Arthur's (1995) suggestion that Catholic schools with open admissions policies necessarily weaken the school's Catholic identity and the possibility of evangelisation. Walbank (2012) reported that many head teachers considered the large number of non-Catholic students to be central to the school's Catholic vision. Walbank suggests that the threat to Catholic school ethos is not open admissions but rather "...a lack of understanding and knowledge of how to approach interreligious dialogue constructively" (p. 178).

Walbank (2012) argues that Arthur's (1995) pluralistic model does not adequately describe the schools in her sample; despite their open admissions policy, these schools still displayed Catholic character and a mission related to Catholic ideology. Walbank (2012) concludes that what makes a school Catholic is not exclusively linked to admissions and that distinctive Catholic approaches to education are possible in schools in which the faith of many of the

students who attend cannot be presupposed. While these schools will be fundamentally different to the holistic model, Walbank suggests they need not be less distinctively Catholic.

Morris (1997) is another study that highlights differences between Catholic schools in relation to their religious ethos. Morris also utilised Arthur's (1995) models of Catholic schools as part of a study in which he closely compared the religious character of two UK based Catholic schools. The two schools were part of a previous study (Morris, 1996) which found them to represent opposite ends of the academic achievement spectrum. Morris's (1997) research sought to compare the religious character of these two Catholic schools and the possible connections between this and their contrasting academic effectiveness. Morris (1997) found that while both schools felt they represented a distinctly Catholic education, they understood its purpose in very different ways. He argued that the schools' differing visions of Catholic schooling

... influences patterns of pupil intake, underlies the emphasis placed on pupil's academic achievement, [and] determines the nature of the teacher pupil relationships, the organisational structure adopted, styles of leadership and methods of control. (Morris, 1997, p. 381)

Morris (1997) argues that the academically effective school was an example of a holistic, traditional Catholic school that nurtures a strong sense of community around agreed upon religious practices values and beliefs. In contrast the academically ineffective school Morris suggests is an example of a pluralistic school that lacked the communal cohesiveness. Rather, this pluralistic Catholic schools placed great emphasis on individual autonomy. Morris speculates that this may be the key factor related to the difference in academic effectiveness of the two schools. Furthermore, Morris concludes, "The perception of Catholic schools, both in the 1960s and more recently, seems to assume that they conform to a single pattern. This is not, and possibly never was, the case" (p. 390). A central finding in this study is that religious schools within the same faith-tradition may differ fundamentally in their character. Moreover, this difference is related to whether the religious ethos is recruited as a means of communalising or individualising.

McLaren (1986) and Oldenski (1997) also provide evidence for variation in Catholic schooling ethos. McLaren (1986) provides a unique example of a study of a Catholic school in which ritual is the central interest of the study. The study argues that the school's rituals can be related to two separate but ultimately complimentary 'root paradigms': that of the

good worker and the good Catholic. Although these 'root paradigms' are linked to separate ritual repertoires, they reinforce each other. McLaren (1986) observed that, "the norms and values of secular work habits were saturated and ennobled with spiritual legitimation and certification, while the spiritual values embodied in religion, class and in religious symbols were given a secular, practical, 'down-to-earth' valence" (p. 70). McLaren concludes, somewhat sceptically: "What were supposedly two separate rationalities or discourses were brought together in order to strengthen the model of the good citizen who does not question the 'friendly fascism' of the capitalist state" (p. 72). The study suggests that the Catholicity of a school's ritual environment can ultimately be recruited in the constitution of a privileged civic identity in which students are imagined to take a specific place in broader society.

McLaren's (1986) study presents a stark contrast to the findings of Oldenski's (1997) study of an inner-city school in East St Louis (United States). Oldenski (1997) reported common themes in his interviews with students, administrators and teachers at the school which reflected elements of liberation theology and critical pedagogy discourses blended with the school's Catholic identity. Oldenski concludes that this Catholic school presented an emancipatory and empowering Catholic ethos that offered a positive alternative to the theology of social control described in McLaren's (1986) study.

While the empirical research presented in the previous paragraphs suggests a plurality of approaches to Catholic schooling the literature suggests that traditional Catholic schools are all remarkably similar. The work of Johnson and Castelli (2000) highlighted the fundamental similarities that exist between Catholic schools embodying the traditional 'holistic' Catholic school model. Johnson and Castelli (2000) conducted interviews with head teachers in six Catholic schools located in outer London. The research found that in all six schools in the sample, emphasis was placed on the Catholic schools as "...a community partnership of staff, children, parents, and the local Catholic parishes. This partnership identified itself in all six schools as an explicitly Catholic community" (Johnson & Castelli, 2000, p. 82). The expression of this community was identified as primarily located in an explicit value system and public rituals. Participation in these explicitly Catholic rituals was expected of all members of the community. This included staff, students and frequently parents. The schools also emphasised that the students were encouraged to see themselves as part of a larger society and included student participation in social justice initiatives in the broader community. Johnson and Castelli (2000) concluded by drawing attention to the similarities in

how the head teachers characterised their school's Catholic identity, noting that there was even similarity in the language used to "express shared ideas and perspectives about education" (Johnson & Castelli, 2000, p. 88). Furthermore, they identified a strong, "correlation between the experience of the head teachers in English Catholic schools and the expectation of the principals of Catholic schools in the United States" (Johnson & Castelli, 2000, p. 88), particularly in respect of the work of Bryk et al. (1993). They suggest that this is made possible by, "the centralized policy-making and teaching of the Catholic church which leads to a shared and clearly declared culture" (Johnson & Castelli, 2000, p. 88).

Therefore, the international research on the religious character of Catholic schools suggests that Catholic schools exclusively serving students from the Catholic community are essentially very similar in how they express their Catholic character and mission. This is likely linked to the strong centralised Catholic policy on Catholic education. These confessional schools are marked by a strong sense of community based on strong alignment of beliefs, values and practice between the school, parents and the local Catholic parishes (Schuttloffel, 2012). Catholic ritual, symbolism and spiritual activity involving the whole school community is emphasised. Religious Education is prioritised and is confessional in approach.

The literature, however, highlights that there is a growing number of Catholic schools that are opening up their admissions to non-Catholic students. This change in admissions is identified as a key driver underlying the emergence of Catholic schools whose religious character departs from the traditional Catholic confessional model. These schools are in the process of negotiating new paradigms of what it means to be a 'Catholic school' while serving a religiously diverse student base. These schools can no longer utilise community building strategies that assume a strong religious alignment between school, parents, teachers and students. This variation within Catholic schooling is beginning to be recognised by researchers. Morris (2005) writes regarding Catholic schools that, "...while there may be many similarities...it must be recognized that there will be significant variations between schools, both in their understanding of their mission and the pupil populations that they serve; perhaps more so today than in previous decades" (p. 92). The research suggests that the strong communal ethos of the traditional Catholic school is a key aspect to the "Catholic school effect" (Morris & Godfrey, 2006). The implications of this for Catholic schools that

are no longer exclusively serving Catholic students remains a key area needing to be researched further.²⁰

2.3.1.2 Anglican Schools

Unlike the institutional context of the Catholic church, the research suggests that the Church of England does not provide the same robust vision of how tradition and faith are to be transmitted. Johnson, McCreery and Castelli (2000) report that within the Church of England itself there is "...a certain ambivalence about the particular nature of their schools" (p. 393). Furthermore, Street (2007) showed that key Church of England reports on education, such as *The Way Ahead*, had little impact on the thinking of Anglican school heads or their educational practices. Thus, the research shows the Anglican context is marked by far weaker institutional direction than the Catholic context. According to Francis and Robbins (2010):

...the Church of England has maintained a twin function for its schools: on the one hand, the general function of serving the nation through the provision of neighbourhood schools, often in single school areas; and on the other hand, the domestic function of providing a distinctive Anglican education for the children of parents who seek it. (p. 142)

Furthermore, Colson (2004) indicates that there is a wide range of ways Anglican schools understand the formation and communication of their Christian values, with no one model dominating the way the Christian message is interpreted in these schools. Colson also concludes that the head teachers of the schools in the sample primarily emphasised the purpose of their schools as service to the local community (see also Morris, 2009), suggesting that his study troubles the argument of critics of faith-schools that frame them as being culturally exclusive. Colson (2004) notes that the schools in his sample all had selection criteria that favoured students to some extent on the basis of their faith background. However, the head teachers expressed ambivalence about their school's admissions policy as they acknowledged the balance between two models of church schools: "...the models of service to the community and the nurture of Christian children" (Colson, 2004, p. 79).

The head teachers in Colson's (2004) study described the religious character of their schools in terms of an open liberal set of values lived out in relation to one's behaviour to others.

²⁰ O'Keefe has done some work on this area. See O'Keefe (2000) for an example.

Colson (2004) suggests that the values of the school were framed by the head teachers primarily in terms of morality and not spirituality. In line with this, Jelfs (2010) also argues that Anglican schools understand their identity in relation to a particular moral framework in which the “Christian faith was widely understood as essentially how people treat each other and making moral choices...” (p. 35) thus forming a “coherent corporate value system” (p. 36).

Furthermore, according to Pennel, West and Hind (2007), Church of England schools in London were comprised of 70% Christian students (not necessarily Anglican) with the remainder made up of other religions or no religion. This was in comparison to Catholic schools in London of which over 90% of the student intake were Christian. These statistics are indicative that Catholic schooling in the UK, while beginning to move toward more open admissions, is still firmly located in the paradigm of Catholic schooling for the Catholic community. However, Anglican schooling would seem to present a far more open stance toward students from diverse religious backgrounds. The few qualitative studies of Anglican schools reflect these factors.

In a rare comparative study between Anglican and Catholic schools, Johnson, McCreery, Hill and Castelli (2000) set out to compare the perspectives of head teachers in both Anglican and Catholic schools on the question of what makes their schools different and how they viewed their role in the spiritual growth of their students. Johnson et al. (2000) concluded that Catholic schools share a common vision of Catholic education. This included a strong relation to the Church and its policy regarding Catholic education. It is argued that a Catholic school has:

... a clear identity drawn from, in the main, centrally determined values and its adherence to those absolutes. It has a clear culture, expressed in ritual, paintings and religious statuary... Pupils, whether or not they later become practicing Catholics, will be informed to some level about Catholicism and are likely to identify to a greater or lesser degree with the Catholic community. (Johnson, et al., p. 400)

In contrast, Johnson et al. (2000) argue that in keeping with the Church of England’s looser institutional control, what it means to be an Anglican school is to a much greater degree decided upon by the head teachers of Anglican schools. However, Johnson et al. (2000) suggests that “... far from losing its identity, the Church of England school is *essentially* Protestant. In this its values and culture are more open to much individual interpretation...

individuals are allowed more or less to find their own way” (p. 401). The above study compares confessional/holistic Catholic schools with Anglican schools that serve a diverse student base. As a result, further research might consider how Catholic schools with more open admissions policies, such as those in Walbank’s (2012) sample, would compare to Anglican schools such as the ones in Johnson et al.’s (2000) study.

2.3.1.3 Other Christian Schools

While most of the empirical studies of Christian schools focus on Catholic or Anglican schools, a few studies explore schools affiliated to other Christian traditions. In the 1980s two ethnographic style studies of fundamentalist Christian schools in America were published by Peshkin (1986) and Rose (1988), respectively. These ethnographic studies offered detailed descriptions of the schools in which obvious ideological disapproval is evident. However, more recently, some studies in the field of Christian schooling have offered more theorised approaches that are less ideologically driven. A sample of these are reviewed in what follows.

Pike (2010) sets out to compare two Christian schools, one in the Netherlands and one in the UK. They are both considered to represent ‘strong’ Christian schools.²¹ Pike refers to the work of McDonough (1998) and Walzer (2003) in defining ‘strong’ religious schooling as that which fosters separate education for a particular religious group aimed at ensuring the passing on of a particular way of life to the students. The research confirmed that a strong reason parents at both schools chose strong Christian schools was for a congruency between home and school in relation to beliefs and value.²² Furthermore, both schools were actively pursuing the integration of the Christian faith throughout the academic curriculum. The Netherlands-based school was also committed to integration and had been actively seeking the help of CST schools in how to bring “Christian education throughout the curriculum” (Pike, 2010, p. 185).

A key difference between the two schools was in the admissions policy. While the UK-based school only employed Christian teachers, 25% of its student base were not Christian and the Christian teachers and students came from a variety of different Christian denominations. In

²¹ The UK-based school was affiliated to the Christian School Trust (CST), which has an evangelical alignment.

²² See Walford (2001) for a study reporting similar conclusions in CST schools.

contrast, the Netherlands school only admitted students from a particular branch of the Reformed church. Thus, in respect of admissions, Pike (2010) argued that the Netherlands school represented a stronger version of Christian schooling than the UK CST school. This related to the different historical policies in the two countries around religious schooling. In the Netherlands, state support of religious schools comes without state regulation. Thus, the Netherlands school enjoyed full state funding while maintaining considerable freedom to maintain its distinctive ethos. The UK-based school had not opted for state funding in order to avoid the state regulation that comes with government funding. This was particularly in relation to the freedom to develop and use the kind of alternative curriculum materials afforded by remaining independent.

Finally, Pike's (2010) study links into the debate regarding state funding of religious schools in the UK. Arguing against the suggestion that state funding should not be given to 'strong' religious schools on the basis that 'strong' schools impinge on the autonomy of the individual student, Pike (2010) suggests that students in the UK school felt the school promoted religious autonomy and the right to express individual opinion and beliefs. The study concludes that "Determining support for a faith-based school on the basis of whether it is 'strong' or 'moderate' is inadequate. The strength of a school might well be considered less relevant than the specific beliefs it seeks to promote" (p. 188).

Perhaps Green (2009a, 2009b, 2012, 2014) offers the most thorough empirical research into non-denominational Christian schools. Green applies theoretical concepts drawn from the work of Bourdieu to explore the religious character of a city technology college (CTC) sponsored by a non-denominational Christian foundation which describes itself as 'Bible-based'. Green's work is unique in that it combines school-based data collection with a fairly robust theoretical framework. Her work thus reaches beyond mere description to offering some insight into how some aspects of the school's structure interact and relate to each other. Of particular interest for this thesis, is Green's understanding of the way in which the school's Christian institutional culture relates to the students' experiences, attitudes and identity formation.

Green's (2012) research identifies a religious habitus related to a religious worldview, "best described in theological terms as reformed or conservative protestant Christian. This is characterised by a high view of the authority of the Bible... personal conversion and the

imperative to teach and proclaim the gospel or good news about Jesus to the world” (p. 398). Green (2012) identifies the Protestant emphasis on “...individual salvation and a personal relationship with God, rather than corporate holiness or social justice ethics as one might find within a Catholic theology...” (p. 402). At the senior management and staff level this resulted in a “highly unified and regulated discourse” (p. 402). Green (2012) suggested that this habitus led to a theological hierarchy within the staff depending on how closely each member aligned with the school’s religious worldview.

Green (2012) concludes that in student culture a religious habitus was evident in the student’s embrace of the school’s emphasis on personal religious decision making by their frequent utilisation of the categorisation of ‘Christian’ and ‘non-Christian’ even by students who did not identify with the school’s religious ideology. Furthermore, the study shows how students re-appropriated the school’s emphasis on biblical literacy as important in order to accurately know what Christians believed and thus make informed individual decisions. Furthermore, many of the ‘non-Christian’ students reframed the school’s Christian values as ‘common sense’ rather than religious, suggesting that the school’s values were not really based on the Bible but were common values instrumental towards good grades and future employability. Green (2012) argues that this equating of Bible teaching and common sense was deliberately encouraged at the school to limit challenge of the religious habitus. This deliberate encouragement was reflected in the school’s official core values which are not formally expressed in Christian terms but rather framed as general moral values. However, Green (2009b) suggests that this move, which allows the dislocation in student culture between the school’s values and the Bible’s authority (a central tenet of the religious habitus), might ultimately undermine the symbolic power enjoyed by those who were perceived to fully embody the religious habitus.

2.3.2 Qualitative Studies of Muslim Schools and Their Religious Character

While there is a fair body of research associated with Muslim schools, very little of this research is qualitative. Research into Muslim schooling has focused on issues such as why Muslim parents choose Muslim schools (see McCreery, Jones & Holmes, 2007; Merry, 2005) and philosophical discussions about what forms of curricula, pedagogy and epistemological paradigms are essentially Muslim (see Douglas & Shaikh, 2004; Halstead, 2004; Hussien, 2008; Talbani, 1996; Tan & Abbas, 2009). Moreover, there is some research regarding the

interplay between the state and its aims for education in relation to Muslim schools (Kong, 2005; Meer, 2007; Merry & Driessen, 2005).

Tan (2011) provides an example of an empirical study of two Muslim schools situated in Singapore and the UK. Tan identifies two approaches to 'modern' knowledge in Muslim schools:

There exist Islamic schools that are wary of 'modern' (read 'Western') knowledge and favour Islamic studies instead... On the other hand, there are Islamic schools that adopt the second approach by going beyond Western technology to embrace 'modern' subjects such as the sciences and the humanities while teaching and learning with an Islamic context. (pp. 57-58)

Tan notes that both the schools in the sample were examples of the latter approach.

Tan's (2011) findings suggest that both schools sought to find a balance between imparting Islamic knowledge and 'modern' knowledge. The schools sought to, "give their students the best of both worlds by acquiring 'modern' knowledge through an Islamic lens" (p. 64). However, according to Tan, this Islamic infusion of the curriculum was done with varying degrees of success. This infusion was spoken about practically in terms of including history about Muslim scientists and mathematicians and incorporating verses from the Qur'an. However, both schools faced timetable challenges in attempting to meet National Curriculum timetable requirements while also devoting between 10%- 40% of curriculum time to additional religious subjects. Tan (2011) argues that the dominant pedagogical mode in many Islamic institutions is listening, memorisation and regurgitation within a teacher-centred learning approach (see also Talbani, 1996; Tan & Abbas, 2009; Zakaria, 2008). However, no explanation is provided as to why this pedagogic mode is dominant in Islamic institutions. Furthermore, Tan (2011) reports that there was a challenging pedagogical and mental shift required for some teachers at these schools to shift from teacher-centred approaches to the more student-centred approaches emphasised by management.

Tan (2011) concludes by arguing that there is a fundamental difference on how truth is viewed between Islamic schools and secular schools. It is suggested that the 'modernist' view prevalent in secular schools is that truth is discovered and subject to revision while a dominant conception of truth in a traditional Islamic paradigm is that the starting point of all subjects is in revealed scripture and is not open to discussion. Tan (2011) suggests that this

antithesis is indicative of the “deep-seated and on-going tension faced by many Muslims who wish to combine their religious traditions with ‘modern knowledge’” (p. 66). However, Tan does not theoretically interrogate the reason for this tension.

Tan (2011) remains a predominantly descriptive piece that lacks the theoretical tools to meaningfully present the differences between the two schools or to make connections between the interesting concluding thoughts about an epistemological disconnect possibly responsible for the tensions experienced in the schools she describes. However, the study does present a question regarding the possible link between an epistemology that regards truth as something revealed in scripture (dominant in certain traditional forms of Islam) and the traditional pedagogic practice reported to be indicative of many Islamic educational institutions. The difficulties reported by Tan (2011) of Muslim teachers to implement more progressive forms of pedagogic practice may be insurmountable. Furthermore, Tan’s (2011) concluding observation also raises questions about the project widely embraced within more liberal Islamic educational contexts toward an integration of Islam throughout the ‘modern’ curriculum. It is this issue of integration of religion into pedagogy and curriculum in religious schools which is taken up further in the following section as it forms a strong focus of the South African research on Muslim schooling.

2.3.3 Qualitative Studies of Jewish Schools and Their Religious Character

The following is a limited and very selective review of a few qualitative studies of Jewish schooling that specifically focus on the religious ethos of the schools and how that is expressed. In what follows I review a study by Krakowski (2013) in which issues of curriculum structure, worldview and identity formation are analysed at a number of ultra-Orthodox Jewish schools in America. Secondly, the work of Lehmann (2008) is reviewed in which the nature of the religious and secular components of the curriculum is analysed at an American modern-Orthodox Jewish school.

Krakowski (2013) explores the way in which ultra-Orthodox schools model a particular worldview in which the desired engagement with secular American society is modelled by the structure of the curriculum at the schools. Krakowski shows how the schools strictly separated the religious studies section of the curriculum from the limited offering of secular subjects. Religious studies dominated the curriculum and was understood as primarily about

socialisation into ultra-Orthodox communal life. The very limited secular component was strictly separated from the religious curriculum and teachers were forbidden to bring religion into these classes. The secular subjects were framed as purely pragmatic in function in relation to allowing students the ability to make a living once they left school. Krakowski goes on to suggest that:

By sequestering secular knowledge and study within this larger structure, ultra-Orthodox schools subvert the dynamic present in normative American Jewish experiences of the world, in which Judaism is integrated into an essentially secular American worldview. Instead, the ultra-Orthodox religious worldview is dominant and community members' experiences of American society are external, capable of being accommodated only in the narrow confines of job acquisition. (p. 35)

Krakowski argues that this domination of the religious component of the curriculum at the Orthodox schools in her sample was a common way in which religious minorities structure schooling in order to ensure the continuity of the community (see also Safer, 2003).

The work of Lehmann (2008) in the modern-Orthodox Jewish schooling context also explores the structure of the religious studies and secular components of the curriculum and its relation to student identity. Using discourse analysis, two contrasting discourses are shown to be present in the Bible class and English class of a modern-Orthodox high school. Lehmann (2008) refers to these as a "discourse of authority" (p. 312) in the Bible class and a "discourse of autonomy" (p. 312) in the English class. The discourse of authority was marked by the subversion of the individual to a tradition of interpretation in which the teacher's authority was explicit and dominant in the classroom. Student responses were legitimised only in terms of how well they fitted with the traditional commentary. In the English class, a discourse of autonomy prevailed. Students were encouraged to have opinions and to be critical in a pedagogic context in which the teacher's authority was minimised allowing individual opinions to be at the centre of the pedagogic exchange. Lehmann (2008) argues that the discourse of autonomy evolved from a conventionally Western version of modernity. She suggests that this autonomous discourse was:

...based on a humanistic concept of the individual's agency and was concerned more with the process of growth than with any specific conclusions; this Discourse logically resulted in classrooms that stressed the presence and independent thinking of classroom participants ...*Humash* teachers, on the other hand, wanted above all to develop Jews who were committed to their tradition. This commitment entailed not only knowledge of the tradition, but also a sense of one's own smallness in relation to its wisdom and authority... Given this

Discourse, it also made sense that the language of the classroom deemphasized the classroom participants themselves. (Lehmann, 2008, p. 312)

Lehmann (2008) showed that the students could move between these contrasting modes of discourse and the school made no attempt to resolve the apparent tensions. According to Lehmann (2008), students at the school developed a meta-knowledge regarding the rules and expectations of the two discourses: “Students were able to explain not just how they could behave or speak in the two Discourses, but also what they saw as the differences and similarities between them” (p. 314). Lehmann suggests that previous calls for integration of religious studies and the secular subjects (see Ingall & Malkus, 2000; Malkus, 2001; Pomson, 2001) may be misguided and the reported failure to integrate may not be merely logistical (as assumed by Ingall & Malkus, 2000; Malkus, 2001; Pomson, 2001) but related an essential “irreconcilability of Jewish and secular Discourses” (Lehman, 2008, p. 314). Rather, Lehmann (2008) suggests that schools should look at ways of making explicit the differences between the two discourses:

...not to resolve contradiction but to explore it, to speak openly about it, and to consider the challenges as well as the benefits of living with it. Perhaps most important, counterpoise would make the moral dimension of meta-knowledge apparent by asking how each Discourse can benefit from the perspective of the other. I believe that the frank examination of conflict would help Modern Orthodox schools articulate what it means to live in both worlds, acknowledge why doing so is a lifelong challenge, and communicate why the challenge is worth undertaking. (p. 315)

The studies of Jewish schools reviewed in this section reiterate the connection between the way in which the structuring of religious studies in relation to other subjects in the curriculum relates to the particular forms of identity privileged by the school. Moreover, the research suggests that there may be a fundamental pedagogic irreconcilability between Orthodox religion and modern, secular subject knowledge.

2.4 South African Literature on Religious Schooling

The research on South African religious schools is sparse. Moreover, much of the literature is philosophical or historical narrative (see Kelly & Higgs, 2012) rather than sociological in focus. There are, however, a few examples of close empirical school-based research in South African religious schools, many of which focus on Muslim schooling. In what follows these studies will be reviewed in varying detail dependent on the relevance of the research to the

interests of this thesis. The review will begin with a discussion of the research into Christian schools in South Africa, followed by Jewish schooling and ending with the more robust body of research on South African Muslim schools. It should be noted that there are currently no qualitative studies comparing religious schools in South Africa of different faith traditions.

2.4.1 The Literature on Christian Schools in South Africa

There are very few published quantitative school-based studies looking at South African Christian schools. The studies that have been done are predominantly on Catholic schools. A selection of these studies is reviewed below.

Christie (1990) presents a study of pupil's conception of race and social change in Catholic open schools in the mid-1980s. Christie concludes that while the open schools were an important aspect of the struggle against apartheid, the open school's movement did not substantially hegemonic assumptions about race and politics among students. While this study remains one of the most robust studies done in South Africa on religious schooling, the questions it addresses are not relevant to the interests of this thesis.

Kusi-Mensah (2008) looks at the question of what motivates parents to send their children to Catholic schools in South Africa. The study suggests that parents of Catholic school students choose Catholic schooling for reasons related to the perceived academic excellence and discipline of Catholic schools rather than for specifically Catholic religious input. Moreover, Catholic school parents choose Catholic schools more for the promotion of general ethical values than specifically religious ones.

Naidoo (2015) conducted research regarding the attitudes of learners at Catholic schools toward religion in school and religious diversity more broadly. The research suggests that Catholic schools are teaching religious education from a multi-faith perspective and learners are generally positive about the role of religion in their school and religious diversity more broadly. Naidoo (2015) argues that this is in keeping with the South African Catholic churches history of religious tolerance and racial integration in which Catholic education is understood as fulfilling "a public service of usefulness" (p. 185).

2.4.2 The Literature on Jewish Schools in South Africa

The literature on Jewish schooling in South Africa is predominantly historical type analysis and some of these studies have already been referred to in the Introductory Chapter (see Hellig, 1986; Kaplan, 1998; Katz, 1980; Levin, 1973; Steinberg, 1989). There is also a study by Meltz, Herman and Pillay (2014) that deals with the issue of inclusive education in a Johannesburg Jewish day school in which it is found that inclusion was sporadically implemented as a result of various competing belief systems within the school.

The most robust qualitative research to date in relation to Jewish schooling in South Africa is Herman's (2005, 2006) work on the interplay between managerialism and religious fundamentalism in the restructuring of a group of Jewish day schools in Johannesburg. Herman (2006) suggests that "these seemingly contradictory discourses often speak the same language" (p. 157). The writer presents a detailed insider's account of the restructuring process drawing on personal experience and interviews with various stakeholders at the school. Herman (2005, 2006) argues that there is an unexpected synergy and similarity between new managerialism and religious extremism. The study shows how restructuring of the school dominated by a managerial approach was "...instrumental in intensifying the faith mission of the schools and augmenting a monolithic view of religion..." (Herman, 2006, p. 157). Herman (2006) maintains that this process undermined the fragile democracy of the faith-based community, shifting it toward "...ghettoization, exclusion and autocracy" (p. 157). The major contribution of the study is the detailed way in which it situates Jewish schools in South Africa in relation to global, national, local and institutional conditions.

2.4.3 The Literature on Muslim Schools in South Africa

The literature on Jewish South African religious schools contains a fair number of studies that trace the history of South African Muslim schools (see Davids, 2014; Haron, 2015; Mohamed, 2002; Niehaus, 2008; Pawliková-Vilhanová, 2010; Sayed, 2011; Vahed, 2000).²³ There are also a number of philosophical pieces by South African scholars addressing Muslim education in South Africa in relation to issues such as cosmopolitanism and

²³ Some of these have been referenced in the Introductory Chapter and will not be reviewed further in this section.

democratic citizenship (see Davids, 2012, 2014; Davids & Waghid, 2014; Waghid, 2012), feminism (see Davids, 2014, 2015); indigenous knowledge systems (see Dangor 2005; Davids & Waghid, 2014), and curriculum integration referred to as the 'Islamization of knowledge' (see Dangor, 2005; Tayob, 2011). These studies present two related tensions faced by Muslim schools. The first is between the commitment to "transmit a body of knowledge increasingly regarded as religious and sacred and a commitment to modern scientific education as the bedrock for development and progress" (Tayob et al., 2011, p. 8). The second tension is between a commitment to the development of particular religious and ethnic identities and the development of national identities and notions of good citizenship (Tayob et al., 2011).

Much of the empirical school-based research in Muslim schools in South Africa explores how these issues and tensions are engaged with by Muslim schools. Niehaus (2008, 2011) has done research that assesses how Islamic schools in South Africa mediate the ideal between creating a distinct Muslim ethos while simultaneously meeting the requirements of the National Curriculum and the challenges of a multicultural society. She looks particularly at how teachers and pupils perceive their role within society, and how citizenship education is implemented and how civic identities are expressed.

Niehaus (2011) suggests that Muslim schools educate toward the values and traditions of Islam primarily via offering special Islamic instruction, corporate prayer, regulation of dress code and observation of the Islamic calendar. However, she suggests that how each of these components are implemented in South African Muslim schools differs widely in various contexts. She argues that the two Muslim schools in her sample (on the more liberal progressive end of the spectrum) presented the basic tenets of the Muslim faith without elaborating on the different schools of thought within Islamic theology and law. The emphasis was on basic Islamic knowledge in which commonalities rather than differences in faith and practice were stressed. Niehaus (2011) argues that Islamic education in the Muslim schools in her sample aimed to unite learners from diverse cultural and ethnic backgrounds in an imaginary community of believers, while also equipping learners to face plural society which often contradicts their Islamic belief system.

Niehaus (2008, 2011) also explores the implementation of 'Islamization of knowledge' ideology at the school level. The attempt to integrate an Islamic perspective into the secular

subjects (labelled the 'Islamization of knowledge') was popularised by Muslim academics in the 70s and influenced founders of schools in Europe and South Africa. Some South African scholars such as Dr Maulana Ali Adam (see Tayob, 2011; Waghid, 2013) are prominent contributors to this movement. The aim was to reverse dominant Western secular educational paradigms and integrate Islam into the secular subjects. According to Niehaus (2008, 2011), there is a renewed interest in Islamizing the secular curriculum in South African Muslim schools, as these schools are viewed by some educators as too secularised, and thus promoting a problematic bifurcation of knowledge. However, it should be noted that some of the more conservative Islamic communities have resisted the idea of integration, viewing it as a dangerous mixing of sacred knowledge with the profane secular subjects (see Fataar, 2005; Tayob, 2011). While the heads of the two South African Muslim schools in her sample promoted the ideology of the 'Islamization of knowledge,' Niehaus (2011) reports that at the classroom level, teachers "primarily follow the National Curriculum and 'add on' the Islamic or Muslim references or look for and introduce Islamic alternatives to certain topics" (p. 19). Niehaus (2008) suggests that Islamization in South African Muslim schools remains largely at the level of ideology and does not "materialize down to the classroom" (p. 21).²⁴

Niehaus (2008, 2011) also included an analysis of student's notions of religious and civic identities from questionnaire data. The learners in her sample showed, "strong attachment to collective identities formed along religious lines" (Niehaus, 2011, p. 23). Students emphasised positive attitudes toward society at large, although this sense of belonging was linked to larger societies accommodation of "Muslim institutions and places of worship which provide for religious and communal needs" (Niehaus, 2011, p. 23). However, the students' experience of people of other faiths was ambivalent, with a mix of positive and negative experiences in the data. Learners in her sample generally felt positive about the broader multicultural society beyond their Muslim community viewing it as an arena of opportunity to learn about other ways of life and establishing friendships. However, these feelings were in tension with feelings of alienation from the values and norms of larger society, leading to an ambivalence regarding their place in society.

The work of Fataar (2003, 2005) is the most robust qualitative research contribution into Muslim schooling research in South Africa. Fataar (2003, 2005) operationalises Michel

²⁴ Similar findings are reported by Tayob (2011) and Fataar (2005).

Foucault's (1972) notion of discourse in an attempt to understand how religious discourses are given meaning and expression within six Cape Town Muslim community schools. In setting the broader context of Muslim schooling in South Africa, Fataar (2005) argues that South African Muslims present a different minority context to newer minority Muslim communities in Europe. Fataar (2005) suggests that:

Muslim identity is firmly rooted in the context of colonial settlement and community formation in South Africa. As part of the larger umbrella of "black oppressed people" under apartheid, Muslim communities formed a recognizable part of the political landscape... The phenomenon of Muslim schools in South Africa should be understood as part of an ongoing community adaptation in changing terrain. (p. 25)

Fataar (2003) contends that the increase in independent Muslim schools in the post-apartheid era can be understood as a response by the Muslim communities to two perceived issues in public schools: the poor academic provision and moral decay. However, the interviews with principals and governing body members suggested that it was the latter issue that provided "the primary justification for establishing these schools... Muslim schools were established to act as a bulwark against the creeping immorality of township life, to produce an Islamic personality in relative isolation from the perceived negative impact of the surrounding contexts" (pp. 30-31).²⁵

The aspect of Fataar's (2005) work most pertinent to this study is his descriptions of how the schools in her sample frame the discourse of Islam in relation to the school. Fataar (2005) argues that in all the schools in her sample "the production of a moral God-fearing Islamic personality provides the primary frame for all the schools' activities, including their spatial organisation, curriculum and pedagogy" (p. 35). This is promoted at an ideological level in policy and promotional materials. However, Fataar notes that this Islamization discourse does not translate down to the level of actual classroom practice, with teachers suggesting that the discourse does "not provide the capacity to inform their work at schools" (p. 36). Fataar concludes that the teachers' pedagogical repertoire is "overlaid with Islamic symbols, while the substance of their pedagogical practices is primarily informed by the expectations of the secular state curriculum" (p. 36). This is partly due, Fataar suggests, to the fact that the

²⁵ This finding was confirmed by Tayob (2011), who argues that his interview with the founding member of Islamia College in Cape Town indicated that the most important aspect of the school's identity was "related to sexual propriety and its challenge to the morals of the learners and society. This was the *raison d'être* of the foundation of the school..." (Tayob, 2011, p. 50).

teachers are trained at secular South African education institutions and have thus not being equipped to Islamize their curriculum content. Moreover, Fataar argues that, “the Islamization paradigm has not been accompanied by a clear and comprehensive conceptual organization for the curriculum” (p. 36). Furthermore, many of the teachers at the schools expressed that they felt pressure to cover the National Curriculum and achieve good grades in their subjects (as academic success was prized by parents), and, as a result, they felt they had very little time to focus on incorporating Islam into their teaching practice.

In all the schools in Fataar’s (2005) sample, a religious studies component was included in the curriculum that featured Islamic studies and the teaching of Arabic. Fataar argues that “these subjects are expected to play a formative role in socializing the children into the appropriate religious and moral attributes” (p. 40). These subjects are taught predominantly by teacher-clerics and taught in “a doctrinaire and unquestioning manner and are framed by a closed and relatively Orthodox application of Koranic principle and law” (p. 40). Fataar reports that there are often conflicts between teacher-clerics and other teachers regarding pedagogic methods and curriculum content which perpetuated “segregation between the Islamic subjects and secular subjects” (p. 41).

The limited research into Muslim schools in South Africa suggests that Muslim schools in South Africa are not homogenous, but rather present a variety of different relations between the Islamic religion and secular subject knowledge, as well as between the local religious community and secular society. While some Muslim schools promote strong insulation between secular society and the religious community; other schools seek integration to varying degrees. Moreover, the research suggests that the schools promoting the integration of the Islamic religion throughout the curriculum have largely failed to implement this integration at the classroom level, with the Islamic discourse remaining predominantly a symbolic add-on.

2.5 Neo-Durkheimian Approaches to Religious Schools

Both Grace (e.g. 1998, 2002, 2010) and Walford (e.g. 2001, 2002) have contributed extensively to educational research including research on religious schools. This section does not attempt to review the full spectrum of either of these scholar’s work, but rather focusses on a very small sample of their research. The studies reviewed below have been selected for

particular attention as they present research into religious schools that draws explicitly on Emile Durkheim's (1915) and/or Basil Bernstein's (1975, 1990, 1996) theory. The review begins with Grace's (2002) book, *Catholic Schools: Mission, Markets and Morality*, and ends with a review of a paper by Walford (2002) titled: *Classification and Framing of the Curriculum in Evangelical Christian and Muslim Schools in England and The Netherlands*. The discussion focuses primarily on the theoretical recruitment of Durkheim and/or Bernstein's theory in these studies.

Grace's (2002) book, *Catholic Schools: Mission, Markets and Morality*, frames Catholic schooling via Durkheim's (1915) theoretical notions of the sacred and the profane. Expounding Durkheim, Grace (2002) explains that the sacred refers to things in society given superior dignity and power in comparison to the profane mundane elements of everyday life: "The sacred was a representation of the Other in human existence...holy, ineffable and mysterious" (p. 5). Traditionally, religion regulated the relations between the sacred and the profane, constituting basic categories of thought and a vision of an ideal world. Grace (2002) suggests that "...one of the main purposes of the Catholic school and perhaps its fundamental rationale is to keep alive and to renew the sacred in a profane and secular society" (p. 5).

Grace (2002) goes on to argue that religious culture and ritual is designed to make connections between the sacred and the profane while ensuring, via cultural insulations and boundaries, that the sacred is not devalued by this association. According to Grace, two contrasting forms of relation are historically apparent in Catholic Christianity in relation to the external world: retreat and mission. The former relation emphasises "the perfection and protection of the sacred" (Grace, 2002, p. 7), the latter emphasises "disseminating the knowledge of the sacred to a wider world" (p. 7). In relation to education, Grace argues that the predominant emphasis of pre-Vatican II Catholic schooling was on retreat. In this era, Catholic education was for Catholics (particularly the Catholic poor) in order to ensure the reproduction of the Catholic community. In the post-Vatican II era, Grace (2002) suggests that emphasis has shifted toward mission and a resulting openness characterised by a "...spirit of liberty, development of the personality and a dialogue with the wider world" (p. 18). However, the new openness of the post-Vatican II era is, according to Grace, open to the danger of the profane diluting the sacred as Catholic schools engage profane secular culture. More particularly, Grace suggests that "a growing emphasis on technical and utilitarian outcomes of education" (p. 23) presents a real challenge to Catholic education, as this

market-driven modality attempts to remove the sacred from educational contexts.²⁶ Grace (2002) suggests that a fundamental tension faces Catholic education: It must balance its sacred mission, the “attempt to know God and God’s purposes in the world” (p. 46), with the profane discourse of “the secular market curriculum” (p. 46).

Furthermore, Grace (2002) recruits Bernstein’s (1990) concepts of visible and invisible pedagogy. He explains that visible pedagogies place emphasis on the external performance (product forming) of the child, while invisible pedagogy is designed to produce changes in the dispositions and behaviour of the child (person forming). Grace (2002) distinguishes two modalities of visible pedagogy: the visible pedagogy of traditional scholarship and the visible pedagogy of the market. Grace suggests that while the traditional scholarly approach of Catholic pedagogy, with its strong classifications, is a visible pedagogic modality, it was not divorced from the sacred, as the knowledge and skills that were the focus of this approach were given significance and meaning in relation to sacred concepts such as service to the community and public good. Grace warns that Catholic schools are in danger of shifting to a visible market-oriented pedagogy in which the relation to notions of service to society is replaced by profane, utilitarian, individualised and commodified rationales. He states that:

A visible pedagogy of direct religious teaching and of instruction in the Catechism has always co-existed with an invisible pedagogy and hidden curriculum of Catholic personal formation, its ethos, rituals, symbols and value climate. (Grace, 2002, p. 50)

Grace (2002) expresses a concern that these person-forming, informal aspects of Catholic schools (with its mostly intangible outcomes) may diminish as a result of the enhanced status

²⁶ This idea is taken up in Grace’s other works (see Grace 2014), in which he draws on Bernstein’s (2000) argument that market relevance was becoming a key principle in the selection of educational discourses resulting in a concept of knowledge divorced from any notion of the sacred. Grace (2014) argues that the autonomy and power balancing role of the professions is being eroded by this new profane market-orientated discourse in education. Grace provocatively asks:

Will professions lose their relative autonomy in the face of the insatiable demands of the global market economy, a situation in which, ‘there is no alternative?’ Will professions lose their political role as part of the balance of power relations in society? What will become of professional ethics and professional moral regulation of activity, if the very concepts of ethics and regulation are categorised as impediments to the maximisation of profit? (p. 24)

Grace (2014) argues that Catholic education is in danger of being subsumed by this increasingly dominant market discourse but at the same time it potentially offers a rich source of the sacred that could provide an alternative to this increasingly hegemonic discourse, as well as the sacred resources needed to maintain the autonomy and authority of the professions.

of measurable academic outcomes given increasing precedence in market driven educational discourse.

Grace (2002) study confirmed that Catholic schools present great variation in respect of their Catholic ethos and mission. Grace argues that:

...stereotyped views of Catholic schooling as monolithic and uniform cannot be sustained. There is significant internal differentiation in the formal and personal constitution of Catholic educational mission and its constructs and articulation of appropriate forms of educational leadership. (pp. 151-152)

Linking in with the school effectiveness literature, Grace's (2002) study concludes that a "Catholic matrix for academic achievement" (p. 177) is evident and has benefit for students from poor urban areas. However, Grace (2002) argues that this matrix is not consistent across all Catholic schools and varies considerably and is differently constituted in Catholic schools. The effectiveness of a particular Catholic school is related to:

...the historical and cultural heritages of particular schools, to the social and economic well-being of the local community, to the differential presence of committed teachers and of inspired educational leadership in specific schools and the strength of local Catholic support networks. (Grace, 2002, 178)

Moreover, Grace's (2002) study calls for what is termed the Catholic 'third way' which strikes a balance between unrestrained state control and unrestrained market forces via the development of strong intermediate associations in the public sphere. In relation to whether Catholic distinctiveness was being maintained, Grace (2002) argues that the mission integrity and Catholicity of the schools in his sample appeared to be relatively strong. However, Grace (2002) warns that Catholic schools remain vulnerable in the face of curriculum and assessment pressure, and the rapid changes facing urban communities both economically and socially.

In summarising the findings of his study, Grace (2002) introduces the Bourdieu (1986) inspired notion of spiritual capital defined as "resources of faith and values derived from commitment to a religious tradition" (p. 236).²⁷ Grace (2002) suggests that spiritual capital can "be a source of empowerment because it provides a transcendent impulse which can

²⁷ See Grace (2010) for a fuller exposition of the concept of spiritual capital.

guide judgement and action in the mundane world” (p. 236). Grace argues that the impending loss of spiritual capital in the leadership of Catholic schools (predominantly due to the decline of Catholic religious orders) is the greatest danger facing Catholic schools. He suggests that future leaders of Catholic schools are unlikely to benefit from the spiritual capital inherent in religious orders. Grace (2002) concludes:

This study argues that the spiritual capital of the Catholic schooling system in England (and by implication elsewhere) is what has provided the dynamic drive of its mission in the past and helped it to preserve, in the main, its mission integrity in the challenges of the present. The renewal of its spiritual capital thus becomes the crucial question for the continuance of its distinctive mission in the future. (p. 238)

While Grace’s (2002) work draws on theoretical concepts from both Durkheim and Bernstein, the theory does not closely inform the analysis of the data, but rather acts as a broad framework for setting up the general research interest of the study. Thus, the theory is not brought into very close interaction with his data. Rather, Grace (2002) utilises what might be termed a discourse analysis in his data interpretation. Walford (2002), however, presents a study (far more limited in scope than Grace, 2002) in which Bernstein’s concepts of classification, framing and curriculum codes are applied in an interesting way to the analysis of the curricula of evangelical Christian and Muslim schools in England and the Netherlands.

Walford (2002) looks specifically at how the evangelical Christian and Muslim schools in his sample relate the affiliated religion to the academic curriculum. Walford (2002) notes that many Muslim educational scholars (see Hewer, 2001) argue “that there should be unity and integrity within the whole curriculum based upon what the *Qur’an* has to say about any particular subject” (p. 406) and thus these scholars call for an integrated, Islamized curriculum. However, Walford (2002) suggests that this ideal was not translated into practice to any great extent in the Muslim schools in his sample: “Instead, the curriculum was modified in several relatively small ways” (p. 407). These were predominantly the censorship style removal of certain words or references deemed inappropriate. Walford (2002) explains the lack of integration as essentially related to practical implementation issues such as low ratios of Muslim teachers, lack of funding for curriculum development and a lack of will among Muslim educators.

However, Walford (2002) reports a very different situation at the evangelical Christian schools in his sample. Walford notes that the similar ideological notion that the religion

should inform the whole curriculum in the light of revealed scripture is espoused, but, unlike the Muslim schools, this idea has been practically implemented by many of the evangelical schools with varying degrees of success. Walford explains that many of the evangelical schools integrate their religion via the utilisation of very abstract ordering ideas. For example, one of the schools based their curriculum on the idea of the triune God - Father, Son and Holy Spirit - in which these aspects of the Godhead are abstracted to represent Source, Means and Fulfilment respectively. This, in turn, generates three general questions which the curriculum seeks to answer in each subject: “What is the source or origin in God of my subject/theme? How has God caused it to be demonstrated in the world? And what is the end result/destiny of my subject?” (Walford, 2002, p. 412). Walford argues that this does not “lead to a precise curriculum, but to a particular way of looking at each subject” (p. 412).

Walford (2002) goes on to introduce two aspects of Bernstein’s theory: integrated and collection curriculum codes and classification and framing. Walford (2002) explains that collection type curricula maintain strong boundaries between subjects, while integrated curricula emphasise the interdependence of the subjects and attempt to transcend traditional subject boundaries. Classification is described with respect of the strength of the boundary between contents, while framing is related to the control in the pedagogical relationship between the teacher and student in terms of what is transmitted and received. Using these concepts, Walford (2002) argues that in both the Muslim and evangelical schools in his sample the basic structure of a collection code curriculum is apparent. Walford (2002) suggests that the subjects forming the curricula at the schools are strongly classified and the pedagogic relation involves strong framing in which teachers have explicit control over what is transmitted and received.

However, Walford (2002) notes that in many of the evangelical schools there is an integration of the subjects at a deep level via abstract principles related to the school’s religion. In this sense, the evangelical schools produce an “integrated code with an ‘overarching weak classification’ between subjects” (p. 416). Walford points out that Bernstein predominantly associated integrated codes with weak framing, which Bernstein would term an invisible pedagogy. However, Walford argues that the overarching integrated code of the evangelical schools was marked by strong framing in which “the acceptance of hierarchy [is] central. ...The authority of the school and parents is deemed to be God-given” (p. 416). Finally, Walford suggests that there is “a very strong correspondence between the ‘overarching weak

classification' and strong framing of the school and a similar 'overarching weak classification' and strong framing of the home and church. These families are likely to be strict on their demands on the child" (pp. 416-417). Walford concludes that this matching of modalities will produce a strong system for the reproduction of the evangelical community.

What Walford (2002) does not interrogate are the possible differences in orientation to abstraction between evangelical Christianity and the form of Islam associated with the schools in his sample. He does not recognise that the failure of the Muslim schools in his sample to integrate Islam throughout the curriculum may be linked to a fundamental resistance to abstraction in Islam. that might relate to the production and implementation of the abstract integrating principle necessary in the formation of an overarching integrated code. Walford predominantly assumes that the failure to integrate religion in the Muslim schools in his sample is a practical issue rather than something inherent in the basic orientation of the religion.

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter has offered a review of both the international and the South African religious schooling literature. In summary, the literature suggests that religious schools do usually have a positive effect on the religious attitudes and behaviour of students but this effect is most pronounced for students from religious families. Moreover, a major focus of religious schooling literature has been on the academic effects of religious schools and predominantly confirms that religious schools do make a positive contribution to academic achievement which cannot be fully explained by student intake. The literature often attributes this academic effect to the strength and nature of the community (social capital) often present at religious schools centred around common beliefs, values and practices. Furthermore, the more recent focus of the religious schooling research into issues of social cohesion and citizenship is dominated by philosophical debate rather than empirical evidence. However, the limited empirical research in this area generally suggests that religious schools are not a threat to social cohesion, with some studies arguing that religious schools actually contribute to social cohesion and more generally to the public good. However, it should be noted that the majority of empirical studies addressing question regarding social cohesion are conducted in schools on the more liberal side of the spectrum, as often access to more conservative religious schools is difficult to attain.

The review suggests that qualitative school-based research is very limited. However, there is a growing body of research of this kind that is beginning to explore what actually goes on in religious schools. This literature suggests that religious schools, even within the same faith tradition, are by no means homogenous. However, many of the studies are theoretically underdeveloped and remain mostly descriptive pieces with very thin theoretical explanation. One such variation between religious schools discussed in the literature is the way in which religion is related to the formal curriculum. The literature suggests that most religious schools include religion in the curriculum via a religious studies programme while the remainder of the curriculum subjects are mostly unrelated to religion.

The review of the South African research into religious schooling shows this to be a very underdeveloped research area. There are currently no published studies that offer a comparative analysis of religious schools across different religions. Moreover, there are currently no South African studies that interrogate the relationship between religion, curriculum structure, ritual and student identity in religious schools. In this sense, the review suggests that the present study addresses a substantial gap in the literature.

Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework: Theoretical Tools for Comparing Schools with a Religious Affiliation

3.1 Introduction

The review of the religious schooling literature in the previous chapter showed that while religious schools are a growing phenomenon of the post-apartheid South African educational terrain they have remained a vastly under-researched sector. This is indicative of a larger international trend in the sociology of education which has mostly ignored the internal workings of religious schools and focused primarily on input and output quantitative research. As a result, examples of the principled application of sociological theory to the close analysis of religious educational contexts and problems are scarce (Grace, 2002). Therefore, one of the aims of this thesis is to provide a theoretically-grounded comparison of religious schools both within and between different faith traditions.

This chapter presents the theoretical framework for this study which draws most directly on Bernstein's (e.g., 1975, 1990, 2000) theoretical concepts. However, Bernstein's theoretical perspective has strong roots in Durkheim's (e.g., 1915, 1960) theory and much of the theoretical orientation of this thesis can be traced to Durkheim's thought. Therefore, this chapter begins with a discussion of the orientating influence of Durkheim's (1915, 1960) theory by expounding his concepts of mechanical and organic solidarity and briefly introducing his notions of the sacred and the profane. The chapter then moves to a closer look at aspects of Bernstein's (1975, 1990, 2000) theory that have been specifically selected for the purposes of this study. This chapter overviews the concepts at a fairly high level of generality, while making some reference to how the theory being discussed is specifically put to use in the thesis. However, the Methodology Chapter that follows provides a more detailed account of how the theory is operationalised to provide a comparative account that addresses the research interests outlined in the Introductory Chapter.

3.2 Theoretical Antecedents

3.2.1 Durkheim

The following discussion of Durkheim's (1915, 1960) theory begins with his concepts of mechanical and organic solidarity. These concepts draw important connections between the division of labour, forms of social cohesion and modalities of control. This section ends with a brief discussion of Durkheim's (1915) notion of the sacred and the profane, as this provides the theoretical orientation regarding moral order for this thesis.

3.2.1.1 Mechanical and Organic Solidarity

This thesis speaks to the same fundamental dynamic of social order that Durkheim (1960; and subsequently Bernstein, 2000) recognised in his theory. In *The Division of Labour in Society* (1960), Durkheim suggested a central tension between the development of individual freedom on the one hand and the constraints of a society oriented moral order on the other. For Durkheim, morality was about the restriction of the whims of the individual ego toward attainment of the superior goals of a collective society. This deference (of the individual) to a shared set of ideals was, for Durkheim, captured in his concept of the collective conscience. However, as is evident in *Suicide: A Study in Sociology* (1952), Durkheim believed that the ideal society maintained a degree of social solidarity while also creating a wide sphere for the expression of individual freedom: avoiding the complete detachment of the individual from a collective conscience on the one hand (egotism), while not completely losing the individual in an overly-developed collective conscience (altruism).

Inspired by reflections of the changing social context of 19th century France, which included a rapid increase in the complexity of the division of labour, Durkheim (1960) recognised the simultaneous emergence of two 'contradictory' maxims: "the maxim ordering us to specialise...refuted by the maxim commanding us all to realise the same ideal" (p. 44). Durkheim tried to answer the question of how society continues to cohere (maintain a moral life) in the face of increased specialisation that inevitably marks out the difference between individuals.

Durkheim tackled this question by theorising two modes of social solidarity: mechanical and organic. Durkheim's mechanical mode referred to societies characterised by a simple division of labour in which social cohesion was related to a broad agreement on values and sentiments that reached into every area of social life. For Durkheim, repressive penal (criminal) law was related to mechanical solidarity, as the transgressor in this modality is punished in order to revivify shared values and sentiments: the meaning of punishment in this modality takes the form of an appeasement of the social conscience rather than individual retribution or some sort of utilitarian contractual function. Therefore, mechanical solidarity relates to social cohesion derived from individuals strongly regulated by shared beliefs and sentiments: a prolific and robust collective conscience in which individuals feel strongly attached and regulated by the collective. In mechanical solidarity the individual conscience is mostly a microcosm of the collective conscience.

According to Durkheim (1960), organic solidarity (at the level of society) emerges with an increase in the complexity of the division of labour: uniformity of values and sentiments are no longer sustainable to the same degree and thus the collective social conscience takes a very different form and content. Durkheim argued that a specialised complex division of labour produces, via its specialisation of function, a strong interdependence between specialised agents on which a new mode of solidarity is based. Durkheim proposed that organic solidarity produced societies in which control took the form of large complex systems of restitutive (civil) law that served to regulate agents within and between the specialised domains arising out of the complex division of labour. In this modality of law, punishment was not related to the appeasement of a collective conscience but rather served to provide the order necessary to maintain the specialised relations and structure of a society characterised by a complex division of labour.

However, organic solidarity does not result in the loss of the collective conscience (moral order) but rather a dramatic change in its form and content: the content of the collective conscience becomes more abstract and focuses on the celebration of the individual.

Durkheim (1960) argued that in organic solidarity certain aspects of the collective conscience are actually:

...strengthened and made more precise: that is in the way it regards the individual...the individual becomes the object of a sort of religion. We erect a cult on behalf of personal

dignity which, as every strong cult, already has its superstitions... If it turns all wills toward the same end, this end is not social. It thus occupies a completely exceptional place in the collective conscience. It is still from society that it takes its force, but it is not to society that it attaches us; it is to ourselves. (p. 172)

Thus, for Durkheim, at the base of organic forms of solidarity is a strong, precise, collectively held 'ideology' that consecrates the sacredness of the individual resulting in a collective idealisation of the individuality and personal freedoms of the socially abstracted human. The current pervasive discourse of human rights (a general ethics of humanity) would be, for Durkheim (1960), indicative of the collective conscience of organic solidarity. The conscience collective gives validity and order to the multiple associations and relations indicative of a complex division of labour.

Durkheim (1960) was not suggesting that societies were necessarily either characterised exclusively by either one or the other of these two forms of solidarity. For example, speaking of mechanical solidarity, Durkheim writes:

The greater the diversity of relations wherein the latter [the collective conscience] makes its action felt, the more also it creates links which attach the individual to the group; the more, consequently, social cohesion derives completely from this source and bears its mark. (p. 109)

However, Durkheim argued that one of these forms of solidarity may be more dominant in a particular society. As the division of labour becomes more complex, a society's collective conscience, that is its "ideal of man of what he should be, as much from the intellectual point of view as the physical and moral" (Durkheim, 1960, p. 70), becomes increasingly abstract and celebratory of the individual.

The thesis looks to Durkheim's (1960) forms of solidarity as orientating principles for making visible different forms of social cohesion (control) evident at the school level. Durkheim (1960) recognised that while a society as whole may be characterised by social cohesion predominantly derived from organic solidarity, the specialised occupational groups and agencies that form the fabric of a complex division of labour may themselves draw strongly on mechanical solidarity. These groups may have their own, "occupational morality... there are usages and customs common to the same order of functionaries which no one of them can break without incurring the censure of the corporation" (p. 227).

Durkheim's concepts of mechanical and organic solidarity are visible in theorising the forms of solidarity constituted by the schools, particularly in relation to the recruitment of the affiliated religion. Solidarity is understood in this thesis to refer to the relation of an individual to a collective. Organic solidarity speaks to forms of moral order that emphasise the individuality of the student, her autonomy and personal freedom and is characterised by weak attachment of the individual to a collective. What is constituted as shared and collective in this modality is abstract and it emphasises and protects notions of individuality and self-actualisation in which difference is celebrated. Mechanical solidarity is recontextualised in the study's notion of a moral order in which a shared, pervasive set of beliefs and practices are understood to constitute an external order constraining the individual student. This is understood as a positioning of the student in relation to the ordering of a community, constituted by a distinct set of shared practices, beliefs and values. The individual in this moral order is backgrounded and similarity, conformity, group attachment and participation are emphasised.

Table 3.1 Interpretation of Mechanical and Organic Solidarity

	Mechanical solidarity	Organic solidarity
General orientation	Sameness	Difference
Relation of individual to a collective	Strong	Weak
Collective conscience	Broad set of concrete shared beliefs, sentiments and practices	Limited set of abstract shared values relating to individual relations, rights or freedoms

3.2.1.2 The Sacred and the Profane

In *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, Durkheim (1915) expounded on the origins of collective moral authority which he located as emerging from an abstraction that characterises religious belief systems of all types: the division of things into the two categories of sacred or profane. The profane is that which is regarded as integral to mundane everyday life and the sacred is that which is regarded as invoking special attitudes such as awe and reverence. Durkheim argues that these two fundamental categories are representative of the duality of human experience: man is an individual but also partakes of the social.

In his participation in social life, man experiences a reality beyond the un-ordered world of sensory experience: the social provides the basis for collectively held categories and principles of order that one might term a cosmology. Durkheim (1915) thus argues that:

All known religious beliefs, whether simple or complex, present one common characteristic: they presuppose a classification of all things, real and ideal, of which men think, into two classes or opposed groups, generally designated by two distinct terms which translate well enough by the words profane and sacred. This division of the world into two domains, the one containing all that is sacred, the other all that is profane, is the distinctive trait of religious thought. (p. 37)

The social, whereby the individual transcends herself, corresponds to the sacred which is marked out symbolically (via beliefs, rites and rituals) from the profane world of mundane individual action.

However, Durkheim's (1915) unique insight was that the sacred and the fundamental codes that regulate the relationship between the realms of the sacred and profane are not necessarily synonymous with religion. In *The Division of Labour in Society* (1960), Durkheim argued that in traditional societies, religion "Originally pervades everything, everything social is religious; the two words are synonymous. Then little by little, political, economic, scientific functions free themselves from the religious function, constitute themselves apart and take on a more and more acknowledged temporal character" (p. 169). While in many traditional tribal societies the sacred was fully subsumed by religion, such that religion fully constituted the societies' codes of meaning, in current society (with its complex division of labour) the sacred has 'broken free' from the religious and constitutes multiple cosmologies that order different spheres of human activity. Moore (2013) explains that,

...this view does not see the decline of traditional religion as the loss of the sacred in modernity, but rather as the translation of the sacred into a diversity of non (rather than just 'alternative') religious forms, producing codes of meaning in other ways (think of the sublime in aesthetics and also secular political ideologies and popular culture). (p. 40)

Durkheim (1915) recognised that this shifting of the domain of the sacred resulted in a new agency for the generation and regulation of cosmology; education systems increasingly autonomous from the control of religious systems become the new generators and regulators of the relationship between, "...the sacred and profane (the esoteric and the mundane)" (Moore, 2013, p. 38). Thus, Durkheim (1915) suggested that while in traditional societies religion constituted the codes of meaning (religious sacred) in society, modern societies

present a plurality of non-religious cosmologies (sacred orders) that are relayed by and reproduced by education systems. These education systems become the site of contestation as various groups vie for control of the relaying mechanism of the basic categories that constitute the order of society.²⁸ Thus, for Durkheim (1915), the secularisation of society was not about the decline in the sacred, but rather the decline of religion as its only source and regulator.

Therefore, following Durkheim (1915), this thesis recognises that religious schools are sites in which a particular religious sacred order may be relayed in conjunction with other non-religious sacred orders. Moreover, these forms of sacred orderings are understood to be potentially underpinned by different forms of social solidarity: that is the manner in which the individual is related to a collective. Finally, in this thesis I recognise two modalities of sacred order that relate to mechanical and organic solidarity. Firstly, the sacred can be framed as a collective cosmology comprising a pervasive set of shared beliefs and practices related to a concrete community to which the individual belongs. Alternatively, the sacred can be constructed in terms of general or abstract values or relations relating to the individual, collectively recognised by an abstract community of like-minded persons.

3.2.2 Bernstein

This orientating discussion presents the primary Bernsteinian (1975, 1990, 2000) concepts utilised in this thesis. The first section is a discussion of Bernstein's (1990, 2000) theorisation of a sociologically important difference between Christianity on the one hand and Judaism and Islam on the other. The second section sets up Bernstein's (1975, 2000) concepts of classification and framing. Thirdly, at the level of the school institution, Bernstein's (1975) concepts of expressive and instructional orders within schools are presented. This is followed by a discussion of Bernstein's (1975) theory of ritual in schools: its character and consequences for social order. Finally, Bernstein's (2000) theory of pedagogic identities is outlined.

²⁸ Institutions such as the state and the professions are the new regulators and generators of the relation between the sacred and the profane in society (Grace, 2014).

3.2.2.1 The Relation Between the Inner and the Outer in Christianity, Judaism and Islam

Bernstein (2000) offers an analysis of the origins and significance of what he terms “the first dislocation in official European knowledge” (p. 82), which is the grouping of knowledge into the distinct discourses of the Trivium and the Quadrivium. In the medieval university, the Trivium (consisting of grammar, logic and rhetoric) was given ritual precedence over the Quadrivium (consisting of arithmetic, astronomy, geometry and music) and was studied prior to the Quadrivium. According to Bernstein, “Durkheim argued that this classification, dislocation, boundary, represented a split between the Trivium as exploration of the word and the Quadrivium as exploration of the world; word and world held together by the unity of Christianity” (p. 82). Moreover, Bernstein explains that Durkheim (1938) recognised that the knowledge disseminated by the medieval university (a recontextualisation of Greek thought) was abstract because of its Christian base. According to Bernstein, the abstract modality of Christianity (required to recontextualise Greek thought) was traced by Durkheim to the characteristic of the Christian God as, “a god you had to think about. It was a god that not only was to be loved but also to be thought about. And this attitude created an abstract modality to the discourse” (p. 82). It is from these two Durkheimian insights that Bernstein began his own analysis of the origins and significance of this dislocation and its relation to Christianity.

Bernstein (2000) argued that, at a more fundamental level to Durkheim’s (1938) word and world, the Trivium and Quadrivium represented a dislocation between the inner and the outer. Bernstein states that:

...the Trivium is not simply about understanding the word, the principles that lie behind it, the mechanics of language and reasoning, but is concerned to constitute a distinct modality of the self, to set limits to that form of consciousness, to regulate the modality of the self. (p. 83)

Bernstein suggested this is a distinctly Christian inner self, constituted by a particular relation to the Christian God. In contrast, Bernstein argued that the Quadrivium represents ways of acting upon the material world outside the self. The specialisation of the inner self comes first, as it is guaranteed that one’s understanding and exploration of the outer world will be legitimate in terms of the discourse of Christianity. Bernstein suggests that while,

...the apparent form of the discourse is Greek, the message is Christian...the deep grammar

of the Trivium, Quadrivium, that is its paradigmatic and syntagmatic features, is a metaphor of the new dislocation between inner and outer that Christianity itself introduced and resolved. (p. 83)

The Quadrivium, “the outer-social-profane” (p. 131), enters into the sacred via the prior formation of the Christian sacred inner and is regulated by it. Bernstein further argues that this mediated relation between inner and outer, that is between the socially abstracted individual consciousness and the concrete world of culture, action and materiality, is the origin of the abstract orientation of Christianity: a religion with the necessary abstract orientation to appropriate Greek thought for its own message.

Bernstein (2000) suggests that the dislocation between inner and outer is evident in the Christian conceptualisation of conversion. Bernstein argues that in the early dissemination of the Christian faith:

...conversion did not require a change of nationality. It did not require a change of culture. It did not require even a change of practice. It required a revolution of inwardness, a turning to a recognition of Christ, the meaning of Christ. Note here that Christianity takes a point outside the culture and practice of those to be converted as the point for this conversion and then colonises from within. Christianity drives a wedge between inner self and outer practice. (p. 83)

This in turn sets up the abstract orientation of Christianity, “because to think outside your culture and practice is intrinsically an abstract orientation” (Bernstein, 2000, p. 83).

Christianity provides its own synthesis to the dislocation it sets up via its unique conception of God: God became flesh. Thus, Christianity in its early history sheds the outer cultural forms of Judaism: its dietary restrictions, cultural laws (e.g. circumcision), language and practices and firmly prioritises abstracted inner notions of faith, righteousness and abstracted moral ideals (for example, St. Paul’s understanding of the meaning of Christ as a ‘circumcision of the heart’). The sacred Christian inner is given precedence and the outer social profane partakes of the sacred via a “new existential self” (Bernstein, 2000, p. 83).

In contrast, Bernstein (1990, 2000) argues that neither Judaism nor Islam sets up a dislocation between the inner and the outer. Rather, the dislocation set up by Judaism and Islam is between God and people expressed in the notion of the holiness of God:

It may well be said that, of the three great Western religions, Christianity, Islam and Judaism, only Christianity is intrinsically and necessarily abstract as a consequence of the dislocation

between inner and outer, and the form of its resolution: the new mediation between God and human. Both Islam and Judaism are religions of certainty made palpable socially and culturally through lived ritual and law...Whereas in Judaism and Islam the dislocation between God and human is resolved by the sacredness of the social bond, the dislocation introduced by Christianity between the inner and outer is resolved through the new mediation between God and human and the abstractness of its formulation. (Bernstein, 1990, p. 129)

Therefore, in Judaism and Islam, 'external' artefacts of culture, such as language, dietary restriction and specific ritual practices, are not dislocated from the religious inner self but are understood as constituting that self in the 'social' (outer sacred). Thus Bernstein (2000) argues of Judaism (but the same could be said of Islam) that the central dislocation expressed in the notion of the holiness of God "...becomes material becomes palpable through the daily cycles of prayer, ritual and the classifications of the law...which establishes the unity of God and people through the nature of the social bond" (p. 84). The invisible God enters into the materiality of the social bond, thus resolving the dislocation.

As a result of the different relation between inner and outer in Christianity and Judaism, Bernstein (2000) suggests that Judaism sets up a fundamentally different orientation to Christianity. Bernstein argues that Judaism is a non-exemplary religion with an incomplete text (the Torah) which acts as "a guide to the most mundane and minute details of life in which every minute detail connects with the whole" (p. 84). The written law is thus subject to ongoing interpretation which forbids generalisation. Bernstein writes that, "in Judaism, a non-exemplary religion with an incomplete text, interpretation is through continuous elaboration of particulars and generalisation is abhorred" (p. 85). However, in Judaism society is "made perfect by the Torah" (p. 85) in which the individual is concretely and certainly embedded. The Jewish self is a 'given' identity: a result of a particular relation with a concrete community. In contrast, Bernstein argues that in Christianity you have an exemplary religion with Jesus Christ as the perfect text. However, the Christian's faith is never completely stable, "it must be constantly re-won, revitalised, renewed" (p. 85). Thus, Bernstein suggests that the "Christian self, unlike the Judaic self, safe in certainty, is subject to doubt, to questioning, to interrogation" (p. 85). The Christian self cannot secure itself in relation to the concrete outer world, but is subject to internal negotiation relating to an abstract inner relation. Bernstein argues that "in this sense Christianity creates a special modality of language, an interrogative mode which splits the self from its acts, intention from practice" (p. 85).

In summary, Bernstein (1990, 2000) distinguishes between Christianity on the one hand and Judaism and Islam on the other via a difference in the strength of the dislocation (or classification, as will be explained in the following section) set up between the inner individual self and the outer social. According to Bernstein (2000), Christianity constituted a strong boundary between inner and outer, which sets up an abstract orientation and an unstable Christian identity. In contrast, Judaism and Islam constitute a weak dislocation between inner and outer, in which the individual is embedded in the ‘social bond’ manifested in rituals, laws and cultural practices of a concrete community. Unlike the unstable Christian self, the Judaic and the Islamic self is secured to an external social reality that does not share the orientation toward abstraction indicative of Christianity. The differences between Christianity the one hand and Judaism and Islam on the other are set out in Table 3.2 below.

Table 3.2 General Characterisation of the Religions Affiliated with the Sample Schools

None	← Dislocation of inner and outer →	Strong
Judaism & Islam²⁹		Christianity³⁰
Privileges an outer sacred		Privileges an inner sacred
An orientation resistant to abstraction		An orientation toward abstraction
Stable self Assigned/ascribed identity		Unstable self Achieved identity

In this thesis I explore how the differences in the affiliated religion of religious schools (related to the strength of the dislocation of inner and outer presented by the affiliated religion) relates to the privileging of particular forms of social solidarity at the schools. This

²⁹ The thesis, adding to Bernstein (2000), recognises that while ‘in general’ Judaism and Islam present a weak dislocation of inner and outer in comparison to Christianity, different forms of Judaism and Islam will present weaker or stronger dislocations of inner and outer. More conservative Orthodox expressions are likely to present a weaker dislocation than reformed or more liberal expressions. Thus, within Judaism and Islam there will be a continuum from weak to strong dislocation of inner and outer.

³⁰ The thesis recognises that while Christianity has a general orientation toward dislocating inner and outer, different expressions of Christianity are likely to present stronger or weaker versions of this dislocation. It is suggested that Catholicism, particularly expressions resistant to the changes of Vatican II, will presents a far weaker dislocation of inner and outer than Protestant denominations, particularly charismatic or Pentecostal expressions.

is examined by an analysis of the structure of curriculum, pedagogy and ritual and the projected student identities characteristic of the schools in the sample. Theoretical tools are thus required to make evident differences between the knowledge and pedagogic forms indicative of each school and allow for relations to be made between these school level characteristics and religion level characteristics discussed in this section. One of the primary reasons this thesis utilises Bernstein's (1975, 2000) sociological theory (particularly his concepts of classification and framing) is its ability to connect different contexts and levels of experience such as family, work, and education, and different levels of regulation on knowledge from the national down to the individual level. Therefore, Bernstein's concepts of classification and framing are recruited as they are able to produce productive and principled descriptions of pedagogic modalities at the school level, while allowing for an exploration of the relations between these modalities and the higher level of analysis related to the structuring of the affiliated religions of the schools. The concepts of classification and framing are introduced in the following paragraphs.

3.2.2.2 Classification and Framing of Pedagogic Transmission

Bernstein (2000) emphasises that pedagogic discourse was not a neutral relay of educational content, but carried within itself principles of power and control which contribute to the structuring of consciousness. According to Bernstein (2000), much theorising in the sociology of education viewed pedagogic discourse as merely "a carrier of something other than itself" (p. 4) and thus failed to offer "any internal analysis of the discourse itself" (p. 4). Therefore, building on his work on socio-linguistic codes, Bernstein (1975, 2000) developed the concepts of classification and framing as a means of describing the structure of pedagogic discourse independent of the content of these pedagogic relays.

Bernstein (2000) presents classification as related to power: classification is a translation of power relations that establish boundary relationships between categories. He explains that,

...it is silence which carries the message of power; it is the full stop between one category of discourse and another; it is the dislocation in the potential flow of discourse which is crucial to the specialisation of any category. (p. 6)

At the macro-level, classification refers to the social division of labour and the instantiation of power that give rise to categories of specialised agents and discourses. At the micro-level

of pedagogic practice in schools, classification refers to the boundary between organisational aspects: agents, spaces and discourses.

Classification can be strong or weak depending on the strength of the insulation or boundary established by the power relations carried by the classification. Where classification is strong, the boundaries between categories are strong, such that each category established has “its unique identity, its unique voice, its own specialised rules of internal relations” (Bernstein, 2000, p. 7). Where classification is weak, there is integration and the boundaries between categories are blurred and the discourses, identities and voices within these categories are less specialised. Bernstein (2000) suggests that strong classification relates to the rule, “things must be kept apart” (p. 11), while weak classification relates to the rule “things must be brought together” (p. 11). In pedagogic communication, the categories standing in classificatory relation to each other may be curriculum subject discourses, agents such as teachers and pupils, or forms of knowledge incorporated into a subject or curriculum such as between school knowledge and everyday knowledge.

A further distinction is made in the theory between internal and external classification. Bernstein (2000) suggests that classification always has an external value as it is always concerned with the boundary relation between the classificatory category in question and other discourses, voices or identities external to this category. However, Bernstein argues that one can identify classificatory categories internal to a classified discourse. Bernstein suggests that internal classification may refer to the arrangements of space and objects within a classroom. In this thesis, external classification is understood to refer to the strength of the boundary between RE and other subjects in the school’s curriculum. Internal classification is recontextualised in describing the strength of the boundary, internal to RE discourse, between the affiliated religion and other religions or perspectives.

While power relations are translated in classificatory principles (strong or weak) that construct the nature of social space, framing regulates the control relations within the given contexts (boundaries) established by classification. Therefore, according to Bernstein (2000), “classification refers to *what*, framing is concerned with *how* meanings are put together, the forms by which they are to be made public and the nature of the social relationships that go with it” (p. 12). At the macro-level, framing relates to the social relations established within a social division of labour. At the micro-level of pedagogic practice, framing refers to the

controls on communication in the pedagogical relationship between the teacher (transmitter) and the student (acquirer). Bernstein (2000) suggests that:

Where framing is strong, the transmitter has explicit control over selection, sequence, pacing, criteria and the social base. Where framing is weak, the acquirer has more *apparent* control (I want to stress apparent) over the communication and its social base. (p. 13, emphasis in the original)

The control of the student in weak framing contexts is apparent because Bernstein understood pedagogy to be necessarily hierarchical in the sense that the transmitter is always in possession of the rules for evaluation. Thus, according to Bernstein, the transmitter is always in control of the pedagogic relation at the most fundamental level (that of evaluation) although this may be more or less apparent from the perspective of the acquirer.

At the level of the framing of pedagogic practice, Bernstein (2000) distinguishes two systems of rules regulated by framing: regulative discourse and instructional discourse. Bernstein describes regulative discourse as referring to the rules of social order which, in a pedagogic relationship, will always order a hierarchical relation between a transmitter and an acquirer. This relation carries, “expectations about conduct, character and manner” (p. 13) related to being a student and being a teacher. Thus, the framing of the regulative discourse in pedagogic practice is referred to as the framing of the hierarchical rules and the strength of the framing refers to the extent to which the hierarchical nature of the relationship is made explicit to the student. The instructional discourse refers to the rules of discursive order and has to do with, “selection, sequence, pacing and criteria of the knowledge” (p. 13) transmitting specific skills. Where framing is weak over the instructional discourse, the acquirer has strong ‘apparent’ control over these aspects of pedagogic communication. Bernstein (2000) set this out as:

$$\text{Framing} = \frac{\text{instructional discourse}}{\text{regulative discourse}}$$

As the algebra above suggests, Bernstein understood framing as pedagogic discourse in which an instructional discourse is embedded in a regulative discourse. Using the concepts of

classification and framing outlined above, Bernstein enabled the theoretical description of a range of pedagogic approaches which he termed transmissions codes.

Following his theorisation of the concepts of classification and framing, Bernstein (1975) introduced the notion of invisible and visible pedagogic modalities. Invisible pedagogies, according to Bernstein, are realised through weak classification and framing at the level of pedagogic discourse. A hallmark of this modality is the ‘masking’ of the hierarchical relation of power between teacher and student. In contrast, visible pedagogies are realised by strong classification and framing and the control relations in the classroom are not concealed from the perspective of the student. Visible and invisible pedagogies are generally related to traditional and progressive approaches to teaching respectively.

The concepts of classification and framing are primarily utilised in Chapters 5 and 6 of this thesis. The following Methodology Chapter lays out in detail how these concepts were put to use in describing the structures of the sample school’s RE offerings (Chapter 5) and the way in which the affiliated religion is related to the standard subject curriculum (SSC) (Chapter 6). At a more general level, I explore how the classificatory principle controlling the relation between inner and outer in the affiliated religion is related to the pedagogic practice characteristic of the schools in the sample and how these in turn relate to the way in which student identity is projected at each school.

3.2.2.3 The Moral Order of the School: Instructional and Expressive Orders

This section presents aspects of Bernstein’s (1975, 2000) theory that apply to the school institution level of analysis. At this level Bernstein (1975) proposes an analytical distinction between two inter-related orders of the school’s social structure that together constitute the moral order (or culture) of the institution: the ‘expressive’ and ‘instrumental’ orders.

Bernstein (1975) explains:

I propose to call the complex of behaviour and activities in the school which is to do with conduct, character and manner the *expressive order* of the school, and that complex of

behaviour, and the activities that generate it, which is to do with the acquisition of specific skills the *instrumental* order. (p. 38, emphasis in the original)³¹

Bernstein (2000) suggests that the expressive order at the level of the school was empirically given in “documents, rules, rituals and assemblies, etc.,” (p. 102).³² Moreover, at the level of the school, Bernstein (2000) argues that the instrumental order³³ was empirically given in the school’s curriculum programmes.

Bernstein (1975) considers the expressive order as the social structure controlling the transmission of the school’s shared values: “a formalisation, crystallisation even idealisation of an image of conduct, character and manner reflected by some, but not all groups in wider society” (p. 49). Thus, Bernstein recognises that the expressive order of the school reflects the ‘moral order’ of a group or groups outside the school and positions the student in a particular relation to these entities. Furthermore, Bernstein considers the expressive order as potentially cohesive as it transmits what is constituted as a shared or collective moral ideal “held equally before each pupil and teacher” (p. 38). Echoes of Durkheim’s (1960) ‘collective conscience’ are not difficult to detect.

In contrast, the instrumental order, according to Bernstein (1975), is potentially divisive in function. The instrumental order controls the transmission of “facts, procedures and judgements involved in the acquisition of specific skills” (p. 54). These “skills” form the basis for the specialisation of consciousness required by the complex division of labour and are thus required to be differentially distributed at least at the secondary level of schooling. The instrumental order tends to emphasise difference both between students and teachers.

Therefore, Bernstein’s (1975) instrumental and expressive orders reflect, within the school, the same “competing” maxims Durkheim recognised in French society of his day: “...the maxim ordering us to specialise...refuted by the maxim commanding us all to realise the same ideal” (Durkheim, 1960, p. 44). Thus, Bernstein’s (1975) instructional and expressive orders at the school level are related to the same dynamic at the heart of Durkheim’s (1960)

³¹ In his later work (as reflected above in his characterisation of framing at the level of pedagogic practice), Bernstein (2000) replaces the terms ‘instrumental’ and ‘expressive’ with ‘instructional’ and ‘regulative’ respectively.

³² At this late stage of his theory development, Bernstein (2000) refers to the term ‘regulative discourse’ rather than using the notion of an ‘expressive order.’

³³ Bernstein (2000) refers to the ‘instrumental order’ as the ‘instructional discourse.’

analysis of modern society characterised by a complex division of labour giving rise to organic solidarity. Bernstein (1975) argues that the two orders potentially reflect a source of strain within the school and may be more or less dominant in relation to each other. Together these orders reflect Bernstein's idea that schools have a dual function: one instructional and directed toward knowledge and skill specialisation, the other social and directed toward cohesion.

Bernstein (1975) was interested in exploring how shifts in the occupational system of broader society impacted the structuring of the instrumental and expressive orders at the level of the school. More particularly, Bernstein theorises regarding the effects of the demands of the occupational system in modern industrialised society toward the ideal of educating toward diversity on school culture (a reflection of the broader forms of organic solidarity operating in industrialised societies). Bernstein proposes that the instrumental and expressive orders of schools could be scaled on a dimension from open to closed. Bernstein (1975) explains that:

Where these orders are closed, definitions of roles, groups, subject boundaries and sequence, relationships with the outside, are explicit and strong; where these orders are open definitions of roles, groups, subject boundaries and sequence, relationships with outside are implicit and blurred. (p. 52)

Bernstein (1975) suggests that schools in Britain in the 1970s were moving toward more open forms of social integration at both the instrumental and expressive dimensions.

Bernstein (1975) argues that, at the instrumental level, the shift from closed to open schools involved a number of interrelated trends. Bernstein suggests the shift involves an increase in the complexity of the division of labour among the staff and relations between teachers becoming more cooperative and less isolated. Moreover, the organisation of pupils in open schools is ordered in accordance with achieved (individual qualities) rather than fixed attributes (sex, age or IQ). Teaching groups in open schools are more likely to vary in size and composition and pedagogy is likely to emphasise ways of knowing rather than contents or states of knowing. Finally, curriculum subject boundaries are likely to be blurred with the progression of knowledge from a deep to a surface structure of knowledge. Bernstein characterises the open instructional modality as "Education in breadth" (p. 74), based on a moral order that celebrates, "the idea of mixture or diversity of categories" (p. 73). Many of

these shifts can be accurately described in terms of classification and framing as introduced in the section above.

In regards to the shift from closed to open expressive orders in schools, Bernstein (1975) relates the notions of closed and open to Durkheim's notion of mechanical and organic solidarity. Speaking of English secondary schools in the late 1960s and 70s, Bernstein argues:

...there is a movement away from the transmission of common values through a ritual order based upon position or status, to more personalised forms of control where teachers and students confront each other as individuals. The form of social control appeals less to shared values, group loyalties and involvements; they are based rather on recognition of the differences between individuals. (p. 69)

The expressive order of what Bernstein terms 'closed' schools finds concrete expression in ritual and the roles and positions it creates (ritualised orientation), potentially generating a strong sense of group identity based on explicit shared values and practices. This reflects the nature of the collective conscience of Durkheim's mechanical solidarity in which social cohesion is derived from a pervasive set of shared beliefs and practices. In contrast, the expressive order of an 'open' school is based on a shared recognition of the differences between individuals. There is an "indeterminacy of its belief and moral order (except at the level of very general values) ..." (p. 75). These values, as in the case of the collective conscience related to organic solidarity, are abstract and celebratory of the individual.

3.2.2.4 Bernstein and Ritual

In characterising the different structuring of the expressive orders operating in schools, Bernstein (1975) develops a theory of school ritual. Bernstein understands ritual as an important transmitter of the expressive order. In an essay titled "Ritual in education" (1975), Bernstein begins with a definition of ritual and its symbolic function:

Ritual in humans generally refers to a relatively rigid pattern of acts, specific to a situation, which construct a framework of meaning over and beyond the specific situational meaning. Here the symbolic function of ritual is to relate the individual through ritualistic acts to a social order, to heighten respect for that order, to revivify that order within the individual and in particular to deepen acceptance procedures which are used to maintain continuity and boundary and which control ambivalence towards the social order. (p. 54)

Bernstein goes on to develop a taxonomy of ritual beginning with a distinction between consensual and differentiating ritual. Consensual rituals function "...to bind together all

members of the school...as a moral community” (Bernstein, 1975, p. 55). These include ceremonies such as assemblies as well as objects such as signs and plaques. Bernstein argues that consensual rituals relate the school’s values to those held by particular groups in non-school society as well as contributing to explicitly bounding the school from other social entities such as the home or the local community. Differentiating rituals serve to “mark off groups within the school from each other” (p. 56). Differentiating rituals include prefect systems and house rituals. Bernstein suggests that these two main types of ritual facilitate the “internalising and revivifying of social order” (p. 56).

Bernstein (1975) proposes that the expressive order of school could be transmitted via two types of relaying orientations: ritualised and therapeutic relays. A ritualised relaying orientation is one in which the values of the expressive order, “are translated through ritual into elements of its social structure” (p. 62). In contrast, in a therapeutic orientation, “values tend to be psychologised and issue in the form of interpersonal relations” (p. 62). These relaying orientations are in turn linked with differing forms of control. In a ritualised relaying orientation, a major source of control “is the internalising of the social structure and the arousal and organisation of sentiments evoked through ritual, signs, liniments, heraldic imagery and totems” (Bernstein, 1975, p. 62). Thus, the basis of control through ritual is “extra verbal or indirect, impersonal and non-rational” (p. 62), and often relies on explicit hierarchical positions marked out and legitimised via ritual and dependent on status embedded within an explicit social structure. Bernstein (1971) refers to this modality of control as positional. In contrast, the therapeutic relaying orientation is characterised by a:

...communication system where the meanings are verbally elaborated and less predictable and therefore more individualised... verbally explicit and rational...The social structure is thus unlikely to be experienced as a unity and social control will come to rest upon inter-personal means...and to work through the verbal manipulation of motives and dispositions in an inter-personal context. (Bernstein, 1975, p. 62)

Bernstein (1971) refers to this modality of control as personal. These concepts, ‘ritualised’ and ‘therapeutic’ orientations, linked to differing modalities of control, are not to be understood as fixed binaries, but rather as poles opening up a continuum of possibilities for describing the mode of transmission of the expressive order in schools. Table 3.3 below summarises the characteristics of closed and open expressive orders in schools that includes the ideas Bernstein develops regarding ritual.

Table 3.3 Bernstein's Closed and Open Expressive Orders³⁴

	Closed expressive order	Open expressive order
Integrating principle	Mechanical solidarity	Organic solidarity
Boundary maintenance	Strong	Weak
Communicative modality	Positional	Personal
Ritualization	Strong	Weak
Hierarchy	Explicit (based on positional status)	Implicit (based on personal achievement/qualities)
Attachment to social structure	Strong	Weak
Links with outside groups	Strong (explicit)	Weak (implicit)

While Bernstein primarily seeks to draw connections between the forms of integration and control operating at the macro level of society (class and intra-class) and the forms of control operating in British schools, this thesis uses the same theoretical concepts to understand the relations between the forms of moral order operating in religious schools and the characteristics of the religions to which the schools are affiliated. In this thesis I specifically look at the way and degree to which the affiliated religion is ritualised in the schools: that is the extent to which religious ritual is recruited as a means of relaying the school's expressive order.

In this thesis, I interpret the extent of the ritualization of the schools affiliated religion in the expressive order as indicative of the degree to which the relation between the school's expressive order and the affiliated religious community is visibly constituted. This is then related to the form of integration and modality of control operating at each school in respect of the expressive order (it is recognised that the instrumental order may present a different modality). Moreover, the analysis considers certain types of ritual as directly constituting the student as a member of the affiliated religious community.

³⁴ Adapted from Bernstein, 1975, p. 53.

3.2.2.5 Bernstein and Pedagogic Discourse as a Recontextualisation

In this thesis, I draw particularly on Bernstein's (2000) theory of recontextualisation and the manner in which pedagogic discourse (understood at the level of curriculum) is constructed and conceptualised. Bernstein views pedagogic discourse (curriculum, textbooks) as essentially a recontextualised discourse: knowledge from the field of production is transformed in pedagogic discourse. Bernstein argues that the 'order' inherent in a pedagogic discourse cannot be accounted for by the 'order' in the discourse/discourses that have been recontextualised: a fundamental transformation takes place in the construction of pedagogic discourse. According to Bernstein, "the transformation takes place because every time a discourse moves from one position to another, there is a space in which ideology can play. No discourse ever moves without ideology at play" (p. 32). This ideology is intrinsic to the recontextualising rule, which "selectively, appropriates, relocates, refocuses and relates other discourses to constitute its own order. In this sense, pedagogic discourse can never be identified with any of the discourses it has recontextualised" (p. 32). The recontextualising rule thus regulates both the content of pedagogic discourse (what is selected, how it is related to other subjects, and how it is sequenced and paced), as well as the theory of instruction that contains a theory of the model learner, the teacher, and the relation between them.

Therefore, Bernstein (2000) conceptualises pedagogic discourse as a single discourse arising out of the embedding of two discourses: an instructional discourse embedded in a regulative discourse. Regulative discourse, according to Bernstein, is a discourse of social order related to the moral order of society (or particular groups in society). Instructional discourse is a discourse of specialised skills and their relation to each other. Bernstein understands pedagogic discourse as a recontextualising principle, whereby a particular ideology related to social order (a regulative discourse) provides the essential ordering principles related to a discourse about specialised skills and their relations. Thus, Bernstein highlights the fundamental order in pedagogic discourse as essentially a "social" principle carrying in it a bias toward particular forms of social order.

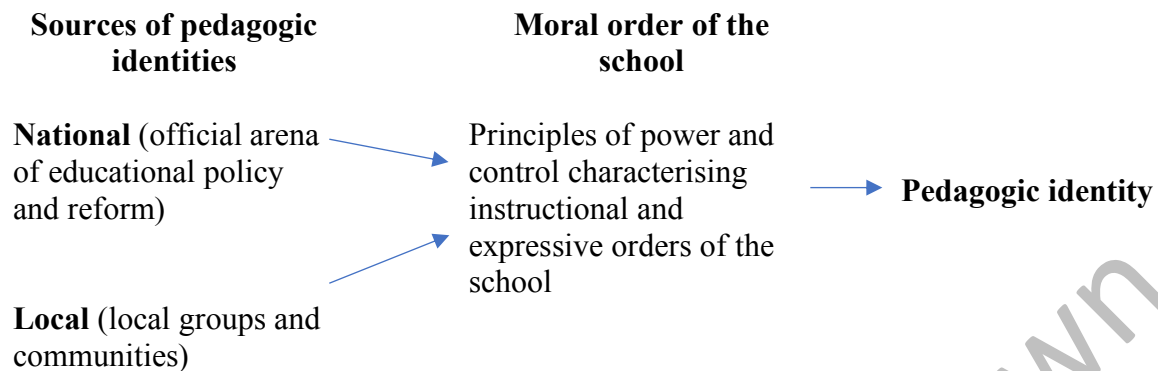
In this thesis, I also recognise a 'secondary' recontextualisation that is potentially at work in religious schools. That is, religious schools may, to varying extents, recontextualise a given non-religious curriculum (such as a national curriculum) via the principles of a religious ideology. This may involve a re-ordering of the 'what' and the 'how' of the non-religious

curriculum to varying degrees. These ideas are predominantly taken up in Chapter 7, which explores the extent to which the religious ideology of the affiliated religion is understood to provide the moral order constituting the regulative discourse of the SSC.

3.2.2.6 Bernstein and Pedagogic Identities

Bernstein (2000) proposes two sources of pedagogic identity: national and local. National sources of pedagogic identities emerge from the official arena of educational policy making and reform. In contrast, local identity sources are located outside of the official arena and embody the principles of social order of local groups. In both cases the external grouping with its inherent bias project different identities. Each of these identities has a “particular moral disposition, motivation and aspiration, embedded in particular performances and practices” (p. 65). Bernstein suggests that variations in pedagogic identities is directly related to variations in the classification and framing strengths characterising the instructional and expressive orders of schools. He argues that “variations in the distribution of power (classifications) and variations in the principles of control (framings) impose or enable variations in the formation of identities and their change, through differential specialisation of communication and of its social base” (p. 204). This thesis recognises that the projected pedagogic identity/ies of a school institution may have a multiplicity of sources representing a combination of national and local sources. More specifically, in relation to this thesis, schools with a religious affiliation that incorporate a national curriculum are understood to project, in some form, an identity originating in the official educational arena: a national modality. Moreover, the affiliated religion is related to the unofficial educational arena projecting a local identity modality. Bernstein’s (2000) theory of pedagogic identities is set out in Figure 3.1 below.

Figure 3.1 The Projection of Pedagogic Identities



Bernstein (2000) outlines various pedagogic modalities using three categories distinguished by the temporal orientation of the resources utilised to construct the identity. The first category is called retrospective identities as they recruit resources from their past in the construction of the identity. Bernstein argues that, “these identities use as resources narratives of the past which provide exemplars, criteria, belonging and coherence” (p. 75).

Retrospective identities are further distinguished into fundamentalist and elitist modes. The fundamentalist mode draws on past narratives that are either religious or nationalist (or both) and provide a “unambiguous, stable, intellectually impervious, collective identity” (p. 75).

Fundamentalist identities are maintained by strong “super-ego formations and communalised selves” (p. 76). Moreover, Bernstein argues that this identity modality often allows for “a strong insulation between the sacred and the profane, such that it is possible to enter the profane world without either being appropriated or colonised by it” (p. 75). As an example of this modality, Bernstein points to Orthodox Jewish communities in the 1920s who remained culturally insulated while successfully participating in the broader economy via small businesses. Moreover, Bernstein suggests that certain fundamentalist Islamic groups are able to appropriate western technology while remaining insulated from western culture. While the elitist identity also draws on a narrative of the past, this narrative “provides exemplars, canons, criteria and develops aesthetic sensitivities” (p. 75) related to ‘high culture’.

According to Bernstein, this identity requires a long apprenticeship into the “aesthetic mode” (p. 76), and is maintained by narcissistic formations of the self rather the intense collective solidarity that underlies fundamentalist identities.

Bernstein (2000) uses the term ‘de-centred’ to describe the second category of pedagogic identity. De-centred identities reject the past as a legitimate source for identity construction and the self is projected into a socially-abstracted, individualised present. Bernstein writes that, “the narrative resources of de-centred identities announce distance from a collective” (p. 76). Rather, the social base for de-centred identities are “individualised constructions” (p. 76). Bernstein distinguishes two modalities of de-centred identities: market (instrumental) and therapeutic. Market de-centred identities recruit external market resources. Bernstein suggests that this identity “arises out of a projection on to consumables” (p. 73). This identity is competitive, as the abstracted self competes with others for consumables in the market. Bernstein argues that in this modality, “personal commitments, inner dedications... are regarded as equivalent to monopolies in the market, and like such monopolies should be dissolved” (p. 69).³⁵ The therapeutic de-centred identity, rather than looking to resources derived from the external market, recruits internal resources. Bernstein argues that in the therapeutic modality, “the concept of self is crucial and the self is regarded as a personal project... The identity takes the form of an open narrative which constructs a personal time” (p. 73). According to Bernstein, this modality rejects the past as a necessary guide to the present and the future, and it rests upon “internal sense-making procedures” (p. 74).

Finally, Bernstein (2000) introduces what he terms ‘prospective’ identities, which he suggests are future-oriented toward particular narratives of becoming. These narratives are not about the becoming of a new individual, but of a new “social category, e.g. race, gender or region” (p. 76). Therefore, prospective identities seek to create “a new basis for social relations” (p. 76). In the same manner as retrospective identities, prospective identities “consume the self, manifestations involve the whole self in the new becoming” (p. 76). Bernstein suggests that prospective identities are often launched by social movements which sometimes recontextualise retrospective identities in the projection of a new prospective identity. Bernstein suggests that examples of this include certain Islamic movements in the United States of America which recruited the narrative resources of a retrospective Islamic identity in the creation of a new basis for a prospective black identity. Table 3.4 below summarises Bernstein’s taxonomy of pedagogic identities.

³⁵ It is this modality of identity that Grace (2002) suggests presents a threat to the mission and values of contemporary Catholic schools.

Table 3.4 Modalities of Pedagogic Identity³⁶

Identity Type	Retrospective		De-centred		Prospective			
Resource orientation	Past		Present		Future			
Relation to collective	Strong		Weak	Weak		Strong		
Mode	Fundamentalist		Elitist	Market	Therapeutic	Gender	Race	Region
	Religious	Nationalist						

In this thesis, I am interested in mapping the particular “moral disposition, motivation and aspiration” (Bernstein, 2000, p. 65) characteristics of the projected student identity of the schools in the sample. It is understood that each school ‘projects’, in relation to students, a particular ideal student identity that contains within it privileged moral dispositions, motivations, aspirations and ways of acting. These identities are understood to relate to certain national and or local sources whose ideological bias gives rise to the particular distributions of power and control (classification and framing) operating within the school in the structure of both the instructional and expressive order. Identity is explored in Chapter 8, where I focus on describing the privileged pedagogic identity at each school.

3.3 Conclusion

This chapter has provided a broad overview of the key theoretical antecedents of the study. The theory laid out in this chapter shaped the theoretical assumptions on which the study is based. The theory provided the initial direction for the research, informing the shape of the research problem, as well as the manner in which I attempt to address it. However, this chapter has predominantly presented the theoretical concepts at a high level of generality without detailing how these concepts have been specifically understood and put to use in the generation and analysis of the data. The chapter that follows attempts to make explicit how the theory interacts with the data in my analysis of the religious schools in the sample.

³⁶ Adapted from Bernstein, 2000, p. 74

Chapter 4: Research Methodology

4.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter the theoretical antecedents of the study were outlined. This chapter presents the research methodology and design and provides motivation for the particular approach taken in this thesis. Furthermore, this chapter makes explicit the way in which the data was generated and then interpreted.

The first section of this chapter presents the study's sample. This section discusses the choice of a 'multiple case study' as a research strategy and makes explicit the criteria that guided the selection of the schools comprising the sample. Moreover, brief introductory descriptions of each of the schools are provided. The second part of the chapter deals with issues related to the production of the data. This section discusses the data sources and collection procedures, giving a rationale for the selection of the various sources used in the study. These sources included: student and staff interviews, assembly observations and policy documentation.

The third section of this chapter presents the analytical methods used to 'read' the data. This involves the development of what Bernstein (2000) terms an "external language of description" (p. 132). According to Bernstein, an external language of description is positioned between the theory and the data, providing the rules regarding what counts as data as well as the rules needed for a principled reading or interpretation of the data. By making this external language of description explicit, the analysis is rendered replicable. This presents a crucial aspect regarding the validity of the study, as will be discussed in the final section of this chapter.

4.2 The Study Sample

4.2.1 An Exploratory Multiple Case Study

The interest of this research is in describing and comparing the ways in which religious schools recruit the affiliated religion in the instructional and expressive orders and how this relates to the constitution of the imagined ideal learner and the affiliated religion more

generally. Chapter 2 showed that qualitative, comparative studies of religious schools affiliated to different religions has not been undertaken in the South African or international context. As a result, this study is, in many ways, without empirical antecedents and thus has been an exploratory journey which is reflected in its design choices.

Reflecting this exploratory character, the research sample is small in scale, comprising four schools. This allows for in-depth analysis. Secondly, the design included the use of multiple sources of data including semi-structured interviews, observations, and school policy documents. The project can be best described as an exploratory, multiple case study. This description fits well with Cresswell's (1998) definition of a case study described as "an exploration of a bounded case (cases) over time through detailed data collection" (p. 61). This choice of study design was particularly well suited to the circumstances of this project which could not use the findings of other studies as a platform for comparison, testing, reflection or critique. However, the comparative multiple case study design allowed for "the distinguishing characteristics of two or more cases to act as a springboard for theoretical reflections about contrasting findings" (Bryman, 2001, p. 53). Moreover, the theoretical tools provided by Bernstein (introduced in the previous chapter) were particularly helpful in that they operate at a level of abstraction that allows for the clear formulation of structural differences between contexts.

4.2.2 The Four Cases Comprising the Sample

4.2.2.1 Basis of the Selection of the Schools

The four schools in the sample each represent a single case. The schools were selected in accordance with the following criteria. Firstly, the schools all officially recognise a particular religious affiliation. While the nature of this affiliation at each school differs (which will be elaborated in the descriptions of the schools that follow), each of the schools reference a religious affiliation in official policy documentation. Moreover, at all the schools, religious leaders from the affiliated religious community occupy key leadership positions at the schools, such as school board membership or departmental leadership.

Secondly, the schools were chosen to present a range of the different religious faiths that are most prominent in the religious schooling sector in South Africa. The data on religious schools in South Africa (presented in Chapter 1) show that Christian, Jewish and Muslim schools make up the majority of the sector. The choice to include two Christian schools was motivated by an interest in how schools within the same broad religious faith grouping may differ in relation to the research interests of the project. The choice of a Catholic and a Protestant school was a logical choice given that these two streams of Christianity present a widely recognised historical division within Christianity dating back to the Protestant Reformation which began in the 1500s.

Thirdly, the schools were selected in order to minimise, as far as possible, class differences across the cases. Therefore, the cases are all schools subscribed to by predominantly middle to upper-middle-class families. Moreover, the teaching staff at the schools are exclusively from middle-class backgrounds. The attempt to hold social class stable across the cases was motivated by the concern to minimise the action of class as an explanatory factor in relation to the potential differences that emerge between the cases in the study. This relates to the study's interest in exploring differences between the cases that can be related to differences in the nature of the affiliated religions of the schools rather than an interest in differences generated by social class.

4.2.2.2 Introduction to the Cases

The following brief introductory sketches of the four schools are limited by the constraints of anonymity which formed part of the initial access agreement reached with each of the schools. Permission to conduct research in the schools began by sending a letter of introduction to the heads of the selected schools which outlined the nature of the study and requested a face-to-face meeting to discuss the research project. Access was granted, but with the agreement that, at far as possible, the research would respect the anonymity of both the school and the interview participants. The following descriptions apply to the year 2015.

Protestant School: The Protestant school was founded by a charismatic, independent church in the mid-1980s. It began in the head pastor's house with just a handful of students. The school initially utilised the Accelerated Christian Education (ACE) syllabus. In the early 90s,

the school built its own prefabricated premises on a spacious property in a middle-class suburb (this is its current location). At the same time, it transitioned to adopt the standard National Curriculum. In the early 2000s, the school became affiliated with an international group of Christian schools that promotes a unique curriculum and pedagogic approach that is considered to be based on a Christian philosophy of education.

The school consists of a series of single story prefabricated rooms arranged in a horseshoe shape creating a central quadrangle area that is grassed and serves as a play area for the students. The school has a large hall that is also used by the affiliated church for its Sunday services. The facilities are modest (in comparison to the other schools in the sample) and do not include specialised spaces such science laboratories or sporting facilities. However, the school grounds are well kept and picturesque and the educational basics such as texts, school desks, chairs and whiteboards are present in neatly presented classrooms.

The school's exterior and interior are noticeably 'generic' and there is little about the school's appearance that marks its religious affiliation. The only clue that the space houses something to do with religion is the fairly prominent writing on the side of the hall stating that, '... Church meets here'. Although the hall is utilised for church services, it is viewed as a utility space used very broadly from school plays to indoor sports to the occasional wedding or funeral.

Inside the school there are very few external signs of the school's religious affiliation. The public spaces and various passageways display some of the children's art, but with no particular religious themes. The notice boards also lack any clear indication of the school's religious leaning. The observant newcomer might notice, when entering the staffroom, that the wall to wall bookshelf is full of Christian books on a variety of educational and theological themes, but beyond that the school is externally remarkably free of anything that would obviously signal its religious, or more particularly Christian, affiliation.

The number of students in the school is 49 and classes are officially capped at 15 students, but many have far less than this. There are eight teaching staff members involved with the school. The majority of students come from White, middle to upper middle-class families with only around 13% of students from working-class families. Around 15% of the student

population are non-White. The majority of the non-White students are from working-class families and are on bursaries. Approximately 40% of the students in the school are not Christian. This represents the largest percentage of non-Christian students in the school's history which, in its early days, exclusively admitted students from Christian homes (the majority of which attended the affiliated local church). The reason for this new openness is predominantly financial as the school needs to fill classes in order to remain economically viable. The annual school fees for grade 11 students are R50000.

The school's official policy states that the school is affiliated with the local church from which the school was established. This affiliation is institutionally secured and manifested in policy stipulation that one board member (of a total of five members) must be a pastor from the affiliated church community. The school's Christian affiliation also includes membership of a Christian educational organisation with a network of affiliated schools in various parts of the world. Official policy documents describe the religious alignment of the school as non-denominational and broadly Christian.

The affiliated charismatic, Protestant religion of the Protestant school rejects other faiths as legitimate forms of spirituality. Moreover, it strongly emphasises that conversion (and true spirituality) is grounded in a socially abstracted relation between God and an individual initiated by a salvation encounter in which the individual 'accepts' Christ by faith. This emphasis on a socially abstracted salvation encounter is interpreted as indicative of a strong dislocation of the inner and the outer, which Bernstein (2000) argues is characteristic of Christianity and, this thesis suggests, is accentuated in charismatic Protestantism.

Catholic School: The Catholic school in the sample was established in the 19th century by Capra Dominican nuns and is located on a large property in a wealthy suburb. This all-girls Catholic school was exclusively subscribed to by White students until the 1970s. However, in the mid-70s, the school was an active participant in the 'open schools' movement which defied the apartheid government by admitting non-White students. Historically, many of the teaching staff were nuns, but their numbers have dwindled such that at the time of this research, there were no nuns on the teaching staff.

The Catholic school is built on spacious grounds with magnificently kept, sprawling gardens. A pre-school, junior school and senior campus are all housed on the same property, but are spaced apart from each other in separate blocks. The property is also host to a Dominican convent and a Catholic retreat centre. The school has all the facilities expected of an elite private school: a well-stocked library, computer labs, art and music centre. Furthermore, the campus includes a wide range of sporting facilities. The main building in the school is a large square shaped structure with a central courtyard with offices and classrooms leading into this central area. The brick buildings on the campus are mostly double story and feature arches and pillars as a central aspect of their design. The effect produced is one of great beauty and opulence with an old-world feel.

The school's Catholic affiliation is obviously marked by its external and internal spaces. The school entrance has an elegant black metal gate with crosses forming part of the gate's design. As one enters the premises, a magnificent Catholic chapel is the first building one passes. Moreover, the campus is liberally emblazoned by religious symbolism. Entrances to building are marked by names of Catholic saints such as Thomas Aquinas. Crosses are commonly incorporated into the architecture and statues of various saints are commonplace around the buildings and in the gardens. Inside the school buildings, the external signs of the school's religious affiliation remain obvious. Communal spaces include Christian artwork, crucifixes, statues and carvings of Mary and other saints.

The number of students in the school is 430, with 84 matric students in 2015. The average class size is about 26 students and there are 42 (six of these are part-time) teaching staff members. Sixty percent of students come from White, upper middle-class families (approximately 40% of the student base is non-White). Six percent of students at the school are from working-class families and are on full bursaries. Approximately 55% of the students are not Catholic. However, the vast majority of these non-Catholic students would profess to be non-Catholic Christians. An estimated 5% of the students are Muslim, 1% Hindu and a further 1% would regard themselves as non-religious. The annual school fees for a grade 11 student are R66000.

The school identifies itself as a Dominican school in its vision statement and includes the involvement of three sisters on the school's 12-member board. Local priests preside over the

two-three termly mass services in the school chapel. Moreover, the school celebrates some of the Catholic feast days. The school is also officially affiliated to the Catholic Institute of Education (CIE), which provides support and monitoring in relation to its Catholic character. The school also uses the RE programme material put together by the CIE.

The liberal Catholic religion affiliated to the Catholic school presents an open orientation to other religions and a strong emphasis on social justice. Salvation is framed as often initiated by an initial baptism into the Catholic church (often the individual is baptised as a baby). This baptism is then later ‘confirmed’ when the individual is judged to be at an age that they can choose to accept the teachings of the Catholic church for themselves. Salvation is, therefore, initiated by a ritual related to the social ‘outer,’ but ultimately confirmed or rejected by the individual. Thus, while still privileging a ‘sacred inner,’ the Catholicism associated with the Catholic school reaches toward the ‘outer’ via the incorporation of rituals such as infant baptism and its emphasis on the spiritual value of ‘good works’ in relation to society. Therefore, while still presenting a dislocation between the inner and outer (associated with the privileging of individual spirituality) this dislocation is not as extreme as the dislocation constituted by charismatic Protestantism.

Jewish School: The Jewish school was established over 60 years ago. From its establishment, the school flourished as the demand for Jewish day schooling increased in the aftermath of the Second World War and as a response to the rise of the apartheid state.³⁷ Historically, the school exclusively served the White Jewish community and offered, what could be considered, an elite education to a Jewish community that generally benefited economically from the inequalities maintained by the apartheid regime.

The Jewish school is located amongst prime, dense, residential property in an upmarket city suburb. The campus entrance has a large automatic security gate with a security booth to the side. The campus consists of a number of impressive buildings. The largest (housing classrooms, offices, a shul and the school hall), is a multi-level square brick building with a paved internal square. The campus is compact, well-maintained and has all the trappings of a world-class private school, including top sporting facilities (such as an astro-turf hockey

³⁷ See the discussion in Chapter 1.

field), dedicated media centre, modest (but excellently maintained) gardens and a very well-stocked library.

Once inside the school buildings, the visible signs of the schools' Jewish character are extensive. Many of the school's spaces contain names and plaques signalling the Jewish sponsorship of the school. Inside the school's reception area, stairways and hallways, Jewish community life, religion and culture are prominently displayed. Posters advertising various Jewish and Zionist causes (such as organised tours of Israel and Jewish youth movements) are common. The halls and stairways are adorned with beautifully-framed photograph displays dating back to the school's inception. These pictures, of various aspects of school life (plays, ceremonies, building construction, sporting events, class photos), include titles and dates. Many of the stairways also contain large untitled photo collages of student life both past and present. Toilet doors often include both the Hebrew and English words designating gender. The internal spaces create a sense of a defined Jewish community with continuity in time and space. However, the school's particular religious affiliation (as opposed to a cultural Jewish, Zionist character) is not very obvious.

The number of students in the school is 320, with an average class size of 25 students. There are 40 teaching staff members. All the students come from White, middle and upper middle-class families. Over 93% of the students at the school consider themselves to be Jewish, although the notion of what constitutes Jewishness is a point of dispute in the community. Around 73% of students are from traditional Orthodox Jewish families, while 11% are from Reformed Jewish families and 5% from strict Orthodox families. The school has a particularly well-run special-needs programme and the majority of the non-Jewish students are enrolled at the school because of this service. The annual school fees for grade 11 students in 2015 were R84000 (if paid in monthly instalments).

The school describes itself in policy documents as ideologically aligned to Orthodox Judaism but in a non-extremist traditional manner. The school's affiliation to traditional Orthodox Judaism is documented in school policy and includes observance of various festivals, fast days and holy days. Moreover, the school implements a strict Kashrut policy and prayer services use a traditional liturgy, separate the male and female students, and require the wearing of Kippot and Tefillin. On Shabbat and Chagim all non-religious activities under the

auspices of the school are suspended. The school's Orthodox Jewish affiliation does not include representation at general management level, but is institutionally manifested in the Jewish Life and Learning (JLL) department which coordinates the Judaic education features of the school. The head of this department is an Orthodox rabbi and two out of the three members of the department are Orthodox rabbis.

The Orthodox Judaism associated with the Jewish school does not privilege an individual choice constituting a 'conversion' moment or process into the religion. Rather, according to Orthodox Judaism, Jewishness is something externally 'given' in relation to the Jewishness of one's maternal line. Unlike the Catholic religion, this external attainment of Jewishness is not presented as needing to be individually accepted or rejected in adulthood via an officially marked process such as confirmation. This strong relation to an external social order in the constitution of Jewish identity is interpreted as indicative that Orthodox Judaism (to which the Jewish school is affiliated) does not dislocate the inner from the outer.

Muslim School: The Muslim school was established in the 1980s in response (among other factors) to the unstable conditions in the Coloured government schools at the time.³⁸ The school's establishment was privately funded, predominantly by a group of Indian Muslim business professionals; they subscribe to a conservative form of Islamic thought known as Deobandi, which originated from the university of Deoband in India in the late 1900s.

The school is located in what was, under apartheid, a Coloured designated suburb. The suburb is difficult to categorise in relation to class as it spans a range of families from poor working-class through to middle and upper-class professional and managerial workers. The suburb remains predominantly occupied by Coloured families with a mix of Christians (predominantly Afrikaans speakers) and Muslims (predominantly English speakers). Many of the Muslims in this area have Malay ancestry. There is also a substantial Indian Muslim community.³⁹

³⁸ See Chapter 1 for more context regarding the increase in independent Muslim schools in the 1980s and 90s.

³⁹ This information about the suburb and its inhabitants was taken from the principal's description of the surrounding community. The social class range was confirmed by the range of different housing evident as I drove through the area to get to the school.

The Muslim school is situated beside a busy main road. The expansive property is fenced-off from the road, but very visible to all passers-by as there are not many trees on the property to obscure the view of the buildings. The school campus hosts a number of different buildings. The buildings are mostly three-storied squares with central courtyards, housing separate campuses. The property includes a senior boys' campus, a senior girls' campus, a junior school, a pre-school and an academic and conferencing centre, as well as a separate Hifth academy (an academy for boys in which the memorising of the Qur'an is the primary goal of the curriculum). The school's sporting facilities are limited, but include a multi-purpose astro-turf court used for tennis, netball and a few other sports. Three sports fields line the back of the property. The fields were not in pristine condition and had sandy un-grassed patches. The school does not contain any gardens. Overall, the campus is a mix of some impressive-looking facilities combined with aspects that would not match the elite nature of the Jewish and Catholic schools in this study.

A large mosque is the most notable building on the premises, looming large as one enters through the security gate. The front walls of the mosque are patterned with beautiful Arabic designs. The buildings are predominately constructed out of cream coloured bricks and have a modern, but definite Arabian, character that includes the use of round windows, pillars and a liberal occurrence of palm trees to decorate the otherwise quite stark property. The effect is that the architecture and design of the campus immediately marks the school's Islamic affiliation.

The number of students in the boys' senior school⁴⁰ is over 200, with an average class size of 28 students. There are 25 staff members, all of whom can be classified as middle-class and non-White. Around 80% of the students are from middle to upper-middle-class families. The remaining 20% are from working-class families, including a handful of Black students from the surrounding townships who are on full scholarships. Thus, of all the schools in the sample, the Muslim school is the least homogenous in terms of class. However, this particular school is regarded as one of the more elite Muslim schools in the country. At the time of the research, all staff and students were Muslim. The annual school fees for grade 11 students in 2015 were R16000 (if paid in monthly instalments).

⁴⁰ The Muslim school contained separate high schools for male and female students with very limited interaction between them. This study only used interview data pertaining to the senior boys' school on the campus.

The school's religious affiliation is presented in policy as a general commitment to provide an education compatible with the principles and practices of Islam. The school includes compulsory twice-daily prayers (held in the mosque) in its timetable and celebrates the holy days of the Islamic religious calendar. At a management level, the affiliation is particularly robust: the board of trustees includes 4 religious leaders from the local Muslim community. The affiliation is also manifested spatially in terms of the inclusion of a large community mosque on the school's premises which is utilised by both the school and Muslims from the community, often simultaneously. Furthermore, the coordinators and teachers of the RE component are predominantly imams from the local community and, the school is a member of the Association of Muslim schools in South Africa (AMS).

The conservative Islamic religion affiliated to the Muslim school privileged the notion of Islamic identity in relation to the paternal line. Thus, like Orthodox Judaism, an individual can be born a Muslim without reference to any notion of individual choice or sentiment such as faith. As in the Jewish case, this externally-given notion of identity attainment is understood as an indication that the conservative Islam of the Muslim school does not dislocate the inner from the outer, but constitutes the individual as embedded in an 'external sacred.'

Table 4.1 below summarises the main features of the four schools.

Table 4.1 Characteristics of the Four Schools in 2015⁴¹

School	Type	Number of students	Number of teaching staff	Average class size	School fees per annum ⁴²	% working-class students	% of students that do not subscribe to the affiliated religion
Protestant	Co-ed	49	8	10	R50000	13	40 ⁴³
Catholic	All-girls	430	42	25	R66000	6	55 ⁴⁴
Jewish	Co-ed	320	40	25	R84000	1	25 ⁴⁵
Muslim	All-boys	200	20-30	28	R16000	20	0 ⁴⁶

⁴¹ The information in this table was provided by authoritative representatives of the schools (such as the principal or the director). Some of the information represents estimates rather than exact figures.

⁴² If paid in monthly instalments.

⁴³ This is the percentage that (according to the principal) would not consider themselves to be Protestant Christian.

⁴⁴ This is the percentage that (according to the principal) would not consider themselves to be Catholic.

⁴⁵ This is the percentage that would not (according to the director) consider themselves aligned to Orthodox Judaism.

⁴⁶ This is the percentage who would not (according to the principal) consider themselves to be Muslim.

While the other three schools are large organisations with significant student numbers and fairly large classes with multiple classes per grade, the Protestant school presents a much smaller institutional scale. This is, in part, based on a choice by the managing committee of the school, as its small size is viewed as a critical aspect of maintaining the more informal, close-knit family atmosphere that allows for close personal relationships between staff and students. The school officially caps class sizes at 15 students.⁴⁷ Therefore, while the size of the Protestant school may contribute significantly to some of the differences that emerge between the schools, this is an intentional choice that is related to the school's religious affiliation.

In respect of social class, the Muslim school presents some difference with both a higher ratio of working-class students than the other schools in the sample and with lower fees. However, it was not possible to find Jewish and Muslim independent schools with closer class profiles. Jewish independent schools in South Africa all have very high percentages of middle to upper middle-class students reflecting the general class status of South African Jews. Muslim schools in South Africa, while having substantial variance in terms of social class, do not currently include schools as middle-class dominated as Jewish schools. The school in the sample was chosen as it presents an example of one of the more class "elite" Muslim schools in South Africa. Thus, class differences across the sample were kept to a minimum within the constraints of the class profile of Jewish and Muslim schools currently in South Africa.

4.3 The Production of the Data

The study utilised multiple sources of data including interviews, direct observation and school documentation. The data were collected over a period of 21 months from June 2013 to February 2015. The interview schedules were piloted in May 2013 at the Protestant school in order to test if they would provide the information they were constructed to elicit. This resulted in minor rewordings of a few of the questions in the schedules. A selection of staff and students was interviewed in order to gain a plurality of perspectives on the school's

⁴⁷ However, this is also linked to an ongoing struggle at the school to fill the senior classes. The junior school classes are generally well subscribed, but many parents remove their children from the school after grade 7. This is often based on a lack of confidence in the school's ability to achieve good academic results in the matric examinations as it has very little track record in this regard, with the first matric class graduating from the school in 2013.

religious ethos, curriculum, culture and imagined ideal student. This allowed for triangulation in which themes emerging from multiple perspectives within the school could be formulated in the analysis bolstering validity claims. Persons interviewed at each school included the principal, a standard subject teacher, a religious leader associated with the school and three grade 11 students. Furthermore, another source of data was the direct observation of two assemblies in which detailed notes focused on the extent and manner in which the affiliated religion was recruited in these communal events. Finally, data were also collected in the form of official school documentation. The documents were collected either directly from the schools or from the schools' websites. These included policy documents such as mission statement, admission policy, and ideological policy. Table 4.2 below summarises the sources and strategies of the project's data collection approach.

Table 4.2 Data Sources Summary

Data collection strategy	Research participants	Instrument	Information sought	Data recording
Semi-structured interviews	Principals, Teachers, Students Religious leaders	Interview schedule	Structure of RE and the SSC curriculum. The expressive culture of the school. Descriptions of the ideal student. Nature of the affiliated religion.	Audio-recording
Direct observation: assembly and school facilities	Students and teachers	Observation schedule	The way in which the affiliated religion was recruited.	Field-notes Photographs
Document collection	None	Protocol listing documents to ensure consistence across institutions	How the ideal student is imagined in policy. General information about the school's religious affiliation.	N/A
Follow up questions	Staff members	Informal email	General descriptive information about the school not provided in the interviews.	Email from participants

4.3.1 Semi-structured Interviews

The most important source of data in this project originated from the semi-structured interviews. The interview meetings were organised by the principals of the respective schools, who were asked to, as far as possible, select three students who would offer a diversity of perspectives regarding their experience of the religious ethos of the school.⁴⁸ The choice of grade 11 students was both practical and strategic. It was decided that matric students might be difficult to secure for hour-long in-school interviews due to the business of the final year of school. Moreover, grade 11 students were judged to be in a good position to speak about the school, as many of them would have a number of years' experience at the school. The principal was given copies of an introduction and permission letters to distribute to teachers and students. The students who were interviewed were required to bring a signed permission letter that included signed parental consent. The interviews were an hour long on average, but varied due to the open nature of many of the questions on the schedule. The initial set of interviews required 2-4 days at each school and were usually all conducted within the same week.

At the beginning of each interview, the interviewee was reminded that they were not obliged to answer any of the questions or divulge information that would make them uncomfortable. Furthermore, at the end of the interview, interviewees were asked if there were any parts of the interview they would not like to be used.

The design of the interview schedules was guided by the primary research questions and organised in relation to the theoretical framework expounded in the previous chapter. Initially, the theory provided crucial 'orientating concepts' that guided the formation of the interview schedule (Layder, 1998). The interview schedules⁴⁹ included seven sections, each reflecting a particular 'orientating concept.' They are as follows:

1. Construction of religious instruction
2. Pedagogic approach for religious instruction

⁴⁸ More specifically, principals were asked that the three students would not all be the sort of students that would be considered for school leadership roles. However, it was not possible to control the extent to which this request was adhered to.

⁴⁹ Excluding the religious leader interview schedule, which differed in design.

3. Construction of non-religious subjects
4. Pedagogic approach for non-religious subjects
5. Collective school identity
6. The differentiating action of the school
7. Construction of the ideal student and teacher

The first two sections predominantly speak to the research interest in the RE programmes at the schools. Sections three and four were designed to produce relevant data about the affiliated religion and its relation to the non-RE aspects of the instructional order. The fifth section speaks to the nature of the expressive order of the school in respect of both ritualization and the imagined ideal student. Sections six and seven are specifically focused on producing data pertaining to the imagined ideal student.

A unique interview schedule was constructed for each of the five types of interview participants: principals, standard subject teachers, RE teachers, students and religious leaders (see Appendix B). These interview schedules (excluding the religious leader interview schedule) were all organised in relation to the above seven sections. Wherever it was deemed reasonable, the same questions were asked across all four interview schedules with some minor changes in phrasing in some cases. For example, in the first section, “construction of religious education,” the following were included in the four interviews:

Principal interview: *What does the school hope to achieve in religious instruction lessons?*

Teacher interview: (not appropriate)

RE Teacher interview: *What do you hope to achieve in religious instruction lessons?*

Student interview: *Why do you think this school has a religious instruction class?*

The questionnaires also included a mix of open and closed questions. Open questions, such as the ones above, sought to elicit in-depth perspectives and descriptions that did not place prior restrictions on the participants’ responses. The use of open questions is related to the exploratory nature of the project. Sometimes an open question was followed by a more probing closed question. For example, a question asked of all participants in the “construction of the ideal student” section required the interviewee to *Please think of the ideal (school name) student. Describe what he/she is like?* This open question was sometimes followed by a more probing, closed follow-up question such as: *What religious characteristics would the*

ideal student have? The more closed follow-up question was only used to help interviewees who struggled to speak to such a general notion and thus did not initially provide a very detailed or coherent response.

The schedules also included more structured closed questions in which participants were asked to choose among a range of given responses. These types of questions were included to aid easier coding of the data in the analysis. These questions were usually followed by an open invitation to explain their choice. The following extract (Figure 4.1) taken from the student interview schedule serves as an example.

Figure 4.1 Extract from Student Interview Schedule

1.2 How seriously would you say the school takes religious instruction:			
Far more seriously than other subjects	Slightly more seriously than other subjects	Slightly less seriously than other subjects	Far less seriously than other subjects
1.3 Explain you answer.			

Therefore, the interview schedules were designed to reflect an open exploratory approach, while still maintaining some theoretical structure aimed at providing data that would speak to the research interests of the project. All interviews were transcribed in full from the audio-recording. Additional information about the interview setting and any immediate impressions about how the interview had proceeded were recorded in field notes directly after the interview.

The religious leader interview schedule was oriented to understanding the nature of the affiliated religion, particularly the extent to which it constituted a dislocation between the inner and the outer. The interview addresses issues related to the incorporation ritual, the understanding of salvation and the interpretation of the sacred text.⁵⁰

4.3.2 Assembly and Facility Observations

Two assemblies were observed at each of the schools in the sample. These observations were mostly conducted around the same time in which the interviews were arranged. Assemblies

⁵⁰ The interview schedule can be found in Appendix B.

were chosen for observation as they are school community events that offer insight into the structure and substance of a school's expressive order. While the interviews also included questions related to assemblies, it was decided that the inclusion of direct observational data would add richness and reliability to the data available for analysis. The assembly data speaks most directly to the research interest in the nature of the ritualization of the expressive order. The choice to observe two assemblies at each school was related to being able to distinguish what could be considered to be more general characteristics of the assembly event as opposed to what may be incidental to a particular assembly. As far as possible, I positioned myself at the back of the venue such that my presence was not a focus of the proceedings.

The specific interest guiding the focus of what I recorded in my field notes was on the nature of the recruitment of the affiliated religion in the assembly. The informal observation schedule included the following three general sections: description of the venue, description of the agents and description of the subject matter. Firstly, the description of the venue included detailed notes on the physical appearance of the venue and its specific relation to the affiliated religion. Notes were made regarding the interior features of the venue particularly the displayed objects such as flags, plaques and other symbolic features. Secondly, the description of the agents referred to noting how the staff, students and other agents were arranged in the assembly space, as well as how they were dressed. Any connections between these aspects and the affiliated religion were noted. Finally, the observation also included detailed notes regarding what was said, shown or performed in the assembly, with a particular interest in how much of this 'content' was related to the affiliated religion. My general impressions immediately after the assembly were also noted.

Moreover, the facilities of each school were carefully observed in relation to how the affiliated religion was recruited in the school's architectural features, publically-displayed objects, the naming of facilities and in the dress of staff, students and other agents involved in the school. This data was recorded via extensive field notes and photographs taken during my numerous visits to the schools.

4.3.3 Documents

Official school documents were included as a data source as they provide a formal presentation of the school's 'self-representation' which added to the depth of the data

available for analysis. In many cases this documentation was available on the schools' websites. If the documents were not available online, they were requested directly from the principal. The documents utilised included a school prospectus (the mission and/or vision statement was of particular focus) and policy documents regarding the school's particular 'religious affiliation' or 'ideological alignment.' At some schools, policy regarding its religious affiliation was officially captured in a single policy document. Some schools, however, did not have an official policy document devoted to outlining their religious/ideological alignment. At these schools, policy related to this alignment was scattered amongst other policy documents, and in these cases, the various "bits" of school policy related to the school's religious affiliation was gathered.

4.3.4 Follow-up Questions

This final source of data took the form of a follow-up email sent to a staff member who had been interviewed, requesting specific contextual information or information required for accurate coding that could not be found in the interview data or on the school's website. Therefore, the specific questions asked in the email differed across the schools. The questions were predominantly related to basic school statistics, particularly regarding the social class, racial and religious breakdowns of the staff and students at the schools.⁵¹

4.4 Analysis of the Data

This section seeks to make explicit the analytical methods used to read the data collected from the various sources discussed above. The analysis consists of four sections that correspond to the four analysis chapters that follow. These sections focus on providing a comparative theoretically-informed description of each school's RE programme, standard subject curriculum (SSC), ritualization of the affiliated religion and imagined ideal student. The analysis follows a particular approach to research theorised by Basil Bernstein (e.g., 2000) involving the explicit interaction between theory and data. This analytical orientation is briefly explained in the following section.

⁵¹ Much of the information provided in Table 4.1 was gained from these informal questions.

4.4.1 The Development of an External Language of Description

The key aspect of Bernstein's (2000) analytical methodology is the construction of what he terms an "external language of description" (p.132). An external language of description is a "data near device" (Moore & Muller, 2002, p. 634) that is developed both inductively and deductively by moving iteratively between high level theory and empirical data. It "provides the basis for establishing what are to count as data and provides the principled reading" (Ensor & Hoadley, 2004, p. 92). The external language of description provides the concepts and constructs that allow the theory to interpret the data. The hallmark of this analytical approach is making the external language of description explicit such that the results of the analysis could be replicated by an external agent. In what follows, the external language of description for this research study is laid out.

4.4.2 The Analysis of the Instructional Order: The Structure of Religious Education

The data used in this section of the analysis were drawn exclusively from the interviews and more specifically from the first two interview sections. As previously explained, these two sections of the interviews contained questions specifically related to RE, as this was a central interest of the project. The first section mostly reflected questions that are regarded as speaking to issues of classification of RE, that is, the structuring of discourses, agents, spaces and time. The second section speaks to issues predominantly related to pedagogic practice associated with RE, which is broadly related to framing, particularly the control over the hierarchical rules. Thus, the structure of the instruments already reflected basic categories reflective of Bernstein's (1975; 2000) theoretical concepts of classification and framing.

However, while the orientating concepts of classification and framing were reflected in the interview design, they represented only a very general theoretical focus and more specific conceptual categories needed to be introduced in order provide the theoretical structure for a nuanced comparative analysis of the RE programmes. In other words, it needed to be made clear how the concepts of classification and framing were going to be specifically understood in relation to the schools' RE programmes and then how this was going to be recognised in the data. This development process involved a deep immersion in the data which was aided by the fact that I personally transcribed the interviews in full from the audio-recordings. Various conceptual frameworks were introduced and revised in an iterative process in which

the data were creatively worked with in relation to the theory. Three primary theoretical dimensions were decided upon:

1. External classification (specialisation of time, space, agents and evaluation)
2. Internal classification (the affiliated religion and other religious perspectives)
3. Framing (hierarchical rules)

The unit of analysis for the three categories is the compulsory RE programme(s) offered by the school. The analysis of each of these dimensions will be explained in what follows.

4.4.2.1 External Classification

The concept of *external classification* seeks to capture the extent to which RE is bounded in relation to the other subjects in the curriculum: that is the extent to which RE is presented as a strongly bounded category with its own specialised ‘voice.’ Thus, the degree of specialisation is understood as indicative of the strength of the classificatory principle underwriting the relation between RE and other subjects in the curriculum. *External classification* is measured in relation to specialisation of the following four sub-dimensions of the compulsory RE programme:

- Specialisation of time
- Specialisation of agents
- Specialisation of space
- Specialisation of evaluation

Table 4.3 below summarises the analytical framework for this section of the analysis.

Table 4.3 Analytical Framework for Recognising External Classification Strength

Theoretical dimension	Sub-dimension	Conceptual indicator	Empirical Indicators	Coding
	Specialisation of time	The specialisation of time with respect to RE in relation to a high priority subject such as Mathematics and English.	The number of hours allocated to modules making up the RE programme as measured by teaching hours in the curriculum per week.	Weak-Strong (--, -, +, ++)

External classification	Specialisation of agents	The extent to which the RE teachers are specialised agents bounded from teachers of other subjects.	The ratio of RE teachers recruited specifically for their religious specialisation in terms of their position in the religious community and/or tertiary religious educational qualification.	Weak-Strong (--, -, +, ++)
	Specialisation of space	The extent to which RE is taught in spaces bounded from spaces in which other subjects are taught.	The ratio of RE lessons taught in spaces exclusively used for RE such as a designated RE classroom or a religious space such as a chapel, shul or mosque.	Weak-Strong (--, -, +, ++)
	Specialisation of evaluation	The specialisation of evaluation with respect to RE in relation to a high priority subject such as English and Mathematics.	Emphasis in report cards. Number and difficulty of tests, exams and marked assignments. Whether RE performance linked to grade progression. Student and teacher reports on comparative seriousness of RE assessment. Inclusion of student dispositions in evaluation.	Weak-Strong (--, -, +, ++)

The RE offering in each school was coded for the four sub-dimensions of specialisation in accordance with a data coding instrument which allowed for an unambiguous reading of the data across the four schools. Table 4.4 below shows an example of the data coding instrument for the coding of the schools in relation to RE's specialisation in relation to evaluation.⁵²

Table 4.4 Coding Instrument for Specialisation of Evaluation

	(--) Weak specialisation	(-) Fairly weak specialisation	(+) Fairly strong specialisation	(++) Strong specialisation
Specialisation of evaluation	RE programme has no formal assessment. This means no tests or assignments are given for the subject. RE component does not feature on the report card. RE component has no bearing on a student's grade progression.	RE programme involves fewer tests and assignments than any other subject in the curriculum. Evaluation is considered far easier than other subjects by students. RE component might feature on the report card as a comment mostly about participation more than about subject knowledge/skills. RE component does not have any bearing on student's grade progression.	RE module is assessed with the same rigor as the more average status subjects in the curriculum. Assessments is considered easier than the high-status subjects but still challenging. A mark for the subject appears on report card but will generally not have bearing on a child's grade progression on its own. Behavioural characteristics such as student's effort and participation is a minor factor in grade allocation.	RE module is assessed with the same rigor and progression related consequences as the high-status subjects such as Maths and English. Evaluation is considered to be as difficult as the high-status subjects. A mark for RE component appears on report and can have bearing on student's grade progression.

⁵² A full coding schedule for the four sub-dimensions of external classification can be found in Table C1 in Appendix C.

The process of deriving a coding for specialisation of evaluation (a similar process was followed with the other dimensions of specialisation) involved identifying all instances in the first two sections of the interview data in which reference is made to the evaluation of the RE programme for each school. This set of data speaking to the evaluation of RE were then coded in accordance to where it best fitted in relation to the coding instrument. As an example, Table 4.5 below shows references to evaluation in the Protestant school interviews.

Table 4.5 Interview Data Related to Evaluation from the Protestant School Interviews

Participant	Question number	Interview data from sections 1 and 2 relating to Evaluation of RE
Principal	2.4	Ja, we just do that one formal assessment; other subjects we would have ongoing assessment, where in RE it is just the one
Vice-principal	1.11	...how students are performing in Bible classes is not scrutinised in the same way as, for example, their progress in Maths or Language...well there is no testing...not that they should be testing.
	2.4	...we do include RE as one of our subjects in our end of year reports and the students do write a Bible exam at the end of each semester, but it is certainly not marked in the same way as other subjects would be. It is a lot more subjective in the nature of its questions and the grade that is given at the end is not so much based on theological understanding or anything like that, but rather on participation and willingness to engage with the text.
Teacher	1.2	...and we also do assessments for Bible.
	2.3	...there is an assessment for RE, but I don't know about, I guess we give a mark, but does that determine whether the child progresses or not? No.
	2.4	RE is assessed through a midyear and end of year assessment that is written at the same time as other assessments and the teacher would allocate a mark, but the mark is not disclosed to the student. So, it is just an indication of their standing and the ability to apply their ability to think. So, it is not something used to determine much.
Student 1	1.3	...well from an academic point of view it's quite a lot less important than other subjects. So, like the RE exams they would tell us to rather focus on other subjects. Well, in Matric we don't have Bible exams, but in other years it isn't important at all.
Student 3	1.3	When it comes to exams and stuff, cos we also write exams for RE, then I don't study or anything, I don't really like get stressed about it like I do with other subjects.

The data presented above was coded as indicative of fairly weak specialisation of evaluation. Each school was coded in relation to the four sub-dimensions of external classification to produce an overall external classification coding. Thus, for example, a final coding of weak

external classification for the Protestant school's RE programme was derived as shown in Table 4.6 below.

Table 4.6 Results of External Classification Coding for the Protestant School's RE

	RE (Bible class)
Specialisation of time coding	--(0) Weak
Specialisation of agents	--(0) Weak
Specialisation of space	--(0) Weak
Specialisation of evaluation	-(1) Fairly weak
Programme coding average	0.25
External classification coding	--Weak

4.4.2.2 Internal Classification

Internal classification refers to the strength of the boundary maintained within the RE modules between the affiliated religion and other religious perspectives.⁵³ This was again a theoretical category developed from extensive interaction with the data, in which it became apparent that this structural dimension was important in understanding differences among the RE programmes offered by the schools. The strength of this classification is measured in relation to the extent to which the RE module promotes the legitimacy of the affiliated religion over the legitimacy of other religious perspectives, thus bounding the affiliated religion from other religious perspectives. The analytical framework for this section is presented in Table 4.7 below.⁵⁴

Table 4.7 Analytical Framework for Recognising Internal Classification: Affiliated Religion and Other Religious Perspectives

Theoretical dimension	Conceptual indicator	Empirical indicators	Coding
Classification (Internal)	The strength of the boundary between the affiliated religion and other religious perspectives in relation to legitimacy.	The degree to which RE is reported to engage other religious perspectives as legitimate options for students in terms of religious identity.	Weak- Strong (--, -, +, ++)

In a similar manner to how the analysis of the external classification was presented in the previous section, data pertaining to the positioning of other religious perspectives in the RE

⁵³ The concept of 'other religious perspectives' includes other religious identities within the same religion as the school's affiliated religion, as well other religions or even the rejection of a religious identity.

⁵⁴ A coding schedule for internal classification can be found in Table C2 in Appendix C.

curriculum was tabled for sections 1 and 2 in the interviews, and then these data were coded in accordance with a coding schedule. The analysis in the following chapter shows examples from the data related to the coding of the four schools' RE in relation to internal classification.

4.4.2.3 Framing: Hierarchical Rules

As discussed in the Theoretical Chapter, framing operates at the level of pedagogic practice and refers to the nature of the control relations between the teacher and student. The strength of the framing over the hierarchical rules is interpreted in terms of the explicitness of the hierarchical relations between teacher and student in an RE lesson. Table 4.8 below summarises the analytical framework for this section of the analysis.

Table 4.8 Analytical Framework for Recognising Variation in Framing

Theoretical dimension	Sub-dimension	Conceptual indicator	Empirical indicators	Coding
Framing	Hierarchical rules	The extent to which the hierarchical relation between teacher and student is made visible to the student.	The extent of open discussion, personal sharing and the voicing of opinion relating the degree to which RE lessons are reported to be less formal than other lessons.	Implicit-Explicit (--, -, +, ++)

A coding schedule for a principled coding in respect of framing strength over the hierarchical rules can be found in Table C3 in Appendix C. A more detailed account of the analysis is offered in Chapter 5.

4.4.3 The Analysis of the Instructional Order: Structure of the Standard Subject Curriculum (SSC)

This section of the analysis also operationalises Bernstein's notion of classification in the structuring of agents and discourses. The analysis looks at the strength of the boundary (classification) between the affiliated religion and the SSC section of the instructional order. The SSC is the remainder of the curriculum once RE has been extracted.⁵⁵ The unit of

⁵⁵ The term is trying to avoid an overly-simplistic dualism that would be implied by less clumsy terms such as 'secular curriculum' or 'non-religious curriculum'. The term leaves open the question as to whether the

analysis for this section is the SSC as a whole. The classification between the affiliated religion and the SSC is considered in relation two dimensions:

1. Classification between SSC teacher identity and the affiliated religion
2. Classification between SSC pedagogy and the affiliated religion

Table 4.9 below summarises the analytical framework for this section.

Table 4.9 Analytical Framework for Recognising the Strength of the Classification Between Affiliated Religion and the SSC

Theoretical dimension	Sub-dimension	Conceptual indicator	Empirical indicators	Coding
Classification between affiliated religion and the SSC	Classification: Teacher identity	The strength of the classification of SSC teacher identity in relation to the affiliated religion.	The extent to which the school's hiring policy and practice in respect of SSC teachers favours teachers identified with the affiliated religion.	Weak - Strong (--, -, +, ++)
	Classification: Pedagogy	The strength of the classification between SSC pedagogy and the affiliated religion.	The extent of the integration of the school's affiliated religion in relation to SSC curriculum materials, teaching methodology and classroom discourse.	Weak - Strong (--, -, +, ++)

The analysis approach was very similar to that presented in the previous section. A coding instrument was developed in conversation with the data that makes the conceptual sub-dimensions, shown in Table 4.9 above, 'observable.' Below is an example of a coding instrument developed for the sub-dimension "Classification: Pedagogy."⁵⁶

remaining portion of the curriculum (that which is left once RE has been extracted) is strongly classified from the religious affiliation of the school.

⁵⁶ See Appendix C Table C4 for the coding schedule for Classification: Teacher identity.

Table 4.10 Coding Instrument for Classification: Pedagogy

	(--) Weak classification	(-) Fairly weak classification	(+) Fairly strong classification	(++) Strong classification
Classification: Pedagogy	The school utilises a pedagogic approach related to the schools affiliated religion. The school specifically trains teachers in this pedagogic method. The school exclusively utilises curriculum texts that are written by authors aligned with the affiliated religion or chosen by curriculum developers designed specifically for this specific type of religious school. Lessons are often punctuated with reference to the religion of the school.	Certain aspects of pedagogic methodology are explicitly related to the affiliated religion and considered to be different to regular government schools. These differences in pedagogic method are encouraged at the school. The school utilises some curriculum texts chosen primarily according to religious concerns around moral and ideological issues. Each subject is related to some extent to the religion (some subjects more than others).	The affiliated religion is not viewed as related to the school's teaching approach. SSC texts are chosen on the basis of which are considered to cover and teach the curriculum optimally in combination with religious censorship concerns around portrayals of sex, violence and anti-religious sentiment. This may result in certain sections of texts being left out. The school's particular religious discourse may find its way into the SSC classroom discourse in a very limited degree in certain subjects depending on the teacher.	Pedagogy is not related to the affiliated religion in any way. The school does not expect its pedagogy to be any different from other schools. The affiliated religion is not seen as playing any role in the selection of SSC texts. Texts are chosen on the basis of which are considered to cover and teach the curriculum optimally. Religious discourse is viewed as belonging in the RE programme. Teachers are not required to defend the religious stance of the school, were this to clash with the subject discourse.

This section presented theoretical dimensions that directly informed the construction of certain questions in the interview schedules. Thus, the coding of this section of the analysis could refer to specific questions in the interview schedules that are kept consistent across the four schools. For example, the classification of teacher identity coding was derived from the data emerging from questions 3.1 - 3.3 in the principal, RE teacher and SSC teacher interviews schedules, which all contained the three questions in Figure 4.2 below:

Figure 4.2 Questions Used to Generate Data for Coding of Classification: Teacher Identity

SECTION 3: CONSTRUCTION OF NON-RELIGIOUS SUBJECTS	
3.1 Are all the teachers in this school religious?	
Yes	No
3.2 Why do you think this is the case?	3.3 Would you consider it ideal if all the teachers were religious? Please explain your answer.
Notes:	

The data emerging from these three questions were coded in relation to the classification of the ‘teacher identity’ coding instrument (see Appendix C). The coding of classification of ‘teacher identity’ and ‘pedagogy’ for each school were combined and averaged to generate a ‘classification of the SSC and the affiliated religion’ coding for each school. For example, the Catholic school’s coding was derived as shown in Table 4.11.

Table 4.11 Coding of Classification Between Affiliated Religion and SSC for the Catholic School

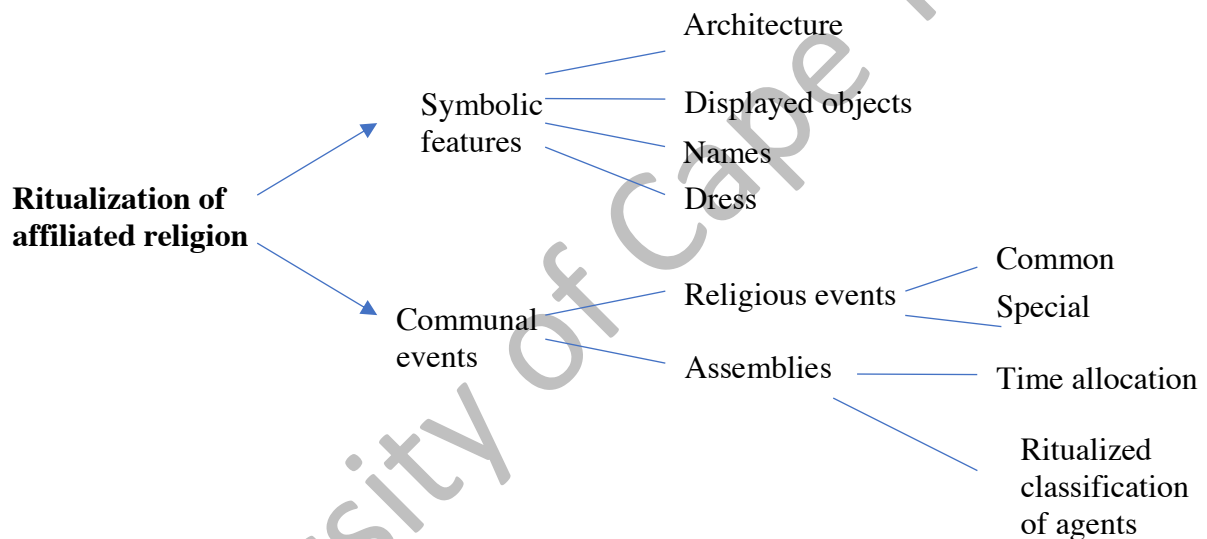
	Catholic SSC
Classification: Teacher identity	+(2) Fairly strong
Classification: Pedagogy	++ (3) Strong
Classification coding average	2.5
Classification coding	(++) Strong

The above table shows how a numerical value is given to the coding for each dimension (Teacher identity and Curriculum) which are added and averaged to give an overall classification coding average. This average is then translated back into a classification coding for classification between the affiliated religion and the SSC.

4.4.4 The Analysis of the Expressive Relays: The Ritualization of the Affiliated Religion

The analysis in this section is informed by Bernstein’s theory of ritual discussed in the previous chapter. Two categories of ‘ritualized’ relays are considered in the analysis: Symbolic features and Communal events. These categories were further specified into various sub-dimensions as a result of an iterative interaction with the observation data described in the previous section of this chapter. Figure 4.3 provides the scheme developed for this section of the analysis.

Figure 4.3 Scheme for Analysis of Ritualization of Affiliated Religion



4.4.4.1 The Analysis of Symbolic Features

The analytical framework for the dimension ‘Religious symbolic features’ is laid out in Table 4.12 below.

Table 4.12 Analytical Framework for Recognising the Extent to Which the Affiliated Religion is Ritualized in the School’s Symbolic Features

Theoretical dimension	Sub-dimension	Conceptual indicator	Empirical indicators	Coding
Religious symbolic features	Architecture	The extent to which the school’s affiliated religion is ritualized in its architectural features.	The density of religious ritualized features in the school’s architecture: Stain-glass windows, Domes, Steeples, Stonework, Plants, Gates that include religious symbolism, Arches, Pillars	Weak-Strong (--, -, +, ++)
	Displayed objects	The extent to which the school’s affiliated religion is ritualized in its publically displayed objects: iconic and print media.	The density of religious ritualized features in the school’s displayed objects: Iconic objects: Statues, Paintings, icons, Symbols, Badges, Carvings, Flags, Portraits, etc. Print media: Newspapers, Magazines, Posters, Wall displays, Photographs, Signs, Student productions, etc.	Weak-Strong (--, -, +, ++)
	Names	The extent to which the school’s affiliated religion is ritualized in its naming.	The density of religious ritualization in the school’s use of names: School name, Facility names, House names Road names, etc.	Weak-Strong (--, -, +, ++)
	Dress	The extent to which the school’s affiliated religion is ritualized in religious-orientated dress.	The extent of ritualization in the school’s dress codes: School uniform and dress of staff and other agents involved at the school.	Weak-Strong (--, -, +, ++)

The data relating to the coding of this section of the analysis were taken predominantly from the field notes generated in the observation of the school facilities. The unit of analysis in this section was the school. The schools were coded on a four-point scale in accordance with a coding schedule that ensured a principled coding of the data across the four schools in the sample.⁵⁷

⁵⁷ See Table C5 in Appendix C for a coding schedule for the other three dimensions related to ritualization of symbolic features.

Table 4.13 Coding Schedule for Strength of Ritualization in Naming

Dimensions	(--) Weak ritualization	(-) Fairly weak ritualization	(+) Fairly strong ritualization	(++) Strong ritualization
Names	The school does not recruit the affiliated religion in naming entities such as the school itself, facilities or groups within the school.	The school has 1-2 entities that recruit the affiliated religion in naming, such as the school itself, facilities in the school or organisational groups within the school.	The school has between 3-5 entities that recruit the affiliated religion in their naming, such as the school itself, facilities in the school or groups within the school.	The school has more than 5 entities that recruit the affiliated religion in their naming, such as the school itself, facilities in the school or groups within the school.

A final coding of the strength of the ritualization of the affiliated religion in relation to symbolic features was generated by averaging the coding of the four sub-dimensions.

4.4.4.2 Analysis of Communal Events

This section focuses on the schools' communal events, looking at the extent to which the affiliated religion is ritualized in this aspect of the schools' expressive relays. The analysis considers two categories of communal events: religious events and assemblies. Firstly, religious events are events that are intrinsically related to the affiliated religion, such as a communal prayer gathering, a mass service, or a community celebration of a religious festival. Religious events are further divided into two categories: common events and special events. Common religious events are defined as events that are repeated at least once a month and thus have a sense of being part of the routine of school life.⁵⁸ Special religious events are school community events that are repeated less than once a month and have a sense of 'interrupting' everyday school routine, rather than contributing to it.⁵⁹ Table 4.14 outlines the analytical framework for this section.

⁵⁸ These common religious events involve the gathering of a substantial portion of the school (often involving multiple grades) and generally the participation of the students' families and friends is not a focus.

⁵⁹ Special events will often involve the participation of a wider school community, often encouraging the involvement of the students' families and friends.

Table 4.14 Analytical Framework for Recognising the Extent of the Ritualization of the Affiliated Religion in the School's Communal Events

Theoretical Concept	Dimensions	Description	Sub-dimension	Empirical Indicators	Coding
Communal events	Religious events	The degree to which the school includes events related to the affiliated religion in its timetable.	Emphasis on common religious events.	Prayers, Mass, Chapel, Mosque, Recitation, Ritual Washing, Singing and Worship.	Weak - Strong (--, -, +,++)
			Emphasis on special religious events.	Passover celebration, Carol singing, Eid, St. Dominique's day celebration, Muhammad's birthday.	Weak - Strong (--, -, +,++)
	Assemblies	The nature of the recruitment of the affiliated religion in assemblies.	Emphasis on the recruitment of the affiliated religion in relation to time allocation.	Prayer, singing, religious addresses, presentations, chanting, recitations, and readings.	Weak - Strong (--, -, +,++)
			Presence of ritualized classification of agents	Clothing worn in the affiliated religious community's gatherings to classify agents. Classification of agents in relation to space typical of the religious community's gatherings.	Present/Not-present

The analysis of religious events considers the strength of the ritualization of the affiliated religion simply by a consideration of the number of common and special religious events in the school schedule. Secondly, assemblies are analysed by considering the recruitment of the affiliated religion in relation to the following two categories: emphasis (measured in relation to the allocation of time to religious content) and ritualized classification of agents. Thus, the coding of assemblies in respect of emphasis was done by reference to the detailed observation notes in which a percentage of the total assembly time allocated to religious content was calculated as an average percentage across the two observed assemblies. Religious content included the following: prayers, singing of religious songs, presentation with religious focused content, chanting of religious content and readings or recitations from religious texts.⁶⁰

Finally, the ritual classification of agents was noted in relation to the presence or absence of specific religious clothing worn by students and/or staff during assembly and/or the ritualized

⁶⁰ A full coding schedule for the analysis of communal events can be found in Appendix C, Table C6.

classification of agents in relation to the organisation of agents in the assembly space that would be recognised by the school community as related to the ritual norms of the affiliated religion. Most obvious here was the gendered division of the assembly space observable in both the Muslim and Jewish assemblies.

An overall coding with respect to the strength of the ritualization of the affiliated religion in relation to communal events was allocated by averaging the coding given to schools in the following categories: common religious events, special religious events and assembly emphasis. For example, the derivation of the religious events coding for the Catholic school is given in Table 4.15 below.

Table 4.15 Results of Religious Events Coding for Catholic School

	Strength of ritualization
Common religious events	-(1) Fairly weak
Special religious events	+(2) Fairly strong
Assembly	-(1) Fairly weak
Coding average	1.3
Religious events coding	(-) Fairly weak ritualization

Following Bernstein's characterisation of ritual as functioning to mark relations between the school and communities/organisations outside of the school, the strength of the ritualization of the affiliated religion at each school for the two dimensions, symbolic features and communal events, is coded as signifying an invisible or visible expressive modality. Table 4.16 shows how this coding was allocated.

Table 4.16 The Visibility of the Relation Between the School and the Affiliated Religion

(-) Invisible modality	(+) Fairly visible modality	(++) Strongly visible modality
(--) or (-) coding for symbolic features and (--) or (-) coding for communal events	(+) or (++) coding for symbolic features or (+) or (++) coding for communal events	(+) or (++) coding for symbolic features and (+) or (++) coding for communal events

Finally, dimensions of the ritualization of the affiliated religion analysis presented above are utilized as a measure of the degree to which the school's ritualization of the affiliated religion

constitutes the students as individualized or communalised in relation to the affiliated religion. The following sub-dimensions of the ritualization analysis are considered to symbolically constitute the student as a member of the affiliated religion:

- 1 Dress (student)
- 2 Religious common events
- 3 Ritualized classification of students in assembly

These sub-dimensions were grouped to provide a coding of the extent to which the ritualization of the school's expressive order individualises or communalises in relation to the student. Table 4.17 shows how a coding for the Muslim school was achieved.

Table 4.17 Individualising/Communalising Character of the Muslim School's Expressive Order

	Coding
Dress (students)	(3) Strong ritualization
Religious common events	(3) Strong ritualization
Ritualized (religious) classification of students in assembly	(1) Present
Total⁶¹	7
Relation between student and affiliated religious community	Strongly Communalised

4.4.5 The Analysis of Pedagogic Identity

The previous chapter (Chapter 3) outlined Bernstein's (2000) theory of pedagogic identities and presented his taxonomy of pedagogic identities. The aim of the analysis of pedagogic identity presented in Chapter 8 is to relate the school's privileged student identity to Bernstein's taxonomy of pedagogic identities. The analysis of the privileged pedagogic identity projected by the schools begins by using the data-near concept of the imagined ideal student. Summary sketches of the imagined ideal student are produced from the data that are designed to make visible the "particular moral disposition, motivation and aspiration" (p. 65) constructed by Bernstein's notion of a pedagogic identity. The characteristics of the imagined ideal student presented in the sketches are organised around six categories derived

⁶¹ Total from 0-1 = Strongly individualised, 2-3 = Weakly individualised, 4-5 = Fairly strongly communalised, 6-7 = Strongly communalised.

inductively from the data in conjunction with the particular theoretical orientation of the thesis. These categories are:

- Religious
- Cultural
- Social
- Sexual
- Academic
- Societal

The summary sketches purposefully include substantial reference to the original data (both interview and policy data) in order to make explicit how the data were read in the generation of the descriptions. In alignment with the theoretical interests and orientation of this thesis, the summary sketches pay particular attention to the way in which the ideal student is related to a collective and the relation set up between the ideal student's identity and the affiliated religion.

The analysis primarily draws from two sources: interviews and mission/vision statements. The data used from the interviews primarily focus on two questions that are most directly related to the ideal student. Firstly, question 7.1 was asked of both staff and pupils: *Please think of the ideal student and describe what she is like?* If deemed necessary by the interviewer, this question was sometimes followed up by prompting words such as: *religiously, socially, physically, morally, and academically*. The second interview question primarily used was question 5.1 (asked only of students): *What values do you hear talked about over and over at this school?* In addition, other sections of school policy and other sections of the interviews were also used to bolster the descriptions of the ideal learner's religious identity.

The coding of the data involved identifying in the data what pertained to the six basic categories. Data pertaining to the religious category included data that spoke to aspects to do with religious belief, practice and/or community affiliation. Data pertaining to the cultural dimension was understood as data that referred to the imagined ideal student in relation to characteristics or participation in a particular ethnic/cultural group. Data pertaining to social

characteristics refers to the values or practices emphasized in relation to how the ideal student relates to other and presents herself in social contexts. Sexual characteristics relates to how the ideal student was presented in the data in relation to particular sexual values and practices. The academic dimension relates to characteristics of the ideal student emphasized in the data relating to academic motivations, performance and goals. Finally, data pertaining to the societal dimension was understood as data speaking to solidarity and participation in broader secular society that included economic and social class positioning, as well as characteristics related to societal participation. The absence of data pertaining to any one of these categories was coded as indicating a de-emphasis of this category in the ideal student construct.⁶²

This section of the analysis dealing with the ideal student was more inductively derived and the external language of description is less explicit than the other analysis sections. This was viewed as presenting a potential threat to the validity of this section. Therefore, in order to bolster the validity claims of this section, a draft of the imagined ideal student descriptions generated was sent via email to the principal of each school, as well as to one other agent familiar with the school. The principal and the other agent were requested to comment on whether the descriptions accurately reflected the ideal student and whether the descriptions missed or misinterpreted any important aspect of the ideal student construct at the school.

After the generation of the summary sketches of the imagined ideal student these data-near sketches are related to Bernstein's (2000) taxonomy of pedagogic identities. This takes the form of a discussion in which the imagined ideal student at each school is shown to be congruent with a particular mode (or particular modes) of pedagogic identity.

⁶² The analysis is concerned with how the ideal student is projected by the school in relation to these different dimensions. Thus, while a school may not privilege cultural characteristics in its constitution of the ideal student, this does not mean that the ideal student does not (in reality) have a particular cultural aspect to her identity. The analysis is interested in what is privileged in the school's imagined ideal student construct, not what is actually privileged or evident.

4.5 Issues of Reliability, Validity and Generalisability

This discussion addresses validity in relation to issues of data reliability (Dowling, 1998), description, interpretation and generalisation (Maxwell, 1996). In what follows, each of these four issues will be addressed in relation to this research project.

Dowling (1998) suggests that “the term reliability can be expanded to include the measure of the extent to which the data presented is representative of the data generally” (p. 143). In terms of the selection of data, sources reliability is bolstered by a reliance on multiple sources of data: interviews, observation and official documents. This allows for triangulation in which a fuller and more accurate account could be developed, as well as providing multiple sources to check the validity of hypotheses made from observations of similarities and differences across the cases. The thesis also employed multiple interviews with a range of agents positioned differently within the school’s social structure. Moreover, these interviews were designed to ask the same types of questions of the different agents. This multiplicity of interviews allowed for an assessment of the accuracy of the account of a single interviewee. It also made apparent the points of consensus and conflict within the social structure of the schools. However, it should be mentioned that the observation of only two assemblies at each school potentially did not provide enough data to represent ‘the data generally.’ This reliability concern was addressed by asking the principals after the assemblies to comment on the extent to which the assembly observed represented a typical assembly and how it may have deviated from what could be considered a regular assembly. The general descriptions of assemblies generated from the data were sent to a staff member at each school for comment on the extent to which they could be said to accurately describe a typical assembly at the school.

According to Maxwell (1996), descriptive validity concerns the accuracy of the data recorded. The dominant data for this thesis were semi-structured interviews. In order to fully and accurately capture these interviews, they were audio-recorded and then transcribed in full by the researcher. This process of full transcription was also important in ensuring a deep engagement with the data by the researcher. Moreover, the assembly observations included detailed field notes that were organised around a semi-structured scheme that provided some focus as to what counted as relevant data during the observation. Moreover, in the process of

detailing general features of the school's external environment, extensive notes and photographs were taken of the schools.

Interpretive validity in qualitative research is threatened when the researcher imposes a framework of meaning, rather than engaging with the understanding of the research subject (Maxwell, 1996). This issue is primarily addressed by the development of an external language of description which makes explicit how the data are to be read in relation to the internal language of description, that is, the theoretical framework. Much of this chapter has been concerned with making this external language of description clear by showing how the theory and the data are put into conversation with each other (Hoadley, 2005). This is consistent with much research in the Bernsteinian tradition. Therefore, this thesis follows Dowling (1998), Ensor (1999), Hoadley (2005) and others in prioritising the notion of the establishment of an external language of description as the key aspect of robust interpretive validity.

Issues of generalisation concern the degree to which the study can be generalised to other contexts, both empirically and theoretically. Empirical generalisation involves the claim that a study is statistically generalizable and involves a sample that is representative of a broader population. Given the limitations of the sample size, the thesis can only tentatively suggest that its findings may represent results that speak to the four general classes of religious schools represented in the sample. Therefore, this study makes such no claims to empirical generalisation. However, this study claims to have theoretical generalisability in that one can bring the theoretical model presented to bear on other contexts. The links made between the affiliated religion of religious schools, the structuring of pedagogy, ritualization and the imagined ideal student can be used in other research, particularly in the comparative analysis of religious schools.

4.6 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed various aspects of the research design. It has provided a motivation for the study's sample, discussing the choice of a 'multiple case study' as a research strategy and making explicit the criteria that guided the selection of the schools comprising the sample. This section emphasised the exploratory nature of the research project and how this related to the design and sample choices. The second part of the chapter dealt

with issues related to the production of the data, discussing the data sources and collection procedures and giving a rationale for the selection of the various sources used in the study. The third section presented the analytical methods used to ‘read’ the data. This involves the development of what Bernstein (2000) terms an “external language of description” (p.132). It makes explicit how the external language of description was developed and the procedures of coding for the different sections of the study. The chapter thus presents the rules for what counts as data and how the data are interpreted for analysis. Finally, the chapter deals with issues regarding reliability, validity and generalisation. Table 4.18 below summarises the analytical framework of the study.

Table 4.18 Summary of the Analytical Approach of the Study

Research question	Data Source	Theoretical constructs	Conceptual indicators	Empirical indicators	Form of variation	Chapter	
How is the Religious Education curriculum at each school structured?		Classification: External	Comparative specialisation of time	Number of hours allocated to RE	Weak (--) classification to Strong (++) classification	5	
			Comparative specialisation of agents	The ratio of RE teachers recruited specifically for their religious specialisation			
			Comparative specialisation of space	The ratio of RE lessons taught in spaces exclusively used for RE			
			Comparative specialisation of evaluation	Emphasis placed on formal assessment			
		Classification: Internal	Strength of the classification between the affiliated religion and other religious perspectives	The extent to which other religious perspectives are presented as viable options to students in RE lessons			
		Framing	The extent to which the hierarchical relation between teacher and student is made visible to the student	The extent of open discussion, personal sharing and the voicing of opinion relating the degree to which RE lessons are reported to be less formal than other lessons			Implicit (--) hierarchical relations to Explicit (++) hierarchical relations

How is the SSC at each school structured in relation to the affiliated religion?	Staff & student interviews	Classification	The strength of the classification of SSC teacher identity in relation to the affiliated religion	The extent to which the school's hiring policy and practice in respect of SSC teachers favours teachers identified with the affiliated religion	Weak (--) classification to Strong (++) classification	6
			The strength of the classification between SSC pedagogy and the affiliated religion	The extent of the integration of the school's affiliated religion in relation to SSC curriculum materials, teaching methodology and classroom discourse		
To what extent is the affiliated religion ritualized in the schools?	Staff & student interviews, field notes, assembly observation	Ritualization of affiliated religion	The extent of ritualization in symbolic features	The density of the ritualization of the affiliated religion in architecture, displayed objects, names and dress codes	Weak (--) ritualization to Strong (++) ritualization	7
			The extent of ritualization in communal events	The number of religious communal rituals and the percentage of time associated with religious ritual in assembly		
How does the ritualization at each school position the school in relation to the affiliated religion?	Staff & student interviews, field notes, assembly observation	Invisible and visible relations	The extent of ritualization in respect of symbolic features and communal events	As above	Invisible (-) to Strongly visible (++)	
		Mechanical and organic solidarity	The extent of ritualization that explicitly constitutes the student as a member of the affiliated religious community	The extent of ritualization in respect of dress, religious common events and the ritualized classification of agents in assembly	Weak (--) individualised to Strong (++) communalised	
What modes of pedagogic identity are projected by the schools?	Staff & student interviews, policy documents	Imagined ideal student-Pedagogic identities	The relation between the ideal student and a collective. The relation between the ideal student and the affiliated religion	The imagined ideal student in relation to religious, cultural, social, sexual, academic and societal characteristics	Extent to which the ideal student is constituted in relation to a collective Extent to which religious characteristics are emphasised in the imagined ideal student	8

Chapter 5: The Shape of the Instructional Order: The Structure of Religious Education

5.1 Introduction

The preceding chapters have outlined the empirical, theoretical and methodological frameworks of this study. The following three chapters present the analysis of the data. Each of the four schools in the sample include a Religious Education (RE) component in the formal curriculum which is perceived by the schools as part (with varying degrees of emphasis) of what makes them specifically religious and distinctive. The interest of this chapter is in the structuring of the RE offering at each of the schools. The following three theoretical dimensions of the RE programmes are addressed in the analysis:

- 1) *External classification* (specialisation of time, space, agents and evaluation)
- 2) *Internal classification* (the affiliated religion and other religious perspectives)
- 3) *Framing* (hierarchical rules).

External classification refers to the strength of the boundary established between RE and other subject discourses and is recognised in relation to the comparative specialisation of RE in respect of time, agents, space and evaluation. Secondly, *internal classification* refers to a particular aspect ‘internal’ to RE discourse: the extent to which the affiliated religion is bounded from other religious perspectives in terms of the extent to which other religious points of view are presented as legitimate options to the students. Finally, the *framing* of the *hierarchical rules* relates to the ‘how’ of pedagogic practice and the visibility of the hierarchical relation between teacher and student. In the discussion at the end of the chapter, these three dimensions are utilised to theorise different modalities for the structuring of RE programmes that clarify the similarities and differences between the RE programmes at the four schools. Finally, the discussion addresses how these different ‘structurings’ are related to the affiliated religions of each of the schools and how they privilege different forms of social solidarity. Before moving onto the analysis, a brief summary description is given below of the RE offering at the four schools in the sample.

5.2 Orienting Introduction to the Four Schools' RE Offerings

Protestant RE Programme: The Protestant school's RE programme consists of the single subject Bible lesson, which is allocated a 15-minute slot at the beginning of each day (except Wednesdays). The lesson is taught in the students' home classroom by their home-class teacher and follows a curriculum structured around reading through books of the Bible, such that by final graduation (at the end of grade 12), students have read most of the Bible. The lesson involves reading directly from the Bible, followed by a meditative, informal discussion of the reading. Lessons often end in prayer which will include space for students to mention things for which they would like prayer. Thus, the Bible class takes on a devotional aspect not typical of other lessons. The purpose of the Bible lesson, as reported by students and staff, included the idea of facilitating an experience described as connecting with God and an emphasis on the lesson being a way of integrating students into the 'philosophy' of the school. One teacher, commenting on the purpose of Bible lesson, remarked, "Well, because of the particular philosophy or worldview, Christianity is the basis of the philosophy, so, because of that, it (Bible lesson) plays an important role. Students should be brought up according to how the school works" (Prot, T1. 1.3⁶³). The principal explained the significance of the Bible lesson: "as a Christian school, it kind of underpins everything we do being a Bible believing environment" (Prot, P, 1.12). Another teacher explained that, "a lot of the children here are not coming from Christian backgrounds so it (Bible lesson) also serves as a way to integrate them into the ethos of the school" (Prot, VP, 1.12).

Catholic RE Programme: The Catholic school places its RE programme within a subject in the curriculum titled 'Life Orientation and Religious Education' (LO/RE). RE takes place in two out of the four thirty-minute periods allocated to LO/RE per a week. RE is taught within the framework of the national LO curriculum. The RE programme included an 'outreach hours' requirement. These hours are spent outside of classroom time doing 'uplifting' work in the community. The specifically Catholic theological input is minimal.⁶⁴ A student,

⁶³ See Appendix A for transcription conventions for the interviews.

⁶⁴ In grade 11 students can choose to attend the confirmation preparation classes instead of the normal RE classes that are included in the LO/RE module. These classes follow the traditional Catholic confirmation curriculum and culminate in the students deciding if they want to be confirmed as a Catholic. This aspect of the RE offering at the Catholic school is not included in the analysis as a separate module as it is only available for a very limited period of the students' senior school experience.

speaking of LO/RE, explained, "...what we learn is general knowledge. It is not mainly focused on RE things, it is more like Life Orientation" (Cath, S2, 1.1). The vice-principal described the RE input as, "...not like Catholic catechism because so many of our girls are not Catholic. So, it is a very broad kind of religious input where the Catholic stance will be given, but always respectful of the various religions of the girls or some have no religion" (Cath, VP, 1.8). The purpose of the RE component was also expressed in terms of the passing on of moral values. The vice-principal described these values as, "...broad enough, such that they take into account the religious convictions of many people" (Cath, VP, 1.14). Another purpose expressed was to "provide an unbiased presentation of various faiths and beliefs so that students could make informed decisions about how they would choose to express their spirituality while being tolerant of other people's choices" (Cath, VP, 1.14). Finally, many staff and students expressed that RE was included in the curriculum as a historical obligation to the school's Catholic origins.

Jewish RE Programme: The Jewish RE programme offers two different modules and students are allowed to choose between them. These two streams are called Jewish studies and Torah studies. The Jewish studies programme is designed to cater for the less 'religious' students. A Jewish studies teacher commented that, "I take the rest of the kids who are not interested or even anti and try and give them a positive programme that is tailored for them" (Jew, RET1, 1.7). The curriculum for Jewish studies includes current Jewish politics, controversial moral issues, and discussion around Jewish culture and values. Discussion and debate are privileged in the pedagogy. In contrast, Torah studies is conducted in a special synagogue venue specifically designed for this programme. The principal suggested that the room had been decorated in such a way as to indicate that, "it is serious study and not playing games" (Jew, P, 1.9). The course is taught exclusively by rabbis or teachers with tertiary education in Jewish religion. The lesson involves in-depth study of the Torah via the traditional Jewish pedagogic method of questioning, debate and discussion regarding the meaning and interpretation of Jewish sacred texts. Furthermore, Hebrew is also offered by the school as a matriculation subject, but it is optional and few students take it. The purpose of the RE programme was expressed as centred around instilling a sense of Jewish identity: providing the students with the knowledge and skills to participate in the local and international Jewish community. When asked about the purpose of RE, the principal responded: "When they get married one day and have children, they will still have that

feeling of Jewish identity that will push them to bring their kids to this school and to lead a Jewish life: Jewish continuity, I think, is the key” (Jew, P, 1.14).

Muslim RE Programme: The Muslim school’s RE is modelled on what is considered by the affiliated community to be a standard form of religious education traditionally offered to its youth in the way of afternoon classes, often at a local mosque. The Muslim school’s RE is thus unique as it can be understood as a replication, in content and form, of a pedagogic programme institutionalised in the affiliated religious community. The Muslim school’s RE component is divided into three compulsory sections: Islamic studies, Qur’an and Arabic studies. RE takes up over five and a half hours of lesson time per week. Each school day is extended by one hour to cater for this added curriculum content. The Islamic studies curriculum covers Islamic history, prayers, ritual, festivals and the moral teachings of the Qur’an. Arabic studies is taught by a specialist teacher and is taken as a matriculation subject. Finally, Qur’an studies, which involves memorisation and recitation of the Qur’an, is taught in a traditional Islamic pedagogic style with students seated on a mat in a circle practicing recitals of portions of the Qur’an under the tutelage of an imam. The imam first recites a section and the students will repeat it after him. Pronunciation and content errors are corrected by the imam. The purpose of RE was primarily expressed in terms of instilling good Islamic values, such as discipline and piety, and to “develop an awareness of the religion at all times” (Mus, RET, 1.12). A further purpose of RE was expressed in terms of the instillation of Islamic values so the students would be ready to face a pluralistic society when they left the school. A RE teacher spoke about the RE programme as “permeation of the religious ethos, ethics and behaviour throughout the entire being of the student, school and community” (Mus, RET, 1.12).

5.3 Analysis of the Schools’ RE Programmes

This section offers a close comparative analysis of the four schools’ RE programmes in relation to the three dimensions mentioned in the introduction to this chapter. The unit of analysis for these dimensions is the individual course modules that are offered within the RE programme. The module codings are then grouped to generate a programme coding for each of the major dimensions of the analysis. At the Protestant and Catholic schools, the RE programme consists of a single module and so the coding for the module is also the coding for the RE programme. At the Muslim school, the RE programme is divided into three

modules that together constitute a single compulsory RE programme. At the Jewish school the RE curriculum consists of two very different modules: Torah studies and Jewish studies. These modules are coded as two separate RE programmes.⁶⁵

5.3.1 External Classification: Academic Specialisation

As discussed in Chapter 4, the concept of *external classification* seeks to capture the extent to which RE is bounded in relation to the other subjects in the curriculum: that is the extent to which RE is presented as a strongly bounded category with its own specialised ‘voice.’⁶⁶ *External classification* is measured in relation to specialisation of the following four sub-dimensions of the compulsory RE programme:

- Specialisation of time
- Specialisation of agents
- Specialisation of space
- Specialisation of evaluation

In what follows, the results of the coding for each of these dimensions of specialisation is discussed.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ The differentiation in the Jewish school’s RE curriculum is a response to a recognition of a diversity of identities within its student and parent body in relation to a multiplicity of Jewish identities in relation to Jewish religion. A religious education teacher addressed this issue:

RE teacher 1: ...Within every class, of between twenty-five to twenty-eight students, we have four religious students, four traditional students, five or six in-between; you know excited about their Judaism. We would have another five or six students not at all excited about learning about their Judaism, in fact they may be anti: kids that come from the progressive community and there is a bit of tension between the progressives and the Orthodox... (Jew, RET1, 1.1).

One of the students, when asked if Torah studies attracted the more ‘religious’ students, replied: “Yes definitely” (Jew, S3, 1.4). Another student was impressed by the schools RE curriculum and remarked:

Student 2: Personally, I really appreciate the way the school has done it [RE] in offering a ‘current affairs’ as well as a purely religious space. I think that was a clever initiative because if you only had a religious text initiative more people would feel that it was being shoved down their throats (Jew, S2, 1.1).

⁶⁶ The analytical framework for recognising *external classification* strength can be viewed in Chapter 4.

⁶⁷ The coding instrument for each of the four dimensions can be viewed in Appendix C, Table C1.

5.3.1.1 Results of Coding for External Classification: Specialisation of Time, Agents, Space and Evaluation

Protestant School: The Protestant compulsory RE programme (Bible lesson) is only allocated one hour per week, which is coded as signalling weak *specialisation of time*. No other subject in the curriculum is allocated this little time.

Furthermore, the Protestant school's RE is taught exclusively by teachers that are not specifically recruited to teach RE. The teachers are specialised in specific subjects, but are also required to teach Bible to an allocated home-room class. While these teachers are all Christian, as a result of the school's hiring policy, they do not necessarily have a leadership role in the affiliated community or any tertiary religious education. Thus, the *specialisation of agents* with respect of RE and other subjects is weak.

The *specialisation of space* with respect of RE and other subjects is also weak, as RE is taught in a generic home-room classroom that is in no way specialised in relation to RE.

The assessment of RE at the Protestant school is far less rigorous in comparison to high academic priority subjects in the curriculum. There are no projects, tests or assignments given for RE and the only official assessment of the subject takes the form of a twice-yearly examination in which the students write an essay in response to a very open-ended question about the RE content they have covered in the year. Personal responses are encouraged regarding how students have been challenged, changed or interested by the Bible readings. The report card includes space for a teacher to comment on the student's performance in RE but progression to the next grade is not dependent on RE performance. Three out of the four students interviewed reported that the school prioritised RE less than other subjects, with reference to weaker assessment standards. A student, commenting on past Bible class examinations, remarked: "they weren't at all important...I don't study or anything for it, I don't really get stressed about it like other subjects" (Prot, S3, 1.5). The RE examination questions were described by the teachers as subjective in nature and more about a display of interest and class participation than formal theological understanding. One teacher, remarking on why he believed RE was given less priority than other subjects in the curriculum, explained: "I think it has to do with the subjective nature of faith and how a student's performance in Bible class is not scrutinised in the same way as for example their progress in

mathematics or language” (Prot, VP, 1.11). Therefore, a coding of fairly weak *specialisation of evaluation* is given to RE at the Protestant school.

Table 5.1 Results of External Classification Coding for the Protestant School’s RE

	RE (Bible class)
Specialisation of time coding	--(0) Weak
Specialisation of agents	--(0) Weak
Specialisation of space	--(0) Weak
Specialisation of evaluation	-(1) Fairly weak
Programme coding average	0.25
External classification coding	Weak

Catholic School: The LO/RE programme at the Catholic school is allocated 2 hours per a week. However, RE material is not allocated the majority share of this class time. Therefore, the actual RE input is, on average, an hour of actual class time. Thus, RE is coded as having weak *specialisation of time*.⁶⁸

LO/RE is taught by a specific LO teacher who is a Catholic, but has no leadership position in the Catholic church or any specialised religious education. She was primarily ‘specialised’ to teach LO. Other teachers specialised to teach other subjects in the curriculum also helped with certain aspects of the LO/RE curriculum. However, none of the RE teachers had particular positions in the affiliated religious community or tertiary religious training. Therefore, the teachers involved in teaching RE were all specialised and hired to teach other subjects at the school. Thus, the *specialisation of agents* with respect of RE and other subjects is weak.

Moreover, RE is taught in a generic home-room classroom that is in no way specialised in relation to RE. Thus, the *specialisation of space* with respect of RE and other subjects is also weak.

Finally, the assessment of the LO/RE programme involved a number of tests and assignments. However, the students interviewed felt that the assessment of LO/RE was of a much lower standard than other subjects and taken far less seriously. One student observed,

⁶⁸ The confirmation option in grade 11 is run at the same time as LO/RE and only takes one hour a week. Thus, this module also involves weak *specialisation of time*.

“In other subjects you have to listen to get good marks, but in RE you just do like outreach or tests that are self-explanatory. You can get good marks without studying” (Cath, S3, 1.5).

Another student remarked:

Student 2: We don't write proper exams in RE and the tests are a bit of a joke lesson. ... You can say whatever you want and they will give you good marks. It is unheard of people getting below 80% for RE... Teachers are very lenient markers. (Cath, S2, 1.4-1.5)

Therefore, RE assessment is coded as displaying fairly weak *specialisation of evaluation*.

Table 5.2 Results of External Classification Coding for the Catholic School's RE

	RE (LO/RE)
Specialisation of time coding	--(0) Weak
Specialisation of agents	--(0) Weak
Specialisation of space	--(0) Weak
Specialisation of evaluation	-(1) Fairly weak
Programme coding average	0.25
External classification coding	Weak

Jewish School: Both the compulsory RE options at the Jewish school, Torah studies and Jewish studies, are allocated one and three-quarter hours per a week. Thus, both modules are coded as displaying fairly weak *specialisation of time*.

However, unlike the Protestant and Catholic schools' RE programmes, the Jewish school's RE programmes are taught by specialist teachers specifically recruited to teach RE and uninvolved in teaching other subjects in the curriculum. These teachers are generally rabbis in the affiliated religious community or else have specialised religious education training in Jewish related knowledge areas such as in the Hebrew language. Thus, the *specialisation of agents* with respect of RE and other subjects is strong for both programmes.

Furthermore, the Torah studies programme is taught in a well-equipped shul on the school premises and thus displays strong *classification of space* in relation to other subjects. In contrast, the Jewish studies programme is taught in a generic home-room classroom that is utilised for other subjects. Thus, the *specialisation of space* in relation to other subjects of this programme is weak.

In respect of evaluation, the Jewish studies course is assessed via a test once per term as well as a few projects. The Jewish studies teacher considered assessment of his subject to be, “a little easier (than other subjects), there is not as much rigorous testing” (Jew, RET1, 2.4). Students described the tests as informal and more like an in-class assignment. One student explained his opinion saying, “I would say it is taken less seriously because it is more of an informal thing. We have a test every term but it is more informal and for your own benefit” (Jew, S1, 1.5). Furthermore, a RE teacher suggested that, “the mark could be adjusted up or down by ten percent based on participation and sentiment” (Jew, RET2, 1.5). Thus, the Jewish studies component is coded as displaying fairly weak *specialisation of evaluation*. The assessment of Torah studies was reported to be more rigorous than Jewish studies with regular testing and examinations. The principal explained that assessment of Torah studies had increased in its rigor and formality over the years, suggesting that, “It appeals to children who are more academic irrespective of whether those children are Jewish or not” (Jew, P, 2.2). However, Torah studies does not involve the same number of tests and assignments as a subject such as English or Mathematics. Furthermore, a student’s grade progression is not related to assessment of either Torah studies or Jewish studies. Torah studies is therefore coded as having fairly strong *specialisation of evaluation*.

Table 5.3 Results of External Classification Coding for the Jewish School’s RE

	RE (Torah studies)	RE (Jewish studies)
Specialisation of time coding	-(1) Fairly weak	-(1) Fairly weak
Specialisation of agents	++(3) Strong	++(3) Strong
Specialisation of space	++(3) Strong	--(0) Weak
Specialisation of evaluation	+(2) Fairly strong	-(1) Fairly weak
Programme coding average	2.3	1.3
External classification coding	Fairly strong	Fairly weak

Muslim School: The Muslim school allocates substantial portions of time to its RE programme comprised of three separate modules. The programme allocates one and a half hours to Qur’an, three hours to Arabic and one hour to Islamic studies. Thus, RE, as a programme, is coded as having strong *specialisation of time*.

All RE classes are taught exclusively by specialist teachers. These teachers are predominantly imams in the local religious community, many of which have tertiary education in Islamic-related knowledge. Therefore, the coding of *specialisation of agents* is strong.

Furthermore, Qur'an and Arabic are taught in specialised classrooms constituting four and a half hours of the total five and half allocated to the RE programme per week. The Islamic studies module, constituting 1 hour a week, is taught in an unspecialised home-room classroom. Thus, the *specialisation of space* in relation to other subjects of the RE programme is fairly strong.

The RE programme at the Muslim school is rigorously assessed. Arabic studies is evaluated as a priority second language subject and is taken as a matriculation subject by most students and thus assessed according to the government's stipulation. This includes ongoing assignments, tests and examinations culminating in the matriculation examination (like any other matriculation language subject). Thus, Arabic is coded as having strong *specialisation of evaluation*. An Islamic studies teacher explained that the assessment of his subject followed similar standards to the Arabic studies programme: projects, assignments and tests make up a portfolio weighted 25% of the student's mark, with the remaining 75% taken up by examination marks. In order to emphasise the importance of Arabic and Islamic studies, these examinations are always written first and a minimum percentage mark is required of all students in these subjects. Failing to achieve the minimum mark results in having to rewrite the examination. Thus, Islamic studies is also coded as having strong *specialisation of evaluation*. The assessment of Qur'an is rigorous, but takes on a different form from the other subjects in the RE programme: it is purely an oral recitation curriculum and thus does not include written tests, examinations or assignments. However, the student is continually and rigorously assessed within the unique pedagogic approach utilised in Qur'an class: students recite portions of the Qur'an in the presence of an imam who provides continual evaluation on textual accuracy and pronunciation. Qur'an is thus also coded as displaying strong *specialisation of evaluation*. Therefore, an overall coding of strong *specialisation of evaluation* is given to the Muslim school's RE programme.

Table 5.4 Results of External Classification Coding for the Muslim School's RE

	RE (Qur'an + Islamic studies + Arabic)
Programme hours per week	5.5
Specialisation of time coding	++ (3) Strong
Specialisation of agents	++(3) Strong
Specialisation of space	+(2) Fairly strong
Specialisation of evaluation	++(3) Strong
Programme coding average	2.8
External classification coding	Strong

5.3.1.2 Summary of External Classification Analysis

As shown in Table 5.5, below, the Protestant and Catholic schools' RE programmes are characterised by weak *specialisation of time, space, agents and evaluation*. The RE programmes at these two schools are allocated very little comparative time in the curriculum and utilise unspecialised teaching agents who 'double up' as RE teachers, but are primarily specialised to teach other subjects in the curriculum. Moreover, the spaces utilised for teaching the Protestant and Catholic RE are generic shared spaces used for teaching other subjects in the curriculum. The unspecialised nature of the Catholic and Protestant RE programmes is also evident in the comparatively weak assessment practices associated with RE at these schools. This lack of specialisation is understood as indicative of weak *external classification*. In contrast, the *specialisation of time, space, agents and evaluation* in the Muslim RE programme is strong. RE in this programme is a specialised subject allocated comparatively large portions of curriculum time and taught predominantly by agents who are specialised in the affiliated religion and who are specifically recruited to teach RE rather than other subjects in the curriculum. Moreover, RE in the Muslim programme is mostly taught in spaces specialised for the teaching of RE.⁶⁹ Furthermore, the assessment practices associated with the RE modules are comparable to the assessment practices of other high-status subjects in the curriculum.

Finally, the RE offering at the Jewish school presents two programmes with differing specialisation codings: Jewish studies, as a distinct programme, is less specialised than Torah studies as it is not taught in a specialised space and has weaker evaluative practices. Although Torah studies is fairly strongly specialised, it is not as specialised as the Muslim RE programme as it is not allocated as much time.

⁶⁹ Although not included as a theoretical dimension in the analysis, it should be noted that the Jewish and Muslim schools included robust, independent and hierarchically structured RE departments which enjoyed a strong degree of autonomy in terms of the management of the RE programme. In contrast, the Protestant and Catholic schools did not have strong, structured autonomous RE departments.

Table 5.5 Summary of External Classification Analysis

	Protestant	Catholic	Jewish		Muslim
			Torah studies	Jewish studies	
External classification by programme	Weak	Weak	Fairly strong	Fairly weak	Strong

5.3.2 Internal Classification: Affiliated Religion and Other Religious Perspectives

This section focuses on the classification within the RE modules between the affiliated religion and other religious perspectives. The strength of this classification is measured in relation to the extent to which the RE module promotes the legitimacy of the affiliated religion over the legitimacy of other religious perspectives, thus bounding the affiliated religion from other religious perspectives.⁷⁰ A coding instrument for *internal classification* can be viewed in Appendix C, Table C2.

5.3.2.1 Results of Coding for Internal Classification: Affiliated Religion and Other Religious Perspectives

Protestant School: The Protestant school’s Bible class curriculum does not reference other religious perspectives or encourage students to openly explore other religions. In the interviews with both staff and teachers there was no mention of the need or existence of education about other religions in any part of the schools’ junior or senior programme.⁷¹ One of the teachers mentioned that the school had offered an apologetics class for the senior students the previous year which focused on equipping students to defend their Christian beliefs. This would have included some discussion regarding other religions but framed in the context of showing how Christianity is unique and different from other religions. Furthermore, teachers from other denominations are not encouraged to promote their particular ‘brand’ of Christianity. The principal mentioned that, “We have a mixture of teachers from different denominations and they are encouraged not to go down their particular line within the classes. In fact, they are discouraged from doing that” (Prot, P, 5.2).

⁷⁰ The analytical framework for recognising *internal classification* was presented in Chapter 4.

⁷¹ Furthermore, the school does not participate in any inter-religious forums and does not offer LO. Thus, fostering understanding or tolerance for other religions is not pursued by the Protestant school at any level. Thus strong classification of the affiliated religion and other religious perspectives is characteristic of the whole instructional and expressive order.

Thus, the Protestant school embodies strong *internal classification* in its Bible class between the affiliated Christian religion and other religious perspectives (see Table 5.6).

Table 5.6 Results of Internal Classification Coding for the Protestant School’s RE

	RE (Bible class)
Internal classification coding	++ (3) Strong

Catholic School: In contrast to the Protestant school, the Catholic school’s LO/RE programme actively seeks to incorporate the beliefs and practices of other religious perspectives. The staff reiterated that LO/RE was not trying to ‘indoctrinate’ students into Catholicism, but rather sought to present Catholicism in conjunction with other religions so that students could choose for themselves. Thus, the LO/RE curriculum is framed as open and exploratory. The principal described LO/RE as follows:

Principal: When they move from a very Catholic base in the junior school, senior school children are encouraged to be critical and aware and so on. We have our classes where children from all denominations and religions, Muslim whatever, and they all believe in the same God. So, our curriculum is not to force Catholicism down their throats, it is to be open and so on. In that way, they are given a lot of freedom to explore where their own spirituality lies. (Cath, P, 1.11)

A LO/RE teacher confirmed this focus on presenting different faith perspectives and allowing students to make their own choices:

RE Teacher: It is nice in a classroom to tackle a topic from a Catholic perspective, a Jewish perspective, a Muslim perspective, etc. Then the girls can see what everybody’s perspective is and make a decision based, not on having something force fed, but they are old enough to be able to be critical thinkers and make their own decisions. (Cath, RET, 5.9)

LO/RE is thus a space in which a variety of religious perspectives are actively sought without a sense of privileging the affiliated religion of the school. Although the Catholic perspective is presented, it is framed as one of many potential religious ways of viewing the world. Therefore, the *internal classification* between the affiliated religion and other religions is coded as weak in the LO/RE programme (see Table 5.7).⁷²

⁷² The Confirmation programme in grade 11 presents a much stronger classification in respect of the affiliated religion and other religious perspectives. The course follows an official Catholic confirmation syllabus and as such is focused on presenting the Catholic faith rather than exploring other religious perspectives. Thus, this programme is coded as displaying fairly strong *classification* between the affiliated religion and other religious

Table 5.7 Results of Internal Classification Coding for the Catholic School's RE

	RE (LO/RE)
Internal classification coding	--(0) Weak

Jewish School: In the Jewish RE offering the *internal classification* of the affiliated religion and other religious perspectives differed between the two programme options. While Torah studies draws strong boundaries in this respect, being closed even to the expression of Jewish identities that are not aligned with the school's Zionist traditional orthodoxy, the Jewish studies programme presents a space which is open to the expression of 'alternative' Jewish identities and perspectives including the rejection of religious belief. Thus, Torah studies is coded as displaying strong *internal classification* between the affiliated religion and other religious perspectives, while Jewish studies is coded as embodying fairly weak *internal classification* between the affiliated religion and other perspectives (see Table 5.8).

Table 5.8 Results of Internal Classification Coding for the Jewish School's RE

	RE (Torah studies)	RE (Jewish studies)
Internal classification coding	++(3) Strong	-(1) Fairly weak

Muslim School: The Muslim school's RE programme does not attempt to address other religions or present various possible Islamic identities. Thus, within the context of the three RE modules very strong boundaries are drawn between the affiliated religion and other religious perspectives indicative of strong *internal classification* (see Table 5.9).⁷³

Table 5.9 Results of Internal Classification Coding for the Muslim School's RE

	RE (Qur'an + Islamic studies + Arabic)
Internal classification coding	++ (3) Strong

perspectives. However, this is a minor deviation in the larger LO/RE programme and thus is not presented as affecting the classification coding for the RE programme.

⁷³ At both the Jewish and Muslim schools, other religions are explained and discussed to some degree in LO. Furthermore, both schools participate in an inter-religious forum in which students from different religious schools meet periodically to facilitate inter-faith dialogue. Therefore, both the Muslim and Jewish school include, within their instructional orders, a strong *classification* within RE between the affiliated religion and other religions, but also include a weaker bounded space, in this respect, in their LO programme and in extra-curricular offerings.

5.3.2.2 Summary of Analysis of Internal Classification

As shown in Table 5.10, below, the analysis indicates that the Protestant and Muslim RE programmes implement strong *internal classification* between the affiliated religion and other religious perspectives in their RE programmes.⁷⁴ In contrast, the Catholic school actively seeks to integrate content regarding other religions into its RE programme, focusing on similarities across religions. The Catholic RE programme seeks to present the beliefs and practices of the major religions equally; the student is constructed as choosing for herself her own religious beliefs and practices within this context. Finally, Jewish studies, while not addressing other religions, displays an openness to Jewish perspectives that are not aligned with the schools official religious positioning. The other Jewish RE module, Torah studies, does not share this openness to different Jewish perspectives.

Table 5.10 Summary of Coding for Internal Classification: Affiliated Religion and other Religious Perspectives

	Protestant RE	Catholic RE	Jewish RE Torah studies	Jewish RE Jewish studies	Muslim RE
Internal classification coding by programme	Strong	Weak	Strong	Fairly Weak	Strong

5.3.3 Framing: Hierarchical Rules

The analysis in this section considers the strength of the framing in relation to the *hierarchical rules* of RE practice. The strength of the framing over the *hierarchical rules* is interpreted in terms of the explicitness of the hierarchical relations between teacher and student in an RE lesson. This notion of explicitness is related to the reported formality of RE lessons. Informality in this analysis refers to open sharing by both teacher and students of personal discourse as well as opinions in the context of informal, student-led discussion. These forms of discourse relate to implicit control on the part of the teacher and render it difficult to distinguish the ‘transmitter’ in the pedagogic relationship. As Bernstein (2000) succinctly proposes, “We can define an implicit hierarchy as a relationship where power is

⁷⁴ However, the Jewish and Muslim school offer spaces, such as LO, that present a weaker *classification* between the affiliated religion and other religions. The Protestant school holds strong classification between the affiliated religion and other religions at all levels of school activity.

masked or hidden by devices of communication” (p. 199).⁷⁵ A coding schedule for this section is viewable in Appendix C, Table C3.

5.3.3.1 Results of Coding for Framing: Hierarchical Rules

Protestant School: While the teachers interviewed insisted that Bible class was approached pedagogically in the same way as any other lesson, there was a recognition that Bible class included a personal aspect and more open informal discussion than other classes. The principal confirmed the personal emphasis of Bible lesson, “We personalise it and look at how what we read applies to the children’s lives and follow it up with prayer and praying for each other and for circumstances that may be going on in their lives” (Prot, P, 1.9).

Another teacher also recognised that time set aside for prayer differentiated the lesson: “actually quite a bit of Bible class is open to being spent in prayer together...there is less written work, hardly any written work” (Prot, VP, 1.9). Moreover, the students emphasised the difference between Bible class and other classes in relation to informality. For example, one student, when asked to compare the way Bible class was taught to other lessons, remarked:

Student 1: It is quite different, so for example we don’t really follow a textbook, so a lot of times the teacher would have something ‘on his heart’ and will bring that in and we discuss that. Also, there are lots of discussions and we are not basing our discussions on facts if you know what I mean, like say in Biology class. In Bible study discussions are more personal opinions and teaching on more general opinions of the teacher. Ja, so quite different. (Prot, S1, 2.2)

Therefore, a coding of implicit *hierarchical rules* is allocated to RE pedagogy (see Table 5.11).

Table 5.11 Results of Framing of Hierarchical Rules Coding for Protestant School’s RE

	RE (Bible class)
Framing of hierarchical rules by programme	--(0) Implicit

⁷⁵ The analytical framework for this section is presented in Chapter 4.

Catholic School: The staff placed great emphasis on the relative informality of LO/RE lessons in comparison to other subjects. The principal described RE in comparison to other lessons this way:

Principal: I would say very different from my experience in that girls don't have the pressure of exams, so they find it a very relaxed atmosphere. There are many discussions and it is a situation where children feel no pressure on them. (Cath, P, 2.2)

A LO/RE teacher explained the difference between LO/RE and other lessons in terms of an essential difference in what LO/RE attempts to transmit: "It is not about passing on knowledge, it is about discussion and sharing of knowledge across the barrier of teacher and learner and the ability to listen and understand other points of view. So, I think it is quite different in that regard" (Cath, RET, 2.2). This teacher refers to a general relaxing of formality which is described in terms of a permeability of the 'barrier' between student and teacher. This permeability relates to the implicit nature of the *hierarchical rules*, which serves to transmit a particular 'disposition' rather than specialised 'knowledge'. This disposition is described as being able to 'listen and understand other points of view'. Students at the Catholic school also felt that LO/RE was taught with an informality not apparent in other lessons. One student, when asked if LO/RE was taught differently to other subjects, replied: "It is quite different. We watch more movies, it has less assessment and more discussion and it just is more relaxed than other subjects" (Cath, S2, 2.2). Therefore, the RE programme is coded as an example of implicit *hierarchical rules* (see Table 5.12).

Table 5.12 Results of Framing of Hierarchical Rules Coding for Catholic School's RE

	RE (LO/RE)
Framing of hierarchical rules by programme	--(0) Implicit

Jewish School: The Jewish studies programme was described by both teachers and students as more relaxed and informal than other lessons with more discussion and encouragement of student opinions. To facilitate this goal, a RE teacher related that the seating arrangement is often changed from rows to a large circle. The principal described the teaching methodology in Jewish Studies as:

Principal: Quite different, the idea is to be as open to questioning and discussion as possible. Obviously, the school follows the Orthodox line, but the children do not all: they are not homogenous, they are not all religious. There is a vast array and they need a place to feel

completely comfortable, so they can voice their opinions and not necessarily in an academic manner as one would expect in a secular subject. (Jew, P, 2.2)

A student who had recently switched over from Torah studies to Jewish studies described the programme as, “amazing. Topics that are not usually discussed were discussed...there was lots of room for debate and understanding and opinion” (Jew, S3, 1.1). Therefore, the Jewish studies programme is coded as displaying implicit *hierarchical rules* due to the emphasis on open informal discussion and opinion, as well as the weak control over what is allowed to be discussed and said.

The Torah studies programme also emphasised learning through discussion utilising traditional Jewish pedagogic methods that involve rigorous discussion and debate over the meaning of the sacred text facilitated by a rabbi. The classes are capped at ten students to facilitate this methodology. While the vibrant discussion and debate could be interpreted as indicating weak formality, there were indications that the lessons maintained a certain tone that was suggestive of greater formality than the Jewish studies lesson. The principal described Torah studies as, “a kind of discipline. It is a type of study that imposes its own discipline. But again, it is very discursive and that is the Jewish way of learning; by discussion, by opinion, by arguing it out” (Jew, P, 2.2). The discipline imposed here is a reference to explicit evaluation of the student’s discourse during the lesson by the specialised voice of the Torah studies teacher with the intent of transmitting the recognition and realisation rules of an Orthodox Jewish scholar. Therefore, a student in Torah studies is not given space to question or debate the legitimacy of the Orthodox identity. One of the students interviewed, who had recently switched from Torah Studies to Jewish studies, complained about Torah studies:

Student 3: I found it did not work for me in the sense that it was very rigid, there was no room for debate and understanding, which I found difficult. I did find it discussion-based, but there is not really any room for opinion. There is no room for discussion in the sense of ‘why do we believe this?’ It is more this is what we believe in, end of story, there is no leeway for opinion. (Jew, S3, 1.1)

Furthermore, neither teachers nor students mentioned anything to suggest that Torah studies encouraged the sharing of personal information or sentiments, which would mask the hierarchical relation between the teacher and the students. Therefore, in spite of the discussion-based pedagogic approach, Torah Studies is coded as having fairly explicit *hierarchical rules* (see Table 5.13).

Table 5.13 Results of Framing of Hierarchical Rules Coding for Jewish School's RE

	RE (Torah studies)	RE (Jewish studies)
Framing of hierarchical rules by programme	+ (2) Fairly explicit	-- (0) Implicit

Muslim School: The RE programme at the Muslim school was reported as taught with equal formality to other subjects across the three components: Arabic, Qur'an and Islamic studies. Arabic was reported to be taught in a similar way to any other language lesson. Qur'an lessons were described as involving the recital of portions of the Qur'an in the presence of an imam, and thus not involving open discussion or the sharing of personal information or opinions. However, the Islamic studies programme was described by students as quite regularly involving lengthy discussions. When asked if there was a lot of discussion in an Islamic studies class, a student replied:

Student 1: In Islamic studies, there is a lot of discussion. If we start with the story about the Prophet or whatever and get to the second sentence and there is a line that somebody does not understand, they then ask the teacher, 'What does this mean?'. Then the teacher explains to him what it means. Then somebody else does not understand the explanation, 'Why is it like that, why can't we do that?'. It starts a big discussion and so after three lines of a story it is possible that the whole period is finished arguing about those lines. (Mus, S1, 2.2)

However, the discussion mentioned in this extract is described in a manner in which it is very clear that the teacher is the authoritative voice. The discussion takes the form of a question and answer session in which the students direct questions to the teacher (not to each other); rather than challenging the teacher's authority, students defer to it. Nothing in the interviews suggested that Islamic studies included the open sharing of opinions or personal sentiment that would render implicit the hierarchy between the teacher and the students. Thus, in spite of the emphasis on discussion in Islamic studies, RE is also given an explicit *hierarchical rules* coding (see Table 5.14).

Table 5.14 Results of Framing of Hierarchical Rules Coding for Muslim School's RE

	RE (Qur'an + Islamic studies + Arabic)
Framing of hierarchical rules by programme	++ (3) Explicit

5.3.3.2 Summary of Framing of Hierarchical Rules Analysis

As summarized in Table 5.15, below, the Protestant and Catholic schools' modality of pedagogic practice tends to mask the hierarchical control relation between the teacher and student via a pedagogic approach that encourages student-led informal discussion (and prayer at the Protestant school) in which students and the teacher share opinions and personal information. A similar pedagogic modality is apparent in the Jewish studies programme, in which students and teacher engage in plentiful and spirited discussion about contemporary Jewish topics; during this time, students freely voice their opinions and feelings even if they do not align completely with the school's official Orthodox and Zionist ideology. However, the Torah studies programme is realised through fairly explicit *hierarchical rules*, in which structured discussion is explicitly controlled by the specialised teacher (usually a rabbi). Finally, the Muslim School's RE programme is marked by explicit *hierarchical rules*, lacking both the emphasis on the personal life of the student (emphasised in the Protestant RE), as well as the open, egalitarian discussion typical of the Catholic school's RE.

Table 5.15 Summary of Hierarchical Rules Coding Applied to Schools

	Protestant RE	Catholic RE	Jewish RE Torah studies	Jewish RE Jewish studies	Muslim RE
Framing by programme	Implicit	Implicit	Fairly explicit	Implicit	Explicit

5.3.4 Summary of the RE Analysis

Protestant School: RE at the Protestant school is a particularly unspecialised discourse in respect of time, space agents and evaluation, which is understood to be indicative of weak *external classification* of the programme in relation to other subjects in the curriculum. The RE programme presents strong *internal classification* between the affiliated religion and other religious perspectives, in which the affiliated religion is exclusively presented as the legitimate discourse. Finally, the pedagogic practice of the RE programme masks the hierarchical relation between student and teacher indicative of weak framing of the *hierarchical rules*. See Table 5.16, below.

Catholic School: The Catholic school's RE shares many of the same characteristics of the Protestant RE programme. Like the Protestant school, RE at the Catholic school is mostly

unspecialised in relation to time, space, agents and evaluation, and thus characterised by relatively weak *external classification*. Moreover, the pedagogic relay is also marked by comparatively weak framing of the *hierarchical rules*. However, the Catholic school RE differs substantially from the Protestant school in relation to *internal classification*. Rather than strongly bounding the affiliated religion from other religious perspectives as the only legitimate discourse, the Catholic school's RE presents all religious perspectives as legitimate.

Jewish School: The Jewish school's RE offers two quite contrasting RE programmes that are run simultaneously. The Torah studies programme is strongly bounded from other religious perspectives and realised via a similar pedagogic modality (explicit *hierarchical rules*). However, the Jewish studies programme presents a contrasting approach that shares similarities with the Catholic school's RE programme. In Jewish studies, the boundary between the affiliated religion and other religious perspectives is weakened along with *specialisation of space and evaluation*. Moreover, the pedagogic relay is realised by implicit control over the *hierarchical rules*. It is noticeable that Jewish studies is structurally similar to the RE programme at the Catholic school.

Muslim School: The Muslim school presents the most *specialised* RE programme of all the schools in the sample. Perhaps the most distinguishing feature of the Muslim school's approach to RE was the strong *specialisation of time* in its programme. Therefore, the Muslim RE programme is organised by a strong *external classificatory* principle. The programme also displays strong *internal classification* relayed via a pedagogic modality characterised by explicit *hierarchical rules* in which the authority of the specialised teacher (often a leader in the religious community) is explicit in the pedagogic practice.

Table 5.16 Summary of the Coding Analysis of the RE Programmes at the Four Schools

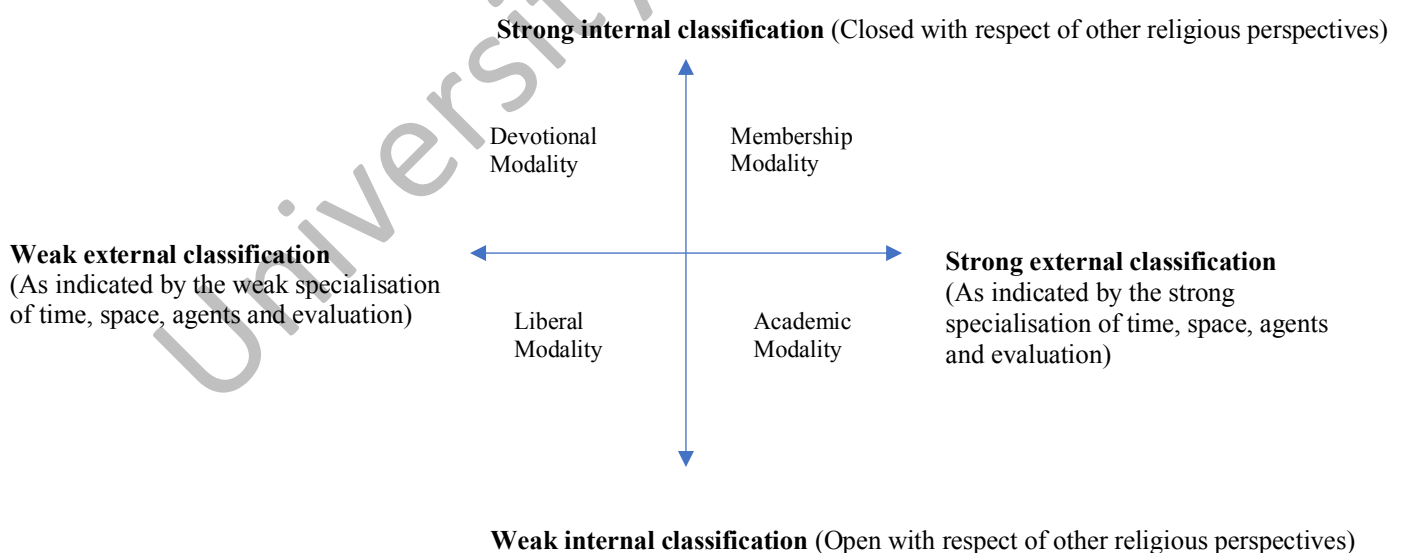
	Protestant RE	Catholic RE	Jewish RE Torah studies	Jewish RE Jewish studies	Muslim RE
External classification	Weak	Weak	Fairly strong	Fairly weak	Strong
Internal classification	Strong	Weak	Strong	Fairly weak	Strong
Framing	Implicit	Implicit	Fairly explicit	Implicit	Explicit

5.4 Discussion

Four modalities of RE can be generated by variation with respect to *external* and *internal classification*. The RE programmes of the four schools in the sample will then be positioned in relation to these modalities and further specified by the nature of the *framing* relation through which the *classification* is realised in pedagogic practice. The discussion will then turn to some comments on the possible relation between the affiliated religions of the schools and the structure of the RE programmes as elucidated by the analysis, and will then relate these further to Durkheimian (1960) notions of mechanical and organic solidarity.

Four modalities of RE can be generated by constructing a Cartesian plane with the vertical axis representing the strength of the *internal classification* of the RE programme and the horizontal axis representing the strength of the *external classification* of the RE programme. Figure 5.1 below shows how four modalities (devotional, membership, liberal and academic) are generated by a consideration of the nature of the RE along the two dimensions of classification.

Figure 5.1 Four RE Modalities Generated in Relation to Internal and External Classification



The Protestant school's RE pedagogy, with its weak *external classification* and strong *internal classification*, is an exemplar of a *devotional RE modality* realised through weak *framing*. This modality is not concerned with relaying discursive criteria related to an

‘external’ specialised body of knowledge and skills. Rather, the Protestant school’s RE is primarily concerned with the specialisation of the student’s ‘inner’ consciousness via a pedagogy promoting deeply personal, individualised engagement with the Protestant sacred text. One student, who expressed that she did not consider herself to be a Christian, poignantly described RE as: “more personal, people connect with God during this time from what I have seen. It is their [the Christians in the class] time. Whereas in other subjects it is about education more so than being a Christian” (Prot, S2, 2.2). Rather than focusing on gradable external performance, the Protestant *devotional* RE focuses on “...procedures internal to the acquirer (cognitive, linguistic, affective, motivational) as a consequence of which a text is created and experienced” (Bernstein, 1990, p. 71). A certain internal competence is assumed which is related to ‘being a Christian’ and the weak *hierarchical framing* encourages unique realisations of this inner dispositional orientation which are implicitly evaluated by the teacher. In this sense RE at the Protestant school is an example of an invisible pedagogic modality.

The discussion now turns to some comments on the possible relation between the *devotional modality* of RE at the Protestant school and some structuring aspects of Christianity theorised by Bernstein (2000) (which are often particularly accentuated in Protestant forms of Christian expression). As presented in Chapter 3, Bernstein argues that a key structural hallmark of Christianity is the dislocation it sets up between the inner and the outer: that is between the socially abstracted individual consciousness and the concrete world of culture, action and materiality. At the Protestant school in the sample this dislocation of the inner and the outer and the privileging of the inner is evident in the strong emphasis on an individualised conversion experience (being saved by faith) and the resulting ‘personal’ relationship with God.

Bernstein (2000) relates the dislocation of the inner and outer in Christianity to the separation of the medieval curriculum into two parts: the Trivium and the Quadrivium. Bernstein describes the Trivium as:

...concerned to constitute a particular form of consciousness, a distinct modality of the self, to set limits for that form of consciousness, to regulate the modality of the self...the appropriate construction of the inner, the truly Christian self. (p. 82)

Bernstein goes on to relate the Trivium to the establishment of a uniquely Christian regulative discourse (moral order):

The Trivium comes first. The Trivium is very much the regulative discourse. The Trivium establishes a legitimate form of consciousness, which can then be realised in other explorations...the Trivium is concerned with the construction of the inner, the inner consciousness. (p. 82)

Similarly, the Protestant school's RE is the 'regulative discourse' of the school's affiliated Protestant religion. It is primarily concerned with the specialisation of the student's inner consciousness via a pedagogy promoting deeply personal, individualised (unique) realisations in relation to the sacred text. This understanding of RE as the 'regulative discourse' was evident in many of the staff and students' descriptions of its purpose articulated as an 'integration' into the 'Christian philosophy' of the school. Thus, the *devotional* RE at the Protestant school is concerned with "the construction of the inner consciousness" (Bernstein, 2000, p. 82) of a particular form of Christianity.⁷⁶ However, unlike the Trivium, this distinct 'Christian inner self' is not relayed via strong instructional specialisation related to the internal logic of language (the Word). Rather, the Protestant school's privileged inner is relayed via weak instructional specialisation and a strong regulative individualisation. Chapter 6 will explore how this 'regulative discourse' is understood as the basic ordering principle of the whole curriculum: colonising the curriculum from within.

Finally, in relation to Durkheim's (1960) forms of solidarity, it should be noted that the form of the collective conscience (that is the distinctively 'Christian' moral order) relayed via the Protestant school's RE, bears striking resemblance to the description of the collective conscience indicative of organic solidarity. Rather than presenting a pervasive set of concrete shared values and practices, the collective conscience (moral order) relayed by the Protestant RE celebrates a particularly abstract and limited set of ideals constituting a Protestant Christian 'cult of the individual.' The moral order of the Protestant RE celebrates the sacredness of the individual and the socially abstracted potential of the individual to realise a

⁷⁶ The Bible class seems to act as a symbolic marker of the actual 'Trivium': a particular Protestant Christian home upbringing. This explanation helps explain the tensions expressed in many of the interviews, suggesting that students without this particular Christian upbringing feel particular antagonism toward Bible class, which assumes a particular religious consciousness that these students do not have. The interviews suggested that many students from 'non-Christian' homes experienced a sense of 'exclusion,' combined with a feeling of being 'judged'. This, in turn, contributes to the problem of student polarisation into 'Christian' and 'non-Christian' sub-groups within the school.

personal relationship with God. Thus, within a *devotional RE modality*, social cohesion is constituted by a shared idealisation of an individually realised (in this case a very particular relation between God and the individual) Christian spirituality: a closed religious organic solidarity.

In a similar way to the Protestant school, RE at the Catholic school is relayed via an invisible pedagogy privileging the unique realisations of certain assumed inner competencies rather than the gradable performance of specialised instructional criteria. Moreover, the *external classificatory principle* is also weak. Therefore, the difference between the structuring of the Catholic RE and the Protestant RE, made visible by the analysis, is in the *internal classificatory principle* regulating the boundary between the affiliated religion and other religious perspectives. At the Catholic school, this principle is weak. This weakening shifts the Catholic RE away from socialisation into a narrowly Catholic (Christian) inner consciousness toward the realisation of a moral order which constitutes a liberal modality of the self, characterised by notions such as autonomy, critical engagement, self-exploration, religious tolerance and philanthropy.

Although both the Protestant and Catholic RE classes exemplify implicit *hierarchical rules*, the purpose of this ordering of authority is contrasting. For the Protestant school, the *implicit hierarchical* rules are a part of an endeavour to socialise students into a particular Protestant religious modality of being, while in the Catholic RE pedagogy these implicit rules aim to encourage (within its weak classification of religions) open, individualised identity formation into a *liberal modality* of the self. All religions⁷⁷ are brought together as potential discourses to be recruited by the self-actualising individual.⁷⁸ Thus, the Catholic school's RE pedagogy exemplifies the *liberal modality*. The moral order of the Catholic RE celebrates the sacredness of the individual and the potential for authentic self-realisation particularly in respect of philanthropic action. Thus, within a *liberal RE modality*, social cohesion is constituted by a shared idealisation of the sacredness, rights and inner potential of the

⁷⁷ At least liberal/moderate expressions of all religions. The school rejects "fundamentalist" religious identities.

⁷⁸ The above discussion excludes the confirmation class option offered to students in grade 11. This pedagogy would present a shift toward a *membership* approach and is clearly framed as socialisation into the religious community of the Catholic church. The official Catholic confirmation material is utilised, which presents much stronger *classification* between the affiliated religion and other religious perspectives. The course is specifically provided for students from Catholic families and is optional. Thus, unlike the Protestant school, the Catholic school differentiates students in its high school RE offering, at least at grade 11 level, both *liberal* as well as *membership modalities* in a recognition and acceptance of the diversity in its student base in terms of the religious positioning of the students' home environment.

individual in which the affiliated religion is framed as one of many legitimate realisations of this sacredness: an open religious organic solidarity.⁷⁹

The weak *internal classificatory principle* underwriting the difference between the *devotional modality* of the Protestant school and the *liberal modality* of the Catholic school is indicative of a difference between the regulative orders of the two religious (Christian) communities affiliated to the schools. The Catholic affiliated community is characterised by a more open and generalised notion of salvation which views all religions as potential avenues for authentic self-realisation, combined with an emphasis on social justice.⁸⁰ The Catholic emphasis on social justice suggests a weaker dislocation of inner and outer in comparison to the Protestant school's affiliated religion. The Catholic self (and its salvation) is not completely abstracted from the 'outer.' Rather, the Catholic self reaches out to the external world via charitable good works. The Protestant affiliated community does not share the liberal Catholic openness to other religions or its emphasis on 'social justice.' but rather privileges a theology that emphasises the 'narrow door' of salvation as involving exclusively a very particular individualised faith in Christ: distancing the individual's religious identity from ethical action in the social world (salvation is by grace alone, not by works).⁸¹

The analysis now turns to the RE programmes at the Jewish and Muslim schools which, excluding the Jewish studies programme, exemplify the *membership modality* of RE, characterised by strong *external* and *internal classification*. Furthermore, these programmes emphasise the gradable performance of specialised instructional discourse related to the 'outer': the language, rituals, and laws that constitute the order of the affiliated religious community. The pedagogic relay of this specialised discourse is characterised by explicit *hierarchical rules* constituting a visible pedagogic modality.

⁷⁹ This form of organic solidarity is not as strongly constituted at the Catholic school in comparison to the Protestant school. This is because, at the Catholic school, the emphasis on social responsibility and community outreach place the student in relation (be it a weak one) to the abstract 'collective' of civil society.

⁸⁰ Douglas (1982) identifies this post-Vatican II modality of Catholicism as privileging individual, private spirituality and a movement away from ritualism. Douglas recognizes three characteristics of this new Catholic modality: "First there is a contempt of external ritual forms; second, there is the private internalizing of religious experience; third, there is the move to humanist philanthropy" (p. 7).

⁸¹ This characterisation of the affiliated religious community was drawn from an interview with a religious leader involved with each of the schools in which questions were asked regarding the nature of salvation and the extent to which other religions were recognized as legitimate.

The contrasting structuring of RE at the Muslim and Jewish schools in relation to the two Christian schools in the sample relates to what Bernstein suggests is a fundamental difference between Christianity on the one hand and Judaism and Islam on the other. In the discussion above, it was suggested that Christianity constitutes a dislocation between the inner (sacred) and the outer. However, Bernstein argues that Judaism and Islam⁸² do not present this same dislocation. Therefore, in Judaism and Islam, ‘external’ artefacts of culture, such as language, dietary restriction and specific ritual practices, are not dislocated from the religious inner self, but are understood as constituting that self in the social.

Therefore, RE at the Muslim school and the Jewish school’s Torah studies are not constituted as primarily emphasising a socially abstracted regulative discourse, but rather each programme privileges a ‘sacred’ instructional specialization that embraces the ‘outer’: the language, rituals and laws of the affiliated religious community. This is indicative of a similarity between the Orthodox Judaism of the Jewish school’s affiliated religious community and the fairly conservative Islam of the Muslim school’s affiliated religious community. It would seem that both constitute the relation to God as mediated primarily by the social bond between the individual believer and the community: the primary relation does not require the abstraction of the individual inner from the outer social/cultural. Therefore, the Jewish school’s Torah studies and the Muslim school’s RE programme⁸³ exemplify a *membership modality* in that RE in these programmes relays the specialised knowledge, skills and order of a particular community realised by a pedagogic practice that emphasises the explicitly evaluated performance of this ‘sacred social’ instructional content.

Returning to forms of social solidarity and the nature of the collective conscience (moral order) of the RE programmes described above as a *membership modality*, it would seem that these RE programmes constitute a collective conscience (moral order) which Durkheim

⁸² This characterisation of Judaism and Islam is less relevant to Reformed versions of Judaism and more liberal versions of Islam (which open up the gap between the inner and outer). However, the Jewish school is related to Jewish Orthodoxy and the Muslim school to a fairly conservative Islamic community and thus the characterisation applies to this context.

⁸³ The Muslim school recruits the affiliated religion into the instructional order primarily in relation to an explicit importation of the affiliated religious community’s RE programme as a compulsory academic offering in addition to the National Curriculum. Therefore, the Muslim school’s RE is modelled on, what is considered by the affiliated community to be, a standard form of religious education formally offered to its youth. The Muslim school’s RE is thus unique as it can be understood as a direct attempt to replicate, in content and form, a pedagogic programme institutionalised in the affiliated religious community.

(1960) would associate with mechanical solidarity. The moral order of these RE programmes is concrete and regulates a wide range of the student's life from her language to her dress code to the regulation of eating practices. RE presents an ordering of the individual (applicable to all) to the concrete regulative principles of a defined community, to which the student is strongly related. Thus, within a *membership RE modality*, social cohesion at its most basic is constituted by a shared idealisation of a pervasive set of specific, concrete practices and beliefs: religious mechanical solidarity. Thus, the Jewish and Muslim RE are not about the construction of a socially abstracted inner, but rather about the embedding of the individual in an outer social order.

Unlike all three other schools in the sample, the Jewish RE differentiates its RE offering such that two contrasting RE modalities are offered to students: Torah studies (*membership modality*) and Jewish studies (*liberal modality*). In the interviews, the reason for this differentiation was related to the diversity of Jewish identities represented in the school's student base. While the majority of the students come from traditional Orthodox Jewish families, many do not. The students who have not been socialised in their family context into the mechanical solidarity of Orthodox Judaism are recognised as likely to experience the *membership modality* as an affront to their sacred individuality: "having religion shoved down their throat," as one student described it. Thus, the duality of the RE offering at the Jewish school can be understood as an attempt to limit disruptive regulative friction at the school, particularly as the priority in the senior school shifts to an emphasis on the instructional criteria in the lead up to the highly-prioritised matriculation examinations. However, the dislocation in the RE offering is also indicative of a 'creative dislocation' embraced by the school at other levels, which will be discussed further in the following chapters.

Finally, a few words need to be said about the *academic modality* which is not exemplified in any of the RE programmes of the schools in the sample. The *academic modality* is characterised by strong *external classification* but weak *internal classification*. Therefore, this modality is realised by strong *specialisation of time, space, agents and evaluation* constituting a specialised instructional discourse. However, this strongly specialised discourse does not privilege the affiliated religion over other religious perspectives in terms of legitimacy. In this modality, all religions are regarded as legitimate. An example of this modality would be an RE offering such as Religious History. Such a module may deal with

the history of various religions in a given time period or country, organised according to the specialised academic principles of a theory of historical investigation. The course would thus aim to specialise students into a particular theoretical approach to religious history rather than into a particular religious ideology. The contexts in which this modality may arise and the implications of this modality in relation to the imagined ideal student is a space for future research.

5.5 Conclusion

The analysis in this chapter has shown that the structuring of the four schools' RE programmes varies in respect of *classification* and *framing*. These differences in structure have been shown to relate to some basic differences between the affiliated religions of the schools giving rise to different modalities of solidarity (see Table 5.17).

The Protestant school, with its weak *external classification* and strong *internal classification*, exemplified what is termed a *devotional RE modality*. It was argued that these classificatory principles were realised by an invisible pedagogy focused on the specialisation of the student's inner consciousness toward a particular Protestant modality of the self, indicative of the dislocation characteristic of Christianity (often accentuated in its Protestant form) of the inner (sacred) from the outer. This modality was shown to rely on and give rise to a religious form of closed organic solidarity.

The Catholic school's RE was shown to exemplify a *liberal RE modality*, sharing most of the same structural forms as the Protestant RE only differing with respect of *internal classification*. Thus, the Catholic *liberal modality* was shown to be orientated toward the specialisation of the student's inner consciousness toward a liberal individualised modality of the self in which the authentic realisation of a unique individual spirituality and 'humanistic philanthropy' is collectively idealised. This was argued to rely on a similar dislocation of the inner from the outer, giving rise to an open form of organic solidarity related to particularly liberal sub-groups of the affiliated Catholic community which emphasises ethical, social action as the essence of spirituality.

The Muslim RE and the Jewish Torah studies programme were shown to exemplify a *membership modality*. The *external* and *internal classificatory* principles in this modality are

strong. The pedagogy was shown to privilege the explicit production of an instructional discourse relating to the language, practices and ritual of the affiliated religious community. This was, in turn, related to Judaism and Islam (in their more conservative form) in respect of their lack of the dislocation between inner and outer characteristic of Christianity. It was argued that Islam and Judaism constitute the religious self in the sacred outer social of the community. Thus, RE in the *membership modality* was shown to be about the relaying of a specialised instructional discourse related to participation in the social sacred. Therefore, it was suggested that the *membership RE modality* is based upon, and gives rise to, religious mechanical solidarity: the communal idealisation of a pervasive and concrete set of shared religious beliefs, values and practices.

Finally, the Jewish RE offering was shown to present two contrasting RE programmes: Torah studies and Jewish studies, exemplifying a *membership* and a *liberal modality* respectively. It was argued that this dislocation presents an attempt to limit the regulative tension that would be created by only offering a *membership modality*.

Table 5.17 Summary of the Structuring of the RE Programmes at the Four Schools

	Protestant RE	Catholic RE	Jewish RE		Muslim RE
			Torah studies	Jewish studies	
RE modality	Devotional	Liberal	Membership	Liberal	Membership
Pedagogic relation	Invisible	Invisible	Visible	Invisible	Visible
Form of solidarity	Organic (closed)	Organic (open)	Mechanical	Organic (open)	Mechanical

Chapter 6: The Shape of the Instructional Order: The Structure of the Standard Subject Curriculum

6.1 Introduction

The preceding chapter focused on the structure of the RE offering at each of the schools in the sample. In this chapter, the analysis turns to the remaining portion of the curriculum termed the ‘standard subject curriculum’ (SSC). The interest of the chapter is in the extent to which the moral order (ideology) of the affiliated religion functions as the regulative principle in the ordering of the SSC. The analysis explores this relation in terms of Bernstein’s (1975, 2000) notion of *classification*. Therefore, the analysis looks at the strength of the boundary (classification) between the affiliated religion and the SSC section of the instructional order. The unit of analysis is the SSC as a whole. The analysis will consider this *classification* in relation to the following two dimensions:

1. SSC teacher identity and the affiliated religion
2. SSC pedagogy⁸⁴ and the affiliated religion.

In the discussion at the end of the chapter, the extent to which the affiliated religion acts as the regulative principle of order in the SSC will be discussed in relation to the findings of the previous chapter regarding the structure of the RE offerings of the four schools.

6.2 Analysis of the Schools’ SSC in Relation to the Affiliated Religion

The following analysis considers the strength of the *classification* between the affiliated religion and the SSC along the two dimensions referred to in the introduction to this chapter. Firstly, *classification* with respect of the SSC teacher identity and the affiliated religion refers to the selection criteria for SSC teachers. Strong *classification* between the affiliated religion and the SSC will be understood as signalled by selection criteria that pays little or no attention to the religious identity of the SSC teachers. Conversely, weak *classification* is understood to be indicated by strong institutionalised appointment criteria related to the

⁸⁴ Pedagogy is used broadly to refer to teaching method, curriculum texts and classroom discourse.

religious identity of the SSC teachers. Secondly, *classification* between the affiliated religion and the SSC pedagogy focuses on the degree to which the school's affiliated religion is understood to have an influence on the production of the SSC.⁸⁵ This section interprets a robust integration of the affiliated religion into the SSC as weak *classification* of the affiliated religion and SSC pedagogy. Conversely, strong *classification* is interpreted as indicated by a curriculum that makes no attempt to integrate the school's religious ethos into the SSC, and thus confines the influence of the affiliated religion of the school within the bounds of the RE programme. The analysis of the *classification* of the SSC pedagogy and the affiliated religion includes consideration of the school's affiliated religion in relation to the SSC teaching method and curriculum texts, as well as classroom discourse.⁸⁶ A coding instrument for *classification* of teacher identity and curriculum can be viewed in Appendix C, Table C4.

6.2.1 Results of Coding for Classification: Affiliated Religion and the SSC

6.2.1.1 Classification: Teacher Identity

Protestant School: All the teachers at the Protestant school are Christian and the majority identify, to a fairly substantial degree, with the school's particular affiliated religion. This is ensured by the Protestant school's staff hiring policy that requires all staff members to be "practicing Christians." The notion of a practicing Christian is described in policy as including regular church attendance and a 'real' faith. Furthermore, new teachers are required to sign a document indicating their acceptance of the Nicene Creed. The principal, when asked why the school required all the teachers to be Christian, replied: "Because, in order to teach here, they need to fully buy into what we are doing and it is a Christian base, so we need them to have a personal faith" (Prot, P, 3.2). When asked the same question, a teacher replied:

Teacher: As far as I understand, it is school policy. Why is that the case? I think for a school that is so focused on applying a certain philosophy, teachers are instrumental in applying the

⁸⁵ There are similarities here with Walford's (2002) interest in how religious schools approach curriculum structure (discussed in Chapter 2). Walford observes that some religious schools "have attempted to integrate, for example, evangelical Christianity throughout the whole of the curriculum, others have been content to have the religious teaching as a separate component of the curriculum" (p. 404).

⁸⁶ The analytical framework for recognising the strength of the *classification* between the affiliated religion and the SSC was presented in Chapter 4.

philosophy and so because the philosophy is intended to permeate all aspects of the curriculum and not just the 15-minute Bible lesson at the beginning...So every teacher, regardless of the subject they take, is not isolated to communicating that subject in a secular sense but also in a spiritual sense, in a bigger picture sense in a purposeful sense. (Prot, T, 3.2)

The head of academics responded to the same question saying, “I think because the Christian faith of the school underpins our whole programme of education from, as I said, methodology to the kind of books we use to teach” (Prot, VP, 3.2). Therefore, there is a strong connection between the SSC and the affiliated Christian religion of the school, which is viewed as necessitating a strong Christian identity among all the teaching staff. As a result, the Protestant school is coded as having weak *classification* between the affiliated religion and the SSC in terms of teacher identity.

Catholic School: The Catholic school does not prioritise congruency between the religious identity of its SSC teachers and the affiliated Catholic religion. Therefore, the majority of the SSC staff at the Catholic school was not Catholic: the staff included Muslim teachers as well as teachers who were not religious in anyway. However, the deputy head explained that:

Vice-principal: ...it is important that staff, whatever kind of standpoint they come from, whether they are religious or not, there has to be an understanding that they don't undermine the religious viewpoint of the school. So, if you are not a religious person you need to just show respect for the religious things that happen here. (Cath, VP, 3.3)

The principal explained that she hired new staff members with more weight being given to teaching proficiency than religious identity:

Principal: So, my view is that I actually employ people on the basis of their curriculum vitae. I shortlist and then I choose the best person. However, if I have got to choose between two good people, obviously, the Catholic person has an advantage in that they understand the ethos, I don't have to explain the ethos. But I had a situation where I had an Afrikaans post and the one candidate was Muslim and I gave it to her above a Catholic candidate because I knew she was an excellent teacher. (Cath, P, 3.3)

Furthermore, none of the staff interviewed considered it an ideal to have only Catholic staff members. Diversity of perspectives among the SSC staff was viewed as an important means of exposing the students to different points of view, which was considered to be a safe guard

against ‘indoctrination.’⁸⁷ The Catholic school is coded as displaying fairly strong *classification* in terms of the affiliated religion and SSC subject teacher identity.

Jewish School: The Jewish school has a very similar approach to the Catholic school in relation to the religious identity of its SSC teachers. The Jewish school’s SSC is taught by a mix of Jewish and non-Jewish teachers: approximately 60% of teachers are not Jewish. The staff interviewed had a very positive outlook on this lack of Jewish uniformity and considered it as a positive rather than a negative attribute of the school’s SSC staff makeup. For example, the principal strongly disagreed that it would be ideal if all the teachers were Jewish. She argued that:

Principal: ...the majority of the students have been in the system right from the beginning, and it is a bit of a bubble that they are in. In the last phase, before they move out it is important for them to have exposure to as many different experiences as they can. I think that exposure to teachers from a whole range of different religions and groups and racial groups and whatever you want to call them, I think is good for them. (Jew, P, 3.3)

The director of the school indicated that the priority, when hiring teachers for SSC posts, was their ability to teach the subject rather than their religious identity:

Director: I want the best people for the job, so if I am employing a science teacher I want to find the best science teachers whether they are Jewish or non-Jewish. Of course, in Jewish studies and Hebrew it is a different story. (Jew, D, 3.3)

The willingness to hire non-Jewish teachers for the SSC indicates that the religious identity of the teacher is seen as having very little bearing on the ability of the teacher to teach the SSC subjects in a manner acceptable to the school. However, the director explained that if a Jewish and a non-Jewish candidate with equal teaching proficiency applied for the same job at the school he would, “...go with the Jewish teacher because they bring with them a sense of history and a sense of understanding of the Jewish community” (Jew, D, 3.3). Thus, the Jewish school is coded as displaying fairly strong *classification* between the affiliated religion and the SSC in terms of teacher identity.

⁸⁷ The staff at the Catholic school were particularly concerned about the notion of indoctrination. The term came up in a number of places across the staff interviews and perhaps reflects a perception on the part of the staff that Catholic education may be viewed, by some, as guilty of indoctrination. Interestingly, indoctrination was not a concern mentioned at any of the other schools in the sample.

Muslim School: Like the Protestant school, all the teachers at the Muslim school are Muslim. However, unlike the Protestant school, there is no official policy requiring teachers at the school to be Muslim. The principal explained that in the past the school has employed a few Hindu and Christian teachers, suggesting such teachers are not required to “accept the school’s values, but to adapt to the values” (Mus, P, 3.2). A teacher remarked:

Teacher: ... if the need arises and we cannot find a suitable Muslim applicant that can fill the post, then we will actually take somebody from a different religion. I am actually involved with the inter-faith programme and we try and teach our kids respect for different religions. (Mus, T, 3.2)

Thus, while the school gives strong preference to Muslim teachers, it is open to employing teachers of other religions and sees some benefit in this practice as a means of modelling respect for other religions. Thus, the Muslim school is coded as showing fairly weak *classification* between the affiliated religion and the SSC teachers’ religious identities (see Table 6.1).

Table 6.1 Summary of Classification: Teacher Identity Analysis

	Protestant SSC	Catholic SSC	Jewish SSC	Muslim SSC
Classification: Teacher identity	--(0) Weak	+ (2) Fairly strong	+ (2) Fairly strong	-(1) Fairly weak

6.2.1.2 Classification: Pedagogy (Teaching Method, Curriculum Texts and Classroom Discourse)

Protestant School: According to the Protestant school’s staff, the SSC pedagogy is deeply connected to the school’s Christian ethos. Many of the staff view this integration as the primary aspect of what makes the school distinctly a Christian school. The vice-principal explained that,

Vice-principal: ...the Christian faith of the school underpins our whole programme of education from methodology to the kind of books we use to teach...our philosophy of education here is something that is very much rooted in our Christian understanding of knowledge and people and so it makes sense for us to use the same methodology based on that philosophy in whatever subject we teach. (Prot, VP, 2.2)

The school implements a curriculum and teaching method modelled on the educational thought of a Christian British educationalist named Charlotte Mason. Mason wrote a number

of books around the turn of the 20th century, in which she outlined a particular ‘Christian’ approach to education (see Mason, 2012). An international organisation utilised Mason’s work and developed a distinct ‘Christian’ curriculum and teaching method in which individualised responses to specialised texts are privileged. The Protestant school is a member school of this organisation and implements this ‘philosophy’ throughout the curriculum.

The school provides ongoing teacher training in the specific teaching methodology. New teachers undergo intensive orientation to the philosophy and are considered to arrive with teaching habits that need to be ‘unlearned’ in favour of the school’s teaching method. All the teachers interviewed considered the school’s pedagogic approach to be unique and vastly different from the teaching method of other schools. Furthermore, there is a clear understanding among the staff that the ‘philosophy’ is, at a fundamental level, Christian and based on the Bible’s teaching.

The perceived Christian influence on the SSC is largely focused on the pedagogic ‘relay’ (the methodology) rather than explicit Christian textual content or active promotion of explicitly Christian orientated classroom discourse. This is evident in the staff’s general opinion that curriculum texts are not chosen primarily based on their overt compatibility with the school’s religious beliefs. Rather, curriculum texts are chosen mostly with concern regarding their compatibility with the school’s ‘Christian’ teaching method. While the staff suggested that texts that were blatantly anti-Christian or deemed morally inappropriate would not be used in the curriculum, the texts used are often not written by Christians and they often do not promote a Christian agenda.⁸⁸ According to the school’s website, “students do the scholar’s work of the first-hand reading of primary sources of literary merit that present inspiring ideas in all subjects- not dry texts and pre-digested facts” (reference omitted for the sake of

⁸⁸ Where the content might be at odds with the school’s religious faith, the teacher is expected to mediate and present the Christian perspective. For example, the school uses science texts that promote evolution. Teachers are expected to critique evolution and present both a creationist and theistic evolutionary (God guiding aspects of the evolutionary process) option. Thus, the school places a larger weight on the form of a text than it containing only explicitly Christian content or opinions. Some consideration to content does inform the choice of texts especially with regard to the overarching moral values and age-appropriateness of the content. When the principal was asked what she thought informed the organisation’s choice of curriculum material, she replied: “They look for rich literature, but again it can’t be opposed to Christian views” (Prot, P, 3.4). Another teacher mentioned, “We make sure the content is age-appropriate and also that there is nothing there that would be offensive, that’s the wrong word, rather that it is not inappropriate” (Prot, T1, 3.4).

anonymity). Therefore, as far as possible, the curriculum consists of books written by specialists in the subject (who not necessarily Christian) rather than educational experts. The learner is imagined as a 'scholar' dealing with 'living' texts in the field of knowledge production. Therefore, in the understanding of the school, teaching material selection is directly related to the teaching method of the school and thus indirectly related to the affiliated religion.

There is a resistance evident at the Protestant school to the idea of teaching too overtly from a Christian perspective. The principal, when asked about whether the SSC is taught from a religious perspective replied, "Well for example, looking again at Science, we may refer to God's creation and the wonders of it which you can see in Science. So, it is not direct, we don't contrive to put God into everything, but where there is a natural expression of God in something we look at that and refer to it" (Prot, P, 3.6). The school seems at pains not to present the Christian discourse in the classroom in a way that makes it visible as a discourse alongside another discourse. Hence, it must come up 'naturally,' which could be interpreted as meaning implicitly, and must remain invisible to the learner who should not recognise it as a separate discourse. This would seem to present weak, invisible *classification* of religious discourse and academic discourse: an attempt to collapse the two into a single discourse that is framed as 'the true, the beautiful and the good,' rather than just another perspective, be it a Christian one.

The Protestant school is an example of a pervasive integration of the school's religion as a fundamental ordering principle of the SSC. This attempt focuses primarily on teaching method which, in turn, orders the choice of curriculum materials and keeps the boundaries of what counts as Christian 'religious' discourse and academic discourse blurred in classroom contexts. Overall, the Protestant school is coded as displaying weak *classification* between the affiliated religion and the SSC in terms of pedagogy.

However, in grade 11 and 12, the school substantially aligns itself with the National Curriculum, as students write national matriculation examinations at the end of grade 12. Starting from grade 11, SSC texts are primarily selected with reference to success in matriculation rather than their compatibility with the 'Christian' pedagogy of the school. This shift is interpreted very negatively by the staff, who recognise that preparation for

matriculation examinations is incompatible with the school's methodology. The vice-principal, when asked about the school's attitude toward matriculation examinations, replied:

Vice-principal: I think there is this idea that is a necessary evil...A lot of the types of questions and the whole learning process leading up to these exams has required a style of learning that is very contrary to what we believe about learning at the school. For example, the matrics are only realising now the benefits of cramming where they have never even thought to cram in the past. (Prot, VP, 4.9)

The principal commented further:

Principal: This is a huge dilemma for me at the moment because I have introduced the IEB matric and what we are having to do to prepare kids for matric is teach them to jump through hoops. It really goes against everything that we have instilled up to that point: that it is not just about the marks, it is not about the end result, it is a part of growing as you move through the process...it is not what we believe to be the right way to be educating... So, we have to do this kind of jump to the left, at the end of their schooling. (Prot, P, 4.9)

With the shift toward preparation for matriculation examination, the school's distinctive methodology is phased out as it is incompatible with the demands of the evaluative rules of the national matriculation examinations. In terms of the *classification*, this is interpreted as a strengthening of the boundary between the religious affiliation of the school in relation to the SSC.

Catholic School: Unlike the Protestant school, the Catholic school fully embraces the National Curriculum (from grade eight through grade 12) with no attempt to recontextualise it in relation to Catholic ideology. There was consensus among the staff interviewed that the school did not promote any specific teaching method related to the school's affiliated religion, but rather allowed teachers space to utilise their own professional discretion as to how they taught their classes. Thus, in contrast to the Protestant school, teaching method is unregulated on the condition that teachers are fully covering the necessary curriculum.

All the staff interviewed emphatically denied any influence of the religious on the selection of teaching material and texts. The criteria for selection was squarely placed on the suitability of the text to clearly and accurately relay the curriculum content. The principal's response, regarding the influence of the school's religious beliefs on the selection of texts and materials, is representative of the other staff responses to this question:

Principal: None whatsoever. Years ago, there might have been an issue about evolution, that is not a problem now. They just choose the best books that cover the curriculum. Because, I believe particularly that we are producing critical thinkers, and not indoctrinating, so we must be open to a variety of views in the world today. (Cath, P, 3.4)

Furthermore, the staff interviewed felt that the SSC was not, in any way, taught from a religious perspective and the vice-principal reiterated that there was no encouragement from school management for staff to attempt to do this. The vice-principal noted that,

Vice-principal: For example, in Life Sciences or Biology, nobody would try to tell a Life Science teacher that you have to teach the Catholic position, that you can't cross some kind of principle that the Catholic religion might hold. Like creationism. Definitely not, I would say definitely not! (Cath, VP, 3.5)

The principal, commenting on her approach to teaching History, remarked: "I mean I can only talk from a historical and economic point of view, which is my field, I would teach the curriculum and wouldn't engage in anything from a religious point of view" (Cath, P, 3.5).

Therefore, the Catholic school maintains strong boundaries between the SSC, making no attempt to integrate Catholic ideology into this section of the curriculum in terms of pedagogic method, curriculum materials or classroom discourse. The Catholic school is therefore coded as displaying strong *classification* between the affiliated religion and the SSC.

Jewish School: Similar to the Catholic school, the Jewish school follows the National Curriculum in the SSC and does not attempt to integrate the affiliated Jewish religion. However, the majority of teachers, when asked if there was a particular way of teaching that was specific to the school, suggested that the school adopted a pedagogy that promoted interaction that involved a high level of 'challenging' questioning of the teachers by students.⁸⁹

⁸⁹ The director explained that:

Director: There is this whole ethos we have installed in our school around questioning and demanding answers and pushing the boundaries. Teachers that come from other schools often take a little while to settle in because they find it quite tough. The environment and culture here is slightly different; it is something we consciously encourage our teachers to let the kids question and question and push the boundaries. And we tread that thin line: where is respect and disrespect? We don't want a bunch of human beings going into society thinking one way. We want people to go into the world and become global citizens and invent things and challenge things and try new things... (Jew, D, 4.2)

However, since the school does not officially promote this ‘weakening of the *hierarchical rules*’ and due to the existence of only a very tenuous, implicit link between the affiliated religion and this modality of practice⁹⁰, this aspect is not coded as indicative of the integration of the affiliated religion with the SSC.

Furthermore, the staff maintained that there was very little influence from the school’s affiliated religion on the selection of texts and teaching materials. The director explained that:

Director: The Department of Education recommends certain textbooks and in matric we write the National Senior Certificate. So, we go with what the department specifies and we do not have an issue with what the Department chooses. If there was, for example, a book that was rabidly anti-Semitic, we would challenge that, but any educator would challenge that. (Jew, D, 3.4)

The director went on to clearly underline the strong *classification* between the affiliated religion and the SSC by stating,

Director: ...in science textbooks there is often a clash between religion and science. But the science syllabus is a science syllabus and if the science teachers need to teach evolution, they teach evolution. In Jewish studies the teacher will teach creationism. (Jew, D, 3.5)

Occasionally, according to the principal, a grade 10 or 11 English literature set-book is chosen, “if it has come out recently and has a Jewish flavour” (Jew, P, 3.4). Beyond this, texts and teaching materials in the SSC are considered to be selected without consideration of the school’s ‘Jewishness’ or its Orthodox Jewish alignment.

The director related that, while there was no official policy regarding this preferred pedagogic modality, he suggested it “is definitely something which people tend to know about” (Jew, D, 4.2). However, this distinctive character of the SSC pedagogy at the Jewish school is not comparable to the all-encompassing and institutionalised ‘Christian’ pedagogic methodology implemented at the Protestant school.

⁹⁰ Some of the teachers linked this aspect of the school’s pedagogic approach to Jewish culture and religion. A religious studies teacher, after describing the pedagogy at the school as encouraging of students to be, “quite independent and probing...a willingness to be out there and to challenge things...,” went on to explain that, “I think Jewish thinking is quite probing and quite alternative at times. In the study of the Talmud, even with the students, every little premise is challenged...I think there is something Jewish about that and it does filter through to general culture and education” (Jew, RET2, 4.2). The principal expressed that the average Jewish home embraced similar weak hierarchical rules: “Jewish children are encouraged to give opinions within the family. Obviously, I am generalising, but children are absolutely loved, worshiped and their opinions are important and they are encouraged to give them and the school system also encourages them to talk...” (Jew, P, 4.2).

Moreover, religious Jewish discourse in SSC classes was considered by the teachers and students interviewed to be minimal. One student, when asked to what extent the SSC was taught from a Jewish religious perspective, replied: “There is no religious reference in our learning of subjects outside of the religious subjects” (Jew, S1, 3.2). Another student, when asked the same question, answered:

Student: I would say to no extent especially in things like history and science. As an example, you can float from one lesson to the other, in the lesson before you could have a religious studies teacher questioning the validity of evolution and the next lesson you learn about evolution in science. (Jew, S2, 3.2)⁹¹

Thus, the students recognised the separation of religion from the SSC subjects and viewed the RE programme as the exclusive domain of Jewish religion in the instructional order.

Therefore, the *classification* between the affiliated religion and the SSC curriculum is coded as strong: the pedagogy, curriculum materials and classroom discourse of SSC subjects are not understood to be influenced by the school’s affiliated religion.

Muslim School: Like the Catholic and Jewish schools, the Muslim school follows the National Curriculum in the SSC subjects. There was no indication from the staff interviewed that the school promoted any unique ‘Islamic’ teaching approach in the SSC. The vice-principal, when asked if there was any particular teaching methodology promoted at the school, replied: “No, each teacher has their own style. So, the subject matter is prescribed, but how you are going to get your final product across is your own thing because you have your own flair and talents and so on” (Mus, VP, 4.1).

The influence of the affiliated religion on teaching materials was expressed in terms of ideological and moral censorship of certain sections of national recommended textbooks used by the school. The principal suggested that,

Principal: ...there was no influence on the selection of books as these are purely prescribed...but all Life Science books have a section pertaining to evolution, and I just mention this as an example, so we take the books and just ignore the section on evolution. (Mus, P, 3.4)

⁹¹ The only subject in which one student mentioned the influence of Judaism was English literature, in which one of the English teachers had specifically chosen a set-book that dealt with Jewish related themes. However, these themes were not necessarily specifically religious, but rather related to Jewish culture or history.

A physical science teacher mentioned that moral censorship excluded certain textbooks:

Teacher: I think there is actually only a small amount of influence of the religious on selection as we basically choose on the basis of what will be best for our learners in getting the job done. We will stay clear of textbooks that might have violence or explicit sex scenes in them. So, I think it has very little influence. (Mus, T, 3.5)

Thus, while the affiliated religious ethos acts in a minor censoring role, the primary selection criteria are related more to the concerns regarding the suitability of the text to best relay the National Curriculum.

With respect of the influence of the affiliated religion on classroom discourse, the Muslim school promoted the insertion of ‘Islamic’ knowledge. While the SSC utilised prescribed textual materials relating to the National Curriculum, the staff are officially encouraged to add into classroom discourse aspects of Islam seen to be linkable with what is being covered in the National Curriculum. The principal referred to this insertion of Islamic discourse into the classroom as a specific programme the school promoted called the ‘Islamization’ of knowledge. Providing an example, the principal mentioned:

Principal: We look at how the Qur’an speaks of the Almighty providing water for the earth. So, when we look at environmental conservation, we look at the verse from the Qur’an. We say this comes from the Holy book and this is how we have to preserve it and this is how we conserve the earth’s treasures. Basically, that is what we mean by the Islamization of knowledge. (Mus, P, 3.6)

The principal regarded this programme as having only limited impact on classroom discourse and was not to be viewed as a replacement of the National Curriculum, but rather as an addition. A teacher explained that the addition of the Islamic perspective in class was increasingly difficult in the upper grades:

Teacher: ...it is very limited because the curriculum at the moment is quite fast and we need to get the work done, but whenever there is an opportunity to actually bring religion in, we grab the opportunity and teach the kids the religious aspect. So, for example, a Maths teacher with things like fractions: In Islam, when it comes to inheritance, there are certain portions that need to go to particular individuals, so that is where you would bring it in. As a Life Science teacher, if you teach creation vs Darwinism and those sort of things, then I would actually bring in the religious component. (Mus, T, 3.7)

The interviews suggest that the programme of Islamization was more robustly implemented in the lower grades as the increasingly strong pacing of the National Curriculum in the senior

grades (11 and 12) made the insertion of Islamic-related material and discourse more difficult. Therefore, the Muslim school is coded as having fairly strong *classification* of the affiliated religion and the SSC curriculum, but this *classification* is slightly weaker in the lower grades (8-10). See Table 6.2 for a summary.

Table 6.2 Summary of Classification: Curriculum

	Protestant SSC	Catholic SSC	Jewish SSC	Muslim SSC
Classification: curriculum	--(0) Weak / +(2) Fairly strong	+ (3) Strong	+ (3) Strong	Fairly weak / +(2) Fairly strong

6.2.2 Summary of the SSC Analysis

The Protestant school displays the weakest *classification* in terms of the SSC and the affiliated religion. It is the only school in the sample that systematically implements a teaching methodology understood to emerge out of the school's religious positioning. Furthermore, it is also the only school that utilises its own unique curriculum texts (up to grade 11). The Protestant school teacher (guaranteed to be a Christian by school policy and expected to embody the ideals of the affiliated religion) acts as a relay of specialised academic knowledge integrated with the Christian regulative discourse of the school. Therefore, academic specialization and religious identity are integrated in the Protestant school teacher. However, in grade 11, the *classification* between the affiliated religion and the SSC subjects strengthens suddenly as the school shifts to preparing the students for the matriculation examinations. The school considers this 'necessary' shift as a major threat to its pedagogic aims.

The Catholic and Jewish schools exemplify a SSC that is strongly bounded from the regulative influence of the affiliated religion. School policy plays no regulating role on the religious identity of the teachers hired to teach the SSC subjects and the staff and pupils reported that the affiliated religion does not have an influence on the implementation of the National Curriculum embraced by the school.

Finally, the Muslim school involves fairly weak *classification* of the affiliated religion and SSC teacher identity: giving strong preference to hiring Muslim teachers, but willing, in certain circumstances, to hire non-Muslim SSC teachers. While the Muslim school does not

recognise any influence of the affiliated religion on teaching practice, the school's Islamic moral order (ideology) has a censoring role in relation to teaching texts. Furthermore, the Muslim school officially promotes the 'Islamization' of knowledge, in which teachers add into the classroom discourse aspects of Islam (particularly portions of the Qur'an) seen to be related to the curriculum content. However, this was more robustly implemented in the lower grades (8-10) as the pacing of the grade 11 and 12 curricula makes this 'curriculum addition' difficult to maintain. However, while its implementation is limited in the senior grades, 'Islamization' remains a pedagogical ideal (see Table 6.3).

Table 6.3 Summary of Classification Coding: Affiliated Religion and the SSC

	Protestant SSC	Catholic SSC	Jewish SSC	Muslim SSC
Classification: Teacher identity	--(0) Weak	+(2) Fairly strong	+ (2) Fairly strong	- (1) Fairly weak
Classification: Curriculum	--(0)Weak- +(2) Fairly strong	++ (3) Strong	++ (3) Strong	-(1) Fairly weak - + (2) Fairly strong
Classification coding average	0-1	2.5	2.5	1-1.5
Classification coding: affiliated religion and the SSC	Weak-Fairly weak	Strong	Strong	Fairly weak – Fairly strong

6.3 Discussion

The difference in the *classification* strengths between the affiliated religion and the SSC allow for the recognition of four possible SSC modalities in religious schools. These modalities are generated in accordance to the extent to which the moral order (ideology) of the affiliated religion constitutes the recontextualising principle that produces the SSC discourse.

Firstly, the strong *classification* strengths between the affiliated religion and the SSC evident in the Jewish school and the Catholic school give rise to what is termed a *dislocated* modality. In this modality, the moral order of the affiliated religion does not regulate the SSC discourse. The SSC subjects are insulated from the affiliated religion and the religious

identity of the SSC teachers, in respect of their ability to teach their subject in an appropriate manner, is regarded as irrelevant.

The fairly strong *classification* of the Muslim school, particularly in grades 11 and 12, speaks to what is termed a *censorship* modality. In this approach, the affiliated religion is confined to acting as a regulating censoring mechanism resulting in the removal of material from a given National Curriculum deemed to be obviously offensive to the regulatory (moral and/or ideological) principles of the affiliated religion. In this modality, the moral order of the affiliated religion regulates the SSC at a minimal, surface level. The primary recontextualising principle, constituting the SSC discourse, is to be found in a regulative order unrelated to the affiliated religion.

Thirdly, the fairly weak *classification*, apparent in the lower grades (8-10) of the Muslim school, is indicative of what is termed a *parallel* modality. In this curriculum approach, the moral order of the affiliated religion plays a censoring role on a given national curriculum but also includes the addition of 'religious' related material considered to be linked to what is being relayed in the National Curriculum. The National Curriculum runs in parallel with an inserted religious discourse.

The final modality, termed the *integrated* modality, constitutes weak *classification* between the affiliated religion and the SSC aspect of the instructional order. This modality is well illustrated by the Protestant school in the lower grades (8-10), in which a robust notion of a Christian pedagogy is evident. In this modality, the moral order of the affiliated religion primarily constitutes the recontextualising principle that produces the SSC discourse (see Table 6.4).

Table 6.4 Different SSC Modalities Related to the Strength of the Classification Between the Affiliated Religion and the SSC

	Classification: affiliated religion and the SSC			
	Weak	←————→		Strong
Modality	Integrated	Parallel	Censorship	Dislocated
Exemplar	Protestant school grades 8-10	Muslim school grades 8-10 and Protestant school grades 11-12	Muslim school grades 11-12	Jewish and Catholic school (all grades)

In what follows, the SSC modalities presented above are discussed in relation to the findings of Chapter 5’s analysis of the sample schools’ RE programmes. As presented in Chapter 3, Bernstein (2000) understood pedagogic discourse as a recontextualised discourse organised according to the moral order (ideology) of particular groups in society. Thus, pedagogic discourse is conceptualised as an instructional discourse embedded in a regulative discourse (moral order). This discussion focusses on the relation between the regulative discourse of the RE and the regulative discourse of the SSC and the structure of the transmission codes through which these discourses are relayed. Therefore, the following discussion takes into account the school’s instructional order as a whole and facilitates a consideration of the structural implications of the RE programmes in relation the SSC.⁹²

Protestant School: RE at the Protestant school is relayed via a different pedagogic code to the SSC subjects. RE is relayed via a pedagogic code characterised by weakly specialised instructional discourse and weak hierarchical framing: an invisible pedagogy. The SSC is relayed via stronger classification and framing principles and, in comparison, constitutes a visible pedagogy.⁹³ This difference in transmission coding was particularly visible at the level of evaluation: RE involves weaker evaluative specialisation than any other subject in the curriculum. Thus, many teachers and students at the school suggested that RE was very

⁹² It should also be noted that while the analysis shows a strengthening of the *classificatory* principle at both the Protestant and Muslim school in the higher grades, the discussion below focuses on the weaker *classified* SSC curriculum of the lower grades. This is because, at both schools, the strengthening of the *classificatory* principle was considered to be a departure from the school’s ideal pedagogic approach.

⁹³ The Protestant school’s SSC could be described very similarly to the way Walford (2002) describes the curriculum at some evangelical schools in his sample. While these schools integrated Christianity throughout the curriculum (an integrated code), this ‘overarching’ integration was realized through a visible pedagogy.

important to them from a personal point of view, but that it had little academic importance. Therefore, RE at the Protestant school is different from the SSC in that it is constituted by different classification and framing principles.

However, at the level of moral order, the RE and SSC are fundamentally similar in that they are both discourses recontextualised primarily in relation to the same Protestant religious 'ideology' and they both privilege an organic solidarity in which individualised responses to pedagogic texts are emphasised.⁹⁴ RE at the Protestant school functions symbolically as a marker of the regulative principle that also provides the order in the SSC instructional programme.⁹⁵ However, while the 'Christian' character of this moral order is explicit in RE, it is far more implicit in the visible pedagogy of the SSC which, unlike RE, constitutes a strong instructional specialisation which reaches into the 'profane' outer made 'safe' by the implicit 'Christian' inner.⁹⁶ Thus, while the Trivium (the inner) was ritually marked out from the Quadrivium (exploration of the outer) in the medieval university, at the Protestant school, RE (the inner) is marked out from the SSC (exploration of the outer) via differing pedagogic codes.

Catholic School: The Catholic school's RE is similar to the Protestant school in that it presents a different pedagogic code than the SSC subjects. The Catholic school's RE is also relayed via an invisible pedagogic code, while the SSC is relayed via a comparatively visible code. However, unlike the Protestant school, the affiliated religion does not constitute the moral order regulating the SSC subjects. As the analysis demonstrated, the Catholic school's SSC is strongly bounded from the affiliated religion. Rather, a non-religious regulative discourse embedded in the National Curriculum underwrites the SSC programme. This regulative discourse privileges the idea of the individual as an autonomous agent able to utilise rational thinking processes in the pursuit of specialised knowledge, apparently free from the constraints of the 'outer social.' The idealisation of 'critical thinking' is indicative of

⁹⁴ These individualised responses are safe if issuing from a specific 'Christian' inner consciousness.

⁹⁵ This was evident in the weak classification between the SSC and the school's affiliated religion.

⁹⁶ This integrated moral order is evident in the absence of any distinction between teachers who teach RE and those who teach the SSC. By order of school policy, all teachers are 'Christian' and thus are assumed to embody the regulative principles of the school's affiliated religion in both the RE and the SSC. In Bernstein's (1975) terms this represents a 'closed ideological basis' (p. 109). Thus, at a very basic level, the deep integration of the affiliated religion within the instructional order is made possible by a 'sameness' (mechanical solidarity) at a staff level which includes shared religious values and beliefs and an explicit collectively-held notion of ideal pedagogic practice understood to be linked to these religious ideals. The staff embody the sacred inner that regulates the whole instructional order.

this moral order, which weakly relates the individual to a collective and rather emphasises the socially-abstracted, rational self. Thus, 'religious dogmatism' is constituted as a profane pollutant of SSC pedagogic discourse.⁹⁷

However, while different moral orders regulate the RE and the SSC components of the Catholic curriculum, there is a fundamental congruency between them at the level of social solidarity: they both privilege organic solidarity in which the individual is weakly related to a collective. Thus, like the Protestant school, the instructional order of the Catholic school presents a unified discourse in that the regulative principle that provides the moral order of RE and the SSC privileges organic forms of solidarity.

Jewish School: The Jewish school presents the greatest structural complexity from the point of view of this analysis, as the RE offering presents two contrasting programmes that stand in different relations to the school's SSC programme. The discussion will begin with reference to the Torah studies programme. Unlike the two Christian schools in the sample, the Torah studies RE programme is not relayed via a fundamentally different pedagogic code to the SSC subjects. It is similarly specialised (*classified*) and the pedagogy does not involve a weakening of the hierarchical rules in comparison to the SSC subjects. Thus, it is relayed via a similar (visible) pedagogic code to the SSC.

However, the analysis of this chapter showed that the regulative discourse, (relating to the values, manner and ideals of Orthodox Judaism) is not the regulative discourse comprising the order of the SSC component of the instructional order. Thus, while in terms of pedagogic transmission there is similarity between Torah studies and the SSC, at the level of moral order there is difference. The moral order of the SSC at the Jewish school relates to a similar non-religious regulative discourse ordering the Catholic school's SSC, which was argued to privilege a form of organic solidarity. This sets up a dislocation in the Jewish school's instructional order (not present to the same extent at the other schools): a dislocation between the Jewish school's RE moral order (in Torah studies) relating to mechanical solidarity and

⁹⁷ Unlike the Protestant school, shared religious beliefs and pedagogic practice does not feature as the basis of staff solidarity. Rather, staff solidarity is based on the 'difference' (organic solidarity) between the *specialised* identities required to effectively transmit the SSC subject knowledge. However, the school insisted that fundamentalist religious identities among the staff were not welcome. These religious ideologies cannot be integrated in an open modality and thus pose a threat to the school's regulative order. Thus, some of the Protestant teachers would probably be excluded from teaching at the Catholic school.

the moral order of the remainder of the curriculum relating to organic solidarity. Thus, the Jewish student is positioned as regulated by the external (communal) sacred of the Jewish community in RE, while being positioned into a strong sense of the internal sacred (individualised regulative) via the SSC. The Jewish school runs these fundamentally contrasting ‘moral orders’ in parallel within the school’s instructional order.⁹⁸

However, the Jewish studies RE programme presents a space in which there is less ‘dislocation’ between the RE moral discourse and the SSC programme. As argued in the previous chapter, the Jewish studies programme relates to organic solidarity and thus, as in the case of the Catholic RE, is fundamentally aligned with the organic solidarity promoted in the SSC. As in the RE programme at the Protestant school and the Catholic school, Jewish studies presents a different pedagogic modality to the SSC. Jewish studies is relayed via an invisible pedagogy, while the SSC is relayed by a pedagogy that is comparatively visible.

Muslim School: The Muslim school’s RE programme, similarly to Torah studies, is not relayed by a fundamentally different pedagogic modality to the SSC subjects. If anything, the Muslim school’s RE has, in certain modules, stronger hierarchical framing, constituting a stronger visible pedagogic modality in comparison to the SSC subjects. Thus, in terms of pedagogic transmission, RE at the Muslim school is similar to the SSC subjects and holds its own as an academic offering.

At the level of moral order, the Muslim school presents the most complexity. Unlike the Jewish and Catholic schools, which leave the National Curriculum ‘untouched’ by the regulative gaze of the affiliated religion (a *dislocated* SSC modality), the Muslim school constitutes a secondary recontextualisation of the National Curriculum related to the regulative discourse of the affiliated religion. The influence of the religious moral order on the SSC results in sections of the National Curriculum being left out, particularly sections related to sexual identity (HIV-AIDS education and sexual relationships between teenagers)

⁹⁸ This dislocation is related to the strongly bounded JLL (Jewish Life and Learning) department which, among other things, has contrasting selection criteria for its teaching staff and promotes values and ideas that are at odds with the regulative discourse of the SSC (such as creationism vs evolution). Furthermore, separate spaces are used for components of RE, such as the shul which was specifically designed to facilitate the RE Torah studies. Thus, while, as in the SSC teaching staff are not religiously homogenous, the staff making up the Jewish studies department are required (much like the Protestant school’s teacher policy) to be ideologically aligned with the schools affiliated religion, including its Zionist position.

deemed to be contrary to the Islamic values of the community. Therefore, the Muslim school adapts the National Curriculum at a low level of abstraction, such that the ‘visible’ clashes between the religious moral order and the National Curriculum’s moral order, resulting in the privileging of the conservative moral ideology of the religious community over the more liberal morality embedded in the National Curriculum. Therefore, the religious moral order (related to mechanical solidarity) of the school’s affiliated religion censors some of the moral realisations of the organic solidarity promoted by the National Curriculum, which frames sexuality as ordered by the ‘inner sacred’ individual rather than the ‘outer social’ related to the shared values of a particular community.

Moreover, the SSC at the Muslim school (particularly in the lower grades) includes the addition of Islamic discourse termed the ‘Islamization’ of knowledge. As described in the analysis, this is an insertion of additional discourse, alongside the standard National Curriculum, rather than a deep integration of Islam throughout the curriculum.⁹⁹ It thus presents the addition of an Islamic regulative discourse privileging mechanical solidarity that runs in parallel (in space and time) to the National Curriculum discourse.¹⁰⁰ Therefore, the Muslim school’s ‘recontextualisation’ of the National Curriculum leaves untouched the deep ordering of the National Curriculum and its regulative discourse that emphasises notions of individuality, self-expression and critical thinking (organic solidarity). While the explicit censorship and add-on Islamic discourse privileges mechanical solidarity, the ordering principle of the National Curriculum (related to organic solidarity) remains implicitly intact.

However, unlike the Jewish school, there is not a complete compartmentalising of the affiliated religion into a strongly insulated RE programme. The Muslim student will still be confronted with the affiliated religion and its ‘outer social sacred’ in the science class via censorship of topics such as evolution or an encouragement to work hard with reference to Muhammad as an example of studiousness. Thus, the instructional order does not open up, or validate, identities and positions unregulated by the affiliated religion in the same way as the Jewish school. However, the SSC component of the instructional order at the Muslim school is not as strongly reliant on religious ideological homogeneity in the way it is in the

⁹⁹ This finding was confirmed by Niehaus’s (2011) study of South African Muslim schools, in which she suggests that, “Islamizing their lessons means the teachers therefore primarily follow the National Curriculum and ‘add on’ the Islamic or Muslim references or look for and introduce Islamic alternatives to certain subject topics” (p. 19).

¹⁰⁰ This finding was also confirmed by Fataar’s (2005) study.

Protestant school. Rather, the ideological cohesion of the staff at the level of religious values and beliefs has to do with the role played by the teachers outside of the instructional context. Teachers are expected to be models of the ‘Good Muslim’ in their participation in the school’s Islamic rituals, which form a substantial part of daily school life (this is discussed at length in the following chapter).¹⁰¹

6.4 Conclusion

The analysis presented in this chapter was primarily concerned with making visible the extent to which the regulative order of the affiliated religion constitutes the recontextualisation principle providing the order to the SSC discourse of each school in the sample. The discussion then related these findings to the structuring of the RE programs presented in the previous chapter. The analysis showed that the regulative order of the affiliated religion at the Protestant school fundamentally constituted the order of the SSC up to grade 11, after which the school increasingly (and begrudgingly) embraced the National Curriculum and its regulative ordering principles. Thus, ideally, at the Protestant school the regulative ordering of RE is the regulative order of the SSC and is related to a closed and particular form of religious organic solidarity.¹⁰²

In contrast, the Catholic school was shown to exemplify a *dislocated* SSC modality which constitutes a strong classificatory principle between the affiliated religion and the SSC. However, there is a synthesis in the instructional in the sense that the regulative order of the school’s RE programme does not privilege a fundamentally different form of social solidarity. It was argued that the open religious organic solidarity indicative of the moral

¹⁰¹ The question in the interview schedule that asked the respondent to describe the ideal teacher showed that teachers at the Muslim school are also expected to play the role of a role model. One student commented that “...actually most of our teachers, they all have a personality that we can look up to. They are approachable if we have a problem” (Mus, S3, 7.3). Along similar lines, a teacher described the ideal teacher as someone who, “Must have a friendly demeanour and also act as a mentor, he must lead by example” (Mus, T, 7.3). Many of the characteristics attributed to the ideal teacher emphasised *non-specialised* moral and religious aspects rather than instructional knowledge *specialisation*. Students described the ideal teacher as “someone who invokes Islam” (Mus, S3, 7.3), “who always follows the school rules, will always wear his fez and bring up Islam in their lessons. They will speak politely to the students...” (Mus, S1, 7.3). The teachers also emphasised moral and religious characteristics. The vice-principal included the following in her description: “there will be the religious component, teachers here must be of exemplary moral character...100% embracing the values of the school and runs with the ethos. A teacher who is prepared to go the extra mile with regard to developing the school or developing a learner...” (Mus, VP, 7.3).

¹⁰² In reality this is only up to grade 10.

order of the Catholic RE programme was fundamentally compatible with regulative order of the SSC which privileges a non-religion-based form of organic solidarity.

Furthermore, it was argued that the Jewish Torah studies programme and the Muslim schools' RE programme present a fundamental dislocation in the instructional order, in the sense that, while the RE programmes of these schools are ordered by the regulative discourse of the affiliated religion privileging mechanical solidarity, the SSC discourse is ordered by a contrasting moral regulative constituting a form of organic solidarity. It was argued that the Jewish school explicitly embraces this dislocation, while at the Muslim school the dislocation is made more implicit via the censorship of overtly 'troubling' moral and ideological aspects of the National Curriculum coupled with the insertion of religiously orientated content into the classroom alongside the National Curriculum content. Table 6.5 below summarises the findings of the chapter.

Table 6.5 The Structure of the Instructional Order

	Protestant	Catholic	Jewish		Muslim
Pedagogic modality of RE in relation to the SSC	RE: invisible SSC: visible	RE: invisible SSC: visible	Torah studies	Jewish studies	RE: visible SSC: visible
			RE: visible SSC: visible	RE: invisible SSC: visible	
Privileged form of social solidarity of RE in relation to the SSC	RE: Closed religious organic solidarity SSC: Closed religious organic solidarity	RE: Open religious organic solidarity SSC: non-religious organic solidarity	RE: Religious mechanical solidarity SSC: non-religious organic solidarity	RE: Open religious organic solidarity SSC: non-religious organic solidarity	RE: Religious mechanical solidarity SSC: non-religious organic solidarity

Chapter 7: The Shape of the Expressive Order: The Affiliated Religion and Ritualization

7.1 Introduction

The preceding chapters (5 and 6) offered an analysis of the instructional order of the sample schools that focused on understanding how the affiliated religions of the schools related to the structure of their formal curriculums. This chapter turns to an analysis of the expressive order of the schools. The analysis focuses on the extent to which the schools' affiliated religion is ritualised in the schools' expressive relays. Following Bernstein (1975)¹⁰³, two broad categories of 'ritualised' relays are considered in the analysis:

- Symbolic features (architecture, displayed objects, names and dress)
- Communal events (religious events and assemblies).

The extent of this ritualization will be read as an indication of the degree to which the school's relation to the affiliated religion is rendered visible, giving rise to expressive orders characterised on a continuum from invisible to visible in relation to the affiliated religion. Furthermore, the nature of the schools' expressive ritualization will be discussed in terms of the extent to which it constitutes the students as members of the affiliated religious community which, in turn, will be related to the privileging of different forms of social solidarity.

7.2. The Ritualization of the Affiliated Religion in the Schools' Expressive Relays

7.2.1 Symbolic Features

This section looks at the extent to which the school's affiliated religion is *ritualised* in the *symbolic features* of the school. *Symbolic features* refer to the following four dimensions: architecture, displayed objects, names and dress.¹⁰⁴ A coding instrument for this this section can be found in Appendix C, Table C5.

¹⁰³ For a fuller discussion of Bernstein (1975) and ritual see Chapter 3.

¹⁰⁴ The analytical framework for recognising the extent to which the affiliated religion is *ritualised* in the schools; expressive relays was presented in the Chapter 4.

7.2.1.1 Results of Coding for Symbolic Features

Protestant School: The Protestant school has nothing in its architecture specifically related to the affiliated religion. The buildings are generic, prefabricated structures painted white with green roofs offering no indication of the institution's religious affiliation. Therefore, in terms of architecture, the Protestant school's affiliated religion is coded as weakly *ritualised*.¹⁰⁵

The Protestant school is also particularly sparse in terms of displayed objects related to the affiliated religion. The only use of the affiliated religion's symbolic resources in iconography is in the school's logo, which includes a small dove that is used as the dot on the final 'i' in the name of the school. The dove is a religious symbol of the Christian concept of the Holy Spirit. However, it is also widely used as a general symbol of peace and thus may not be recognised as particularly 'Christian.' Furthermore, the school's interior spaces are very sparsely marked by print media related to the school's affiliated religion.¹⁰⁶ The only religious print media visible outside of the classrooms is put up by the church in the school hall, which is used by the church on Sundays. The hall contains two posters on the side walls that advertise courses that are run by the affiliated church. Furthermore, outside the hall, a large sign reads, "...Church Meets Here." This message underscores the affiliated church's emphasis that a church is not a material building, but an ideal community of Christians. Therefore, the Protestant school is coded as fairly weak in terms of the *ritualization* of the affiliated religion as constituted by displayed objects.

The Protestant school does not draw on the symbolic resources of its affiliated religion in naming school entities and spaces. Firstly, the school's name has no religious connotations. Rather, the school is named after a place in England in which the founder of the school's pedagogic 'philosophy' set up her first school. Furthermore, the school does not utilise classroom or facility names and the temporary 'houses' (the school sets up new informal

¹⁰⁵ There are also no specific religious spaces at the school such as a prayer room or an RE classroom. Spaces for religious activity are chosen on ad hoc, pragmatic grounds. Thus, a classroom, staffroom, office or hall might equally be chosen as a space to host religious activity with pragmatic reasons dictating a choice of venue for any particular religious meeting. Although the hall is utilised for church services, it is viewed as a generic space utilised very broadly from school plays to indoor sports to the occasional wedding or funeral.

¹⁰⁶ It was noticeable that the emphasis of the public space displays was on the work of the students. Walls and display boards, showcased the projects and artwork of students. Furthermore, the school's calendar, hanging on the wall of the reception room contained student artwork as the background of each calendar month. These student productions were generally not explicitly related to the school's affiliated religion.

house groupings each year for the annual beach sports day) are named by colours rather than given names with any religious significance. Therefore, the *ritualization* of the affiliated religion is weak in relation to naming.

Finally, in relation to dress, the Protestant school does not have a school uniform.¹⁰⁷ On Wednesdays (and on school outings), however, students are required to wear the school's official golf shirt. This is navy blue with the school's logo embroidered on the front. Due to the lack of any overt religious symbolism in the school's logo, this official piece of school clothing does not explicitly signal the schools religious affiliation. Furthermore, although teachers are required to wear semi-formal attire they are not required to wear anything specifically related to the affiliated religion.¹⁰⁸ Therefore, other than the symbol of the dove on the official school golf shirt, the school does not recruit from the symbolic resources of the affiliated religion in relation to dress. As a result, the *ritualization* of the affiliated religion is weakly constituted by dress. A summary of the results is given in Table 7.1 below.

Table 7.1 Results of Symbolic Features Coding for the Protestant School

	Ritualization
Architecture	--(0) Weak
Displayed objects	-(1) Fairly weak
Names	--(0) Weak
Dress	--(0) Weak
Coding average ¹⁰⁹	0.25
Symbolic features coding	Weak ritualization

Catholic School: In contrast to the Protestant school, the Catholic school's architecture is strongly marked by features related to the school's affiliated religion. For example, the entrance to the Catholic school has a black metal gate with crosses forming part of the design.

¹⁰⁷The school's conservative religious regulative, however, places restrictions on what students (particularly females) are allowed to wear to school. These restrictions mostly concerned limitations around 'sexual display.' The attire of most of the students, during data collection, was casual. During summer, students are not required to wear shoes and many students go to school barefoot.

¹⁰⁸ Male teachers are asked to wear long pants, collared shirts and closed shoes. Female teachers are expected to dress conservatively, so as to set a good example for the female students. Some teachers wear religiously themed jewelry, but this is not an official requirement of the school.

¹⁰⁹ This value is attained by summing the coding values for the four dimensions and then dividing by four (the number of dimensions) to give an average code.

Once inside the campus, a large Catholic chapel is the first building. Moreover, many entrances to building are marked by names of Catholic saints and intricate mouldings on such entrances often include crosses. Crosses are also commonly incorporated into architectural designs such as in window glass.¹¹⁰ Therefore, the affiliated religion is coded as strongly *ritualised* in relation to architectural features.

Furthermore, the Catholic school's affiliated religion is strongly *ritualised* in the public display of iconic objects. The school's logo prominently features a cross, centred on a shield, with the words 'Since 1871' forming a circle around the shield. The logo affiliates the school with a historical tradition of Christianity.¹¹¹ Moreover, the school incorporates many iconic objects in its public spaces that visibly constitute a relation between the school and the affiliated religion. For example, the school reception area contains framed pictures of famous Christian artwork featuring Saint Mary, The Last Supper, and other obviously Catholic content. Moreover, most of the student artwork displayed in the foyer incorporates religious themes. Public spaces are decorated with crucifixes and statues of Jesus and various saints, particularly Mary. Every classroom includes a crucifix hung on the wall and a large statue of Saint Thomas Aquinas stands at the entrance of the 'Thomas Aquinas' block. However, the use of print media related to the affiliated religion is not a strong feature of the school's symbolic repertoire. The display of iconography rather than current print media has the effect of creating a sense of historical rather than a contemporary connection with the affiliated religious community. However, due to the strong recruitment of the affiliated religion in terms of iconography, the Catholic school is coded as constituting strong *ritualization* of the affiliated religion in displayed objects.

The Catholic school also draws strongly from the affiliated religion in its naming of school facilities and entities. For example, the school's name includes the word 'Convent' and the central avenue at the school's entrance, is named 'Convent Road.' In addition, many of the

¹¹⁰ Furthermore, the Catholic campus includes some specific religious spaces. There is a shrine dedicated to Saint Mary at the top of the central avenue that runs through the school property. There is also a shrine 'Of the cross of Jesus' situated behind the large swimming pool. The campus includes a Catholic retreat centre run by one of the nuns, as well as a cemetery where all the deceased sisters have been buried.

¹¹¹ This is in keeping with the way the school incorporates the story of its Dominican origins with its current regulative narrative, linking the past with the present to reinforce a sense of continuity in time and as a means of establishing the legitimacy of its current order. More evidence of this will be presented in the following Chapter.

school buildings, as well as the school's three houses, are named after Catholic saints. A coding of strong *ritualization* of the affiliated religion in respect of naming applies.

Finally, the Catholic school implements a very strict uniform code and tight controls on aspects of student appearance such as restrictions governing hairstyles, jewellery, piercings and makeup.¹¹² However, there is nothing distinctively 'Catholic' about the school's uniform. The only aspect of student dress that is visibly religious is the school badge which, as already mentioned, involves overt religious symbolism. Furthermore, while the staff were expected to dress formally, there was nothing particularly 'Catholic' about their dress. In the past, nuns formed part of the teaching staff and taught in their habits. However, at the time of data collection, there were no nuns on the teaching staff. The handful of nuns still living in the campus convent are occasionally visible on the property in their religious garb. Moreover, during school masses, the presiding priest, along with the procession of altar girls, wear the relevant vestments. Therefore, the Catholic school's affiliated religion is fairly weakly *ritualised* in relation to dress. A summary of the results is given in Table 7.2 below.

Table 7.2 Results of Symbolic Features Coding for the Catholic School

	Ritualization
Architecture	++(3) Strong
Displayed objects	++(3) Strong
Names	++ (3) Strong
Dress	-(1) Fairly weak
Coding average	2.5
Symbolic features coding	Fairly strong ritualization

Jewish School: The Jewish school's architecture does not include anything related to the school's affiliated religion. Thus, in terms of architecture, the affiliated religion is weakly *ritualised*.¹¹³

¹¹² The principal related that this strict regulation of dress was strongly endorsed by the few remaining nuns on the school board.

¹¹³ Furthermore, the school only features one specifically religious place: a shul (synagogue). This religious place is not a freestanding building, but rather a large room in the main school block that has been transformed into a shul to host the senior Torah studies programme.

Furthermore, the Jewish school does not incorporate iconographic features directly related to the school's affiliated religion. The school's badge, which includes a blend of Hebrew words and various Jewish symbols, has no distinct religious connotations and has more to do with the school's Zionist ideology. Moreover, while the Israeli flag is hung prominently in the school hall, this is interpreted as a recruitment of Zionist symbolism, which is not necessarily linked to the affiliated religion.

However, the school's interior spaces are overwhelmingly marked by print media clearly related to the Jewish community, which includes some religious material and symbols. The school's reception areas, hallways and stairwells are liberally endowed with posters, newspapers, newspaper clippings, photographs, displays, magazines and advertisements related to the school's Jewish history as well as to current Jewish community activity. While not all Jewish community culture is related to religion, a fair amount of distinctly religious Jewishness is embedded in the broader activity of Jewish community life. Therefore, integrated in this extensive documentation of local Jewish community life are some instances of print media explicitly related to the school's affiliated religion. The Jewish school's affiliated religion is thus coded as fairly weakly *ritualised* in relation to displayed objects.

The Jewish school draws strongly from Jewish community life in the naming of facilities and entities. Most of this naming, however, does not draw from specifically religious Judaism. The school's name, for example, is distinctly Jewish: however, it has a Zionist, rather than a religious, reference. Furthermore, many of the school's buildings contained plaques signalling the general Jewish sponsorship of the facility. For example, one of the lecture theatres is named after a prominent South African Jew. Moreover, a newly refurbished mathematics classroom features a large plaque in which the sponsors of the project have a dedication to their parents that reads: "in loving memory of our parents ... proud supporters of Jewish education." These sorts of dedications are commonplace at the school. However, naming at the Jewish school, for the most part, is related to the generic Jewish community or Zionism rather than Jewish religion specifically. The one exception to this is that the school has three houses all named after ancient Jewish religious personalities. Therefore, the Jewish school's affiliated religion is fairly weakly *ritualised* in relation to naming.

Finally, in terms of dress, the Jewish school incorporates a school uniform, which, like the Catholic school, is little different from any other school in South Africa. However, during

certain school ceremonies such as prayers and assemblies, the male students at the school are required to wear kippahs. It is also apparent that some of the male students and staff choose to wear kippahs throughout the school day, although this is not a formal school requirement. The fairly extensive use of the kippah by male staff and students is coded as indicative of a fairly strong *ritualization* of the affiliated religion in relation to dress.¹¹⁴ A summary of the results is given in Table 7.3 below.

Table 7.3 Results of Symbolic Features Coding for the Jewish School

	Ritualization
Architecture	--(0) Weak
Displayed objects	-(1) Fairly weak
Names	-(1) Fairly weak
Dress	+(2) Fairly strong
Coding average	1
Symbolic features coding	Fairly weak ritualization

Muslim School: At the Muslim school, the affiliated religion is strongly *ritualised* in architectural features. A very large mosque is the most notable building on the campus. The mosque includes a large gold dome in the centre of its roof and a minaret. The front walls of the mosque are patterned with Arabic designs. The remaining buildings also include architectural features derived from the affiliated religion. The school buildings are predominantly constructed out of cream-coloured bricks and have a modern, but definite ‘Islamic’ character. This includes the use of round-shaped windows, Arabic-style pillars and the liberal use of palm trees to decorate an otherwise fairly stark property. The effect is that the architectural features of the school clearly mark out the school’s Islamic affiliation.¹¹⁵ Therefore, the Muslim school’s affiliated religion is strongly *ritualised* in the school’s architectural features.

¹¹⁴ It is noted that the wearing of a kippah is not necessarily done for religious reasons.

¹¹⁵ Apart from the mosque, the school also has a special room designated for the study of the Qur’an, as well as an Islamic media/conferencing centre and a religious academy for students learning to memorise the Qur’an.

The Muslim school fairly strongly incorporates the symbolic resources of the affiliated religion in terms of the objects displayed in public spaces. The school's badge is the only noticeable religious iconography. The design of the badge draws on features of Arabic design and architecture. However, print media associated with Islam is evident in the school reception area, such as a poster featuring the words of a central portion of the Qur'an followed by a list of benefits of regularly reciting this portion of the Qur'an. The foyer also contains placards outlining details of the Islamic sponsors of the school. A small poster on the foyer wall is titled "Reflection" and contains a saying by an Islamic leader in which the bearing of calamities and the renouncing of everything other than Allah is encouraged. However, this religiously associated print media is more a feature of the foyer area than of the rest of the school's inner spaces and thus the affiliated religion is coded as fairly strongly *ritualised* in relation to displayed objects.

The Muslim school makes fairly strong use of the affiliated religion in naming. The Muslim school's name has clear religious connotations. Furthermore, the religious academy on the school property, as well as the conference and media facility, have names related to the affiliated religion. However, there was no evidence beyond this of any further naming of school facilities utilising the symbolic resources of the affiliated religion.¹¹⁶ Therefore, the affiliated religion is fairly strongly *ritualised* in relation to naming.

The Muslim school strongly incorporates aspects of the affiliated religion into its official dress code at both student and staff level. In a section of the school's prospectus titled 'School Uniform and Sportswear' (not specifically referenced to protect school confidentiality), it states: 'The dress code of "*School Name*" reflects the Islamic nature of the school. Modesty in dress is a priority. It is crucially important for "*School Name*" students to cover themselves according to basic Islamic precepts and behave in keeping with the faith.' The boys' uniform, while typical of any other traditional school uniform, includes the compulsory use of the traditional Muslim head cap known as the fez.¹¹⁷ Boys are required to wear their fez during formal school hours, but are allowed to take it off for sport and other extra-murals. Furthermore, the male and female staff are expected to dress professionally and

¹¹⁶ The school's house names are Latin words for various virtues and thus, rather than utilising the symbolic resources of the affiliated religion, draw on medieval scholastic symbolic resources most probably in order to bolster a sense of the school's elite academic identity.

¹¹⁷ The wearing of the fez, while not a requirement of basic Islamic precept, is a traditional practice marking out religious affiliation.

follow the same religious protocol of the student uniforms. Thus, male teachers all wear a fez and many also wear a thobe. Furthermore, female teachers wear modest Islamic dress, only exposing their feet, hands and face. Thus, the Islamic school's affiliated religion is strongly *ritualised* in relation to dress. A summary of the results is given in Table 7.4 below.

Table 7.4 Results of Symbolic Features Coding for the Muslim School

	Ritualization
Architecture	++(3) Strong
Displayed objects	+(2) Fairly strong
Names	+(2) Fairly strong
Dress	++(3) Strong
Coding average	2.5
Symbolic features coding	(++) Strong ritualization

7.2.2 Communal Events

This section focuses on the schools' *communal events*, looking at the extent to which the affiliated religion is *ritualised* in this aspect of the schools' expressive relays. The analysis considers two general categories of *communal events*: religious events and assemblies. The analysis of religious events is divided into two sub-categories: common events (repeated monthly or more than once a month) and special events (repeated less than once a month). The strength of the *ritualization* of the affiliated religion in relation to common and special religious events is considered simply in relation to the number of these religious events in the school schedule. Secondly, assemblies will be analysed by considering the recruitment of the affiliated religion in relation to the following two categories: emphasis and *ritualised* classification of agents.¹¹⁸ A coding schedule for the analysis of *communal events* can be found in Appendix C, Table C6.

7.2.2.1 Results of Coding for Communal Events

Protestant School: The Protestant school does not officially include any common religious events (such as chapel or prayers) in its timetable. However, the school encourages the saying

¹¹⁸ The analytical framework was presented in Chapter 4.

of an informal prayer before the students eat lunch in their classrooms with their homeroom teacher.¹¹⁹ This is either done by the teacher or delegated to a student. There is therefore very little religious ritual in the daily routine of the Protestant school.¹²⁰ The Protestant school is thus coded as weakly *ritualising* the affiliated religion in respect of religious common events.

Furthermore, the Protestant school only celebrates one special religious event each year. This was the school's annual carols evening. This event is partially framed as 'outreach focused' and thus an opportunity for non-Christian parents to be 'exposed' to the Christian message. In the staff interviews, the lack of communal religious events was linked to the school's 'untraditional' ethos. A teacher describing why he felt the school was untraditional argued this:

Teacher: I would say if the tradition has meaning, if it is a meaningful tradition, then it will be celebrated. So, we will celebrate our Christmas tradition (Carols evening), but we don't do anything special for Ascension Day and we don't have Lent, we don't do those things, those traditions. (Prot, T2, 5.10)

Therefore, the Protestant school fairly weakly *ritualises* the affiliated religion in relation to special religious events.

At the Protestant school, the affiliated religion is a strong ritual feature of the assembly proceedings. Assemblies are typically staff-led and begin with an informal prayer by a staff member. The longer Wednesday assemblies often include the singing of a few contemporary Christian choruses led by a teacher playing a keyboard or guitar; this is followed by a talk by a staff member or a guest speaker. These talks are usually motivational in tone and underpinned by an overtly Protestant perspective. The short 10-minute daily assemblies usually include a devotional talk by a staff member. The Protestant school assemblies are thus modelled, to a certain extent, on a typically evangelical-style church service. Prayer and the singing of choruses followed by a lengthy sermon is the usual '*ritualised*' format for a service in the affiliated religious community.¹²¹ Assemblies also include announcements

¹¹⁹ Teachers are required to spend 10 minutes eating lunch with their students at the beginning of the lunch break. This is designed to facilitate interactions with the students in a more informal environment so that the teacher can build close mentoring relationships with the students.

¹²⁰ Bible lesson could be understood as a religious common event "hidden" in the formal curriculum.

¹²¹ The longer assembly observed took the form of an 'outreach' service in which a few choruses were sung lead by a teacher playing a keyboard followed by a 'personal testimony' given by one of the teachers about how he came to know Jesus. The assembly ended with an altar call in which students were invited to accept Jesus

regarding administrative aspects of school life, however the majority of assembly time is devoted to aspects of religious ritual associated with the affiliated religion. There is, however, no *ritualised* classification of agents related to the affiliated religion observable in assemblies.¹²² A summary of the results is given in Table 7.5 below.

Table 7.5 Results of Religious Events Coding for the Protestant School

	Ritualization
Common religious events	--(0) Weak
Special religious events	-(1) Fairly weak
Assembly	++(3) Strong
Presence of ritualised classification of agents	Absent
Coding average¹²³	1.3
Religious events coding	Fairly weak ritualization

Catholic School: At the Catholic school, mass is a compulsory monthly event. Furthermore, prayer is read out at the end of each school day by either a teacher or a student. However, the prayer is kept general so as to include other faith expressions. Thus, in terms of common events the Catholic school constitutes a fairly weak *ritualization* of the affiliated religion.

A fair number of special religious events are included in the school calendar. The Catholic school includes a few special Mass services in celebration of some of the Catholic holy days and important school events. Many respondents, both staff and students, considered the celebration of Catholic holy days and the punctuation of key school events, such as valedictory service by a Mass, as a key aspects constituting the Catholic ethos of the school. A student reiterated the importance of the Catholic Mass ritual to the school's religious ethos:

Student: I think what makes our school Catholic is the fact that we go to mass like on certain Catholic holy days. I think those are the aspects that make us more Catholic, that makes it

into their hearts. While this assembly is not typical of all assemblies, in that (according to the vice-principal) only few assemblies have this sort of 'missional' focus. The vice-principal related that this form of 'missional' emphasis was an occasional happening and that most assembly talks were better described as religious motivational talks that included a wide range of topics.

¹²² Students in the short daily assemblies stand in lines according to grades, with the lowest grade at the front of the hall and the highest grade at the back. However, this 'differentiating ritual' references scholastic age-related differentiation rather than religious.

¹²³ This value is attained by summing the coding values for the first three dimensions and then dividing by three (the number of dimensions allocated a number coding) to give an average code.

evident that we are a Catholic school, because in RE nobody actually concentrates. (Cath, S3, 1.9)

The celebration of St. Dominic's day (the school's patron saint) was mentioned by many staff and students as particularly significant. The celebrations include a mass and the students being allowed to go home early. Furthermore, some key scholastic events are wedded with a Mass service. These include the valedictory ceremony, the beginning of the year welcoming event, and the school's birthday celebration. The celebration of religious special events is, on average, a twice-per-term affair and thus coded as indicative of fairly strong *ritualization* of the affiliated religion.

The Catholic school assemblies take place once a week on a Monday morning. Assemblies typically include the singing of a chorus or hymn led by a teacher¹²⁴ on the piano as well as student-led prayers, in which members of the 'student care' portfolio stand in front of the assembly and read out informal prayers that they have written. Furthermore, members of the 'student care' portfolio often deliver motivational presentations related to a general Christian perspective. For example, in one of the assemblies observed, one 'student care' presentation featured a video clip projected onto a large screen at the front of the hall. The video clip featured a young hip male preacher speaking about self-acceptance to a huge auditorium of young people in what appears to be an evangelical Christian youth conference. Thus, while the assemblies include religious and, more specifically, Christian ritual, the type of Christianity showcased in the assembly is not necessarily Catholic. Therefore, while the assemblies include religious ritual (mostly led by students who are members of a particular portfolio) the religious input in assemblies is often not specifically Catholic. Furthermore, there is no *ritualised* classification of agents relating to the affiliated religion evident in the Catholic assemblies.¹²⁵ Unlike the Protestant school, religious ritual in the Catholic assembly does not constitute the dominant focus of assembly as it does at the Protestant school. The religious input from the 'student care' students was framed as one among many 'student portfolios' featured. Assembly is predominantly constituted as a student platform for

¹²⁴ Teacher-led religious aspects of the observed assemblies were minimal, but included a teacher leading a light-hearted religious song on the piano called 'If I were a butterfly.'

¹²⁵ Students sit in rows according to grades with the lowest grade at the front of the hall and the highest grade at the back. However, this 'differentiating ritual' references scholastic age-related differentiation rather than anything related to Catholicity.

promoting the school's vast array of clubs, societies and extracurricular offerings.¹²⁶ The Catholic school assemblies are coded as having a fairly weak emphasis in relation to the recruitment of the affiliated religion as less than 20% of assembly time involves ritual practices related to the school's affiliated religion. A summary of the results is given in Table 7.6 below.

Table 7.6 Results of Religious Events Coding for the Catholic School

	Visibility of relation
Common religious events	-(1) Fairly weak
Special religious events	+(2) Fairly strong
Assembly	-(1) Fairly weak
Presence of ritualised classification of agents	Absent
Coding average	1.3
Religious events coding	Fairly weak ritualization

Jewish School: At the Jewish school, a Friday morning prayer service is a compulsory religious event. This is a shortened or, as one religious studies teacher described it, a 'watered down' prayer service. Moreover, daily prayers are conducted, but are voluntary and student-led. Thirty to forty students attend this service every morning in the campus shul, together with a few of the JLL staff. A religious studies teacher spoke about the rationale behind only making one prayer session compulsory at the school:

RE Teacher 1: Our theory is that at 16, 17, 18 they are old enough to make their own choices and if we force things upon them it is only going to make them hate it more. So, we are open and we get a lot of criticism from our community saying, 'How can you make it voluntary?' It is our view that up until that age they are young and not mature enough to make their own decisions responsibly yet. So, they are part of the system and that is all they know. (Jew, RET1, 1.2)

The Jewish school is the only school that offers choice with respect to participation in religious ritual. It is rationalised in a very similar way to the choice offered in the Jewish RE curriculum between Jewish and Torah studies. The school recognises the diversity of Jewish

¹²⁶ Guest speakers also feature regularly in assemblies representing a range of charities, hobbies and community initiatives.

identities in its student base and the availability of ‘choices’ acts, among other functions, to limit resistance to the school’s expressive order.

The Jewish school places a great emphasis on special *communal events*, mostly of a Jewish cultural or religious nature. The school’s director, when asked to name the three most important school community events, replied:

Director: I think the festivals that we celebrate, our Jewish festivals, when the community comes together as a whole; I think those are the most critical. We are a Jewish school and we are teaching our kids about their heritage. So, an example would be the Passover festival. You have a big Saida which is a function where they sit down and read through the Hagadah which is a book that we read on Passach or the Passover. Then there is the independence of Israel that is a big community function or celebration. (Jewish, D, 5.12)

The vast majority of the community-building events deemed to be most important by staff and students have either a Jewish religious or cultural focus. These events are, for the most part, either Jewish religious holidays or festivals or Zionist-related events. There is a close interaction between the school and the broader Jewish community in many of these events. One student spoke about the close ties between the school and the broader Jewish community:

Student 3: I think we have a lot of access to the community and to community organisations. Jewish youth movements often come here, of which there are three main ones. Things like holidays are celebrated and commemorated at the school. Memorial days are commemorated; there are lots of memorial days. There are outings and school tours to Israel and to the Holocaust centre and the Jewish museum. So, I think, there is a lot aside from religious education that defines the school as Jewish. (Jew, S3, 1.9)

Finally, many of the staff spoke about the importance of these events in terms of nurturing a sense of Jewish identity in the students and as a means of establishing a sense of unity within the diversity of the local Jewish community. Because more than four of these special events are specifically religious, the Jewish school is coded as displaying strong *ritualization* of the affiliated religion in respect of religion-purposed special events.¹²⁷

¹²⁷ The Jewish school also includes many non-religious focused special events of a cultural, sporting and academic nature. Some of these events include aspects of the affiliated religion. The director, when asked whether Jewish religion or culture would punctuate key school events such as the valedictory service, replied:

Director: Yes, at every function there will be a rabbi, or the head of Jewish Life will present a sermon. It always starts with something like that. At functions, like our valedictory, we will always sing some Jewish songs. So, there is an element of our Jewishness and Jewish culture, yes. (Jew, D, unscripted)

School assemblies at the Jewish school are also held once a week on a Monday morning. Unlike the Protestant and Catholic schools, the recruitment of the affiliated religion is visible in the strong classification of agents along gender lines: all male students are required to wear kippahs and the hall was divided in the middle, with male students on the left and female students on the right. Thus, assemblies are marked in dress and in spatial classification of gender as constituting a Jewish Orthodox religious gathering. Furthermore, an Orthodox Jewish prayer ritual is included as the first activity of the assembly. The Jewish school assembly begins with a student-led liturgical prayer that includes active congregational participation. However, there is no further religious practice beyond this short introductory prayer ritual. The remainder of assembly time is spent on administrative announcements, student presentations and guest speakers often representing charitable organisations or organisations and causes related to the Jewish community. As in the Catholic school, the religious aspects of the Jewish assembly were noticeably student-led but take up even less time (less than 10% of assembly time). Therefore, the Jewish school assemblies are coded as having a fairly weak emphasis in relation to the recruitment of the affiliated religion as, on average, less than 20% of assembly time involves ritual practices related to the schools affiliated religion. A summary of the results is given in Table 7.7 below.

Table 7.7 Results of Religious Events Coding for the Jewish School

	Ritualization
Common religious events	-(1) Fairly weak
Special religious events	++(3) Strong
Assembly	-(1) Fairly weak
Presence of ritualised classification of agents	Present
Coding average	1.7
Religious events coding	Fairly strong ritualization

Muslim School: The Muslim school strongly recruits religious common events into its schedule with several Islamic rituals integrated into the school's daily timetable.¹²⁸ The

Therefore, the Jewish school places a strong emphasis on including the ritual of the affiliated religion in the majority of its non-religious community events.

¹²⁸ The religious activity at the Muslim school showed the weakest classification between the actual religious activity of the affiliated religious community and the religious activity of the school. For example, the broader

school day begins at 7:45 with a ritual morning recital from the Qur'an. The senior boys and girls perform this recital in the mosque. This recital takes 15 minutes. On Monday and Friday, the recital is incorporated into an extended morning assembly that goes until 8:30. At 1pm the students attend midday prayers in the mosque till 1:30. The necessary ritual cleansing precedes this prayer. The Friday midday prayer is a longer ritual and the mosque on Friday is filled to capacity by both students and local community members. It consists of prayers and two sermons. One sermon is theological in character and the other is about contemporary issues, especially the issue of Palestine.

The final class of the day ends with recital from the Qur'an. When asked what he felt made the school particularly religious, a student described the ritualistic rhythm of the school succinctly:

Student 1: So, we start the day with the Qur'an, every single day, and then you come into your classes and we greet our teachers with the universal greeting of peace. So, we start the day in the class with Islam and when we leave at the end of the day there is a prayer that we recite to keep us safe as we go home. So, we incorporate Islam everywhere throughout the day. (Mus, S1, 1.3)

Thus, across the entire school, the daily schedule is punctuated by religious ritual to an extent not seen in the other three schools in the sample. Furthermore, the school operates under the assumption that students at the school are Muslim and are being taught to become pious and exemplary members of the affiliated religious community. This religious identity is never presented as optional.¹²⁹

Furthermore, the Muslim school structures the majority of its numerous religious special school events around the Islamic calendar. One of the RE teachers, when asked about the key school community events in the calendar, replied: "Essentially, the school attaches it to the Islamic calendar and the Islamic calendar has a period of Ramadan, which is a tremendous period for them to bond spiritually and physically..." (Mus, RET, 5.5). A number of the staff

religious community also utilises the mosque on the school premises and people of the community also attend prayer services held in the mosque along with the students. Thus, these religious activities during school hours attended by the students were not re-contextualised religious services mimicking or distantly replicating the activity of the affiliated religious community. Rather students regularly participate in communal religious services hosted by the affiliated religious community.

¹²⁹ At the Jewish school, when some students became disruptive during prayers, the principal suggested: "You are not expected to participate, but you need to be respectful nonetheless." This discourse is a product of a recognised differentiation in student religious identities at the Jewish school not present at the Muslim school.

considered the school's participation in Ramadan as the key community event at the school. During this month, the interval period is shortened as nobody eats during the day and the school day ends earlier. Furthermore, the school's newsletter over Ramadan is punctuated with religious articles about the holy month and its meaning. At the end of Ramadan, the whole school gets Eid as a holiday to spend with their families.

A further community event considered by the staff as important to the school was the celebration of the Prophet Muhammad's birthday.¹³⁰ One of the students mentioned that, "For Mawlid (Muhammad's Birthday) we would have something in the mosque, we will always have something in the mosque for Mawlid and for other holidays..." (Mus, S3, 1.9). Thus, like the Jewish school, the Muslim school strongly *ritualises* its affiliated religion in special *communal events*, celebrating many of the annual festivals and holy days of the affiliated religious community. Moreover, if a religious calendar event is not celebrated by the school, the school makes sure, via newsletters and talks in assembly, that the students are aware of these events and understand their meaning and importance.

The Muslim school assemblies recruit the affiliated religion's ritual to a great extent. The school assembly (Mondays and Fridays) is held in the mosque on the school premises from 08:00-08:30. The Muslim school is the only school in the sample that utilised a specifically religious space for its assemblies. Typically, assemblies begin with chanted prayers led by a group of boys seated in an enclave area in the front of the mosque.¹³¹ The *ritualised* classification of agents related to the affiliated religion is very evident: Learners are seated on the floor in rows by grades with the boys on the left and the girls on the right. The male staff and students wear fezzes and the female staff and students wear head scarfs. The building interior, the exterior attire of the students and staff and the corporate recitation of prayer by the school community, frames the school as a distinctly Muslim community. The only non-

¹³⁰ The principal described this celebratory event as a:

Principal: ...community event where we invite the parents to come to the programme, which revolves around the prophet's life and sayings. It is learner centred and learners explore the values of the prophet by selected readings from the Qur'an. And we will have some singing, singing the praises of the prophet relating to his history, where he came from who he was born to. Then we will have girls relating the prophet's wife, how she played a major role in shaping him as a prophet because she was the first believer. So those are the things it is a family event. (Mus, P, 5.12)

¹³¹ These boys are from the Hifth academy on the campus and are receiving a religious education that focuses on memorising the whole Qur'an. Many of the boys are being trained to become leaders in the affiliated religious community.

religiously orientated part of the assembly takes the form of a few notices about sport and some school administration announcements. Assemblies typically feature a guest religious speaker (an authoritative representative of the religious community), often an imam. Assemblies usually end after a prayer of blessing, with the principal dismissing the female students first. Therefore, the Muslim school strongly recruits the affiliated religion such that substantially more than 50% of the assembly involves religious practices. Furthermore, assemblies draw strongly on the *ritualised* classification of agents and are predominantly led by staff and authoritative representatives of the affiliated religious community. A summary of the results is given in Table 7.8 below.

Table 7.8 Results of Religious Events Coding for the Muslim School

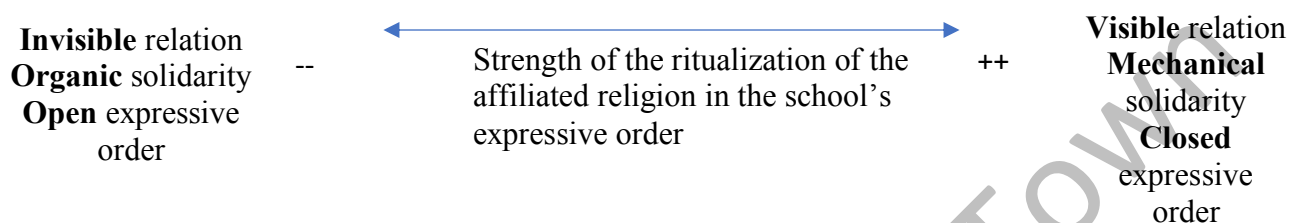
	Ritualization
Common religious events	++(3) Strong
Special religious events	++ (3) Strong
Assembly	++(3) Strong
Presence of ritualised classification of agents	Present
Coding average	3
Religious events coding	Strong ritualization

7.3 Discussion

According to Bernstein (1975), one of the functions of ritual is to mark out relations between the school and particular groups outside the school. Bernstein suggests that, “rituals also relate the school’s values and norms to those held by, or allegedly to be held by, certain dominant groups in the non-school society” (p. 55). This discussion interprets the recruitment of ritual related to the school’s affiliated religion as indicative of the degree to which the relation between the school’s expressive order and the affiliated religious community is visibly constituted. Strong or fairly strong *ritualization* of the affiliated religion in the school’s *symbolic features* and/or *communal events* is interpreted as constituting a visible relation between the school and the religious community. Following Bernstein (1975), strong ritualization is related to the privileging of mechanical solidarity in what he terms a closed expressive order. Conversely, weak or fairly weak *ritualization* of the affiliated religion in both *symbolic features* and *communal events* is understood as constituting an invisible

relation between the school and the affiliated religious community. According to Bernstein, this is related to the privileging of organic solidarity indicative of an open expressive order. Figure 7.1 below presents this relation.

Figure 7.1 Relation Between the School and the Affiliated Religious Community as Constituted by the Ritualization of the Expressive Order



Using the notion of visible and invisible expressive orders presented above the analysis presented in this chapter is summarised in Table 7.9 below.

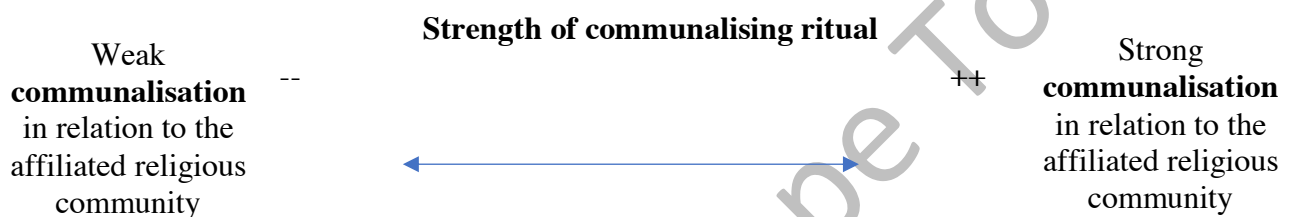
Table 7.9 Summary of Chapter Analysis in Respect of Ritualization and the Resulting Visibility of the Relation Between the Affiliated Religious Community and the School

	Protestant	Catholic	Jewish	Muslim
Symbolic features	Weak	Strong	Fairly weak	Strong
Communal events	Fairly weak	Fairly weak	Fairly strong	Strong
Relation between school and affiliated religious community	--Invisible in relation to both symbolic features and communal events	+ Visible in relation to symbolic features.	+ Visible in relation to communal events	++Visible in relation to both symbolic features and communal events.
Privileged form of solidarity	Organic	Mechanical	Mechanical	Mechanical
Expressive order	Open	Fairly strong Closed	Fairly strong Closed	Strong Closed

Furthermore, following Bernstein's (1975) notion of communalising ritual, it is recognised that certain rituals constitute the student as a member of the affiliated community. According to Bernstein, ritual functions to "relate the individual...to a social order" (p. 54). Therefore, certain rituals develop a 'social identity' in which individual is related the school's affiliated religious community. Three sub-categories of ritual, explored in the analysis, are understood as having this 'communalising' character. Firstly, the extent to which student dress is *ritualised* in relation to the affiliated religion. Secondly, the school's emphasis on religious

common events. Finally, the *ritualised* ‘religious’ classification of students in assembly is understood to explicitly constitute the student as a member of the affiliated religion. These three categories of communalising rituals are understood as related to the extent to which the student is communalised in relation to the affiliated religious community. These concepts are presented in Figure 7.2 below.

Figure 7.2 Forms of Solidarity (in relation to the affiliated religious community) Privileged by the Strength of Communalising Ritual



In Table 7.10 below, the schools are coded in relation to the extent to which the ritual order individualises or communalises the student in relation to the affiliated religious community.

Table 7.10 Forms of Solidarity in Relation to the Affiliated Religious Community Privileged by the Schools’ Expressive Order

	Protestant	Catholic	Jewish	Muslim
Dress (student)	(0) Weak	(0) Weak	(2) Fairly strong	(3) Strong
Religious common events	(0) Weak	(1) Fairly weak	(1) Fairly weak	(3) Strong
Ritualised (religious) classification of students in assembly	(0) Not present	(0) Not present	(1) Present	(1) Present
Total	0	1	5	7
Student’s relation to affiliated religious community	Weakly communalised	Weakly communalised	Fairly strongly communalised	Strongly communalised

Protestant School: The analysis in this chapter indicates that the Protestant school stands out as an outlier in the sample with respect to its sparse *ritualization* of the affiliated religion in its expressive order. It is the only school in the sample that, in both *symbolic features* and *communal events*, presents sparse *ritualization*. This is theorised as constituting an invisible relation between the school and the affiliated religious community. Moreover, the student is

weakly communalised in relation to the affiliated community signalled by the minimal presence of ritual that explicitly constitutes the student as a community member.

However, the Protestant school assembly is the one category in the analysis in which the affiliated religion is strongly *ritualised*: assemblies present a space in which the relation of the school to the affiliated religion is made explicit in an expressive order which mostly renders this relation invisible. The Protestant assemblies affirm the relation between the school as an institution and the affiliated religious community primarily by constituting the staff as representatives of this community. The religious practices are exclusively led by members of staff. Furthermore, while the student base is symbolically constituted as a Christian congregation, this ‘communalisation’ is occasionally interrupted by an assembly that is focused on proselytizing. This ‘outreach assembly’ acts as differentiating ritual, constructing the school as constituted by two groups: the saved and the un-saved. Thus, while the majority of the assemblies construct the students as a Christian collective, this consensual construction of the student base is undermined occasionally by the insertion of a ‘missional ritual.’¹³²

The weak *ritualization* of the affiliated religion in the Protestant school’s expressive relays is framed within the broader context of the Protestant school’s expressive order which draws weakly on *ritualization* in general.¹³³ The Protestant school, unlike the other three schools, also very weakly incorporates scholastic forms such as house, award and student leadership systems.¹³⁴ There is therefore an absence of the ritual and *symbolic features* that are normally associated with these systems. Moreover, the school avoids any form of differentiating ritual in the form of prefect or head-student systems. The grade 12 students are rather encouraged

¹³² This recruitment of a ‘missional ritual’ (not evident in any of the other schools in the sample) is related to the school’s conception of a Christian identity: Ritually constituting the whole school unambiguously as Christian in assemblies would undermine the notion that being a Christian is exclusively and fundamentally about a socially abstracted, inner moment of faith between a person and God and not about external affiliation to any particular organisation.

¹³³ The school’s relation to the international organisation advocating the pedagogic philosophy used by the school is made explicit to some degree in ritual. It is recruited as symbolic resource in the schools’ *ritualised* relays, providing the focus for the ongoing parent training events and recruited into the meaning of the school’s name. Furthermore, many of the displays in public spaces of student productions are explicitly presented as the outworking of the school’s philosophy. The school thus, to some degree, ritually constitutes itself as a community galvanised by the recognition of the merits of a particular pedagogic method and related to an external organisation advocating this method.

¹³⁴ The Catholic, Jewish and Muslim schools all included robust house, award and student leadership systems. This will be understood as strengthening the school’s utilisation of *ritualised* relays and constituting to what Bernstein (1975) would call a strongly *ritualised*, closed expressive order.

to act as mentors and role models to the younger students, but in an informal un-institutionalised mode. Furthermore, the school did not have any student-run clubs, societies or councils, and thus differentiating roles such as club chairman or student council-leader do not exist.

The Protestant school's sparse incorporation of *ritualised* relays results in the weak construction of the school as a unified, visible social structure nurturing a weak identification on the part of the student with the school as a social entity.¹³⁵ Rather, the school emphasises strongly individualised or differentiated notions of identity and relies on highly personalised and elaborated forms of communication indicative of Bernstein's (1975) notion of an open expressive order. Therefore, staff are actively encouraged to act as spiritual mentors to students and students are encouraged to embrace the teachers as such. This modality is particularly evident in the complete absence of any official roles and leadership positions available to students. Students always play the role of representing themselves with no opportunity to assume a corporate/community forged identity. This was particularly noticeable in the absence of any student-led aspects to the school's assemblies of both a religious and non-religious nature. At this Protestant school, students are primarily aware of being themselves. The student thus ideally meets all other agents as an abstracted individualised free-floating self within a social context in which the social structure including the school's religious affiliation, remains largely invisible.¹³⁶

Catholic School: The clearest difference between the Catholic and Protestant school, made evident in the analysis, is in the far greater degree to which the Catholic school's affiliated religion is *ritualised* in its *symbolic features*. At the Catholic school the affiliation to 'Catholicity' is visibly constituted in the 'outer world.'¹³⁷ Furthermore, the Catholic school

¹³⁵ In Bernstein's (1975) terms, the sparsity of *ritualised* relays at the Protestant school would be equivalent to a weak incorporation of ritual, both differentiating and consensual. At the level of student identity visible rituals often attempt to facilitate the emergence of a strongly felt identification with the school as a social order, "to heighten respect for that order, to revivify that order within the individual..." (p. 54). This 'social order' of the school may in turn position the student in relation to 'an approved external order,' such as a particular religious community. *Ritualised* relays construct a notion of shared values and beliefs constituting a visible external social structure in which the student identifies herself as a part. This social order creates explicit roles and positions in which students learn to represent and embody identities beyond the individualised ego.

¹³⁶ A more detailed discussion of the projected student identity is given in Chapter 8, in which it will be argued that the projected student identity at the Protestant schools exemplifies Bernstein's (2000) notion of a therapeutic identity.

¹³⁷ This relates to a general difference within Christianity between Catholicism and Protestantism. The wedge driven between the inner and the outer, which Bernstein (2000) argues is characteristic of Christianity, is

differs from the Jewish and Muslim school in that the 'visibility' of the relation between the affiliated religion and the school is constituted primarily in its *symbolic features* rather than in *communal events*. The Catholic school does not include many religious common or special religious events in its timetable in comparison to the Jewish and Muslim schools. The school privileges a historic rather than a current relation between the school and the affiliated religious community. Therefore, the Catholic school's ritual order constitutes mechanical solidarity which explicitly constitutes the student in relation to the school as an institution with a Catholic history. This enables the formation of student identification with the school as an explicit collective.

However, the ritual order backgrounds the student's relation to the external affiliated religious community. Therefore, while explicitly marking the school's institutional historical relation to Catholicism (facilitating solidarity with the school as an institution), the ritual order privileges the idea that membership of the Catholic community is an individual and optional choice and only weakly constitutes the students as members of this external community.

The primary context in which the Catholic student base is explicitly 'communalised' in relation to the affiliated religion is in the school's Mass services.¹³⁸ The incorporation of compulsory Mass services occurs despite the fact that around 55% of the school's staff and student population are not Catholic. However, all students, according to the deputy-principal,

accentuated by Protestantism. Catholicism, with its emphasis on icons, ritual practice and explicit institutional structures, brings the outer world (the physicality of things and social organisation) into relation with inner notions of spirituality. In contrast, Protestantism explicitly privileges the inner and thus rejects, to a large extent, icons, ritual practice and explicit institutional structure. The sacred inner, according to Protestantism, must not be wedded to the 'profane outer'. This is well illustrated by the difference in theology regarding the 'Lord's supper'. In Catholic theology, during the mass ritual, the bread and the wine are miraculously 'transubstantiated' into the literal body and blood of Christ. Thus, the material the 'outer' becomes sacred and then nourishes the 'inner' spiritual life of the Catholic believer on its physical consumption. The outer and the inner are brought together. Protestant theology rejects this coming together of the inner and outer. According to Protestant theology, the bread and wine are not transformed, but rather remain merely a symbol of a direct spiritual transaction between the believer and the Holy Spirit that takes place spiritually in the believer while participating in the ritual. Protestantism maintains the boundary between the inner and the outer, privileging the unmediated encounter between God and the individual.

¹³⁸ In contrast to the school's mass services, the Catholic school's assemblies do not constitute the student base as a specifically Catholic community but rather presents a far broader notion of religious belonging that includes other expressions of Christianity. Unlike the other schools in the sample, the Catholic school assembly included forms of religious practice drawn from expressions of the school's broad umbrella religion (Christianity) that are not representative of the practices of the specific affiliated religion of the school (Catholicism). This presents an openness to other religious perspectives also characteristic of the school's instructional order.

Deputy-principal: ...have to come to mass. They won't be forced to do anything in mass that makes them uncomfortable, but they have to be there and they have to be respectful and they are not to undermine what the school stands for in any way. (Cath, VP, 5.4)

The school considers its mass services, particularly the conjunction of the mass ritual with some important school events, as critical to the maintenance of the school's cherished ethos. However, this explicit constitution of the school as a Catholic community is met with resistance particularly by students who do not consider themselves to be Catholic.¹³⁹ This resistance is not surprising, given that the instructional order constitutes religious identity as individually negotiated. The following chapter will discuss this aspect of the Catholic school's expressive order in more detail in relation to the school's projected student identity and the way in which the affiliated religion is recruited to relay this.

Jewish School: The Jewish school incorporates the affiliated religion fairly strongly in respect of its *communal events*, but fairly weakly in its *symbolic features*. The school's *symbolic features* are predominantly related to local and international Jewish community life and the school's Zionist ideology rather than Jewish religion. Thus, the *symbolic features* of the Jewish school make visible the school's relation to Zionism and the local Jewish community, but do not make visible the schools relation to the affiliated religious community. However, the school's relation to its affiliated religious community is made visible in its *communal events*, particularly with respect of the many religious special events in the school calendar. Furthermore, the recruitment of the affiliated religion into the school's *ritualised* relays constitutes the student as communalised in relation to the affiliated religious community as indicated by the common religious events included in the school schedule as well as the recruitment of the affiliated religion in respect of student dress and the classification of students in assembly. In assembly, the explicit classification of the students in dress and in spatial constitution with respect to gender, visibly constitutes the students as

¹³⁹ A student, when asked what new students often dislike about the school, replied:

Student 1: If the girls are not religious, they get frustrated with the number of masses that we have or the point of RE class. That can work on the nerves of everybody who is not religious, they don't enjoy it. But it's kind of, then don't come to a Catholic school if you don't like the religious stuff...I don't think it, it's difficult, I can see how they would get bored with the number of religious events but again it's a Catholic school and if you are going to come to a Catholic school you can't moan about coming to mass. (Cath, S1, 5.4)

members of the Orthodox Jewish community.¹⁴⁰ Therefore, while both the Jewish and the Catholic school constitute a visible relation between the affiliated religion and the school via the *ritualised* recruitment of the affiliated religion in the schools' expressive relays, they constitute the relation between the student and the religious community differently. The Jewish school's expressive order fairly strongly constitutes the student (via ritual) as a member of the affiliated religion. Therefore, the Jewish school's ritual order constitutes mechanical solidarity that relates the student to the school as an explicit collective as well as constituting the student as a member of the external collective of the affiliated religion.

Muslim School: The Muslim school presents a strongly *ritualised* expressive order with a robust incorporation of religious *symbolic features* and *communal events*. However, unlike the Jewish and Catholic school, the Muslim school's affiliated religion is strongly recruited in *symbolic* and *communal event features* of the schools *ritualised* relays. The Muslim school looks strongly to the Islamic 'sacred' calendar in the ordering and structure of both common and special *communal events*. Furthermore, unlike any other school in the sample the Muslim school punctuates its daily timetable with multiple Islamic rituals performed at specific times of the day. Therefore, the Muslim school embraces the *ritualised* ordering of time as a means of induction into a consciousness regulated by an 'external sacred' that is viewed as a communal ordering of the individual inner consciousness. At the Muslim school order comes from without and acts on the inner: mechanical solidarity is thus strongly privileged via its *ritualised* expressive relays.

Another important aspect of the Muslim school's *ritualised* relays is the close interaction they facilitate between the school and the affiliated religious community. The two 'communities' share common spaces, such as the mosque and the Islamic community centre and often combine in the performance of Islamic rituals. Thus, the expressive order at the Muslim

¹⁴⁰ The *ritualised* classification of agents in respect of space and dress hold for the full duration of the assembly and not just for the small period designated for prayer. Thus, the *ritualised* constitution of the student base as an Orthodox religious congregation symbolically permeates the entire assembly period. Furthermore, the religious practice in the Jewish school (and Muslim school) assemblies involves liturgical content utilised by the affiliated religious community which explicitly emphasises communal solidarity via the corporate recitation and action which constitutes the prayer recital. In contrast, the prayers at the Christian schools are non-liturgical and personalised. The agent leading the prayer expresses personal individualised prayers that do not require communal responses on the part of the congregation. Therefore, the Jewish school's minimal recruitment of religious practice strongly privileges mechanical solidarity while the practice in the Christian schools' assemblies' privileges organic solidarity.

school strongly constitutes the entire student and staff population as identified and aligned with the religious character of the affiliated local Muslim community. Thus, unity is assumed at the level of religious belief and practice, while diversity is recognised at the level of class, culture and ethnicity.¹⁴¹ Furthermore, the strong shared regulation of time by common communal religious ritual is unique to the Muslim school and acts as an external sacred that galvanises a diverse community in respect of class, culture and ethnicity.¹⁴²

7.4 Conclusion

The analysis presented in this chapter was primarily concerned with making visible the extent to which the affiliated religion is *ritualised* in the expressive relays of the schools. The discussion then related these findings to the way in which the expressive order constitutes the school and the students in relation to the school's affiliated religious community. It also suggested that the school's expressive orders privileged different forms of solidarity related to Bernstein's (1975) notion of open and closed expressive orders. Table 7.12 below summarises the findings of the chapter.

Table 7.11 Summary the Results of the Chapter's Analysis

	Protestant	Catholic	Jewish	Muslim
Relation between school and religious community as constituted by ritual	--Invisible in relation to both symbolic features and communal events	+ Visible in relation to symbolic features.	+ Visible in relation to communal events	++Visible in relation to both symbolic features and communal events.
Privileged form of solidarity	Organic	Mechanical	Mechanical	Mechanical
Expressive order	Open	Closed	Closed	Closed
Student's relation to affiliated religious community	Weakly communalised	Weakly communalised	Fairly strongly communalised	Strongly communalised

¹⁴¹ The principal spoke at length about the diversity of the school in terms of ethnicity and class. He mentioned the ethnic/cultural divide between Cape Malay Muslims and Indian Muslims, as well as the extreme diversity of social class represented by the student body. He emphasised the challenges that this diversity creates for the school.

¹⁴² This is in contrast to the Jewish school, in which unity of culture and ethnicity is emphasised while diversity is assumed at the level of religious belief and practice.

Chapter 8: Pedagogic Identity

8.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the pedagogic identities privileged by the schools in the sample. According to Bernstein (2000), a pedagogic identity constructs “a particular moral disposition, motivation and aspiration, embedded in particular performances and practices” (p. 65). While pedagogic identities may refer to teachers or students, the interest of this chapter is concerned with student identity. Following Bernstein’s (2000) suggestion that pedagogic identities are related to “the bias and focus” (p. 65) of external groups (both national and local), this chapter pays particular attention to the way the privileged pedagogic identity relates to the school’s affiliated religious community. The analysis utilises the concept of the imagined ideal student as a means of exploring Bernstein’s more abstract notion of a pedagogic identity. Therefore, the chapter begins with summary sketches of the imagined ideal student. The chapter ends with a discussion in which the imagined ideal student at each school is related to Bernstein’s (2000) taxonomy of pedagogic identities presented in Chapter 3.

8.2 Sketches of the Imagined Ideal Student

The following sketches of the imagined ideal student at each of the schools are derived from interview and policy data (outlined in Chapter 3). The characteristics of the imagined ideal student presented in the sketches are organised around the following six categories derived inductively from the data:

- Religious
- Cultural
- Social
- Sexual
- Academic
- Societal

Where one of the above categories is not featured in the following descriptions, it is because the data do not address that category. This is interpreted as indicating a de-emphasis in the imagined ideal student related to the ‘un-addressed’ category. The summary sketches include substantial reference to the original data in order to make explicit how the data were read in the generation of the descriptions.

8.2.1 The Protestant School’s Ideal Student

Religious: At the Protestant school, the imagined ideal student’s Christian identity is strongly emphasised. This was evident in the inclusion of religious characteristics in the majority (9 out of 12) of the unprompted¹⁴³ interview responses describing the ideal Protestant school student. In many responses, the ideal student’s Christian identity was prioritised by being mentioned first and/or being framed as an obvious given. For example, a teacher began her description of the ideal student by explicitly stating, “The ideal student is a Christian...” (Prot, T, 7.1). A student began with the remark, “Ok, well definitely Christian, obviously!” (Prot, S1, 7.1). Therefore, there is a strong emphasis on the religious dimension in the imagining of the ideal student.

The imagined ideal student’s religious character privileges inner religious dispositions and privatised forms of religious activity. In describing the values that are emphasised at the school, a student replied:

Student 1: Well, in assembly and stuff they are always talking about our relationship with God and how we should focus on that. A value that they speak of is increasing or having a greater desire to love God. That is a value that I hear a lot, especially in assemblies. And then there is also, like, prayer. That is emphasised quite a lot. So, like encouraging us to pray in our own lives. (Prot, S1, 7.1)

Furthermore, the Protestant school privileges the idea that the attainment of the ideal religious identity is grounded in a socially abstracted relation (between the individual and God) of faith. For example, the principal described the ideal student as, “knowing who they are, sure of their faith...” (Prot, P, 7.1). Furthermore, the vice-principal described the ideal

¹⁴³ By unprompted, it is meant that the respondent included the characteristic in her first description of the ideal student. In some interviews, if a respondent did not mention any religious characteristics in the first description, a prompt question such as *and any religious characteristics?* followed.

student as, “committed in his faith” (Prot, VP, 7.1).¹⁴⁴ Thus, in accordance with Protestant theology, the school constitutes Christian identity as secured (attained) by an internal act of faith, rather than external blood ties, acts of penitence, institutional sanction, ritual, or charity work.¹⁴⁵ Participation and/or membership of the affiliated religious community does not feature strongly in the constitution of the ideal student. One of the teachers interviewed (who was a Catholic) described a de-emphasis on concrete church membership, suggesting that at the Protestant school, “it is about your personal faith...you don’t even necessarily have to be part of a church community” (Prot, T, unscripted). Therefore, the imagined ideal student is weakly constituted in relation to involvement or identification with the affiliated religious community.

Social: Socially, the ideal student is imagined as personally engaged with others, and unconstrained by social groupings related to age, gender, school grade, race or institutional position. The principal described the ideal student as, “very socially competent with forming relationships with others and maintaining those relationships” (Prot, P, 7.1). A teacher described the ideal learner as, “very social; not isolated” (Prot, T, 7.1). Furthermore, the ideal

¹⁴⁴ The two staff members who identified, with the greatest clarity, the existence of a very specific form of Christianity privileged at the school, were both Catholic. When asked to describe the religious foundation of the school, the vice-principal (a Catholic) described it as somewhat conservative and non-traditional. He explained this saying:

Vice-principal: I think as far as Orthodox goes, we are quite conservative in terms of our understanding of Christianity in its literal truth both doctrinally and morally, although there is a certain amount of flexibility there. And non-traditional in that it is very much very charismatic and we wouldn’t be able to align the school with more traditional denominations. In fact, I would say the underlying attitude toward tradition is fairly negative. (Prot, VP. 5.2)

The vice-principal describes a conservative theological and moral outlook (evangelical in leaning) with a charismatic anti-traditionalism in practice. Another teacher (herself a Catholic) also described the school as conservative and non-traditional. She described her Catholic background as “quite a different background to the religious background of the school” (Prot, T, 5.2). She linked the non-traditional element directly with the affiliated church and its rejection of the historical tradition of ritual and liturgy. When asked, *What aspects of the school make you describe it as non-traditional?* she replied, “Well because it is based off an evangelical church environment...So school life does not include ritual and liturgy, not in my sense of it...it is about your personal faith...you don’t even necessarily have to be part of a church community” (Prot, T, unscripted). However, the specific individualised evangelical alignment is invisible to many of the students and staff, particularly those that are members of the affiliated church or churches of a similar nature (such as the principal).

¹⁴⁵ This aspect of the Protestant school’s expressive order was clearly illustrated in the observed assembly. As discussed in the previous chapter, the assembly took on the format of an evangelical “outreach” service and ended with an explicit conversion call by the teacher who had presented his personal testimony. He prayed, “... if we acknowledge Him something powerful takes place. I know some in this room need this. Take this time in your hearts to say ‘Jesus, I acknowledge you in my heart as Saviour. Guard me, guide me, protect me’”(A teacher conducting assembly). An opportunity for this catalytic, individualised faith encounter was being provided.

student is constituted as a person who avoided cliques and closed-off friendship groups, who is rather friends with a wide range of different people. Many students included this idea of relational openness as one of the values emphasised at the school. A student described the ideal student as, “socially, she would kind of be friends with everyone” (Prot, S2, 7.1). The vice-principal related this relational ‘openness’ and informality to the school’s emphasis on viewing students as ‘persons’:

Vice-principal: I think our understanding of students as persons...puts us all on a level playing field with students and teachers and I think that is all because of the relational aspect of our philosophy. Everything happens in the context of relationships. (Prot, VP, 7.3)

Therefore, the ideal student relates directly to ‘the other’ in a manner that mirrors the personalised, socially abstracted ‘primary’ relation between God and the individual.

Sexual: The imagined ideal student at the Protestant school privileges a conservative sexuality understood to be regulated by her Christian faith. For example, a student described the ideal student as having a “good ethic in terms of dating” (Prot, S1, 7.1). A number of students mentioned that modesty was a common value emphasised at the school, particularly in reference to what the female students ‘choose’ to wear to school. Moreover, eight out of 11 respondents felt the school would either discourage or ban casual dating, while all respondents except for one (who felt the school would discourage it), felt the school would ban casual sex. Moreover, non-Christian students were often framed by the staff as morally deviant. For example, the principal, responding to a question about the challenges she felt in relation to having non-Christian students at the school, replied:

Principal: For the non-Christians, for some of them, drinking is fine, casual sex is fine, smoking is fine, and it goes against everything we believe. We have a situation of ‘them and us’: the Christian guys and girls who have strong morals and the non-Christian students. (Prot, P, 5.10)¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁶ The vice-principal related that, “...in certain classes where the balance [of Christian and non-Christian students] gets a bit upset, when there are lots of new students who do not come from similar backgrounds [Christian homes], they can be quite disruptive” (Prot, VP, 5.10). While the existence of non-Christian students at the school was framed negatively in terms of their potential disruption of the school’s moral order, their existence at the school was also considered as positive opportunity for ‘conversion’. The vice-principal, after initially suggesting that he saw no advantages in having non-Christian students, drew attention to the conversion opportunity it afforded: “I think as the school has grown it has taken on a more missionary role. How effective that is, I am not sure. I am not sure there is any real way to gauge it. A lot of emphasis is placed on the seeds of the faith that can be sown in non-Christian as lives at the school. So, having them at the school would have a benefit in that sense....” (Prot, VP, 5.11). Thus, the expressive order, with its foundation based on a religious

Therefore, the ideal student's moral framework is constituted directly in relation to her religious faith and moral deviance is understood to relate to the absence of this faith and is strongly associated with those who are not Christian.

Academic: The imagined ideal student at the Protestant school embraces academic specialisation as a means of self-actualisation. The ideal student is academically motivated by a love for learning based on innate curiosity combined with a sense of duty to realise her God-given potential. For example, the vice-principal described the ideal learner as someone who, "would be interested in learning about the world around him, would have a wide range of interests" (Prot, VP, 7.1). Moreover, the ideal student rejects motivation for learning based on competitive relations to her peers. Rather, the imagined ideal student embraces school work as a means of personal potential realisation. The school principal, when asked about the school's stance on students competing with one another for academic grades, replied:

Principal: It is discouraged because competition means that education is something that is not undergone for its own sake. It becomes a means to another end of outperforming your rivals...it is rather holding up in a relational context what we believe each student can achieve.... (Prot, P, 4.6)

Therefore, the ideal student rejects competitive relations with her peers and is rather motivated by an inherent love of learning in the context of individualised notions of achievement and potential.¹⁴⁷

Summary: The imagined ideal student at the Protestant school is strongly constituted in relation to a religious identity, while societal and cultural characteristics are conspicuously absent.¹⁴⁸ The ideal student at the Protestant school privileges a particular Protestant religious

identity, constitutes the non-Christian student as both a potential threat and a positive missional opportunity. Both the perceived threat and the perceived opportunity are related to the fundamental ordering principle: the inner religious order that orders all else from the inside out.

¹⁴⁷ The ideal student is also constituted as hardworking or diligent as she embraces the reality that academic specialisation involves a 'struggle'. For example, a teacher described the ideal student as having, "a very good work ethic" (Prot, T1, 7.1). A student described the ideal student as, "...diligent and hardworking" (Prot, S3, 7.1). The prospectus states: "But they will also struggle. We consider struggle to be as essential as the delight [of learning]. Children must learn to labour with problems not yet grasped, to remain on task when uncertain of the outcome" (School prospectus). The prospectus goes on to place academic specialisation squarely in relation to the individualised notions of potential realisation, "...all students will learn and grow to their full potential as persons and attain their vast inheritance" (School prospectus). Thus, the ideal student is constituted as hardworking: willing to struggle in the cause of realising her individual potential.

¹⁴⁸ The ideal student primarily understands herself as an individual rather than a member or participant in relation to a communal identity (such as a 'South African citizen'). Moreover, academic specialisation is not framed in relation to participation or integration into larger society (or the market), but rather as realisation of

faith in which the student is understood to have an individualised, socially unmediated relationship with God. The ordering of the ideal student's 'relational life' is constituted as a causal ordering that begins with the ordering of the inner self's relation with God. This primary relation then permeates outward, providing order to other aspects of the ideal student's identity. School policy consistently reflects this structure, commonly utilising the refrain in which the ideal student is described as "living a life rich in relationship to God, self, others and all creation" (from the school's mission statement).

8.2.2 The Catholic School's Ideal Student

Religious: In contrast to the Protestant school, religious characteristics are backgrounded in the constitution of the ideal student at the Catholic school. The school's mission statement makes no mention of religious aspirations. Moreover, in all the interviews with students and staff, none of the initial descriptions of the ideal student contained any mention of characteristics related to religion. Furthermore, there was no mention of religious characteristics in any of the students' responses to the question, *What are the kinds of values you hear preached over and over at this school?* When interviewees were prompted specifically about the religious character of the ideal student, it was presented in very broad and inclusive terms. For example, the vice-principal, when prompted regarding the religious nature the ideal student, replied:

Vice-principal: Be true to whatever her particular religious affiliation is and be not afraid to stand for it. Ja, it depends on the individual and if she has no strong religious convictions about anything, she should not pretend that she does. So a kind of integrity to whatever you believe. (Cath, VP, 7.1)

Furthermore, the vast majority of school policy documents refer to religion in terms of a broad spirituality rather than a more narrowly Christian or Catholic religious alignment.¹⁴⁹

individual potential. References to broader society were often framed in terms of danger and pollution. For example, the school prospectus states, "We seek to provide an atmosphere free from the dehumanising effects of much of popular culture (as mediated through fad and mass media) which reduce persons to consumers and competitors" (from the school's prospectus).

¹⁴⁹ However, school policy documentation does occasionally present a distinctly narrower Christian character. For example, the school's vision statement states:

Vision: Dominican schools aim to provide forward looking education of the highest quality, based on a tradition that goes back over seven hundred years of commitment to education. Our schools seek to care for the whole person in order to develop in young people a love for learning, an enthusiasm for truth, a love for others, respect

The school sets up the ideal religious identity as thoughtfully chosen and held with integrity. The school principal commented: “So, our curriculum is not to force Catholicism down their throats; it is to be open and so on. In that sense, they are given a lot of freedom to explore where their own spirituality lies” (Cath, P, 1.11). Thus, the ideal student is informed regarding a diverse set of religious perspectives, and then chooses for herself what religious beliefs and practices she will adopt. Religious identity is thus a means of expression of the ‘authentic’ individual self. However, this broad spiritual dimension of the ideal student is weakly emphasised and does not constitute a dominant aspect of the way the ideal student is imagined.

Social: The imagined ideal student at the Catholic school was strongly constituted as a person who presents herself to others in a manner congruent with her ‘true self.’ This was often described in terms of ‘personal integrity.’ This characteristic was strongly related to the school’s motto ‘Veritas’ (this is also the motto of the school’s founding Capra Dominican order).¹⁵⁰ This emphasis was evident in that all students interviewed, when asked to describe the things they hear emphasised over and over at the school, centred their responses around the school motto. One student admitted that, “I get sick of hearing about Veritas. That comes up all the time” (Cath, S1, 5.1). The dominant interpretation of the school’s motto framed ‘Veritas’ as being about thinking, speaking and acting in accordance with who you really are. For example, a student offered that she understood the motto to mean “to not put on a facade or persona when you are talking to people, to just be true to yourself, true to who you want to be. That is what I take out of Veritas” (Cath, S2, 5.1).

Coupled with this notion of individual integrity was the idea that the ideal student was socially confident and independent. For example, the principal described the ideal student

for culture and religious values of all, a willingness to serve in a spirit of healing and reconciliation, flowing from an appreciation of the Word of God and deep commitment to Christ. (from the school’s vision statement)

This statement includes the distinctly Christian notions of ‘the Word of God and deep commitment to Christ’. However, this vision statement is a generic statement used by all Dominican Catholic schools in South Africa, and thus has not been re-contextualised by the specific Dominican school studied in this research.

¹⁵⁰ The motto links the school’s current moral order with the school’s religious origins. The deputy head of the high school, when asked why the religious studies class was compulsory, replied, “...the school was founded with a view to providing an education, an academic education, but also instilling the particular virtues of the order of nuns who began this school, which they hold dear, and that has carried the tradition and that has carried on....” (Cath, VP, 1.3).

this way: “And I like girls who are confident enough to say what they believe and what they stand for, instead of just trying to win favour by pretending to be what they are not. So, I like confident young ladies” (Cath, P, 7.1). The characteristic of independence is interpreted as indicative of the ideal student’s acceptance the inner self as the ultimate source of sacred authority. External factors, such as social popularity, are rejected as legitimate reasons for belief or action. A student, describing the ideal student, stated: “They very much like the idea of grooming independent, strong women; this is a very feminist sort of school” (Cath, S3, 7.1). Therefore, the imagined ideal student has a strong sense of agency: a sense of the self-acting on the world as opposed to being acted upon.

However, the ideal student, while having a strong sense of ‘individuality,’ embraces a very particular school aesthetic or manner. This was often linked to the school’s regulation of appearance and distilled in the notion of the ‘*school’s name girl*’. The Catholic school includes a lengthy section of policy dedicated to outlining the regulation of appearance. This policy provides detailed parameters regarding uniforms, hair, jewellery, make-up and nails. A student suggested that:

Student 2: *School Name* has like this identity of the ‘*School Name girl*’ and I think most of the time if you are out of that, teachers will make sure you aren't out of that... but like it is very limited in like expressing yourself. Obviously not in terms of your talents, because those you can express yourself in whatever way you want to, but in terms of just being who you are. Like wearing your hair a certain way or wearing more than one earring...It is very limited in showing people who you really are in that sense and it's just more to build in ‘*School Name*’ character. I think that is what a lot of girls don't like and a lot of girls who have moved from ‘*School Name*’ to other schools, that could be the reason, because this character that you have to build the ‘*School Name girl*.’ (Cath, S3, 6.4)

Thus, while the ideal student has a strong sense of individual agency, she embraces and embodies a particular aesthetic symbolically constituted in the stringent regulation of appearance.

Sexual: Characteristics related to sexuality were very sparse in the data. Sexuality was predominantly presented as something to be individually negotiated and not regulated by the school’s Catholic affiliation.¹⁵¹ The principal emphasised the school’s individualised

¹⁵¹ The strong emphasis on individual choice was also evident in the section of the interviews in which respondents were asked to rank certain forms of behaviour according to whether the school would encourage, remain neutral, discourage or ban the behaviour. The Catholic school respondents primarily felt the school

approach in her teaching of sexual values: “we have to be very careful that we don’t put our own views across...it’s up to them to decide. We are not there to judge people and so on” (Cath, P, 1.12).

Academic: The ideal student at the Catholic school was described in the interviews as a hardworking, well-rounded, academically successful student. The major characteristic ascribed to the ideal student in relation to academic work was her strong work ethic. For example, a teacher began her description saying, “I think they are driven, as I said before, I think the school is a community, driven in terms of success” (Cath, T, 7.1). A message from the chairman on the school’s website reflects this emphasis: “But first and foremost we are an academic school and our girls continue to excel...We believe that this can only be achieved by diligence on the part of our girls...” (school website). The principal, who has fairly recently taken her position, showed some concern regarding this aspect of the school’s culture:

Principal: Unfortunately, I am finding that I have inherited a very stressful environment where there is far too much competition on the girls, amongst the girls to do the best they possibly can, driving themselves to psychological breakdowns. And so, while we have awards for top positions in whatever, the girls are motivated because of probably their family backgrounds, which means they need to get into University. It is difficult to get into the top universities these days, so they put a lot of pressure on themselves. (Cath, P, 4.5).

The principal’s assessment places the motivation behind the strong work ethic at the school in relation to placement in tertiary institutions viewed as necessary to securing the sort of economic and social positioning of the student’s family. Thus, the notion of academic specialisation is strongly linked to instrumental notions of tertiary educational placement and the resulting position in society that this specialisation secures.

Societal: The first aspect of the ideal student’s privileged ‘societal’ identity is her outspoken, social responsiveness. Many respondents described the ideal student using characteristics such as, brave, eloquent, and willing to ‘take a stand.’ The ideal student is able to mobilise others around a cause in which she believes. For example, the principal spoke clearly to this aspect of the ideal student in the following description:

would remain neutral on the behaviours listed, suggesting that the students were free to make up their own minds on issues like casual dating, pursuing a modelling career, marrying a non-Christian or reading a cosmopolitan magazine. Casual sex was the only listed behaviour in which all respondents felt the school would discourage or ban the behaviour.

Principal: When I think of our head girl, she started the dignity campaign and they got together with other schools, as well as our school, to say, “listen let’s look at who we are, what does it mean to be dignified etc.” ... So, I like confident young ladies who are maybe going to enter the political arena and make a difference in South Africa, which I hope they will. (Cath, P, 7.1)

The ideal student is thus constituted as strong and confident, with a concern for issues in greater society, coupled with an ability to mobilise others in addressing these issues.

The motivation for social action is constituted as issuing from an awareness, on the part of the ideal student, of her social position of privilege. The principal, relating what she might talk about in assembly in addressing the theme of the importance of being educated, stated:

Principal: So my talks in assembly would relate to being aware of what is happening in the world at large. That we must not be an isolated island where we are all protected. They must know that ‘out there’ things are different. (Cath, P, 3.7)

Therefore, the ideal student is also aware of her privileged position and is driven by a strong sense of social responsibility to play active roles in broader society in which she confidently mobilises social action.

Summary: The Catholic ideal student is very weakly constituted in terms of religious identity. Rather, the imagined ideal student privileges notions of personal integrity in which she speaks and acts with an independent confidence in a manner congruent with her ‘real inner self.’ However, this individualism is wed with the internalisation of the school’s particular aesthetic. Furthermore, the ideal student is constituted in relation to broader society in which she holds a privileged position based on academic success and engages with society as a concerned, involved, socially responsive citizen. These values (integrity and social responsiveness) are strongly related to the school’s religious history and ethos and are constructed as arising out of this religious tradition. The school’s motto, “Veritas,” is utilised strongly in the discourse around the school’s privileged values, and is used a marker of values, personal integrity, and social responsiveness.¹⁵² The school’s mission statement

¹⁵² The privileging of values over a particular religious identity was particularly well illustrated in a section of the interview in which a student was expressing why she felt the school would remain neutral about marrying a non-Christian: “They discourage marrying somebody who does not share your morals but whether you are a Catholic or not is not an issue. So ‘Neutral’” (Cath, S1, 5.5).

reflects this emphasis stating that, "... we value the uniqueness and importance of each person...preparing our pupils to reach their potential...so that they may take their place in society."

8.2.3 The Jewish School's Ideal Student

Religious: There is a noticeable sparsity in the ideal student descriptions of characteristics relating to religious belief or practice. Only two respondents included religious characteristics in their unprompted descriptions of the ideal student. In one of these responses, there is a reticence to assert the religious practice of the ideal student too strongly, suggesting that the ideal student, "probably attends shul" (Jew, S2, 7.1). Furthermore, none of the students include anything in their responses about what values are emphasised at the school that relate to religion specifically. A further two respondents describing the ideal student explicitly reject religious characteristics as a part of the school's ideal student construct. For example, a teacher began her description stating, "Okay, religion is not an issue, they don't have to be religious, we don't even need to know they belong to a synagogue..." (Jew, T, 7.1).

In the few instances in which the ideal student is characterised by descriptors directly related to religion, these religious characteristics are dominantly linked to activity and participation in the local Jewish religious community such as, 'Attending shul,' being 'religiously observant' and 'celebrating Yom Kippur.' Thus, religious descriptors of the ideal student largely emphasise communal practices rather than internalised notions of religious belief or faith.¹⁵³ The uptake of religious practice and/or religious belief is, therefore, not a major emphasis of the school's ideal student construct. Religious characteristics are rather framed as an optional aspect within the boundaries of what is regarded as an acceptable (but not compulsory) expression of the ideal student's inherent Jewishness.

Cultural: The imagined ideal student at the Jewish school is strongly identified with her 'inherent'¹⁵⁴ Jewishness and actively involved in the local Jewish community. The majority

¹⁵³ It is often difficult to tell if the respondent is referring to the performance of religious practices based on religious beliefs, or if the respondent is referring to religious practices done based on cultural significance. What is clear is that the school does not privilege a religious over a cultural motivation. Rather, the school privileges involvement and identification with the Jewish community, (be it culturally or religiously motivated).

¹⁵⁴ The general notion of a Jewish identity is constructed as a "given" metaphysically robust concept. One teacher gave the following anecdote illustrating this: "But at the end of the day you were born with a Jewish soul and you have to be true to that...and you have to honour that somewhere or other" (Jew, T, 3.10).

of respondents mention notions of Jewish identity and/or Jewish community participation as a part of their unprompted descriptions of the ideal student. For example, a RE teacher described the ideal student as, “Proudly Jewish, proudly Zionist, educated, successful, involved in the community, both the Jewish community and the external community...” (Jew, RET 2, 7.1). Moreover, two out of the three students interviewed, when asked what values are emphasised at the school, mentioned things to do with Jewish identity and participation in Jewish community life. The school principal described the ideal student as: “Somebody who cares about the wider community, as well as the Jewish community. The ideal student does not have to be religious, but has a connection to his Jewish identity” (Jew, P, 7.1). Therefore, the ideal student strongly identifies as a Jew and actively participates in the local Jewish community.¹⁵⁵

This robust, given notion of Jewish identity is underwritten by Orthodox¹⁵⁶ ideology which promotes the idea that Jewishness is passed on through the female lineage. A RE teacher explained this as follows:

RE Teacher 2: We, as a Jewish community, believe you are Jewish if your mother is Jewish, from the traditional Orthodox perspective. So, if a Jewish boy had to date one of the non-Jewish girls at the school and then they get married and have children, their children would not be considered Jewish, which is a very sensitive and touchy topic as we have a lot of students whose parents are from mixed marriages. (Jew, RE2, 5.6)

As the teacher’s quote above reveals, the passing on of Jewishness via the maternal line is a contested notion at the school and very ‘sensitive’ as it undergirds the stability of the ‘given’ construct of a Jewish identity (based on the maternal line).¹⁵⁷ However, the ideal student has a strong sense of his/her Jewishness as an inherent metaphysical reality with a certain sacredness that would be considered sacrilege to deny.

¹⁵⁵ The notion of Jewishness is constructed as a fairly broad space in which the ideal student exercises active personal agency in choosing how she will express her Jewishness, particularly in respect of religious belief and practice. Thus, the relevant referent Jewish community, while representing a concrete community of practice in a specific locale, is abstracted from a particular religious positioning reflecting the lack of uniformity in the community itself regarding religious belief and practice (unlike the Muslim referent community). However, the parameters of what constitutes a legitimate Jewish identity are bounded by a Zionist ideology and the privileging of traditional Judaism over other forms of Jewish religious expression.

¹⁵⁶ The school officially aligns with what is termed a “traditional” Orthodox Jewish ideology.

¹⁵⁷ Therefore, the school is ‘caught’ between the Orthodox belief regarding Jewish identity, which bolsters its deep regulative foundation (of a stable, given Jewish identity) and the reality of the make-up of the Jewish community from which the school draws: many students do not meet the requirements of what constitutes Jewish identity in an Orthodox paradigm.

Social: A dominant theme in both policy and interview data constructed the ideal student as embodying a set of social values related to the Jewish notion of a *Menschen* (a decent human being). For example, a RE teacher described the ideal student, suggesting:

RE Teacher 2: It's one word we are looking for: *Mensch*. You will get this from all the teachers. A *Mensch* is a Hebrew word for somebody who treats others the way they want to be treated. They don't have to be the strongest academic, they have to be committed and passionate, but they have to have the values. This is all we are really trying to achieve with our education.

The notion of a *Mensch* was utilised by seven out of the 13 respondents in their description of the ideal student, and was associated with the school's most cherished social values which regularly included: empathy, integrity, respect, friendliness, kindness and love of the other. The values that make up the concept of the *Mensch* are values understood as arising out of Judaism, but recognised as universally applicable.

Sexual: Characteristics related to sexuality were very sparse in the data. As in the Catholic school, sexuality was predominantly presented as something to be individually negotiated and the school was constituted as presenting an ambiguous stance on issues related to sexuality. This 'ambiguity' (resulting in institutional neutrality) was constructed in relation to the contestation that existed within the school between the religious Jewish perspective and a 'liberal' perspective. In response to a question regarding the school's stance on homosexual relationships, a RE teacher explained this as follows:

RE Teacher 3: Again, neutral does not quite fit. Neutral sounds like we do not care either way. But there is a mix at the school of encouraged, discouraged and neutral. So, I would not say 'neutral' but rather 'No comment,' meaning this is so controversial that we better just not say anything. I think the school would be too scared to. I think many of the staff members would be tolerant of it, if not completely embrace it. If I was making the decisions, things would be different. I think the school does not embrace my voice and views on ethics because it has accepted the reality of its constituency and if it tried something else it would just not be. (Jew, RET3, 5.13)

The principal confirmed this sentiment in her response to the question regarding a student marrying a non-Jew: "So, we would have a neutral stance but, obviously, the religious views are very different...there is a line the religion requires, but there is the other line as well" (Jew, P, 5.13). A student, answering the question regarding her perception of the school's position on homosexuality, explicitly references a dual moral order in play at the school that presented a tension:

Student 3: Discouraged in a Jewish sense, not in the South African context. In terms of being a Jewish school, homosexuality is discouraged, because of religion. In terms of the context of the 21st century in South Africa, no one would be kicked out of the school, nobody would be persecuted or prejudiced because they are homosexual. (Jew, S3, 3.13)

The school's regulative order holds these two contrasting 'moral orders' in a creative tension via its strong instructional classification embodied in its robust JLL department. The ideal student successfully negotiates the communal, externally-given limits of a Jewish identity while also embracing the individualised notion of the freethinking, unrestrained self that accepts no boundaries as beyond question. Therefore, the ideal student has a conservative religious moral framework coupled with a liberal perspective.

Academic: The imagined ideal student at the Jewish school is constituted as academically successful as a result of her strong independence of thought and willingness to critically challenge authority. These characteristics are understood to be grounded in the ideal student's robust sense of individuality and agency. School policy documentation frequently emphasises these characteristics. Phrases from policy documents on the school website include: "...we recognise the uniqueness of the individual," "...nurturing of a questioning spirit and freedom of thought," "...independent thinking and inculcate habits of work and study to equip all learners to succeed at a tertiary level" and "learners learn to steer their own individual paths." Furthermore, the director suggested that,

Director: We do not want a bunch of human beings who are going to go out into society and think one way, we want people to go into the world and become global citizens and invent things and challenge things and try new things. (Jew, D, 3.3)

Therefore, the ideal student is framed as an independent critical thinker who is willing to challenge authority, which sets her up for academic success and 'global' citizenship.

Societal: Along with its emphasis on Jewish identity, the ideal student construct also strongly privileges a societal dimension, emphasising successful integration into broader society, both economically and socially. A grade 11 student, replying to the question about what values he felt were emphasised at the school, said:

Student 1: I would say community is an important value here, as the school tries to stress that we do not get caught in our bubble, in our Jewish bubble. Most of us here are middle-class,

upper middle-class and I think the school has tried, especially of late to make sure we are connected to South Africa as a whole; that we are not just in our own bubble. There are lots of community initiatives here, not just Jewish community, but going out to underprivileged areas charity initiatives. So, I would say that respect and community are the most important values. (Jew, S1, 5.1)

The ideal student is constructed as a person that has an awareness of the positioning of the Jewish community in the broader South African class structure: resulting in an awareness of the class privilege of their own position in relation to this structure. This realisation of her privileged position in the macro-societal structure leads the ideal student to participate in broader society as a successful, integrated and socially responsive citizen.

Summary: The ideal student at the Jewish school is constituted as including two primary aspects to her identity: a given communalised, cultural Jewish dimension involving active participation in the local and global Jewish community, and a more, liberal, individualised, societal dimension emphasising successful integration into broader society. This dual emphasis is apparent in the school's mission, which is described as seeking to enhance the student's potential for participation "within both the Jewish and wider society" (school's mission statement).¹⁵⁸

8.2.4 The Muslim School's Ideal Student

Religious: Characteristics related to the religious identity of the ideal student featured prominently in the interview descriptions of the ideal student at the Muslim school. Six out of the seven unprompted descriptions contained explicit mention of religious characteristics. Five of these six unprompted mentions of a religious identity form the first part of the respondent's ideal student description. For example, a RE teacher began his description saying, "The first is that he conforms totally to the Islamic ethos..." (Mus, RET, 7.1). Similarly, two students explicitly mention religious characteristics as part of the values that are talked about over and over at the school. Furthermore, the school's mission statement privileges the regulative influence of the affiliated religion, suggesting that the school aimed to provide an education compatible with "Islamic principles and practices" (school's mission

¹⁵⁸ Absent from the mission statement is any mention of a specifically religious Jewish identity. Thus, while participation in religious practice and the subscription to Jewish religious beliefs may form of a part of a Jewish identity, the mission statement does not privilege this.

statement). Therefore, the Muslim school places a strong emphasis on the religious character of the ideal student.

The imagined ideal student was strongly constituted as an exemplary member of the affiliated religious community, embodying the community's practices, values and beliefs. In the interviews, the ideal student was often described as having an 'Islamic personality.' When asked if he would want to be the ideal student, a student replied:

Student 3: I would say I would like to completely be, because the person they try to instil is the best person in our religion and that is an extremely good thing for us. So, if we can adapt to these sorts of personality traits, it would be good. They try to give an Islamic personality. (Mus, S3, 7.1)

The ideal is constituted as given from the outside, a collective construct, rather than an ideal constituted with reference to individual choice or self-actualisation.¹⁵⁹ Moreover, religious observance was a prominent characteristic of the ideal Muslim student. Throughout the interviews, it was apparent that the school encouraged pious observance of various community-oriented rituals¹⁶⁰, dress codes, dietary restrictions, holy days and prayers. A student described the ideal learner as: "A student that always goes to mosque for Salah (prayer)... The learner would obviously always cover his awrah¹⁶¹..." (Mus, S3, 7.1). Another student related the following example as a part of his description of the ideal student: "So, if you are all playing outside this student would say, there the adhan¹⁶² goes, let's go inside, Salah is starting, we can of course come back later. I would see that as a model trait" (Mus, S2, 7.1). The ideal student thus embodies the ideals of the community and takes on the role encouraging others in the community to act accordingly.

¹⁵⁹ Unlike the Jewish school, the Muslim school does not make explicit that it privileges a specific form of Islamic belief and practice. There is nothing in school policy that speaks to the ideological positioning of the school in relation to the particular form of Islam promoted by the institution. Furthermore, the interview respondents did not mention the idea that a particular form of Islam was promoted by the school among a spectrum of possible expressions. The only examples of some form of positioning evident in the interviews was in three of the staff interviews, in which the respondents specifically distanced the school from "extremist" forms of Islamic ideology, considering it to embody a moderate conservatism. Thus, like the Protestant school, the specific form of Islam promoted by the school was constituted to a large extent as ideologically neutral.

¹⁶⁰ While it is not the case that these rituals are always performed in the presence of other members of the community (although often they are), these rituals are communalising in the sense that they are community ordering rituals and thus not performed spontaneously or framed as a personal expression on the part of the individual. These rituals form part of shared practice of a community even when performed privately.

¹⁶¹ The intimate parts of the body that must be covered from the gaze of others.

¹⁶² The call to prayer.

Furthermore, the ideal student's status as a Muslim is constructed as given and something the student already possesses. For example, the descriptions of the ideal student do not explicitly confirm that the ideal student is a Muslim (as this is understood as given), but rather address the sort of Muslim the ideal student would be. This unspoken assumption characterised the interview discourse and was evident in the constant use of the term 'our religion' in the interviews. Thus, the ideal student does not think of himself as a Muslim because he chose the religion (unlike the ideal Protestant student, who will look back to a moment of faith), but rather because Islam is the sacred order of the community he was born into. The principal explained the concept:

Principal: The Qur'an is very clear that the lineage of the child belongs to the father, so if the father is Muslim, whether you have a Christian wife, the child would be Muslim. Of course, in the modern world, we call it domination. We can't get it right. But this is a belief we have: you can marry a non-Muslim, but the lineage will remain. In Arabic, we call it [term unclear] that the child will remain Muslim. Because the father provides the sperm, the mother carries, but the main guy is the father, he is the supplier. (Mus, P, FU)

Thus, the school's expressive order, in a similar fashion to the Jewish school, constructs a robust given Islamic identity which is linked to the metaphysically robust notion of family lineage. As a result, the ideal learner primarily understands her identity as a Muslim as something given from without, rather than emphasising individual choice as the primary source of her identity. However, her given Islamic identity is constituted as a given placement within a community governed by a very particular religious order: You are born a member of a community governed by a shared religion.¹⁶³

Social: Discipline and obedience were common themes in both the descriptions of the ideal student and the broader interview data. For example, a student describing the ideal student suggested that, "the learner would obviously always cover his head, always wear the school uniform, would listen to the teachers, listen to the rules, always stay with the right groups...never break the school rules" (Mus, S1, 7.1). Respecting, obeying and listening to the teachers was a common theme related to the ideal student. Moreover, the principal related that he had introduced 'regimentation' involving strict control of the student's movement

¹⁶³ This is a subtle, but important, difference from the Jewish religious identity. The Jewish identity is constructed as metaphysically robust, but not necessarily equated with religious involvement. In the Islamic tradition promoted at the school, while you are born a Muslim, this is constituted not as something internal to the individual needing to be expressed (within certain boundaries), but rather a religious order external to the individual, governing the individual and community into which one is born a member.

between spaces on the school premises: "...they need to line up and the teachers take duty and that kind of thing. It's an old-fashioned approach...but it contributes to the discipline at the school and the learners understand exactly what is expected of them" (Mus, P, 4.4). Notions of challenge and independent thinking were conspicuously rare in the interviews; rather conformity and discipline were the privileged traits.

Sexual: The ideal student conforms strictly to the explicit, conservative rules regarding sexual behaviour associated with the affiliated religious community. There was a strong regulation of behaviour considered to be explicitly banned in the Qur'an. However, behaviour that was not viewed as explicitly outlawed in the Qur'an was presented as open to individual choice. This resulted in comparatively liberal positions on certain issues in comparison to the Protestant school. For example, the school was very conservative in terms of its regulation of sexual relations and dating relationships.¹⁶⁴ However, unlike the Protestant school, the Muslim school did not seek to regulate behaviour associated with participation in popular culture (such as pursuing a modelling career or reading a popular fashion magazine), unless the behaviour fell into what was considered to be clearly against the teachings of the Qur'an. Thus, while strongly and explicitly regulating certain forms of behaviour, the Muslim school constitutes an arena of behaviour in relation to popular culture that it is left open to the negotiation of the individual.

Academic: The ideal student at the Muslim school achieves academic success via hard-work and discipline.¹⁶⁵ More than half of the interview descriptions referred to the ideal student's academic achievement. For example, a learner described the ideal student as, "...quite intelligent, he gets good marks and a high ranking in the grades" (Mus, S2, 7.1). Three out of six students included 'working hard' as something the school regularly emphasised. Another student related that, "one thing the school always tells us to do is study. At our school, we work hard. In our assembly, our principal always has speeches to motivate learners to work hard..." (Mus, S1, 5.1). In one of the observed assemblies, the visiting imam included an exhortation to hard work that included mention of the economic consequences of not working

¹⁶⁴ Furthermore, all the respondents considered drinking alcohol and believing in evolution as banned or discouraged behaviour, with many stating that this was the case because it explicitly went against the religion's teachings.

¹⁶⁵ Of all the schools in the sample, the Muslim school showed the most unequivocal embrace of academic competition among its students. Students are encouraged to compete with each other to harness extra motivation for study.

hard at school.¹⁶⁶ He suggested that laziness at school could result in being stuck in jobs involving manual labour and low pay. Therefore, the ideal student at the Muslim school achieves academic excellence via embracing a disciplined consciousness involving rule-following, respect for authority and hard work. Academic success is framed as a key to successful economic participation in society (something which is not necessarily guaranteed).¹⁶⁷

Societal: The ideal student was constituted as having a diplomatic role in society: while fully regulated by the religion of his community, he seeks to live in society by focusing on where his religion will allow him to participate and integrate without compromising the essentials of his community's religion of which he feels himself to be a representative. For example, a teacher spoke to the integrating ability of the ideal student: "I think for me the ideal student would be somebody that can easily integrate into society when they leave here...they are social beings, so that whatever situation they find themselves in, they are able to actually cope with it" (Mus, T, 7.1). The ability to easily integrate and to fit into outside society was extensively dealt with in one of the student's descriptions of the ideal student. The description delicately balances the assertion of individuality and self-expression (required for participation in society) with submission to the regulating influence of the Islamic religion:

Student 3: They try to give an Islamic personality, plus also certain modern ones, where you do enjoy yourself, but in moderation. So, you are not someone who just sits back and does nothing because you are afraid you are going to do something out of character. It is someone who is willing to try new things. They really try to create someone who is a go-getter and adventurer, someone who goes after what he wants. Plus, someone who is, who has a personality, an Islamic personality: the personality of our religion. (Mus, S3, 7.1)

The ideal student embraces a sense of individualism which privileges lively engagement with broader society tempered by the constraints of the 'Islamic personality.'¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁶ Religious discourse was often included as part of the schools' strategy to motivate learners to achieve academically.

¹⁶⁷ Given the wide range of social class represented at the school, a middle-class economic positioning is not a 'given' for some of the students. Therefore, aspiration in terms of upward class mobility is part of the school's regulative discourse and is framed as achievable through hard work.

¹⁶⁸ This disposition toward actively seeking points of integration rather than difference was evident in the school's approach to other religions and to the involvement of non-Muslims in the school. The school is also an active participant in an inter-faith society in which students from the school interacted with students from other faith-based schools in the area. The primary emphasis of the responses regarding the advantages of having non-Muslim students was the opportunity for the Muslim student's to be exposed to difference. A teacher stated:

Summary: The ideal student at the Muslim school strongly privileges a communalised religious dimension which regulates all other aspects of her identity. Furthermore, the ideal student embodies all the characteristics of what is presented as the affiliated community's ideal Muslim. Under the regulation of this dominant 'religious identity,' the ideal student construct also privileges a particular societal dimension in which harmonious and successful contribution to broader society is prized. This societal dimension includes emphasis on academic specialisation and societal integration: the ideal student participates in society as a good and successful representative of her Islamic community. These themes are emphasised in the school's mission statement, in which it states that the school, "aims at promoting excellence through the provision of holistic education, compatible with Islamic principles and practices, thereby enabling students to live harmoniously in our multicultural society, and to contribute to the growth and well-being of the nation as a whole" (school's mission statement).

8.3 Discussion

The following discussion relates the imagined ideal student identities presented in the summary sketches above to Bernstein's (2000) mapping of pedagogic identities as discussed

Teacher: I would actually see it as a great advantage. For me we do not live in a cocoon. We live in a society that is extremely cosmopolitan in terms of religion, especially in Cape Town. In Cape Town we are very cosmopolitan, we have various religions, and the more we expose our children to that, the better respect they will have. I am not talking about tolerance, because I can tolerate you and not have any respect for you. To me it is about respect. You know, we have the right to make a choice, and we all make our own choices. So, we need to respect each other for the choices we make. (Mus, T, 5.6)

The school's stance on employing non-Muslim teachers was similar to its position on admitting non-Muslim students. The school has employed non-Muslim teachers in the past, but it currently has only Muslim teachers. The staff interviewed suggested that, while it was ideal for all the teaching staff to be Muslim, they were open to non-Muslim staff and could see potential value in having non-Muslim teachers at the school. When asked if she would consider it an ideal for all the teachers to be Muslim the Deputy Principal replied:

Vice Principal: ... I don't believe that we should close ourselves up and become an island. It is very important that they interact and that we realise that the world, that the real world, is made up of a multitude of groups of people believing different things, acting differently, and I think part of being at school is that holistic development that we talked about earlier on, is to be interacting with people of different faiths and of different beliefs and different values and so we must learn to develop the necessary respect and understanding and then we also have an opportunity to ask our questions. (Mus, VP, 3.3)

The school thus constitutes the ideal student as respectful and unthreatened by other religions. The ideal student will actively seek and focus on similarity and common ground, rather than difference when dealing with people of other religions.

in Chapter 3. Particular attention is paid to the extent to which the imagined student presents a communalised or individualised self and the temporal (past, present or future) nature of the resources constituting the identity.

Protestant School: The Protestant school's imagined ideal student is congruent with Bernstein's (2000) notion of a de-centred therapeutic pedagogic identity. According to Bernstein, de-centred identities privilege resources related to the present and weakly relate the individual to a collective in the privileging of an identity "which constructs a personal time" (p. 73). In alignment with these characteristics, the ideal student is imagined almost exclusively in relation to internal 'religious' resources¹⁶⁹ in which the socially abstracted self is central and coherence is dependent upon "internal sense making procedures" (p. 74). Moreover, the Protestant school's sparse ritualization and privileging of personal, elaborated forms of communication is understood to reflect an orientation toward resources of 'the present' indicative of this 'de-centred' mode. The Protestant school's 'abstracted self' is grounded in the relation between God and the individual student, which rests on the strong 'Christian' dislocation of the inner and the outer (constituting the dominant moral order throughout the instructional and expressive orders of the school). This presents a different ideological base to the de-centred therapeutic modality described by Bernstein (2000) which, he proposes, is produced by "complex theories of personal, cognitive and social development, often labelled progressive" (p. 68). Thus, the Protestant school presents a 'religious' therapeutic mode of de-centred identity that can be differentiated from the therapeutic mode projected by progressive social theory.

Catholic School: The Catholic school's imagined ideal student relates to what Bernstein (2000) termed an elitist retrospective identity. The identity draws heavily on the school's religious historical narrative that provides, "exemplars, canons, criteria and develops aesthetic sensibilities" (p. 75). The imagined ideal student at the Catholic school is very much, "an amalgam of knowledge, sensitivities, manners of education and upbringing" (p. 75), requiring long apprenticeship into an aesthetic mode (of the *school name* girl) which is internalised and becomes identified with the 'real self.' The Catholic ideal student's identity is not maintained by "strong super-ego formations and communalised selves," but is rather

¹⁶⁹ These are unlike de-centered instrumental identities, which are constructed on external market signifiers, or retrospective identities, which are constructed from external narrative resources of particular groups (religious, cultural, national).

grounded in a strong sense of independence and individual agency, which relates to Bernstein's suggestion that "narcissistic formations underlie and maintain elitist identities" (p. 76). The Catholic school recruits the affiliated Catholic religion in its RE as a means of enabling the formation of the autonomous inner self and the social sensitivity of the elitist identity, while drawing on Catholic ritual in the expressive order to provide the legitimating historical narrative out of which the identity is constructed. While Bernstein (2000) suggests that elitist identities do not forge a 'communalised self,' I would suggest that the Catholic elitist identity includes an identification with the school as a collective enabled by the ritualization of the expressive order discussed in the previous chapter. The notion of 'the *school name* girl' suggests this strong institutional connection. The school, explicitly constituted by ritual, becomes synonymous with the values, sensitivities and aesthetic internalised in the elitist identity.

Jewish School: The Jewish school's imagined ideal student presents a complexity that is not apparent in the imagined ideal student at the Protestant or Catholic school. The Jewish school's ideal student would seem to present a 'layering' of two identity modes: a retrospective fundamentalist identity and a retrospective elitist identity. The retrospective fundamentalist identity refers to the aspect of the imagined ideal student that embraces a strong Jewish (not necessarily religious) identity in which the ideal student is strongly related to a collective (the local Jewish community). This collective (given) Jewish identity is congruent with Bernstein's (2000) description of a fundamentalist identity, which he describes as an "unambiguous, stable, intellectually impervious, collective identity" (p. 75). The resources for constructing this fundamentalist identity at the Jewish school are both religious (traditional Orthodox Judaism), nationalist (Zionist) and cultural. These narrative sources provide "mythological resources of origin, belonging, progression and destiny" (p. 75). However, the imagined ideal student at the Jewish school also includes an elitist retrospective identity. The ideal student, in relation to society, embodies an elitist identity maintained by strong 'narcissistic formations' in which the ideal student is characterised as an independent, outspoken individual, who is not afraid to challenge authority. The elitist aspect of the ideal student's identity also includes the embrace of cherished values and includes a social conscience which is associated with the idea of the *Menschen*.¹⁷⁰ Finally, both the fundamentalist and elitist identities, which combine in the imagined ideal student,

¹⁷⁰ The elitist identity also taps into the religious narratives of the past in its construction.

present moderate versions of these modalities. The self is not fully consumed by either modality. For example, in respect of the fundamentalist identity the ideal student is constructed as having a fair amount of 'individual' freedom regarding how she decides to express her Jewishness.¹⁷¹ Values related to sexuality, for example, are not fully regulated by this Jewish collective moral order. Moreover, in respect of the elitist identity, the individualised self is not free to choose her political alignment; she must embrace Zionism.

Muslim School: The Muslim school's ideal student also includes a layering of both a retrospective fundamentalist identity and a retrospective elitist identity. However, the strength of these components is differently constituted in comparison to the Jewish school. At the Muslim school, the fundamentalist retrospective identity is much stronger than the fundamentalist identity component at the Jewish school. Far more of the self is consumed in the intense communal solidarities characteristic of the imagined ideal student at the Muslim school: the ideal student at the Muslim schools allows far more of her world to be specifically regulated in relation to her strong identification with a collective (the Muslim community affiliated with the school). The weak elitist identity component of the Muslim school's ideal student faces outward to society and is related to the ideal student's successful participation in South African society. This aspect of the ideal student comprises a confined space in which the self is free (within tightly-policed borders) from communal solidarities enabling a sense of individuality, creativity, and self-expression. This is understood to be key to successful social and economic (aspirational) integration into South African society.

8.4 Conclusion

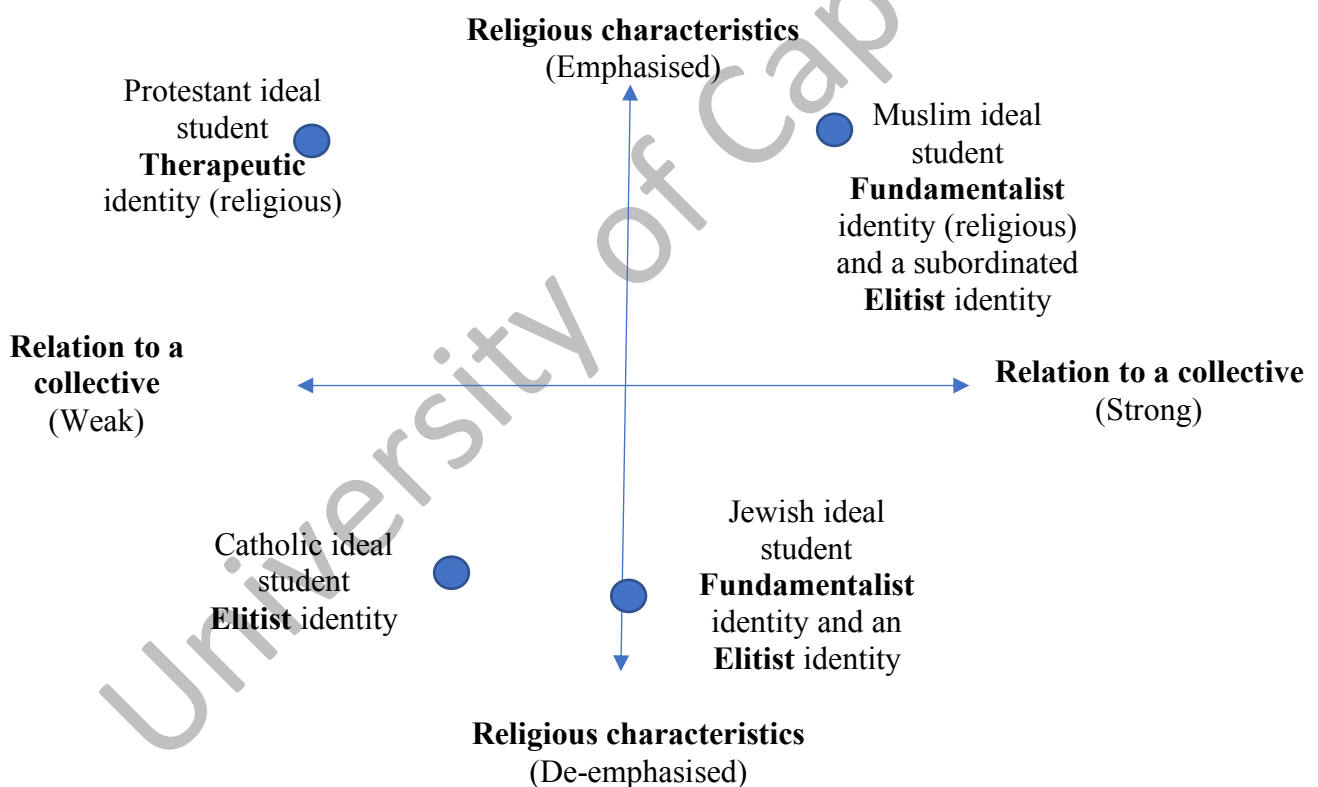
This chapter has provided summary sketches of the imagined ideal student at each of the four schools comprising the sample. Particular attention was paid to how the ideal student was imagined in relation to the affiliated religion and the extent to which the ideal student was constituted in relation to a collective. The imagined ideal student at each school was related to Bernstein's taxonomy of pedagogic identities. Table 8.1 and Figure 8.1 below summarise the findings of this chapter.

¹⁷¹ The ideal student was constituted as free to decide the extent of her embrace of religious Orthodox Judaism.

Table 8.1 Mapping Pedagogic Identities

	Identity type	Resource orientation	Relation to a collective	Mode
Protestant	De-centred	Present	Weak	Strong therapeutic
Catholic	Retrospective	Past	Weak	Strong elitist
Jewish	Retrospective	Past	Strong	Moderate fundamentalist
			Weak	Moderate elitist
Muslim	Retrospective	Past	Strong	Strong fundamentalist
			Weak	Weak elitist

Figure 8.1 Summary of the Analysis of the Ideal Student with Respect of Religious Characteristics and Her Relation to a Collective



Chapter 9: Conclusion

9.1 Introduction

In this thesis I set out to explore the following research question: *How does the relation between the inner and the outer, characteristic of the schools' affiliated religions, pertain to the structure of the formal curriculum and school culture, and how does this relate to the privileged forms of social solidarity and modes of pedagogic identity at the schools?* The chapter begins by presenting a summary of the findings of the four analysis chapters. This summary is followed by discussion that draws together the findings of the analysis to produce an overall argument that addresses the primary research question of the thesis. The chapter ends by discussing some of the implications of the study for further research, as well as its inherent limitations.

9.2 Summary of Findings

The following section seeks to present a summary of the findings of the four analysis chapters. The summaries show how each of the analysis chapters answered the sub-questions of the study presented in Chapter 1.

9.2.1 The Shape of the Instructional Order

The first two analysis chapters (Chapters 5 and 6) presented a comparative analysis of the schools' instructional orders in an attempt to address the following three research questions:

- How is the RE curriculum at each school structured?
- How is the standard subject curriculum (SSC) at each school structured in relation to the affiliated religion?
- What forms of solidarity are privileged in the schools' RE and SSC components and how do these relate to the character of the schools' affiliated religions?

How is the RE curriculum at each school structured?

This sub-question was addressed in Chapter 5, which focused specifically on exploring the structure of the RE curriculum at each of the schools. The structure of the RE offering at the schools was analysed in relation to internal and external classification strengths (variations in these strengths were used to generate four RE modalities), as well as the relative strength of the framing of the hierarchical rules (understood as indicative of visible and invisible forms of pedagogic practice). Table 9.1 below summarizes the findings of the analysis.

Table 9.1 The Structure of the RE Programmes at the Four Schools

	Protestant RE	Catholic RE	Jewish RE		Muslim RE
			Torah studies	Jewish studies	
RE modality	Devotional Ext C ¹⁷² (--) Int C ¹⁷³ (++)	Liberal Ext C (--) Int C (--)	Membership Ext C (+) Int C (++)	Liberal Ext C (-) Int C (-)	Membership Ext C (++) Int C (++)
Pedagogic practice	Invisible HR F ¹⁷⁴ (--)	Invisible HR F (--)	Visible HR F (+)	Invisible HR F (--)	Visible HR F (++)

How is the standard subject curriculum at each school structured in relation to the affiliated religion?

This sub-question was addressed in Chapter 6. The analysis focused on the extent to which the moral order of the affiliated religion functions as the regulative principle ordering the SSC. The analysis explores this relation in terms of the strength of the classification between the affiliated religion and the SSC, which was used as indicative of four SSC modalities. The results of the analysis are presented in Table 9.2 below.

¹⁷² Ext C= External classification.

¹⁷³ Int C = Internal classification.

¹⁷⁴ HR F = Hierarchical Rules: Framing.

Table 9.2 Relation Between the Affiliated Religion and the SSC

	Classification: affiliated religion and the SSC			
	Weak	←————→		Strong
Modality	Integrated	Parallel	Censorship	Dislocated
Exemplar	Protestant school grades 8-10	Muslim school grades 8-10 and Protestant school grades 11-12	Muslim school grades 11-12	Jewish and Catholic school (all grades)

What forms of solidarity are privileged in the schools' RE and SSC components and how do these relate to the character of the schools' affiliated religions?

This sub-question was addressed in both Chapter 5 and 6. At the Protestant school it was argued that *devotional RE modality*, realized by an invisible pedagogy, focused on the specialization of the student's inner consciousness into a strongly individualized, socially-abstracted modality of the self. Therefore, the Protestant school's RE weakly constitutes the individual in relation to a collective and thus privileges organic solidarity. It was argued that this privileging of organic solidarity was related to the dislocation of the inner (sacred) from the outer characteristic of Christianity (accentuated in the new charismatic Protestantism characteristic of the school's affiliated religion) in which the socially abstracted relation between God and the individual forms the basis of the Christian self. Moreover, it was shown that this same 'Christian' moral order regulates the SSC (an *integrated modality*), which also privileges the same form of organic solidarity (at least up till grade 11).

The Catholic school's RE (the *liberal modality*) was shown to be orientated toward the specialization of the student's inner consciousness, in which the authentic realization of a unique individual spirituality is collectively idealized along with an emphasis on charitable good works. It was argued that this RE modality privileged a more open (not privileging a specifically Catholic understanding of spirituality) and weaker form of organic solidarity in comparison to the Protestant school.¹⁷⁵ This weaker form of organic solidarity was suggested to rely on a similar (but not as extreme) dislocation of the inner from the outer related to the school's liberal, Catholic affiliation which includes a strong social justice emphasis. The

¹⁷⁵ There is some relation to a collective implied in the emphasis on social responsiveness.

Catholic school's SSC (a *dislocated modality*) was strongly classified from the school's Catholic affiliation and was argued to privilege a non-religion-based form of organic solidarity in which the student is constituted as an autonomous agent able to utilise rational thinking processes in the pursuit of specialised knowledge.

The Torah studies programme at the Jewish school, with its strong external and internal classificatory principles realised through a visible pedagogy, was shown to forward the explicit production of an instructional discourse relating to the language, practices and ritual of the affiliated religious community. This *membership RE modality* was related to the privileging of mechanical solidarity: the communal idealization of a pervasive and concrete set of shared religious beliefs, values and practices. This was, in turn, related to the way Judaism (in its more conservative Orthodox form) does not constitute a dislocation between the inner and outer. It was argued that Orthodox Judaism constitutes the religious self in the sacred order of the community. Thus, RE in the *membership modality*, was shown to be about the relaying of a specialized instructional discourse related to participation in the 'outer' communal sacred. However, the SSC (a *dislocated modality*) at the Jewish school, with its strong classification in relation to the school's affiliated Jewish Orthodox religion, was argued to privilege a non-religion-based form of organic solidarity of a similar nature to that underlying the Catholic school's SSC. The Jewish studies RE programme was argued to constitute a *liberal modality* RE and was shown to privilege organic solidarity compatible with the organic solidarity of the SSC.

The Muslim school's RE programme, similar to the Jewish school's Torah studies, was shown to privilege mechanical solidarity. It was argued that the Muslim school's RE strongly constitutes the student in relation to the affiliated Muslim community. As in Judaism, Islam does not dislocate the between the inner and outer. Therefore, the structure of the Muslim school's RE and its privileging of mechanical solidarity was also related to Islam's constitution of the individual self in the sacred 'outer': the language, rituals and laws that constitute the order of the affiliated religious community. The SSC (a *parallel modality*) at the Muslim school was shown to run a religious discourse concurrently with a mostly 'untouched' National Curriculum.¹⁷⁶ It was argued that the National Curriculum was the dominant discourse and, as in the Jewish and Catholic schools, it privileged a non-religion-

¹⁷⁶ There is some removal of content deemed to be at odds with Islamic values or ideology.

based form of organic solidarity. Table 9.3 below summarises the findings related to the privileged forms of solidarity relayed via the RE and SSC curriculum components.

Table 9.3 The Privileged Forms of Solidarity Related to RE and the SSC

	Protestant	Catholic	Jewish		Muslim
Privileged form of social solidarity: RE	Closed religious organic solidarity	Open religious organic solidarity	Torah studies	Jewish studies	Religious mechanical solidarity
			Religious mechanical solidarity	Open religious organic solidarity	
Privileged form of social solidarity: SSC	Closed religious organic solidarity	Non-religious organic solidarity	Non-religious organic solidarity		Non-religious organic solidarity

9.2.2 The Shape of the Expressive Order

Chapter 7 presented a comparative analysis of the four schools' expressive orders with a focus on the ritualization of the schools' expressive relays in relation to the affiliated religions. The analysis in Chapter 7 sought to address the following three research questions:

- To what extent is the affiliated religion ritualized in the schools?
- How does the ritualization at each school position the school in relation to the affiliated religion?
- What forms of social solidarity are privileged by the schools' ritual orders?

To what extent is the affiliated religion ritualized in the expressive order of the schools?

The analysis of the schools' incorporation of religious ritual, presented in Chapter 7, considered two dimensions of ritualized relays: symbolic features and communal events.

Table 9.4 below summarizes the findings of the analysis in respect to the extent to which the affiliated religion was ritualized in the schools.

Table 9.4 Extent to Which the Affiliated Religion is Ritualized

	Protestant	Catholic	Jewish	Muslim
Ritualization: symbolic features	Weak	Strong	Fairly weak	Strong
Ritualization: communal events	Fairly weak	Fairly weak	Fairly strong	Strong

How does the ritualization at each school position the school in relation to the affiliated religion?

This sub-question was addressed in terms of the notion of a visible and invisible constitution of the relation between the school and the affiliated religion related to the extent of the ritualization of the affiliated religion (along the two dimensions of ritual presented above).

Table 9.5 below summarises the way this sub-question was answered in the analysis.

Table 9.5 The Relation Between the School and the Affiliated Religious Community as Constituted by Ritual

	Protestant	Catholic	Jewish	Muslim
Relation between school and affiliated religious community	--Invisible in relation to both symbolic features and communal events	+ Visible (historic) in relation to symbolic features	+ Visible (current) in relation to communal events	++Visible in relation to both symbolic features and communal events

What forms of social solidarity are privileged by the schools' ritual orders?

This question was addressed in the analysis with reference to the extent of the incorporation of religious ritual in the expressive order. Following Bernstein (1975), strong ritualization was related to mechanical solidarity and weak ritualization to organic solidarity. Furthermore, three categories of ritual were considered as particularly 'communalising' in orientation: student dress, common events and the classification of students in assembly. Therefore, the extent to which the schools recruited the affiliated religion in relation to these three categories of ritual was understood to relate to the extent to which the ritual order relates the student to the collective of the affiliated religious community. Table 9.6 below summarises the results of this analysis.

Table 9.6 Forms of Social Solidarity Privileged by the Schools' Ritual Orders

	Protestant	Catholic	Jewish	Muslim
Privileged form of solidarity	Organic	Mechanical Student related to school as a collective not the affiliated religious community	Mechanical Student related to both the school as a collective as well as the affiliated religious community	Mechanical Student related to both the school as a collective as well as the affiliated religious community

9.2.3 Projected Pedagogic Identity

Chapter 8 presented an analysis of the pedagogic identities projected by the schools and explored via the notion of the imagined ideal learner. The analysis sought to address the following sub-question:

- What modes of pedagogic identity are projected by the schools?

In the analysis presented in Chapter 8, summary sketches of the imagined ideal student were related to Bernstein's (2000) taxonomy of pedagogic identities. The results of this analysis are summarised in Table 9.7 below.

Table 9.7 Mapping Pedagogic Identities

	Protestant	Catholic	Jewish		Muslim	
Pedagogic identity mode	Strong de-centred therapeutic (religious)	Strong retrospective elitist	Moderate retrospective fundamentalist (national/cultural)	Moderate retrospective elitist	Strong retrospective fundamentalist (religious)	Weak retrospective elitist
Relation to a collective	Weak	Fairly weak	Fairly weak	Fairly strong	Strong	Fairly weak
Resource orientation	Present	Past	Past	Past	Past	Past

A summary of the analysis that brings together the findings of the seven sub-questions discussed above is presented in Table 9.8 below.

Table 9.8 A Summary of the Analysis

			Protestant	Catholic	Jewish		Muslim
Instructional order	RE				Torah studies	Jewish studies	
		Modality	Devotional (Invisible)	Liberal (Invisible)	Membership (Visible)	Liberal (Invisible)	Membership (Visible)
		Social solidarity	Organic (religious closed)	Organic (religious open)	Mechanical (religious closed)	Organic (religious open)	Mechanical (religious closed)
	SSC	Modality	Integrated-Parallelism	Dislocated	Dislocated		Parallelism-Censorship
		Social solidarity	Organic (religious closed)	Organic (non-religious open)	Organic (non-religious open)		Organic (non-religious open)
							Mechanical (religious closed)
Expressive order	Ritual relays	School's relation to religious community	--Invisible in relation to both symbolic features and communal events	+ Visible in relation to symbolic features	+ Visible in relation to communal events		++Visible in relation to both symbolic features and communal events
		Social solidarity	Organic	Mechanical	Mechanical		Mechanical
Pedagogic Identity	Mode		Strong Therapeutic (religious)	Strong Elitist	Moderate Fundamentalist (cultural) and moderate Elitist		Strong Fundamentalist (religious) and weak Elitist

9.3 Discussion

9.3.1 The Recruitment of Religion and the Projection of Pedagogic Identities

The review of the literature on religious schooling showed that the research on religious schools has often assumed that religious schools are fundamentally homogenous, particularly with respect to instruction. This thesis contributes to a growing body of school-based

research (local and international) that recognises that religious schools are not all fundamentally similar (see Fataar, 2002; Grace, 2002; Morris, 1997; Walford, 2002). This thesis highlights the differences between religious schools, both within and between different religions.

The analysis shows that schools with a religious affiliation are not necessarily concerned with projecting an 'identity' in which religious identity is dominant. The analysis argued that both the Jewish and Catholic schools were not projecting a religious identity, but rather both schools used a very specific recruitment of their affiliated religion in the constitution of a 'cultural' retrospective, fundamentalist identity coupled with an elitist identity and a retrospective, elitist identity respectively. In both these identity modalities, explicit religious aspects of the self are backgrounded.

I suggest that the Jewish school recruits Orthodox Judaism in its RE programme (the Torah studies component) and ritual order to relay an orientation toward mechanical solidarity that provides the collective solidarity of the fundamentalist identity mode. This identity mode is projected in parallel with an elitist identity constituted by the organic solidarity privileged in the SSC and the Jewish studies component which, as in the case of the Catholic school, constructs the narcissistic formation of the self, characteristic of elitist identities.

The Catholic school recruits liberal Catholicism in its RE programme as a means of privileging organic solidarity in the development of a strong narcissistic sense of self. Moreover, the Catholic emphasis on social justice relays a social responsiveness that forms part of the elitist identity's 'sensitivities.' The Catholic school's strong incorporation of Catholic-related ritual in the school's symbolic features constituted a strong visible (historic) connection between the school and the affiliated religion. Thus, via ritual, the school, as an institution, is explicitly related to the history of the school's affiliated religion. This ritualized connection provides the basis for the way the school relates its elitist 'values and sensibilities' to the past narratives of the schools affiliated religious community. Moreover, the incorporation of ritual at the Catholic school enables an identification of the student with the school, in which the school institution becomes synonymous with the values, sensitivities and aesthetic of the elitist identity. However, the Catholic school sparsely incorporates rituals that explicitly constitute the student as a member of the affiliated Catholic community. Therefore, the ritual order at the Catholic school, while rendering the connection between the

school and the affiliated religious community visible, does not privilege the formation of a communalised self-related to the affiliated religious community.

In contrast, the Protestant and Muslim schools both project identities in which the self is strongly constituted in relation to the affiliated religion. However, while both these schools project 'religious identities' (religion explicitly understood to fundamentally order the self), these schools project contrasting identity modes which rely on different forms of social solidarity: a therapeutic and a fundamentalist mode, respectively. Therefore, the analysis suggests that the religious identities projected by schools with a religious affiliation are not uniform, but present variation at a deep structural level.

9.3.2 The Structure of the Instructional Order, Pedagogic Identity and the Affiliated Religion

The Jewish and Catholic schools constitute an instructional order in which the spiritual/religious self is separated from the specialised instructional self, in what was termed a dislocated SSC modality. These schools expressed no need or aspiration to bring the spiritual/religious and instructional specialization together. In contrast, the Protestant school and the Muslim school constitute an instructional order in which the religious/spiritual self is brought into relation with the instructional self. The integrated modality SSC at the Protestant school constituted instructional specialisation as a means to individualized spiritual ends, while the parallelism modality SSC of the Muslim school constituted religiosity as a means to instructional specialisation.¹⁷⁷ The following discussion relates these characteristics of the schools' instructional orders to both the affiliated religions and the identities the schools project.

I would suggest that the splitting of the religious and the instructional, exemplified by the Jewish and Catholic school's embrace of a dislocated SSC modality, relates to the schools' projection of a pedagogic identity that is not a 'religious identity'.¹⁷⁸ Both the Jewish and Catholic school project an identity in which spirituality/religion does not consume the self;

¹⁷⁷ For example, emphasizing diligence and discipline in the classroom using Muhammad as an exemplar of these characteristics, or motivating students to master algebra by showing its historical relation to Islamic mathematicians.

¹⁷⁸ I define a 'religious identity' as an identity in which the self is strongly and explicitly constituted in relation to religion.

rather it forms a segmented part of the particular retrospective identity mode projected by these schools. For example, a spiritual awareness at the Catholic school is one of the 'sensitivities' constituting the elitist identity. The strong classification between the affiliated religion and the SSC enables the construction of the religious/spiritual as a limited and bounded aspect of the projected identity. At the Jewish school, this classification also enables the projection of two pedagogic identity modes. The mechanical solidarity of the RE programme (the religious self) relates to the fundamentalist mode and the organic solidarity of the SSC (instructional self) relates to elitist identity mode.

The Jewish and Catholic schools project what might be termed a 'secular identity.' Following Durkheim (1915), the notion of secular does not necessarily imply the absence of a religious moral order. Rather, moral order is secularised when religion is not the only source of the sacred and religion becomes one of many possible sources of sacred order regulating the various bounded components of a cosmology. The Jewish and Catholic school's projected identities can be termed 'secular,' not because they reject religion as source of sacred order, but rather because religion in these identities regulates a bounded component of the identity.

I suggest that the bringing together of the spiritual/religious self and the specialized instructional self relates to the projection of a religious identity at the Protestant and Muslim school in which a religious order dominates the self. Therefore, these schools do not open up spaces, such as the SSC, that are not related to the ordering of the affiliated religion.

The Protestant school is an uncomplicated exemplar of this relation. The SSC constitutes a modality that deeply integrates the ideology of the affiliated religion. This modality relates instructional specialization to spiritual ends. The projected pedagogic identity at the Protestant school is similarly 'consumed' by the affiliated religion. A question remains regarding the result of subordination of the instructional order to religious ideology for instructional specialization. As Walford (2002) points out, the integration of a particular ideology through a curriculum would, in Bernstein's theory, constitute an integrated curriculum modality that Bernstein (2000) associated with invisible pedagogy and weak academic specialization. However, my observations of the Protestant school would seem to indicate that, similar to Walford's (2000) findings, the Protestant school's SSC is relayed via a visible pedagogy and constitutes a curriculum in which strong subject boundaries are maintained. Thus, the Protestant school would seem to constitute an 'overarching weak

classification' between subjects that does not produce the expected integrated code realized via invisible pedagogy. It may be that the abstract orientation of Christianity allows for the integration of Christian ideology at a level of abstraction that does not lead to a weakening of academic specialization usually associated with integrated codes. Further research into the academic specialization of students at Protestant schools, such as the one in this sample, is needed to more fully address these questions.

The Muslim school (as part of the 'Islamization of knowledge' movement) aspires to integrate Islamic ideology at a deep level throughout the curriculum (overcoming the bifurcation of knowledge). This Islamization movement is driven by a desire for the Islamic moral order to regulate the full consciousness of the student. As many respondents emphasised Islam is understood as a way of life that ideally regulates the whole self. This is interpreted as an anti-secularisation sentiment. However, the literature suggests that Islamic schools (including the one in the sample) have failed to implement a curriculum that achieves this integrative goal to the extent desired. The findings of this research, which are similar to the general findings of the literature on Muslim schools¹⁷⁹, is that integration beyond what is described in this thesis as the parallelism modality is not achieved at the classroom level.

I suggest that this 'failure' to fully integrate Islam with the SSC relates to an incompatibility between the form of solidarity for instructional specialisation (organic solidarity) and the form of solidarity related to conservative Islam (mechanical solidarity). Instructional specialization requires a degree of regulative individualization that cannot be constituted by a religious ideology in which moral order issues from a strong embedding of the individual in a social 'sacred.' Therefore, schools such as the Islamic school in the sample, which aim to project a strong religious identity while still privileging academic specialization, have to negotiate an instructional middle-ground in their instructional orders between the religious moral order that privileges mechanical solidarity and the regulative individualisation privileging organic solidarity required for instructional specialization. The Muslim school in the sample negotiates this 'dilemma' by constituting religion as a means to instructional specialisation. Thus, in the Muslim school's SSC the mechanical solidarity that underlies the insertion of Islamic discourse provides motivation and values for instructional specialization underwritten by organic solidarity. This opens up a space for the projection of an elitist

¹⁷⁹ See Fataar, 2005; Niehaus, 2008, 2011; Tan, 2011; Tayob 2011.

identity that faces toward general society and facilitates integration and successful participation into South African society and its economy. Since this space is not primarily regulated by the Islamic moral order, the Muslim identity could be referred to as weakly ‘secularised.’

9.3.3 Implications for the Debate Regarding Religious Schools and Social Cohesion

The thesis suggests that sweeping claims that ‘religious schools all pose a threat to social cohesion.’ are misplaced. This study shows that the Jewish, Muslim and Catholic schools in the sample explicitly imagine the ideal student as an integrated, responsible and engaged member of society. Moreover, both the Muslim and Jewish schools, which both project an identity in which the self is strongly constituted in relation to a particular minority community in South Africa, layer this ‘fundamentalist’ identity with a strong emphasis on integration and identification with South African society. While this ‘layering’ of identities creates points of tension within the school’s expressive order, both schools are committed to producing students who are committed, exemplary members of a local minority community as well as integrated, responsible citizens of South African society.

The Protestant school in the sample is an interesting case in relation to the social cohesion debate. The school does not imagine the ideal student in relation to society in its extreme privileging of the socially abstracted self. Do religious schools, such as the Protestant school, that background the societal dimension in their imagining of the ideal student and strongly constitute the student in terms of a religious ‘inner sacred.’ pose a threat to social cohesion? I would tentatively suggest that the religious organic solidarity that undergirds the social order of this sort of institution and its imagined ideal student is, at a fundamental level, compatible with the moral order of liberal societies. Liberal societies also cohere in relation to a form of organic solidarity in which the collective conscience also constitutes a ‘cult of the individual’: a privileging of an ‘inner sacred.’ Thus, the mutual privileging/celebration of the individual provides a fundamental point of compatibility. This provides a tentative explanation for some of the research, such as Pike’s (2010), that suggests that students from ‘strong’ Protestant schools typically supported values such as religious autonomy and the individual’s right to express their own opinions and beliefs: a sentiment critical to social

cohesion. However, this remains a tentative argument that needs to be tested by further research.

Finally, I would suggest that social cohesion might be threatened by schools affiliated to religions that constitute a strong external sacred and integrate this religious ideology throughout the SSC (an integrated modality). I would suggest that this would likely present an instructional order and an expressive order that privilege mechanical solidarity. Unlike the Muslim and Jewish schools, there would be no 'layering' of identity in which a fundamentalist identity is tempered to some degree by an identity component that is not consumed by communal solidarity. Moreover, I would suggest that a curriculum that privileges mechanical solidarity will not produce a high degree of instructional specialisation. Thus, the student will lack the instructional specialization to successfully or fully participate in large sections of the economy. This may also pose problems for social integration and thus threaten social cohesion. This raises questions for South African Muslim schools as to the nature and desirability of the Islamization project.

9.4 Theoretical and Methodological Implications

In Bernstein's (1990, 2000) theoretical distinction between Christianity and Judaism/Islam, he suggests that Christianity drives a wedge between the inner and the outer, privileging an 'inner sacred' order that constitutes a socially abstracted 'Christian self.' In contrast, Judaism and Islam do not dislocate the inner from the outer, but rather emphasise an 'outer sacred' constituted by the laws, rituals and practices regulating the religious community in which the individual is embedded. Adding to Bernstein's theory, and bringing it into relation with Durkheim's theory of forms of solidarity, I suggest that the extent of dislocation of outer and inner resulting in the privileging of inner or outer sacred orders, links to the forms of solidarity constituted by different religions. The analysis shows that a dislocation of the inner and the outer (characteristic, to differing degrees, of the affiliated Protestant and Catholic religions of the two Christian schools in the sample) relates to organic forms of solidarity in which the individual is weakly related to a collective and inner relations and dispositions related to a socially abstracted individual are emphasized. Conversely, religions that do not dislocate the inner from the outer constituting an 'outer sacred' (such as the Orthodox Judaism and conservative Islam affiliated to the Jewish and Muslim schools in the sample)

privilege mechanical forms of solidarity in which the individual is strongly related to a collective.

While Bernstein's (1990, 2000) theory proposes variation in the constitution of the inner and outer in relation to different religions (Christianity, Judaism and Islam), this thesis suggests that within a religion, different expressions of this religion will present variations in the strength of the dislocation of inner and outer. This was demonstrated in the analysis of the two Christian schools in the sample, in which it was argued that the liberal form of Catholicism related to the Catholic school did not present the same strength of dislocation of inner and outer characteristic of the charismatic Protestantism associated with the Protestant school. This variation was shown to have important structural implications at the two schools that enabled the projection of different pedagogic identity modes. While this thesis only demonstrated variation within Christianity, I suggest that similar variation exists in different expressions of Judaism and Islam. This is an opportunity for further research.

In the review of the religious schooling literature (Chapter 2), it was suggested that there is a very limited body of research offering close qualitative research into religious schools in general and, more specifically, very little research comparing religious schools. Moreover, it was argued that many of the close quantitative studies were theoretically limited, offering analysis that rarely moved beyond loose descriptions. This study develops a theoretically informed model for consideration of the differences between religious schools in relation to the recruitment of the affiliated religion. Moreover, it develops analytic tools to achieve a specificity of description at a level of abstraction that makes explicit comparisons between schools of different religious faiths possible. The analytical framework in which the Bernsteinian tradition of developing 'languages of description' for the theoretical structuring and reading of data is unique in the research of religious schools. Moreover, it makes visible structural differences between religious schools that have not been made visible in other studies. As discussed in Chapter 4, this thesis makes no strong claims to empirical generalizability. However, the theoretical framework presented here may be utilized in research in other contexts concerned with understanding differences between religious schools.

9.5 Limitations of the Study

This study was exploratory in nature and sought to develop a conceptual frame for the comparison of religious schools across and between faith traditions. The aim was to contribute toward an understanding of how religious schools of different faith traditions may differently recruit their affiliated religion into their instructional and expressive orders. Therefore, the schools in the sample are not understood to be representative of all schools in the same general faith tradition. In fact, it would be expected that a wide range of variation would exist within schools of the same faith tradition for reasons relating to the major differences between sub-groups within the same general faith tradition (such as between Reformed and Orthodox Judaism, for example), as well as the myriad of other non-religious contextual factors that impact on the ways a religious school operates (such as the social class and religious composition of students and teachers). Nevertheless, schools within the same faith tradition could be expected to vary along the lines outlined in the analysis presented in this thesis.

Moreover, the analysis of pedagogic discourse was limited via the reliance on interview data rather than on class observation. Further research could benefit from direct observation data, particularly of RE lessons, such that a fuller account of the pedagogic practice could be developed that goes beyond the nature of the hierarchical rules into issues regarding the framing of the sequencing, evaluation, pacing and fuller understanding of how the internal classification strengths between the affiliated religion and other religious perspectives are realized in classroom discourse.

The study was also limited in respect to its analysis of the school's ritualized expressive relays. The study, for the sake of focus, provided only a detailed analysis of the ritualization of the expressive order in relation to the affiliated religion. It would be of interest to expand an analysis to include the full scope of the school's expressive ritual and how the religious and the non-religious aspects of the expressive ritual of the school relate to the projection of different pedagogic identities.

9.6 Conclusion

This study makes its contribution primarily in developing a theoretical and analytical framework for making comparisons between religious schools at the structural level. The thesis begins to contribute to understanding how the character of the affiliated religious community may relate to the structuring of the instructional and expressive orders of religious schools in the constitution of different pedagogic identities.

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Appendix A: Transcription Conventions for Interviews

AC	Researcher Anthony Cawood
/.../	Talk omitted
[]	Text inserted by the author to offer clarification
Cath	Catholic school
Prot	Protestant school
Jew	Jewish School
Mus	Muslim school
P	Principal
VP	Vice-principal/Deputy-principal
D	School director
RET	RE Teacher
T	Teacher
S	Student

All interview quotes in the thesis are referenced as follows

(School, Interviewee, Interview question number)

For example, if a student from the Jewish school is quoted in response to question 1.4 in the student interview the quote will end with: (Jew, S2,1.4)

Appendix B: Principal, Teacher, RE Teacher, Student and Religious Leader Semi-Structured Interview Schedules

Principal Interview

Data collector:		
Date of visit:		
School name:		
Name of respondent:		
Years teaching experience	Highest Qualifications	Institution at which qualifications received.
<i>How long have you been principal at this school?</i>	Years	

<p>CONFIDENTIALITY Please sign below to indicate your consent to the confidentiality agreement.</p>	<p>I give my full consent to be interviewed for the purposes of this research. <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>I understand that this interview will be audio recorded. <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>I understand that this interview will be treated as confidential. <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>I understand that neither my name nor the name of my school will be used in the written report. <input type="checkbox"/></p>
SIGNATURE	

SECTION 1. CONSTRUCTION OF RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION	
1.1 Does your school have a religious instruction class of some sort?	
Yes	No
1.2 Is this lesson compulsory for all students?	1.3 Why do you not offer any religious instruction classes at your school?

Yes	No	Notes:	
1.4 Why is it compulsory/not compulsory?		Move to section 2	
Notes:			
1.5 Which best describes the Religious Instruction Class?			
The National Curriculum is strictly followed.	We use the National Curriculum but adjust it in places.	We use aspects of the National Curriculum but add a lot of our own stuff.	We do not use the National Curriculum at all.
1.6 Why do you strictly use the National Curriculum?	1.7 In what ways do you adjust it?	1.8 Which aspects of the National Curriculum do you utilize and what does your unique curriculum look like?	1.9 Describe some aspects of your unique curriculum.
Notes:			
1.10 Which of the following would best describe the priority of religious instruction in the curriculum?			
It is given a higher priority than any other subject.	It is given the same priority as most other subjects.	It is given less priority than most other subjects.	
1.11 Why is this the case?			
Notes:			
1.12 Do you consider the religious instruction class to be...			
A significant part of what makes this school a religious school.	A fairly significant part of what makes this a religious school	Only a small part of what makes this school a religious school	Unrelated to what makes this school a religious school.
1.13 Please explain your choice in the previous question.			
Notes:			
1.14 What does this school hope to achieve in religious instruction lessons?			
Notes:			
SECTION 2: PEDAGOGIC APPROACH FOR RELIGIOUS EDUCATION			
2.1 Would you say that the teaching method in religious instruction class in comparison to other subjects is...			
Completely different	Quite Different	A little different	Exactly the same

2.2 Please explain why this may be so and how they differ.			
Notes:			
2.3 Is there an assessment mark or grade for Religious Instruction?			
Yes		No	
2.4 How is this grade allocated?		2.5 Why not?	
Notes:			
SECTION 3: CONSTRUCTION OF NON-RELIGIOUS SUBJECTS			
3.1 Are all the teachers in this school religious?			
Yes		No	
3.2 Why is this the case?		3.3 Would you consider it ideal if all the teachers were religious? Please Explain your answer.	
Notes:			
3.4 Describe the influence of the school's religious beliefs on the selection of textbook and teaching materials for non-religious subjects?			
Notes:			
3.5 What would you say is the extent to which the content of non-religious subjects is taught from a religious perspective?			
To a large extent.	To a fair extent.	To a very limited extent.	To no extent.
3.6 Please explain your choice further.			
Notes:			
3.7 If you had to give a talk in assembly on the importance of getting an education what would be your three main points?			
Notes:			
SECTION 4: PEDAGOGIC APPROACH FOR NON-RELIGIOUS SUBJECTS			
4.1 Would you say there is a particular way of teaching that is specific to this school?			
Yes		No	

4.2 What is unique about it and why have you chosen this approach?

Notes:

4.3 What sort of strategies or approaches are teachers encouraged to use to maintain discipline and order in the Classroom?

Notes:

4.4 What discipline practices are not encouraged at this school and why?

Notes:

4.5 Describe some strategies used by this school to motivate students to do their best at their school work.

Notes:

4.6 What best describes the stance of this school with regard to students competing with one another academically?

Encourages

Mostly encourages

Mostly Discourages

Discourages

4.7 Please elaborate on why the school takes this position.

Notes:

4.8 Which of the following best describes the school's attitude toward Matric exams

A necessary evil

A normal part of the education process

A healthy test and motivator for students

Other

4.9 Please explain your answer to the previous question.

Notes:

4.10 In terms of showing how school knowledge relates to potential jobs or career paths how would you describe the emphasis placed on this at this school?

Huge

Substantial

Minimal

None

4.11 Why does this school have this...emphasis?

Notes:

4.12 What do you think is the point of student's learning about Science at school?

Notes:

SECTION 5: COLLECTIVE SCHOOL IDENTITY

5.1 Which of the following best describes the religious foundation of this school?

Very conservative, and traditional.	Somewhat conservative and traditional.	Fairly liberal and untraditional.	Very liberal and untraditional.	Other
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5.2 Please explain your choice above.

Notes:

5.3 When students are being interviewed for admittance, what sorts of things would qualify a student and what sorts of things would disqualify a student?

Notes:

5.4 Are there any specific things that parent and/or students have to agree to participate in to be admitted?

Notes:

5.5 Which of the following best describes this school in relation to admitting non-religious students.

Actively seeks to recruit non-religious students	Has no preference in terms of the students' religious beliefs.	Gives preference to religious students but will also admit non-religious students.	Will only admit religious students.
--	--	--	-------------------------------------

5.6 Why does the school actively seek to recruit non-religious students?

5.7 Why does the school not give preference to religious students?

5.8 Why does the school admit non-religious students and is there a limit on this number?

5.9 Why does the school only admit religious students?

Notes:

5.10 What are some of the challenges/problems to having non-religious students in a religious school like this?

Notes:

5.11 Are there any advantages to having non-religious students in the school?

Notes:

5.12 What are the three key school community building events in the calendar? Explain.

Notes:

5.13 Please classify the following according to whether you think this school would: publically encourage, remain neutral, publically discourage, or ban the following (Please remember this is not about your personal feelings on these issues).

Pursuing a modelling career:							
Attending a Justin Bieber Concert:							
Clubbing:							
Attending religious meetings outside of school:							
Recycling at home:							
Casual Dating:							
Watching more than an hour of TV a day:							
Casual sex:							
Reading a GQ or Cosmopolitan Magazine:							
Marrying a non-religious:							
Believing in evolutionary theory:							
Having a alcoholic drink with parents after school:							
SECTION 6: THE DIFFERENTIATING ACTION OF THE SCHOOL							
6.1 Is there a prefect system at this school?							
Yes				No			
6.2 Briefly describe how it works.				6.3 Why do you not have one?			
Notes:							
6.4 Is there a house system?							
Yes				No			
6.5 Briefly describe how it works.				6.6 Why do you not have a house system?			
Notes:							
6.7 Does this school give prizes to students?							
Yes				No			
6.8 For which of the following are prizes given?				6.9 Why does this school not give prizes?			
Sporting achievement	Academic achievement	Creative achievement	Moral/Character achievement	Community involvement	Religious devotion	Other	

6.10 How are prizes given and who gets them?	
Notes:	
6.13 Would this school consider a wide range of subjects and choices for the student to be an ideal or should students mostly learn the same things? Explain.	
Notes:	
6.14 Are there any subjects, courses or activities that all students are required to do? Why?	
Notes:	
6.15 Which better describes this school?	
Students must adapt to the nature of the school system.	The school system must adapt to the nature of the student.
6.16 Please explain your choice in the previous question.	
Notes:	
SECTION 7: CONSTRUCTION OF THE IDEAL STUDENT AND TEACHER	
7.1 Please think of the ideal student. Describe what he or she is like.	
Notes:	
7.2 Morally, Academically, Religiously, Socially, Physically...(prompts if not initially covered).	
Notes:	
7.3 Can you think of a teacher who is the ideal...school teacher? What qualities does this teacher have?	
Notes:	

End Questions

Can you tell me if any of these questions offended your sensibilities in anyway?

Can you point me to any school documentation that might give me more information about some of the questions I have asked you in this interview?

Teacher Interview

Data collector:		
Date of visit:		
School name:		
Name of respondent:		
Years teaching experience	Highest Qualifications	Institution at which qualifications received.
<i>How long have you been a teacher at this school?</i>	Years	

CONFIDENTIALITY Please sign below to indicate your consent to the confidentiality agreement.	<p>I give my full consent to be interviewed for the purposes of this research. <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>I understand that the interview will be audio recorded. <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>I understand that this interview will be treated as confidential. <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>I understand that neither my name nor the name of my school will be used in the written report. <input type="checkbox"/></p>
SIGNATURE	

SECTION 1. CONSTRUCTION OF RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION			
1.1 Which of the following would best describe the priority of religious instruction in the curriculum?			
It is given a higher priority than any other subject.	It is given the same priority as most other subjects.	It is given less priority than most other subjects.	
1.2 Why is this the case?			
Notes:			
1.3 Do you consider the religious instruction class to be...			
A significant part of what makes this school a religious school.	A fairly significant part of what makes this a religious school	Only a small part of what makes this school a religious school	Unrelated to what makes this school a religious school.

1.4 Please explain your choice in the previous question.			
Notes:			
SECTION 2: PEDAGOGIC APPROACH FOR RELIGIOUS EDUCATION			
2.1 Would you say that the teaching method in religious instruction class in comparison to other subjects is...			
Completely different	Quite Different	A little different	Exactly the same
2.2 Please explain why this may be so and how they differ.			
Notes:			
SECTION 3: CONSTRUCTION OF NON-RELIGIOUS SUBJECTS			
3.1 Are all the teachers in this school religious?			
Yes		No	
3.2 Why do you think this is the case?		3.3 Would you consider it ideal if all the teachers were religious? Please Explain your answer.	
Notes:			
3.4 What do you think are some of the specific challenges facing non-religious teachers at this school?			
Notes:			
3.5 Which best describes the influence of the school's religious beliefs on the selection of textbook and teaching materials for your subject?			
Religious ethos strongly influences choice of curriculum materials.	Religious ethos has a fair amount of influence on the selection of curriculum materials	Religious ethos has a small influence on selection of curriculum materials.	Religious ethos has no bearing on selection of curriculum materials.
3.6 Please elaborate on the nature of the influence that the religious ethos of the school has on the selection of curriculum materials for your subject.			
Notes:			
3.7 What would you say is the extent to which the content of your subject is taught from a religious perspective?			
To a large extent.	To a fair extent.	To a very limited extent.	To no extent.
3.8 Please explain your choice further.			
Notes:			

3.9 If a student had to ask you what the point was of learning your subject, how would you reply?			
Notes:			
3.10 If you had to give a talk in assembly on the importance of getting an education what would be your three main points?			
Notes:			
SECTION 4: PEDAGOGIC APPROACH FOR NON-RELIGIOUS SUBJECTS			
4.1 Would you say there is a particular way of teaching that is specific to this school?			
Yes		No	
4.2 What is unique about it and why is this approach used here?			
Notes:			
4.3 To what extent do you agree with the statement "I maintain classroom discipline through the application of non-negotiable classroom rules"?			
Fully agree.	Mostly agree	Partially agree	Disagree
4.4 Please explain your choice above.			
Notes:			
4.5 Are the particular discipline practices that are discouraged at this school and why?			
Notes:			
4.6 Describe some specific strategies that you use to motivate students to do their best at their school work?			
Notes:			
4.7 What best describes your stance with regard to students competing with one another academically?			
Encourage	Mostly encourage	Mostly Discourage	Discourages
4.8 Please elaborate on why you take this position.			
Notes:			
4.9 Which of the following best describes your attitude toward Matric exams			

A necessary evil	A normal part of the education process	A healthy test of a test and motivator for students	Other	
4.10 Please explain your answer to the previous question.				
Notes:				
4.11 In terms of showing how school knowledge relates to potential jobs or career paths how would you describe the emphasis you place on this in your teaching?				
Huge	Substantial	Minimal	None	
4.12 Why do you have this...emphasis?				
Notes:				
SECTION 5: COLLECTIVE SCHOOL IDENTITY				
5.1 Which of the following best describes the religious foundation of this school?				
Very conservative, and traditional.	Somewhat conservative and traditional.	Fairly liberal and untraditional.	Very liberal and untraditional.	Other
5.2 Please explain your choice above.				
Notes:				
5.3 Which of the following best describes this school in relation to admitting non-religious students.				
Actively seeks to recruit non-religious students	Has no preference in terms of the students' religious beliefs.	Gives preference to religious students but will also admit non-religious students.	Will only admit religious students.	
5.4 Why does the school actively seek to recruit non-religious students?	5.5 Why does the school not give preference to religious students?	5.6 Why does the school admit non-religious students and is there a limit on this number?	5.7 Why does the school only admit religious students?	
Notes:				
5.8 What are some of the challenges/problems to having non-religious students in a religious school like this?				
Notes:				

5.9 Are there any advantages to having non-religious students in the school?						
Notes:						
5.10 What are the three key school community building events in the calendar? Explain.						
Notes:						
5.11 Please classify the following according to whether you think this school would: publically encourage, remain neutral, publically discourage, or ban the following (Please remember this is not about your personal feelings on these issues).						
Pursuing a modelling career:						
Attending a Justin Bieber Concert:						
Clubbing:						
Attending religious meetings outside of school:						
Recycling at home:						
Casual Dating:						
Watching more than an hour of TV a day:						
Casual Sex:						
Reading a GQ or Cosmopolitan Magazine:						
Marrying a non-religious:						
Believing in evolutionary theory:						
Having a alcoholic drink with parents after school:						
SECTION 6: THE DIFFERENTIATING ACTION OF THE SCHOOL						
6.1 Do you give prizes to students?						
Yes				No		
6.2 For which of the following are prizes given?				6.3 Why do you not give prizes?		
Sporting achievement	Academic achievement	Creative achievement	Moral/Character achievement	Community involvement	Religious devotion	Other
6.4 How are prizes given and who gets them?						

Notes:	
6.5 Would this school consider a wide range of subjects and choices for the student to be an ideal or should students mostly learn the same things? Explain.	
Notes:	
6.6 What subjects and activities are all students required to do? Why?	
Notes:	
6.7 Which better describes this school?	
Students must adapt to the nature of the school system.	The school system adapts to the nature of the student.
6.8 Please explain your choice in the previous question.	
Notes:	
SECTION 7: CONSTRUCTION OF THE IDEAL STUDENT AND TEACHER	
7.1 Please think of the ideal student. Describe what he or she is like.	
Notes:	
7.2 Morally, Academically, Religiously, Socially, Physically...(prompts if not initially covered).	
Notes:	
7.3 Can you think of a teacher in this school who you consider the ideal...teacher. What qualities does this teacher have?	
Notes:	

End Question

Can you tell me if any of these questions offended your sensibilities in anyway?

RE Teacher Interview

Data collector:		
Date of visit:		
School name:		
Name of respondent:		
Years teaching experience	Highest Qualifications	Institution at which qualifications received.
<i>How long have you been a teacher at this school?</i>	Years	

CONFIDENTIALITY Please sign below to indicate your consent to the confidentiality agreement.	<p>I give my full consent to be interviewed for the purposes of this research. <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>I understand that this interview will be audio recorded. <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>I understand that this interview will be treated as confidential. <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>I understand that neither my name nor the name of my school will be used in the written report. <input type="checkbox"/></p>
SIGNATURE	

SECTION 1. CONSTRUCTION OF RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION			
1.1 Is your religious instruction class compulsory for all students?			
Yes		No	
1.2 Why is it compulsory/not compulsory?			
Notes:			
1.3 Which of the following best describes the religious instruction Curriculum?			
The National Curriculum is strictly followed.	We use the National Curriculum but adjust it in places.	We use aspects of the National Curriculum but add a lot of our own stuff.	We do not use the National Curriculum at all.

1.4 Why do you strictly use the National Curriculum?	1.5 In what ways do you adjust it?	1.6 Which aspects of the National Curriculum do you utilize and what does your unique curriculum look like?	1.7 Describe some aspects of your unique curriculum.
Notes:			
1.8 Which of the following would best describe the priority of religious instruction in the curriculum?			
It is given a higher priority than any other subject.	It is given the same priority as most other subjects.	It is given less priority than most other subjects.	
1.9 Why is this the case?			
Notes:			
1.10 Do you consider the religious instruction class to be...			
A significant part of what makes this school a religious school.	A fairly significant part of what makes this a religious school	Only a small part of what makes this school a religious school	Unrelated to what makes this school a religious school.
1.11 Please explain your choice in the previous question.			
Notes:			
1.12 What do you hope to achieve in religious instruction lessons?			
Notes:			
1.13 If a student had to ask you what the point of religious instruction class was, how would you reply?			
Notes:			
SECTION 2: PEDAGOGIC APPROACH FOR RELIGIOUS EDUCATION			
2.1 Would you say that the teaching method in religious instruction class in comparison to other subjects is...			
Completely different	Quite Different	A little different	Exactly the same
2.2 Please explain why this may be so and how they differ.			
Notes:			
2.3 Is there an assessment mark or grade for Religious instruction?			
Yes		No	
2.4 How is the grade allocated?		2.5 Why not?	

Notes:			
2.6 To what extent would you agree with the statement: “ I maintain classroom discipline by the application of non-negotiable classroom rules”?			
Fully agree	Mostly agree	Partially agree	Disagree
2.7 Please elaborate on the strategies you use to maintain discipline and order in your classes?			
Notes:			
2.8 What discipline practices are discouraged at this school and why?			
Notes:			
2.9 How do you motivate students to do their best in your classes?			
Notes:			
2.10 What best describes your stance with regard to students competing with one another in your classes?			
Encourage	Mostly encourage	Mostly discourage	Discourage
2.11 Please elaborate on why you take that position.			
Notes:			
SECTION 3: CONSTRUCTION OF NON-RELIGIOUS SUBJECTS			
3.1 Are all the teachers in this school religious?			
Yes		No	
3.2 Why do you think this is the case?		3.3 Would you consider it ideal if all the teachers were religious? Please Explain your answer.	
Notes:			
3.4 What do you think are some of the specific challenges facing non-religious teachers at this school?			
Notes:			
3.5 If you had to give a talk in assembly on the importance of getting an education what would be your three main points?			
Notes:			
SECTION 4: PEDAGOGIC APPROACH FOR NON-RELIGIOUS SUBJECTS			
4.1 Would you say there is a particular way of teaching that is specific to this school?			

Yes	No			
4.2 What is unique about it and why is this approach used here?				
Notes:				
SECTION 5: COLLECTIVE SCHOOL IDENTITY				
5.1 Which of the following best describes the religious foundation of this school?				
Very conservative, and traditional.	Somewhat conservative and traditional.	Fairly liberal and untraditional.	Very liberal and untraditional.	Other
5.2 Please explain your choice above.				
Notes:				
5.3 What are some of the challenges/problems to having non-religious students in a religious school like this?				
Notes:				
5.4 Are there any advantages to having non-religious students in the school?				
Notes:				
5.5 What are the three key school community building events in the calendar? Explain what important aspect/aspects they contribute to the sense of school community/identity.				
Notes:				
5.6 Please classify the following according to whether you think this school would: publically encourage, remain neutral, publically discourage, or ban the following (Please remember this is not about your personal feelings on these issues).				
Pursuing a modelling career:				
Attending a Justin Bieber Concert:				
Clubbing:				
Attending religious meetings outside of school:				
Recycling at home:				
Casual Dating:				
Watching more than an hour of TV a day:				
Casual sex:				

Reading a GQ or Cosmopolitan Magazine:						
Marrying a non-religious:						
Believing in evolutionary theory:						
Having an alcoholic drink with parents after school:						
SECTION 6: THE DIFFERENTIATING ACTION OF THE SCHOOL						
6.1 Do you give prizes to students?						
Yes				No		
6.2 For which of the following are prizes given?				6.3 Why do you not give prizes?		
Sporting achievement	Academic achievement	Creative achievement	Moral/Character achievement	Community involvement	Religious devotion	Other
Notes:						
6.4 How are prizes given and who gets them?						
Notes:						
6.7 Which better describes this school?						
Students must adapt to the nature of the school system.				The school system adapts to the nature of the student.		
6.18 Please explain your choice in the previous question.						
Notes:						
SECTION 7: THE IDEAL STUDENT AND TEACHER						
7.1 Please think of the ideal student. Describe what he or she is like.						
Notes:						
7.2 Morally, academically, religiously, socially, physically...(prompts if not initially covered).						
Notes:						
7.3 Can you think of a teacher in this school who you consider the ideal...teacher? What qualities does this teacher have?						
Notes:						

End Question

Can you tell me if any of these questions offended your sensibilities in anyway?

Student Interview

Data collector:	
Date of visit:	
School name:	
Name of respondent:	
How long have you been a student at this school?	Years

CONFIDENTIALITY Please sign below to indicate your consent to the confidentiality agreement.	<p>I give my full consent to be interviewed for the purposes of this research. <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>I understand that the interview will be audio recorded. <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>I understand that this interview will be treated as confidential. <input type="checkbox"/></p> <p>I understand that neither my name nor the name of my school will be used in the written report. <input type="checkbox"/></p>
SIGNATURE	

SECTION 1. CONSTRUCTION OF RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION			
1.1 Please briefly describe what goes on in a normal religious instruction class.			
Notes:			
1.2 How seriously would you say the school takes religious instruction:			
Far more seriously than other subjects	Slightly more seriously than other subjects	Slightly less seriously than other subjects	Far less seriously than other subjects
1.3 Explain you answer.			
Notes:			
1.4 How seriously do you take religious instruction?			
Far more seriously than other subjects	Slightly more seriously than other subjects	Slightly less seriously than other subjects	Far less seriously than other subjects
1.5 Why do you treat religious instruction in this way?			

Notes:			
1.6 Why do you think this school has religious instruction class?			
Notes:			
1.7 Would you say that religious instruction class is...			
what makes this a religious school.	a big part of what makes this a religious school.	only a small part of what makes this a religious school.	not at all what makes this a religious school.
1.8 Please explain your choice in the previous question.			
Notes:			
1.9 What do you think are the main things that make this a religious school?			
Notes:			
SECTION 2: PEDAGOGIC APPROACH FOR RELIGIOUS EDUCATION			
2.1 Would you say that the way religious instruction is taught in comparison to other subjects is...			
Completely different	Quite Different	A little different	Exactly the same
2.2 Please explain in what ways the teaching is different and why you think this might be the case.			
Notes:			
SECTION 3: CONSTRUCTION OF NON-RELIGIOUS SUBJECTS			
3.1 Do you think that the content of non-religious subjects, such as Science and English, are taught from a religious perspective?			
To a large extent.	To a fair extent.	To a very limited extent.	To no extent.
3.2 Please explain your choice further.			
Notes:			
3.3 What do you think is the point of learning about Science at school?			
Notes:			
3.4 What do you think is the point of learning about English at school?			
Notes:			

3.5 What is the point of learning about History at school?			
Notes:			
3.6 If there was a talk in assembly about the importance of being educated what would you expect the three main points to be?			
Notes:			
3.7 How would you respond to the following statement: The point of learning Science is to get a good matric result so that you can get into a good university so that you can get a good job one day.			
Agree fully	Mostly agree	Mostly disagree	Totally Disagree
3.8 Please explain your choice further.			
Notes:			
3.9 How often does religion or things related to religion come up in non-religious subjects?			
Most lessons	Some lessons	Very occasionally	Never
Notes:			
SECTION 4: PEDAGOGIC APPROACH FOR NON-RELIGIOUS SUBJECTS			
4.1 Would you say that this school has a different teaching approach compared to other schools that some of your friends go to?			
Yes		No	
4.2 What is different about it?			
Notes:			
4.3 Do you agree with the following statement about teachers in this school: "Teachers try to keep classroom discipline by enforcing non-negotiable classroom rules"			
Fully agree	Mostly agree	Partially agree	Disagree
4.4 Please explain your choice above.			
Notes:			
4.5 Do you agree with this statement: "Teachers at this school usually personally talk and reason with students before dishing out punishment"			
Fully agree	Mostly agree	Partially agree	Disagree
4.6 Please explain your answer above.			
Notes:			

4.7 How do you think teachers at this school try to motivate you to do your best at your school work? What do they tell you and what systems do they put in place?			
Notes:			
4.8 What motivates you to do your school work?			
Notes:			
4.9 What best describes the stance of this school with regard to students competing with one another in terms of academic grades?			
Encourages	Mostly encourages	Mostly Discourages	Discourages
4.10 Please elaborate on why you think the school takes this position.			
Notes:			
4.11 Do you compete with your classmates in terms of grades?			
Notes:			
4.12 Which of the following best describes the school's attitude toward Matric exams			
A necessary evil	A normal part of the education process	A healthy test and motivator for students	Other
4.13 Please explain your answer to the previous question.			
Notes:			
4.14 How do you feel about Matric exams and their place in education? Do you think they are a good or a bad thing?			
Notes:			
4.15 In terms of showing how school knowledge relates to potential jobs or career paths how would you describe the emphasis placed on this at this school?			
Huge	Substantial	Minimal	None
4.16 What makes you say this?			
Notes:			
4.17 To what extent do your future career goals motivate you to work hard at your school work?			
Notes:			
SECTION 5: COLLECTIVE SCHOOL IDENTITY			

5.1 What are the kinds of values you hear preached over and over at this school.	
Notes:	
5.2 Once you leave this school would you be interested in joining an ex-student society that supported the school financially and in other ways? Explain.	
Notes:	
5.3 When new students come to this school what do they often like and dislike about the school?	
Notes:	
5.4 Do you think it is in anyway difficult to be a non-religious student at this school? Explain.	
Notes:	
5.5 Please classify the following according to whether you think this school would: publically encourage, remain neutral, publically discourage, or ban the following (Please remember this is not about your personal feelings on these issues).	
Pursuing a modelling career:	
Attending a Justin Bieber Concert:	
Clubbing:	
Attending religious meetings outside of school:	
Recycling at home:	
Casual Dating:	
Watching more than an hour of TV a day:	
Casual sex:	
Reading a GQ or Cosmopolitan Magazine:	
Marrying a non-religious:	
Believing in evolutionary theory:	
Having a alcoholic drink with parents after school:	
SECTION 6: THE DIFFERENTIATING ACTION OF THE SCHOOL	
6.1 Consider the statement: "This school makes an effort to cater for your individual talents and passions?"	

Completely agree	Mostly agree	Mostly disagree	Completely disagree
6.2 Explain your answer above			
Notes:			
6.3 Which better describes this school?			
Students must fit in to the nature of the school system.		The school system adapts to the nature of the student.	
6.4 Please explain your choice in the previous question.			
Notes:			
SECTION 7: CONTRUCTION OF THE IDEAL STUDENT AND TEACHER			
7.1 Please think of the ideal student. Describe what he or she is like.			
Notes:			
7.2 Would you want to be the ideal student?			
Completely	Mostly	Partially	Not at all
Notes:			
7.3 Think of a teacher you think is closest to the ideal... school teacher. Describe some attributes of this teacher?			
Notes:			

End question

Did you find any of these questions offensive?

Did any of these questions make you feel awkward?

Religious Leader Interview

Section 1: Structure of Community Worship

- 1.1 Please describe a typical communal worship service.
- 1.2 Does liturgy and ritual feature strongly in community worship? Explain your answer?
- 1.3 Would you describe your worship services as formal or informal in nature? Why do you say that?
- 1.4 Do you try and keep the expression of your worship in line with contemporary concerns or does it have a more traditional feel? Can you explain this choice?
- 1.5 Does your religious community recognize sacred spaces, objects and symbols...what makes them sacred/why not?

Section 2: Approach to interpretation of Sacred Text

- 2.1 Please describe the significance and role played by the "Sacred Text" in your religion.
- 2.2 What is your understanding of how the "Sacred Text" was originally produced... how was God involved in the process?
- 2.3 How should a believer approach interpreting the meaning of the Sacred text? 1) There is an official authoritative body and interpretive tradition that governs interpretation for the believer. 2) The believer should look to the leadership of their religious community for guidance. 3) The believer should utilize whatever resources she can find (such as books, commentaries ...) and prayerfully come to her own conclusion. 4) The Sacred text speaks directly to the believer without the need for external interpretive mediation.
- 2.4 How are different/conflicting interpretations of the same piece of text dealt with, who has the final authority or say.
- 2.5 How do you interpret the creation story in your Sacred Text?

Section 3: Meaning and Locus of Salvation

- 3.1 What does Salvation mean in your understanding of it?
- 3.2 How is a person saved...what has to happen and what are the advantages for the believer?
- 3.3 What is the role of the community in the Salvation of the individual?
- 3.4 What does it mean to be damned and what happens to the un-saved?
- 3.5 What is God's mission for the world? What do you think God is trying to accomplish on earth?

Section 4: Moral Disposition

- 4.1 Where would you place the moral leanings of your religious community in terms on a scale from very Orthodox/conservative through to very contemporary/liberal? Explain.
- 4.2 What is the religious communities' stance on homosexuality and why this stance?

Section 5: Relation to other Religions

- 5.1 Would there be benefit in converting people of other religions to your religion?

5.2 What is distinctive to your religion that distinguishes it from other religion.

Section 6: Religion and Schooling

6.1 What do you think about specifically religious schooling, what should religious schools be seeking to achieve?

6.2 What do you think marks out ...as specifically a religious school and thus different from other schools?

6.3 What do you think your school... does well in terms of being a...school?

6.4 What do you think ...could do better in terms of it being a... school?

6.5 What are some of the major challenges to integrating a religious ethos into...?

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Appendix C: Coding Schedules

Table C1: Coding Schedule - External Classification: Specialization of RE

	(--) Weak specialization	(-) Fairly weak specialization	(+) Fairly strong specialization	(++) Strong specialization
Time	1 or less hours of RE per week	1-3 hours of RE per week	3-5 hours of RE per week	More than 5 hours of RE per week
Agents	No RE teachers are specifically recruited to teach RE only.	Less than half of the RE teachers are specifically recruited to teach RE only.	A half or more of the RE teachers are specifically recruited to teach RE only.	All RE teachers are specifically recruited to teach RE only.
Space	RE is never taught in a space specifically designated for RE teaching.	Less than a half of RE lessons are taught in a space specifically designated for RE teaching.	A half or more of RE lessons are taught in a space specifically designated for RE teaching.	RE is always taught in a space specifically designated for RE teaching.
Evaluation	RE programme has no formal assessment. This means no tests or assignments are given for the subject. RE component does not feature on the report card. RE component has no bearing on a student's grade progression.	RE programme involves fewer tests and assignments than any other subject in the curriculum. Evaluation is considered far easier than other subjects by students. RE component might feature on the report card as a comment mostly about participation more than about subject knowledge/skills. RE component does not have any bearing on student's grade progression.	RE module is assessed with the same rigor as the more average status subjects in the curriculum. Assessment is considered easier than the high-status subjects but still challenging. A mark for the subject appears on report card but will generally not have bearing on a child's grade progression on its own. Behavioural characteristics such as student's effort and participation are a minor factor in grade allocation.	RE module is assessed with the same rigor and progression related consequences as the high-status subjects such as Maths and English. Evaluation is considered to be as difficult as the high-status subjects. A mark for RE component appears on report and can have bearing on student's grade progression.

Table C2: Coding Schedule - Internal Classification: Affiliated Religion and Other Religious Perspectives

	(--) Weak classification	(-) Fairly weak classification	(+) Fairly strong classification	(++) Strong classification
Internal classification: affiliated religion and other religious perspectives	The RE curriculum presents other religious perspectives as equally valid options for students. In terms of time and emphasis in the curriculum the affiliated religion is not given any precedence over other religions.	The affiliated religion is given more emphasis than other religious perspectives. However other religious perspectives are validated and extensively included in the curriculum.	The RE curriculum does not present other religious perspectives as valid options for the students. However, occasionally the beliefs and practices of other religious perspectives are discussed. Emphasis is placed on tolerance and similarity.	The RE curriculum does not present other religious perspectives as valid options for the students. Other religious perspectives will only be discussed in the context of emphasizing difference, defense of affiliated religion or error in other religious perspectives.

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Table C3: Coding Schedule – Framing: Hierarchical Rules

	(--) Implicit	(-) Fairly implicit	(+) Fairly explicit	(++) Explicit
Framing: hierarchical rules	RE lessons are described as far less formal than other lessons and always include substantial sharing of opinion or personal reflection without clear structure provided by the teacher.	RE lessons are described as less formal than other lessons and often include informal open discussion and personal reflection.	RE lessons are described as being slightly less formal than other lessons as they sometimes include personal reflection or open discussion in which opinions are shared by students and teacher.	RE lessons are described as equally or more formal in comparison to other subject lessons with no more encouragement of opinions, informal discussion or personal reflection than in other lessons.

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Table C4: Coding Schedule - Classification: Affiliated Religion and the SSC

	(--) Weak classification	(-) Fairly weak classification	(+) Fairly strong classification	(++) Strong classification
Classification: Teacher identity	Official policy dictates that all teachers must subscribe to the school's particular religious ethos. Maintaining complete homogeneity regarding the religious identity of all teachers is viewed as crucial to the maintenance of the desired religious ethos. Diversity of religion among teachers is not viewed as having any advantage to the school.	Official policy does not exclude teachers of different faith as long as they are respectful of the school's religious ethos. In practice the school seeks to hire teachers that subscribe to the religion of the school but if a suitable candidate cannot be found the school will hire teachers of other religions. Total homogeneity is not viewed as critical to the maintenance of the school's religious ethos/goals and some advantages are seen in having a few teachers unaffiliated to the official religion.	Official policy does not exclude teachers of different (or no) faith as long as they are respectful of the school's religious ethos. The school places far more weight on a teacher's ability to teach the curriculum than on their religious identity. The school considers the lack of religious homogeneity as a valuable part of the student's experience at the school.	The school pays no regard to the religious identity of teachers hired for non-RE positions. Non-RE teachers are hired purely on their ability to deliver the specialized knowledge of their subject.
Classification: Pedagogy	The school utilizes a pedagogic approach related to the schools affiliated religion. The school specifically trains teachers in this pedagogic method. The school exclusively utilises curriculum texts that are written by authors aligned with the affiliated religion or chosen by curriculum developers designed specifically for this specific type of religious school. Lessons are often punctuated with reference to the religion of the school.	Certain aspects of pedagogic methodology are explicitly related to the affiliated religion and considered to be different to regular government schools. These differences in pedagogic method are encouraged at the school. The school utilizes some curriculum texts chosen primarily according to religious concerns around moral and ideological issues. Each subject is related to some extent to the religion (some subjects more than others).	The affiliated religion is not viewed as related to the school's teaching approach. SSC texts are chosen on the basis of which are considered to cover and teach the curriculum optimally in combination with religious censorship concerns around portrayals of sex, violence and anti-religious sentiment. This may result in certain sections of texts being left out. The school's particular religious discourse may find its way into the SSC classroom discourse in a very limited degree in certain subjects depending on the teacher.	Pedagogy is not related to the affiliated religion in any way. The school does not expect its pedagogy to be any different from other schools. The affiliated religion is not seen as playing any role in the selection of SSC texts. Texts are chosen on the basis of which are considered to cover and teach the curriculum optimally. Religious discourse is viewed as belonging in the RE programme. Teachers are not required to defend the religious stance of the school were this to clash with the subject discourse.

Table C5: Coding Schedule for Strength of the Ritualization of the Affiliated Religion in Respect of Symbolic Features

	(--) Weak ritualization	(-) Fairly weak ritualization	(+) Fairly strong ritualization	(++) Strong ritualization
Architecture	The school has no architectural features that recruit from the affiliated religion and there are no specifically religious spaces, rooms or buildings.	The school draws very weakly from the affiliated religion in terms of architectural features. The school has only 1 specifically religious space, room or building.	The school moderately recruits from the affiliated religion in terms of architectural features. The school has 2-3 specifically religious spaces, rooms or building.	The school substantially recruits architectural features that are recruited from the affiliated religion. There are more than 3 religious spaces, rooms or buildings.
Displayed objects	The school does not display any objects related to its affiliated religion.	The school has very few displayed objects related to the affiliated religion.	The school has a fair number of displayed objects related to the affiliated religion.	The school liberally displays objects related to the affiliated religion.
Names	The school does not recruit the affiliated religion in naming entities such as the school itself, facilities or groups within the school.	The school has 1-2 entities that recruit the affiliated religion in naming such as the school itself, facilities in the school or organizational groups within the school.	The school has between 3-5 entities that recruit the affiliated religion in their naming such as the school itself, facilities in the school or groups within the school.	More than 5 entities that recruit the affiliated religion in their naming such as the school itself, facilities in the school or groups within the school.
Dress	The dress of the agents at the school is not ritualized in relation to the affiliated religion.	Some agents at specific times recruit dress that is a symbolically related to the school's affiliated religion	Many agents on many occasions are marked in their dress by the symbolic resources of the affiliated religion.	All agents at the school, at most times, are marked in their dress by the symbolic resources of the affiliated religion.

Table C6: Coding Schedule for Communal Events

Dimensions	Sub-dimensions	(--) Weak ritualization	(-) Fairly weak ritualization	(+) Fairly strong ritualization	(++) Strong ritualization
Communal events	Common religious	The school does not include any religion purposed common events.	The school includes a religion purposed common event once a month.	The school includes weekly religion purposed common events.	The school includes religion purposed common events in its daily schedule.
	Special religious	The school does not include any religion purposed special events.	The school includes 1-2 religion purposed special event per year.	The school includes 3-4 religion purposed special events per year.	The school includes more than 4 religion purposed special events per year.
	Assemblies	The school does not include any religious content in its assemblies.	Religious content in assembly is minimal such as a brief opening or closing prayer taking up less than 10% of assembly time.	Religious content takes up between 10-50% of assembly time.	Religious content takes up more than half of the average assembly.